# ÁILLOHAŠ THE SHAMAN-POET AND HIS GOVADAS-IMAGE DRUM

A Literary Ecology of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

***KATHLEEN OSGOOD DANA***

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and Anthropology,
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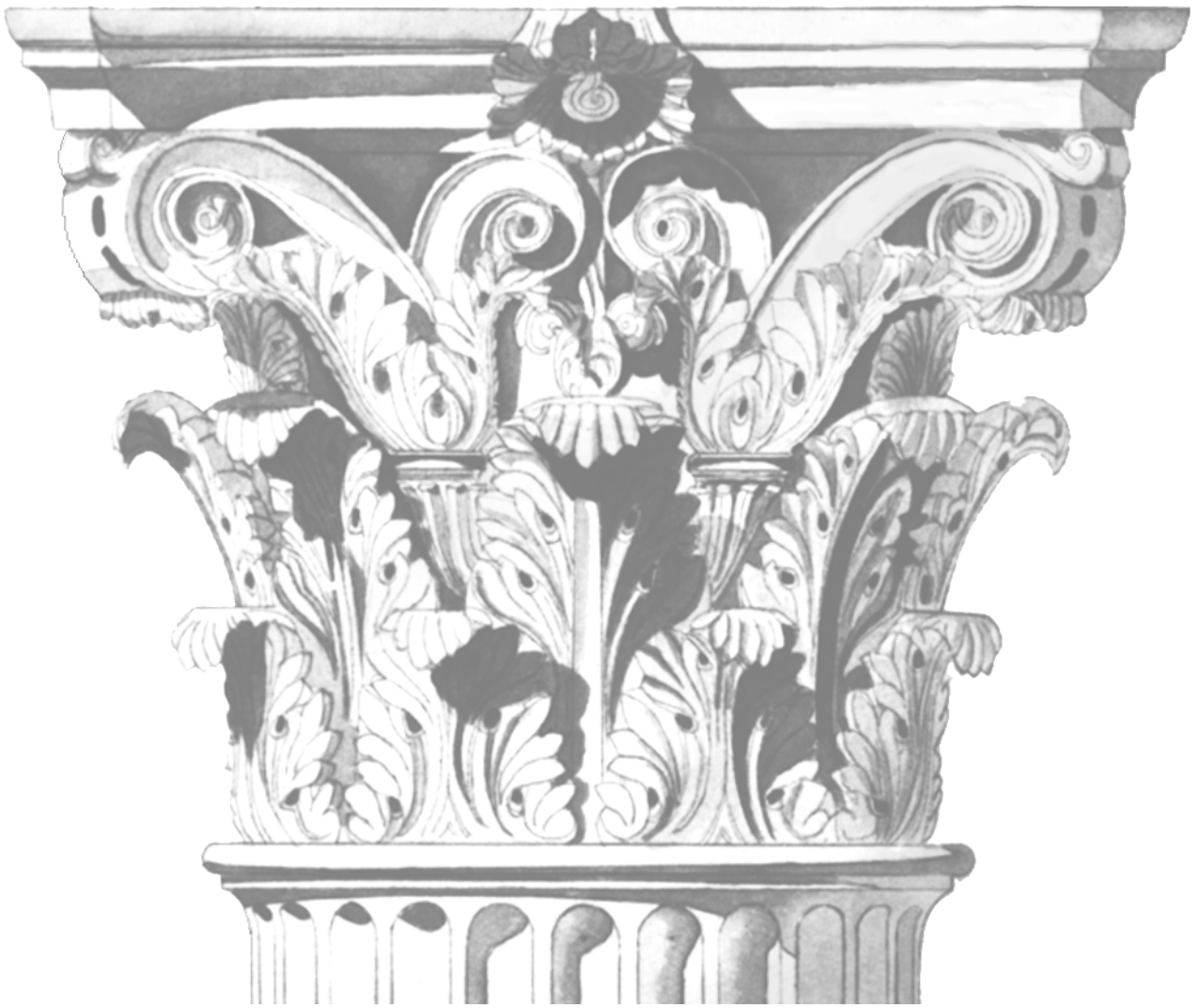
Abstract in Finnish and Saami



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**Dana, Kathleen Osgood, Áillohaš the Shaman-Poet and his Govadas-Image Drum. A Literary Ecology of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää**

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***Abstract***

*Beaivi, Áhcážan* (English, *The Sun, My Father*) is a complex, multidimensional work of poetry and art. The creator of this work, Sámi artist and poet, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää originally conceived of the work as a *govadas*-image drum, capable of conveying the totality of Sámi (earlier, Lapp) worldviews in its pages. Comprising 571 images and photos, and accompanied by a soundtrack of the poems, along with *yoiks* and natural sound, the work contains personal, seasonal, cultural, and cosmic cycles. The photos, from Western archives worldwide, comprise a kind of Sámi family album, while the Western translations without photographs serve more as guides to the Sámi original.

In the absence of a strong Sámi literary cultural tradition, this researcher turned to the emerging theory of literary ecology to help interpret the work. Literary ecology uses an understanding of human-natural relationships to illuminate an understanding of literature in its overall cultural and natural context. While Sámi literature has been collected for centuries by Lappologists, Sámi scholars are only now beginning to create critical theories with which to interpret authored, creative literature.

An examination of how nature has been used in the researcher's native New England — particularly nature writer Henry David Thoreau and nature poet Robert Frost — was used to establish the Western approaches to nature and culture. Native American literature, which is slightly in advance of Sámi literature in its native literary criticism — particularly poet-novelist Leslie Marmon Silko and poet-critic Paula Gunn Allen — provides another angle of vision with which to read *Beaivi, Áhcážan*. Following Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's lead in his theoretical and critical essay, "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven," this study also considers Sámi literature as part of a larger northern, native tradition.

In distinct contrast to Western nature traditions, which see nature as apart from culture, Sámi native traditions see nature as a part of culture. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has deliberately constructed *Beaivi, Áhcážan* as a shaman drum, and the shaman-poet deliberately uses the images on that drum as ways to interpret the past, the present and the future. In contrast to Robert Frost, who constructs his images and meanings through metaphorical association, Valkeapää constructs his meanings through metonymical attachment.

These linguistic constructions are reflected further in the worldviews of both traditions. In the Western tradition, the wild sublime is seen as a site of transcendence, a way of achieving the immanent Godhead, while in the native tradition the same landscape serves as home and kin. The sun IS father, and spring IS sister. Despite the seeming simplicity of this perception, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää confirms its elegant complexity in a work of great creativity and subtle concealment.

*Keywords:* literary ecology, nature writing, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Sámi literature

**Dana, Kathleen Osgood, Shamaani-runoilija Aillohas ja hänen runokuvahisensa. Nils-Aslak Valkeapään tuotannon ekologiaa**

Taideaineiden ja antropologian laitos, Oulun yliopisto, PL 1000, 90014 Oulun yliopisto
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## *Tiivistelmä*

*Beaivi, Áhcážan* (englanniksi, *The Sun, My Father*; suomeksi, *Aurinko, isäni*) on moninainen, moniulotteinen runo- ja taideteos. Sen luoja, saamelainen taiteilija ja runoilija Nils-Aslak Valkeapää teki tämän työn kuvahiseksi, jonka sisältö piirtää esiin saamelaisten maailmankuvan. Saamelainen teos sisältää 571 kuvaa ja runoa sekä kasetin, jossa runot, joiut ja luonnonäänet kuuluvat. Teoksessa on henkilökohtaiset, ajalliset, kulttuuriset ja kosmiset syklinsä. Valokuvat maailman arkistoista luovat saamelaisen perhevalokuvakirjan. Läntiset käännökset ovat vailla valokuvia ja toimivat enimmäkseen oppaina saamelaiseen alkuperäisteokseen.

Vahvan saamelaisen kaunokirjallisen perinteen puuttueessa tukeuduin uuteen teoriaan, kaunokirjalliseen ekologiaan. Keskeistä kaunokirjallisessa ekologiassa on ihminen-luontosuhde, joka valaisee kaunokirjallisuutta kulttuurisessa ja luonnollisessa yhteydessään. Lappologien keräämää saamelaista kirjallisuutta on ollut jo pitkään, mutta vasta nyt saamelaiset ovat luomassa omaa teoreettista viitekehystään kirjallisuutensa analysoimiseen.

Perehtyminen siihen, miten luontoa käytetään Uudessa Englannissa — varsinkin luontokirjailija Henry David Thoreaun ja runoilija Robert Frostin teoksissa — auttoi minua perehtymään luontoon ja kulttuuriin liittyviin läntisiin näkökulmiin. Amerikan intiaanien kaunokirjallisuus, joka on hieman saamelaisten estetiikkaa kehittyneempi — varsinkin runoilija-romaanikirjailija Leslie Marmon Silko ja runoilija-kritiikko Paula Gunn Allen — antoi uuden näkökulman siihen, miten suhtautua teokseen *Beaivi, Áhcážan*. Kirjoitelmassaan "Aurinko, ukkonen, taivaantulet," Nils-Aslak Valkeapää itse olettaa, että saamelainen kaunokirjallisuus kuuluu myös laajempaan pohjoiseen alkuperäiskansojen perinteeseen.

Kun läntisessä luonnonperinteessä luonto on kulttuurista erillään, saamelaisessa ja muissa alkuperäisperinteissä luonto ONkin kulttuuri. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää on tarkoituksella rakentanut *Beaivi, Áhcážan* šamaanin kuvahiseksi ja lukee šamaanirunoilijana tietoisesti kuvahisen kuviota ymmärtääkseen menneisyyttä, nykyisyyttä, ja tulevaisuutta. Robert Frost rakentaa kuvioita ja merkityksiä metaforilla, kun taas Valkeapää rakentaa niitä kuvilla.

Nämä kahdenlaiset rakenteet heijastuvat myös Valkeapään ja Frostin maailmankuvissa. Läntisessä perinteessä maiseman uljauden kautta voi siirtyä tuonpuoleiseen, jossa jumala on havaittavissa, mutta alkuperäiskansojen perinteessä sama maisema on sekä koti että suku. Aurinko ON isä, ja kevät ON sisar. Tämän havainnon yksinkertaisuudesta huolimatta Nils-Aslak Valkeapää vahvistaa sen hienon moninaisuuden luovassa ja syvällisessä teoksessaan.

**Dana, Kathleen Osgood, Noaidi - diktačálli Áillohaš ja su govadas: Nils Aslak Valkeapää girjjálaš dujiid ekologiija**

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## *Čohkkáigeassu*

*Beaivi, áhčážan* (eŋgelasgillii *The Sun, My Father*; suomagillii *Aurinko, isäni*) lea máŋggabealát, máŋggaolat dikta- ja dáiddagirji. Dan lea ráhkadan sámi dáiddár ja diktačálli Áillohaš, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. Son dagai dán duoji govadassan, man siiddut sisttisdollet sámi máilmmeoainnu. Dát sámi girji sisttisdoallá 571 gova ja divtta sihke kaseahta, mas gullojit divttat, luođit ja luonddujienat. Girjjis leat peršovnnalaš, áiggálaš, kultuvrralaš ja kosmihkalaš gearddit. Čuovgagovat, mat leat čoggojuvvon máilmmi arkiivain, dahket das sámiid bearašgovvagirjji, muhto oarjemáilmmigielat jorgalusain eai leat čuovgagovat ja dat leatge eanaš ofelažžat sámegielat girjái.

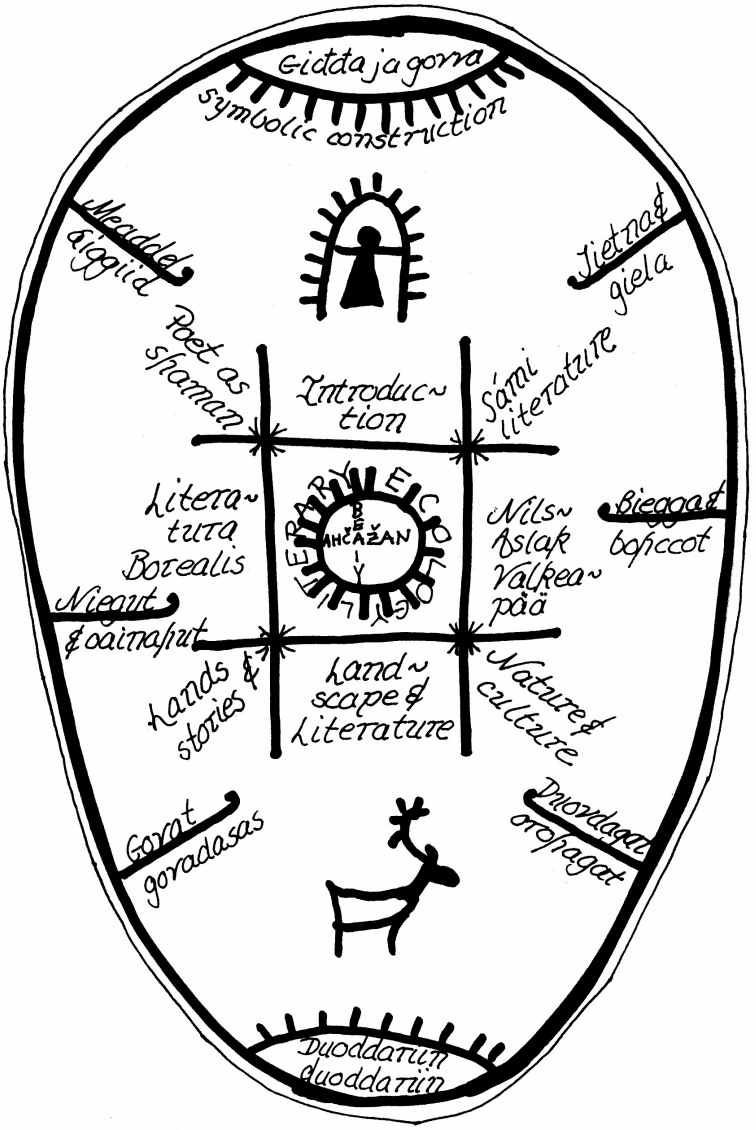
Go nana sápmelaš čáppagirjjálaš árbevierru váilu, ráhkaduvvui veahkkin ođđa teoriija, čáppagirjjálaš ekologiija. Guovddážis čáppagirjjálaš ekologiijas lea olmmoš-luondu — gaskavuohta, mii čilge čáppagirjjálašvuođa kultuvrra ja luonddu oktavuođas. Lappologat leat juo guhká čoaggán sámi njálmmalaš girjjálašvuođa, muhto easkka dál sámit ieža ráhkadit iežaset teorehtalaš kritihkaid, maiguin sáhttet analyseret iežaset girjjálašvuođa.

Dat ahte oahpásmuvai dasa, mot geavahit luonddu dutki ruoktoguovllus Ođđa Englánddas, Amerihkás — erenoamážit luonddugirječálli Henry David Thoreau` ja diktačálli Robert Frost'a girjjiin — veahkehii dutki beassat sisa oarjemáilmmi oainnuide luonddus ja kultuvrras. Amerihká indiánaid čáppagirjjálašvuohta, man sii ieža leat teoretiseren veháš guhkkelebbui go sámit — erenoamážit diktačálli, románagirječálli Leslie Marmon Silko ja diktačálli-kritihkar Paula Gunn Allen — attii ođđa oainnu dasa, mot gieđahallat girjji *Beaivi, áhčážan*. Čállagisttis Beaivi, "terbmes, almmidolat" Nils-Aslak Valkeapää ieš navdá, ahte sápmelaš čáppagirjjálašvuohta gullá maiddái viidát davvi, álgoálbmogiid árbevirrui.

Go oarjemáilmmi luondduárbevierus luondu ja kultuvra leat sierra, sámi ja eará álgoálgosaš árbevieruin luondu LEA kultuvra. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää lea eaktodáhtos ráhkadan *Beaivi, áhčažan*`a noaiddi govadassan ja noaidediktačálli lohká eaktodáhtos govadasa govvosiid vai áddešii doložiid, dálážiid ja boahtteáiggi. Robert Frost ráhkada metaforaiguin govvosiid ja mearkkašumiid, go Valkeapää nuppe gežiid ráhkada govain merkkašumiid.

Dát guovttelágan ráhkadusat vuhttojit maiddái guktuin máilmmioainnuin. Oarjemáilmmi árbevierus ebmos, villa meahcci lea das, gos mannet ráji rastá duon ilbmásii, doppe gos ipmil lea lahka ja oidnosis, vaikko álgoálgosaš árbevierus seamma eana lea ruoktu ja sohka. Beaivi LEA áhčči, giđđa LEA oabbá. Vaikko dát fuobmášupmi lea áibbas ovttageardán, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää nanne fiinna máŋggaláganvuođa dán kreatiiva ja čiekŋalis girjjis.

When I designed this study of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's *Beaivi Áhčážan*, I wanted my work to take a holistic, ecological examination of Sámi poetry, rather than a linear, analytical approach. Thus, the study is itself intended to resemble a Sámi image drum, with the words of *Beaivi Áhčážan* and the ideas of ecology always at the center of my cognitive map. Each chapter functions as a different intellectual direction on that map describing a particular literary approach, as represented in the fields radiating from the central sun of the drumhead. And, lastly, around the rim of the drum and emanating from the various directions are the deep readings of Áilu's poems that are meant to illuminate a particular orientation and to lead back to the ecological center.



# Contents

# 1 Introduction

Do I have to say
that I think about you and therefore write
….
But you have probably heard that
already in the sound of the wind

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, *Trekways of the Winds* (1)

Can you hear the sound of life
in the roaring of the creek
in the blowing of the wind

That is all I want to say
that is all

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, *Trekways of the Winds* (91)

## The Northlands

When I step barefoot out my backdoor in Central Vermont onto the summer grass, when I ski into the winter boreal woods, when I stand on our hilltop in the spine of the Green Mountains to admire the autumn colors, when I walk up the hill to gather fiddleheads and nettles in the springtime, I have a privilege many 20th century citizens do not enjoy. I am in direct contact with nature, a nature that is not overly shaped by human hands or technology. There is but the merest mark of people before me or around me — a stone wall, 19th century dumps, scraps of barbed wire fence, the sound of a highway in the

distance. In fact, around me, the larger built environment is mostly a lapsed tradition — barn foundations, broken fences, hayfields growing to raspberries and alders.

To find intentional worlds, the cultural remnants of an Abenaki Indian hunting and camping or of a Yankee farming past, I have to turn to books and to the landscape. I have always thought of the landscape as a familiar text, having walked in the woods with my father since I was very young. He is a great woodsman, who names places as he passes through. When I got old enough to break trail on skis, he would set me the task of finding the way home through woods I did not know. "Just follow that logging road," he would say. My unschooled eyes would see nothing road-like in the tangle of moosewood and red maple. But he could see that those pioneer species had seeded themselves in the wheel ruts of a logging job decades past. Or, on some unfamiliar ridge, he would instruct me to find my way to a farm. "Just follow the brook," he would say. "Water always runs downhill and usually leads to settlement." And it would.

When I am not working in my office, I like to work with my hands, digging in my garden, spinning wool, cooking in my kitchen, seeing the results of my handiwork on the family table, or on their feet. When I read, the books I like best are about people who know their land and who write about those lands. When I was in sixth grade, my much-loved teacher read Robert Frost's "Mending Wall" to us, and asked us to think what kind of places the poet was describing. I knew immediately and exactly what Frost meant when he wrote: "He is all pine and I am apple orchard" (Frost, "Mending Wall," 24), for the rough stone walls surrounding our homeplace divided meadow from grown-over hayfield, and I had walked their tippy tops barefoot in the sun.

**Fig. 1. Winter at home in the northern forest. Ravenfield, Northfield, Vermont**

When I was in my late teens, my father's sabbatical leave took our family to Orivesi, Finland, which — despite the strange Finno-Ugric language — seemed infinitely familiar in its close connections to the land. We fetched our milk in milk cans, and helped to string nets under the ice in the winter. Rather than breaking our own ski trails, we got to ski on the community network of trails, enjoying the Everyman Privilege that is the mark of the Scandinavian forest. In the Finnish homes where I visited, I fit in easily, able to kindle a fire or make bread without further thought, even though the stoves were of masonry rather than cast iron, and the bread was sourdough rather than yeast.

My first experience of Sápmi, or Lapland, came that same year when we spent our ski vacation in Kilpisjärvi, in Finnish Lapland, right where the political boundaries of Norway, Sweden, and Finland come together in the high fells, and where the incredible fellscapes and the clarity of the air and the snow left a lasting impression. That experience led me back to the Arm of Lapland in the summer of 1971, hitchhiking recklessly northward from the pretensions of the Côte d'Azur, where I had studied Russian culture and language at l'Université de Nice. I followed spring northward through Germany and Sweden, and finally walked most of the last one hundred kilometers along the Radje aednu River (Könkämäeno, in Finnish). Unwittingly, I passed Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's family home in Beattet (Pättikkä, in Finnish) on my way. At that time, Valkeapää, also known by his Sámi name of Áillohaš (or, Áilu), was already deeply engaged in the cultural struggles of the Sámi. Little did I realize at the time the role Valkeapää would later play in my personal and intellectual life, but I did watch the icebound river shudder to erupt from its winter spell near his home, and I did hear the bluethroat sing. This was when I had my first real experience of the Sápmi, the homeland of the Sámi people.

That summer I worked in the hostel there at the foot of Saana Fell, in Kilpisjärvi. Tourists from the European South, en route to North Cape, were as thick as the mosquitoes along European Highway 8, the Road of the Four Winds. Sámi occasionally came by the hostel to sell their hand-carved cups and bone tools, but they quickly and quietly vanished, only to be met when I too hiked back into the fells.

As at my home in Vermont, the marks of human impact were difficult to see in the huge, natural landscape, the ashes of a campfire, an occasional hut, a few trekways across the high fells, the startling presence of reindeer appearing unexpectedly on the ridges. It was as if I could not really see the Sámi, as if I were blind, their presence was so fleeting. How was I to read this landscape I had come to know by foot and by boat? How was I to see this evasive culture?

## The Cultures

But my blindness did not linger long; the Sámi were just starting to reclaim their culture and their identity, their expression corresponding with the larger spirit of protest in Europe and North America in the 1970s. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had just written a polemic entitled *Terveisiä Lapista* (1970), speaking out for the Sámi. It was the first book I read whole in Finnish, and I felt as if I were having a friendly conversation with the author, who was answering all the questions about Lapland that I had not yet known how to

formulate nor yet known whom to ask. (See the detailed discussion of this book in the third chapter about Valkeapää's life and work.)

The relevant impact of Valkeapää's writing has proven to be much longer lasting and much more profound than he or I perhaps realized at the time, extending across oceans and continents, and through languages and cultures. In his trilogy, *Ruoktu váimmus* (1985; English, *Trekways of the Winds*), Valkeapää searches for a sense of identity and a sense of place along the actual, geographical pathways of his childhood, although the title more readily translates as "home in the heart." In his poems, he also strides across continents, linking his experiences among Native peoples in the North to his own deeply felt identity as a Sámi man:

> If I had known
>
> that I am I and belong to a people
>
> I would not have known
>
> that you are you
>
> and that the world has many peoples

(*Trekways of the Winds*, 262)

Valkeapää became a cultural ambassador for the Sámi both within the Sámi nation and internationally; his poetry is closely linked to his political activism. This role is yet another characteristic that reminded me of Robert Frost, who stood up at John Fitzgerald Kennedy's inauguration in 1960 to recite his poetry, and who served as American emissary to the Soviet Union in his later days.

Like Robert Frost, Valkeapää strives to connect place and identity in his poetry. Where Frost used the elements of hardscrabble northern New England to create a new identity for the region, Valkeapää uses the real elements of the Sámi landscape to express his meaning. Both poets work with something similar to my aims in this work at hand, trying to make connections between the literature of place, the one poet in northern New England, the other poet in Sápmi.

## The Pathways

My father, with his store of woodslore and his lifelong interest in the North, had originally led me to that working summer in Kilpisjärvi. That, in turn, led to a scholarship from the Finnish Ministry of Education to study at the University of Helsinki, where Valkeapää's traditional and creative yoik music was part of the general voice of protest in the early 1970s. I vividly recollect standing in the long line before the single photocopier at Porthaania, the Student Union Building, to copy the then inscrutable Sámi words to the yoiks with their odd diacritical marks, along with their Norwegian translations. In the long, dark winter evenings, a number of us would gather with those blurred photocopies and translate the beautiful songs — through Norwegian — into English and French. I still

have my careful, hand-written copies in my study notebooks, and am impressed at the range of traditional and poetic yoiks that Valkeapää brought into our dormitories with his emphatic and intimate voice. Again, it was as though he were speaking directly to us, engaging us in something larger and more real than our classroom studies.

While I had absorbed spoken Finnish and Finnish culture in my year in Orivesi, and while I had studied the Lapland landscape by foot and by eye in the summer in Kilpisjärvi, my semesters at the University of Helsinki opened up the written world of Finnish literature, which led in turn to years of practical and independent scholarship work in criticism and translation of Finnish and Sámi literature. Originally trained in New England and Russian history, I learned through my own work with Finnish and Sámi literature to appreciate deeply the tremendous, central value literature has for a small, emerging culture.

Knowing the language and literature of a minority culture has allowed me to understand things about people and places my American education has not; this knowledge has led me to reflect on my own rural experience, which had always seemed to set me and my family apart from mainstream, postmodern America. The sense of alienation that seems to drive contemporary Western literature has never been a direct part of my experience. When my husband and I made the deliberate choice to settle on the land I had grown up on, rather than seeking more lucrative professional careers in urban areas, I made a commitment to understanding and living a direct, unmediated life, as close to nature as possible.

My undergraduate and graduate studies had included much reading of New England, Russian, and Scandinavian literature, perhaps unwittingly placing the several northern traditions into a common context in my own experience of both cultures and landscapes. I found the same thrill of recognition in reading Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) and Robert Frost (1874–1963), as I did reading Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943–2001). All three seemed intent on similar lifelong investigations into this very, very intimate relationship of knowing and doing, of experience, perception and expression that my daily life thrusts upon me, even if our methods and homelands vary significantly. It seemed that if I could just articulate this understanding, I would have accomplished something real and productive in my own life. Perhaps by studying the poetry of my homescapes and the poetry of Sápmi and by stretching that connection to my own understanding of the Northlands, I would be able to resolve some of the mystery that has been part of my life experience.

## The Poetries

To set the context for consideration of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, this Sámi poet, whose culture and experience are substantively different from my own cultural experience, I set out deliberately to connect key authors of my homelands with my readings of Valkeapää and Sámi culture. Embracing all these considerations is the notion that an ecological appreciation of these cultural endeavors would provide the stuff of understanding. Somehow, these had to be the same winds I heard on the high fells while hiking to pay tribute on Haldi Mountain, or in the tangled woods behind my house. Surely, the waters

from the silver veins of Sápmi had a tang something like the water in our minty brook. What did the poets of my homeplace and Valkeapää, the poet of his homeland, say about what I perceived and experienced? How might a sense of place help to unify these perceptions and experiences?

In New England, Thoreau was a master at transforming his daily encounters with the natural world into large and reverent concepts; he was the living soul of Transcendentalism, a movement that sought deliberate connections between practical and spiritual experience, especially as mediated through an understanding of the natural world. "Thoreau is best understood as a wilderness philosopher whose subject was the continuities and discontinuities between culture and nature (Oelschlager 132)." With his book *Walden, or a Life in the Woods* (1854), Thoreau laid the groundwork for Western awareness of wildness and wilderness.

Overwhelmed by the ecological devastation the Industrial Age was wreaking on his Vermont home just downcountry of my home, George Perkins Marsh developed a comparable philosophy in his pioneering conservation handbook, *Man and Nature* (1864). Marsh was also an accomplished philologist, seeking substance for his Romantic views in Icelandic and Norse mythology. Both Thoreau and Marsh became touchstones for the ecological movement starting in the 1960s. Their writings resonate in the background of my own academic studies.

Closest to my home in time and place, Robert Frost is perhaps the best-known and loved American poet of the twentieth century, for his fine insights and folksy ways. Jay Parini writes in his biography of the poet that "he loved particulars and disliked abstract categories (264)," emphasizing Frost's use of country things as the stuff of his poetry. His groundedness in the things of this earth is evident in his art: "Metaphor is, for him, transformative but not a form of religious alchemy holding out a transcendental promise of redemption. Earth is always 'the right place for love' (Parini 265)." Frost was the spokesman for rural America, gathering the materials for his poetry in the gritty world of hardscrabble New England farming. Frost practiced smallhold farming, and he was intimately familiar, if not especially competent, with a lapsing subsistence farming tradition.

Frost's poetry — like Sámi culture — lingers at the "juncture of ecumene and anecumene or cultural landscape and wilderness (Müller-Wille, "Finnish Lapland", 73)." And perhaps not incidentally, I can make a personal and cultural claim to connect these disparate thoughts. Frost's acclaim started with *A Boy's Will* (1916), his first book of poems, which takes its title from a poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), the American poet who stretched across boundaries and back through time to borrow his motif from the Sámi:

> And a verse of a Lapland song
>
> Is haunting my memory still:
>
> "A boy's will is the wind's will,
>
> And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."
>
> (Longfellow, "*My Lost Youth*", 194)

Longfellow, who is my children's great-great-great grandfather on their father's side, has long been the intellectual and historical focus of our family life, with his travels to the North and his fascination with the *Kalevala* meter, which he used in his long poem, "Hiawatha." Longfellow took the quotation about the wind's will from the German poet and scholar, Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), whose meditations on nature, poetry, and national identity became the cornerstones of the Romantic movement. In his "Ossian" studies of northern poetry, Herder had read the yoik-poems of the Sámi cleric Olaus Sirma, which had earlier appeared in Johannes Scheffer's *Lapponia* (1673; see Átányi).

And, so, with this long call invoking the Sámi culture as collected by Olaus Sirma with the New England poetry of Robert Frost, I found a tenuous literary pathway between my homefields in Vermont and those of Sápmi. Both Frost and Valkeapää are essentially poets of place, and their voices resonate clearly in those places. Their voices are intimate and inviting, their materials are the basic stuff of a natural life: "*A Boy's Will* describes the natural elements that Frost would make his permanent poetic property: stars, clouds, leaves, flowers, brooks, birds (Meyers 100)." Valkeapää's elements are similar to Frost's, drawn directly from his natural environment (*The Sun, My Father*, Poem 34). Perhaps this was not such a long call after all. Perhaps looking carefully at the places these poets knew and the ways they chose to cultivate sound in their poetry would merit study.

While the birds are not quite the same birds in Frost's poetry and in Valkeapää's poetry, and the words are from different languages, there is a striking sensitivity to sound and voice in both poets. Valkeapää's voice reverberates throughout his poetry; Frost emphasizes the quality of sound as "the gold in the ore of poetry" in his statement on poetry (Meyers, citing "The Figure a Poem Makes", 221). Voice is a key to connecting place and identity, both my personal sense of place and personal identity, and the poets' sense of cultural place and literary identity.

For Frost, the crux of poetry was found at the juncture between woods and home; his sources were a lapsing agricultural tradition, with which he was intimate if not especially expert. His homefields were those of rural New England, a cultural construct as opposed to a distinctly political one. For Valkeapää, the crux of meaning is found in the places he has known, articulated in birdsong and windsong; his sources have been a lapsing nomadic tradition, with which he has been intimate if not especially expert.

Valkeapää's pathways wend their ways among the high fells of Sápmi, a cultural construct, even as New England is a cultural construct. Both have been overlaid with strong Protestant ethics — Puritanism in Frost's case, Lutheranism and the radical, evangelical sect of Laestadianism in Valkeapää's case — but both manage to skirt the religious qualifications of their larger societies and find voice in very personal, very expert, very intimate ways.

As Valkeapää does, many New Englanders look earthwards and northwards for the essence of their art. Recently, John Elder, the Stewart Professor of English and Environmental Studies at Middlebury College, who is himself an accomplished scholar of nature writing, has literally tracked Robert Frost in the Green Mountains, connecting the landscape of Elder's and Frost's homes with Frost's historical poem, "Directive" (*Reading the Mountains of Home*).

I intend to follow similar footsteps here — geographical, historical, cultural, and spiritual footsteps — as ways of looking at the poetry of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. And

looking at the poetry of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää will be a way to follow "a path / to the sun" of cultural, intellectual, and spiritual connections. I think these are the kinds of connections that Thoreau, Marsh, Longfellow, and Frost also made between their homefields and their hearts.

## The Homefields

Over the years my interest in Finland and the Sámi has been informed and animated by long talks with family friends, Ludger Müller-Wille and Linna Weber Müller-Wille, whose research in Ohcejohka, Finland in the 1960s documented the passing of much traditional Sámi culture (Müller-Wille, *Kahden*). In May of 1995, Ludger, as director of the Arctic Centre of the University of Lapland, made a research scholarship available to me in Rovaniemi, which enabled me to meet Sámi scholars and authors and to use the excellent resources of the Library of Lapland, my first formal work with Sámi materials, which resulted in a longer article on Sámi literature and a conference paper about the qualities of voice in Sámi literature ("Literary Voice and Cultural Identity: Sámi Creative Literature." Paper presented at the International Conference of Arctic Social Scientists, Rovaniemi, Finland, May 1995. The background research later appeared in an article entitled "Sámi Literature in the Twentieth Century" in *World Literature Today*, Winter 1997. The second chapter about Sámi literature in this dissertation is also based extensively on that research.)

In June of that same year, geared with the fuller understanding of Sámi literature I had formulated at the Arctic Centre, I visited Guovdageaidnu, the capital of Sápmi. This placename does not appear on many maps of northernmost Europe. Most maps publish the Norwegianicized name, Kautokeino, Norway. Most maps say nothing about this arc of northernmost Europe being Sápmi, the homeland of the Sámi people, stretching from Norway, through Sweden across Finland and on to the Kola Peninsula of Russia. But I was now able to understand many of these things that are not written out plainly on our Western maps and our postmodern mental landscapes.

The river was still covered with ice, the fells were snow-covered. In little hollows protected by dwarf birch, the greens and grays of lichen hovered under the rough spring snow. Yet at 10:00 in the evening, when we gathered in a herder's goahti-tent for a feast of reindeer stew, the sun was still high and its strength spoke of enormous changes in the days to come. After a second cup of broth, we stretched out on the skins around the central fire, and talk turned philosophical. My colleague in conversation was a young Sámi woman. With their children, she and her husband tended their combined herds of reindeer; but she was also a publisher, a textbook writer, a poet, a teacher, and an accomplished craftswoman.

In a place about the size of my small Vermont college town, I was hearing deep, thoughtful discussions on every side in Sámi, English, German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, and Russian. Part of the company was academic, but most were working Sámi, passionately involved with Sámi culture, its revival and its maintenance. The truly impressive part of this conversation was the expertise and the adaptability of these young Sámi, who were intimately involved in reconstructing their landscape and constructing

their culture, as well as actively engaged in traditional Sámi livelihoods and contemporary European life. And, in the midst of all the discussion, literature, art and music hovered at the edges of our consciousnesses.

These young Sámi epitomized for me active and reflexive traditional values in a contemporary setting, which recall the values of the back-to-the-land movement, part of my entire life in rural New England. Not only were they accomplished herdsmen and artisans, but they were also keenly aware of the intellectual and cultural impact their life choices made on Sámi life at large. The key difference between their perspective and mine is that the Sámi were actively living a still viable tradition and integrating it into contemporary lives, while the back-to-the-land movement was a resurrection of a past tradition. Their worldviews embraced deep respect for nature and strove to recast Sámi culture in Sámi terms, clearly setting out the distinctions between the *diehtu* of experiential knowledge and the *dieđa* of scientific knowledge (see Gaski, *Sami Culture*, 20). This deliberate combination of traditional, experiential knowledge with scientific knowledge reminded me of the battles New Englanders waged to be recognized on the world stage in the early 19th century, where they had decried the lack of a "usable past" with which to construct a viable cultural future, dependent as they were on British colonial models (Ruland, 55–8).

This month-long stay in Sápmi consolidated many of the perceptions I had already made, and showed me that a wealth of materials was available to me through the Finnish language, in the excellent bibliographic and archival resources for the Sámi in Finland. It also showed me that I had a number of academic qualifications, unusual for an American researcher. I could read Finnish easily, I was familiar with the history of Finland and the North, and I had done a fair amount of work with native, northern literatures. I was ready to start out on the intellectual pathways that would bring my understanding of Sámi literature and New England literature into focus.

## Lapsing Traditions and Cultural Contexts

Throughout much of the world, people live in contexts that have been largely humanized or technologized. The water we drink may come from a place far distant and invisible, treated by chemicals and coming to us through metal structures. Our food passes through many hands and packages and distributors before it gets anywhere near our mouths. We can travel worldwide without the soles of our feet ever touching the earth. Increased globalization leads to increased commodification of all aspects of life, including nature.

On the other hand, the Sámi people, a native people of the European North and the Russian Northwest — like the New Englanders of Thoreau's and Frost's days — have lived a life, which even today is in close contact with living nature. While many Sámi have left the reindeer herding life and lead domesticated or urbanized lives just like the Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, or Russians in their homeland, still they have been living a pastoral, nomadic existence within *living memory*. (Cf. Williams, "Herding Systems in Transition," and Pelto, *The Snowmobile Revolution*.) The herding tradition may be lapsing, as the hill farm tradition did for Robert Frost and as it was doing in my

childhood, but there are visible reminders of that tradition in the landscape and in the culture even today.

The Sámi are deeply engaged in cultural struggles, similar to those New Englanders underwent in the last century, and which my family and I have perpetuated in our determination to stay on the land. It seems to me that there is a value to articulating this understanding, using literature as a tool, as Arnold Krupat, a scholar of Native American literature tells us:

> [T]raditional and contemporary Native literatures tend pretty much without exception to derive from an ecosystemic, nonanthropocentric perspective on the world that we may at last be coming to see — as the ozone layer thins, as the polar ice melts, as the nonbiodegradable garbage mounts to the skies — as being centrally rather than marginally important to human survival. This is not to say that Indian literatures are explicitly "about" a particular view of "Nature," far from it; yet this is indeed the perspective with which they all … are consistent. (55)

Certainly there is a utilitarian and practical value to understanding how traditional, experiential knowledge, or *diehtu* of nature, can connect or reconnect us long-alienated Westerners back to the land. There is an intellectual gain in direct proportion to such understanding. Our gaze can turn toward nature with increased understanding, and we can delve more deeply into a poem or picture — whether native or Western. Perhaps yet more valuable is the spiritual wholeness an ecology of self and place can provide by reconnecting nature, self, and human creation. Where better for a Westerner to look for such an understanding than in the key cultural works of native peoples.

By the time I had evolved this perception, I had the academic skills, gained largely through experience and independent scholarship — languages, translation, criticism, history, research, lecturing — to work toward a doctoral degree in literature, but found no place in the United States where I could combine my knowledge and skills into a credible doctoral program. Then, in the spring of 1996, I was invited to lecture about northern literature and film at the University of Lapland, which led to further lecturing at the University of Oulu, Finland at their Northern Cultures and Societies Program. This was the beginning of my real academic work.

When I arrived at the Faculty of Humanities in Oulu and walked down the corridor, reading the names by the doors, I felt as though I were among my own. Not only does the University of Oulu have a clear northern mission, but also these were faculty members whose work I had read or reviewed, or with whom I had worked or talked at conferences or networks. Liisi Huhtala, Dean of the Humanities Faculty, listened to my stories with sympathy, and suggested I work with Veli-Pekka Lehtola, newly appointed as the director of Sámi studies at Oulu and now the senior lecturer at the newly founded Giellagas Institute for Sámi Studies there. Veli-Pekka graciously endorsed my study plan and guided me in my readings, often offering me unanticipated materials or viewpoints I would not have myself discovered, particularly about contemporary Sámi research and writing and about Sámi views of contemporary research.

While ethnographers have been collecting and cataloguing Sámi stories and songs from the oral tradition for more than a century, very little has been done with creative literature in Sámi. In the last quarter of a century, a number of significant works have been written by Sámi authors in Sámi, yet their work has been largely critiqued as part of

the ethnographic, rather than the literary record. Descriptive articles have been written, including my own, but there is very little analysis or criticism of this very fine literature, particularly in English. My research here will provide a theoretical basis to examine Sámi — or other native — literature in a world context, as well as providing detailed analysis and explication, particularly of the pivotal work of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, whose writing, art, and performance have had a significant effect in shaping Sámi culture in the late 20th century, as well as my perceptions of that culture. The Sámi have done much work reclaiming their history and identities in the last quarter-century through the arts, politics, and scholarship, and I use those sources, where available.

I have also made it a part of my research to travel at length through the areas of Sápmi where Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has lived, along the Radje aednu and down to the Norwegian coast in Ivgu (Skibotn), where he made his home. In May of 1998, Kirsti Paltto, the Sámi novelist, was my gracious host in Ohcejohka on the Deatnu River. On two trips in the fall of 1999 and the late winter of 2000, my valued traveling companion was Aki Koivisto, a Finnish visual artist, whose remarkable perceptions of landscape, light and color are expressions of his own identity; his perceptions have been instrumental to me in articulating the connection between landscape and identity. Harald Gaski, a Sámi scholar at the University of Tromsø, has been of inestimable value to me with his own studies of Valkeapää, and his enthusiastic and thoughtful responses to many of my questions about Sámi culture and literature. He and his wife, Britt Rajala, hosted Aki Koivisto and me in Tromsø, and they arranged for us to visit the poet in his home in April of 2000. And of tremendous importance to me collegially have been the handful of American scholars in the new Sámi section of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies, especially Tom DuBois and Troy Storfjell and Richard Jones-Bamman. My sincere gratitude to all of these wonderful companions in my travels, both actual and intellectual.

## Literary Ecology

Luckily for this study, other literary scholars have been searching for ways to understand the role of nature in literature, and to understand the relationship between nature and culture. Among late twentieth-century scholars, many have attempted to understand the alienation of self and nature in theoretical terms. More recently, in fact in almost perfect pace with the evolution of Sámi culture on Sámi terms, the ecological movement has gained strength and stamina and substance, and I turn to this increased attention to the natural environment as a means of integrating my own worldview and literary thinking.

Fundamentally, in an ecological reading of literature, the relationship of nature and culture is at the heart of a critical understanding. The soundness or fragmentation of that basic concept is the premise from which a work of art can be understood. Aldo Leopold, the American forester who first articulated an ecological land ethic, formulates ecology as a land-based philosophy in the foreword to his classic *Sand County Almanac*:

> That land is a community is the basic concept of ecology, but that land is to be loved and respected is an extension of ethics. That land yields a cultural harvest is a fact long known, but latterly often forgotten. (viii–ix)

Ecology, essentially, is the study of the relationships among elements. Human ecology, for instance, is the study of relationships between humans and their environments. Social ecology looks to the environment to help explain social patterns (cf. Merchant). Deep ecology attempts to phrase philosophy in ecological terms (cf. Naess). The ecology of religion considers nature-human relationships in the study of religion (cf. Hultkrantz). Literary ecology seeks to understand literature through an *eco*-based consciousness (cf. Glotfelty and Fromm).

Michael Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, in their Native American anthology *Keepers of the Earth*, underscore the centrality of ecology in Native American traditions. They write, emphasizing the interrelations between humans and animals in native cultures:

> The science of ecology, the study of the interactions between living things and their environments, circles back to the ancient wisdom found in the rich oral traditions of American Indian stories. Time and again the stories have said that all of the living and non-living parts of the earth are one and that people are a part of that wholeness. Today, Western ecological science agrees. (5, as quoted in Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview*, 12)

Joseph Bruchac, in response to my inquiry about North American traditions of ecology, "could not agree more about the relationship that exists between Sami and Native American cultures and traditions (personal correspondence, November 19, 1996)."

Because of the clear relationships to nature in my chosen literatures of New England and Sápmi, and because of the ways these relationships appear in their literatures, I have turned first to ecology for a theory with which to understand Sámi literature. As a corrective to my Western gaze, I also turn to Native American literary studies for the methods with which better to analyze and critique a contemporary, native literature. And because of common themes among circumpolar native peoples, I also lean heavily on scholars of the circumpolar North in order to find a fuller context for considering Sámi literature as a world literature.

The problems that confront a Western literary scholar are many and manifest as she attempts to approach a native literature in a tradition not her own. Despite the commonalties of a closeness to the landscape and a direct participation in procuring daily sustenance from that landscape, the differences are much larger: a difficult minority language difficult of access, a remote region, a domain of knowledge largely dominated by ethnography and anthropology. In my literary explorations, I am constantly aware of my status as a sometimes outsider / sometimes insider, a role already familiar to me as a country child bussed to school in a distant village.

In some ways, as an American, I occupy a particular position as an outsider in attempting such an analysis. By their legacies of cultural assimilation, Scandinavian cultures have dealt closely — and sometimes harshly — with Sámi culture, whereas my understanding of the Sámi has come — in large part — from first-hand observation and experience in the landscape. I come from afar, from a deeply rural tradition, with a deep engagement in the New England literary tradition of protest as an expression of New England ecology. Even as my academic training is eclectic — Slavic studies, history, literature, Finnish language and culture — my methods are fairly original, without the impress of larger institutional or disciplinary traditions.

Western worldviews, which inform an understanding of Western literature, are so dominant in literary studies that they may very easily obliterate a sensitive understanding of the original literature, and one must be very clear about how those worldviews may distort a reading of non-Western literature. And while I certainly have received a Western education, I have systematically evaded systematic schools of critical thought.

Eclectic auto-didact that I am, I cannot, however, claim qualifications on the basis of eccentricity. But my inquiry into Sámi things is timely, with much work being done by Sámi on Sámi terms. Wide reading, deep thought, and sympathetic inquiry are certainly tools that illuminate something of the heretofore unexplored Sámi literature in English.

Although I am keenly cognizant of the American point of view, which is bound to cleave to me, I am also aware of my relative success in negotiating other cultures on a daily basis. In her autobiography, *Blackberry Winter*, Margaret Mead, the great anthropologist, stresses the importance of adversity in creating empathy, the essential research tool for understanding. Adversity is like a "*Blackberry winter,* the time when the hoarfrost lies on the blackberry blossoms; without this frost the berries will not set. It is the forerunner of a rich harvest (epigraph, *Blackberry Winter*)." Being touched by frost makes the fruit sweeter, too.

Like Mead, I believe that one's personal adversities can lead to a larger understanding of the world. In my rural childhood, I was socially marginalized by the village children, who did not understand the place of nature in my daily life. In my peripatetic youth, I sought out places where I would still be on the margin, trying to understand the transformation that woods and meadows, mountains and fells wrought on my sense of identity. And that sense of being on the margin has led me to try to grasp the cultural context that supports a sense of identity.

How human beings see themselves in relation to nature is key to this study of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, the 20th century Finn/Norwegian/Sámi, whom I refer to as Áillohaš the shaman poet, maker of myth in a postmodern age. *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (*The Sun, My Father*), a complex, aesthetically and critically demanding, mythic epic, is perhaps Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's most important work, and the primary one that I analyze and explicate as I proceed with exploring the powerful Western and native cultural traditions implicit in any literary criticism.

Like the young Sámi woman from Guovdageaidnu with her many interests and abilities, Sámi artists have had to be politically and culturally engaged, with multiple competencies (Synnøve Persen, as quoted in Lehtola "Saamelainen" 37). And like those artists, my own rural, marginal life has required me to cultivate many competencies to survive culturally in the face of the dominant American experience. In this work I rely on those many competencies to guide me.

## The Maps

I consider ecological and cultural context to be keys to understanding literature. In other words, my interests are in a sense of place and a sense of identity as they are reflected in literature. In this dissertation, I want to examine how people, especially the Sámi, have

related to place and how they have written about their relationship with place, and most particularly how Nils-Aslak Valkeapää negotiates these understandings in his work.

My focus is on how landscape — both the cultural and the natural landscape — can help readers understand literary works. Thus, each chapter alternates research and description with deep readings of particular aspects of Valkeapää's work, and of other authors whose work has helped me to understand this Sámi artist. I take my cohering theoretical stance from literary ecology, which stems from deep ecology, an ecophilosophy that has at its root active engagement in the real, natural world complemented by a keen and reverent awareness of the relationships between humans and nature in that world. By deep readings, I intend intelligent analyses complemented by a similar awareness of the human-nature relationships expressed or implied in literature.

1. The first chapter of introduction serves to relate my qualifications and preparations, as well as the sensibilities I bring with me to this important task as a researcher of an emerging, creative, native literature. In the related deep reading entitled "Giđđa ja govva," I consider some ideas about metaphor and symbol as poetic tools and show how these ideas reflect deeply a poet's worldview in a comparison of two poems about spring by Valkeapää and Frost.
2. The second chapter describes in some detail contemporary Sámi literature as a way to provide a contemporary literary context to appreciate Valkeapää's work. The related deep reading is a comparative analysis of voice and identity. This material is drawn from an article published in a special Sámi issue of *Scandinavian Studies* ("When a Lapp is out on the high fells: Literary Voice and Cultural Identity for the Sámi", Spring 2003).
3. In the third chapter, "Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and the Wind's Will," I introduce Nils-Aslak Valkeapää as a postmodern shaman-poet, whose principal work *Beaivi, Áhčážan* functions as an image drum, providing the overarching metaphor for his art. The deep reading that follows is called "Biegga jo bohccot: The wind and reindeer as recurring images." It is a discussion of wind as a metaphor for Sámi culture, through a deep reading of his Poem 546, *biegga, biegga mii leimmet / wind, we were a wind,* from *Beaivi, Áhčážan*.
4. The fourth chapter, "Nature and Culture: Ecology and Worldviews," steps back to look at nature and culture, writ large, and how these very fundamental concepts are reflected in ecology and worldviews. Valkeapää's compelling theoretical article, "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven," provides a comparative lens through which to examine Western notions of culture and nature. The discussion of wilderness has also appeared in an article in *The Journal of Finnish Studies* ("Vox Clamatis in Deserto: An Exploration of the Idea of Wilderness in Finnish and Sámi Literature," Vol. 5, No. 1, June 2001). The fourth deep reading discusses placenames in three poems in *Beaivi, Áhčažan*.
5. In "Landscape and Literature," the fifth chapter, I describe how humans have dominated nature in the Western modernist worldview, and how the Western modernist worldview stands in distinct contrast to a native worldview, where humans and nature are largely parts of a continuous whole. I explore three areas of Western culture, which — like the poetry of Áillohaš — have deliberately explored nature:

- the aesthetic definition of landscape in the West
- the Romantic and Transcendentalist movements of the 19th century, and
- the resultant emergence of nature writing.

Drawing on the work of Martin Buber, I discuss a paradigm for perception, which I will later contrast with a Native American paradigm. As in the deep reading about symbol in Chapter 1, this chapter emphasizes the nature of perception in constructing meaning. The accompanying deep ecological reading is of Poem 69, *lávkkis lávkái / step by step* from *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, a poem which very simply and very profoundly takes the reader to the high fells for the spring reindeer calving.

6. The sixth chapter steps back again to consider what other native people — especially Native Americans — are saying about literature and criticism, as a corrective to a Western critical approach. Again, I turn to ideas of perception as a way of building symbol, this time in a native context. In my deep reading analysis, "Govat govadasas," I look at a section of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, which describes the camping places of the poet's family, along with photographs, illustrating traditional Sámi culture. By coupling photography with poetry, Valkeapää has deepened the symbolic meaning of his work. In keeping with his use of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* as the shaman-poet's image drum, he artfully expands the Western parameters of poetry as text to embrace image as poetry.
7. The seventh chapter, "Literatura Borealis," follows Herder's Ossian poems and Valkeapää's lead in "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven" by looking northward to see if there is merit in the idea of a circumpolar native literature. In fact, these ideas are part and parcel of the humanities module, "The Spiritual and Aesthetic in the Arctic (BCS 100)" I co-wrote for the University of the Arctic, and were endorsed by the Arctic Research Consortium of the United States, which sent me to the University of Yakutsk in Siberia in May 2002 to test the ideas with Sakha, Even, Evenk, and Dolgan literature. While I draw no firm conclusions here in this large and inviting genre, I do explore shamanism as a unifying characteristic of northern peoples. The accompanying deep reading explores Áillohaš's use of dreams as part of his shamanic and poetic experience. (Thanks to Middlebury student Ben Smith from my Winter 2002 class "Sápmelaš: An Ecology of Native Identity" for this perception about the ongoing role of dreams and visions in *Beaivi,Áhčažan*.)
8. The eighth chapter turns back to look at *Beaivi, Áhčážan* as a whole, closely examining the qualities of metaphor — both implicit and explicit — in Áillohaš's image drum. The chapter concludes with a meditation on time in Sámi thought, especially as expressed in Áillohaš's Poem 566, *iige áigi leat / and time does not exist,,* entitled "Meaddel áiggiid / Beyond time."

In conclusion, I summarize the role and place of Nils-Aslak Valkeapáá as a Sámi poet and world figure. Throughout this discussion, I return many times to ecology and symbol as ways of interpreting Áillohaš's poetry. His poetry will be considered within Sámi culture, in concert with Native American and northern native poetry, and in contrast to northern New England literature, but it will be the problems of perception and expression as evidenced in landscape and literature that will — I hope — provide the cognitive map that will make these journeys in poetry valuable.

## First deep reading. Giđđa ja govva: Symbolic construction and worldview

A careful look at how symbols are perceived and constructed may be the analytical tool that will aid in this wide-ranging look at Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poetry and work. While Valkeapää's poetry appears quite simple on a first reading, an understanding of Sámi culture and the function of the Sámi drum will add allusive resonance to any interpretations of his work. In particular, his construction of symbol arises from a quite different perception of the world than does Western modern poetry.

Twentieth century linguists have taken a new, hard look at the idea of metaphor, enlarging and extending the original literary tropes. Originally a metaphor was simply a trope "in which the meaning of a word or phrase is shifted to a new domain on the basis of a relations of similarity or analogy." Conversely, "metonymy (from the Greek for *change of name*) is a figure in which the name of one thing is used for another to which it has a relation of contiguity, as the use of 'crown' to mean the king." (Chaitin 589–90)

Thus, metaphor and metonymy, formal expressions of symbol, span human expression. In the case of metaphor, perceptual similarities between disparate objects are stressed, while in the case of metonymy, physical connection is stressed. Linguists are expanding on these tropes and now suggest:

Metonymy/metaphor refer to the two modes of arrangement involved in any linguistic utterance: (1) combination (metonymy), the linking of one sign with another in speech or writing to form a context; (2) selection (metaphor), the choice of one sign from among a group of alternatives similar to it in some respect, different in others. Metonymy thus indicates relations among signs based on external *contiguity*; metaphor refers to relations of internal *similarity*. (Chaitin 589)

Roman Jakobson, the Russian-American scholar of language, among others, suggests that this same metaphoric / metonymic concept can be extended to all language and thought, "indeed, all symbolic functioning" (Chaitin 590). In other words, language — and particularly literary language that strives for creative use of language and relationships — can be read as a kind of symbolic functioning, relying either on associated meaning or attached meaning. However, the way in which symbol functions in native traditions arises from a radically different "poetics of dwelling," as Tim Ingold would put it in *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (26). According to Ingold, the ontology of hunter / gatherers differs so from the ontology of consumers that the fundamental perceptions of nature cannot be directly compared. In the same way that native "dwelling" is in a direct and intimate relationship with nature, native constructions of symbol are direct and intimate. The perceptual distance between a symbol and its meaning is much more immediate in native cultural traditions. This immediacy of symbol, its ecological connectedness, its intimate expression all deeply impact life and culture in native traditions, often making native systems of symbol very difficult for Westerners to grasp.

Paula Gunn Allen confirms in *The Sacred Hoop* that symbols are constructed quite differently in Native American traditions than they are in Western traditions. She writes:

> Symbols in American Indian systems are not symbolic in the usual sense of the word. The words articulate reality — not "psychological" or imagined reality, not emotive

> reality captured metaphorically in an attempt to fuse thought and feeling, but that reality where thought and feeling are one, where objective and subjective are one, where speaker and listener are one, where sound and sense are one. (71)

In other words, the intellectual distance — some might say the intellectual disconnect — so evident in Western expression does not really pertain when discussing native symbol. While I hesitate to make such a broad and sweeping generalization of ALL native expression as fusing perception and expression, this distinction is useful as a way of discovering a viable approach to a critical analysis of native literature.

Following Hugh Brody's lead, I would add that in a native tradition with remembered or actual links to an oral culture, the "perceptual similarities between disparate objects" are much closer than in long-standing written cultures, fundamentally because the nature of perception and experience are much more closely related. Brody writes, "Oral culture blends fact and metaphor. The line between myth and information is not easy to draw." (*The Other Side of Eden*, 205)

While Brody stresses the central and active relevance of metaphor for meaning in hunter-gatherer societies, such as the Inuit, his theory also merits consideration for northern, reindeer-herding cultures, living on the margins of Western societies.

> Inuktituk grammar and word formation are governed by clear rules that allow almost no exceptions. Yet Inuktituk is also a language of extraordinary poetic and metaphorical potential. Perhaps this is a feature of all languages. The languages of hunter-gatherers, however, may have a special commitment to and reliance on metaphor.
>
> *The logic and the poetry of words are, for many peoples, inseparable.* Something essential to the human mind and human expression, and therefore human well-being, may well be clearer here than elsewhere. Hunter-gatherers accumulate immense bodies of knowledge and use this knowledge to make critical decisions — hence the importance of songs (to aid memory and create new insights) and dreams (to allow decisions that draw on a blend of facts and intuition). (*The Other Side of Eden*, 220, emphasis mine)

Like Brody, Mikhail Bakhtin, the Soviet scholar of language and literature, was deeply involved in the study of storytelling, through which he recognized the countervailing forces that found "authoritarian speech displacing local ideas to the margins, and irascible orality magnetically straining to hold a center (Cruikshank, citing Clark 9)." Bakhtin suggested that "the dialogic imagination" was capable of making symbolic connections through association or attachment, i.e., through metaphor or metonymy. Bakhtin was keenly aware of the corrective value of orality to counteract the prevailing textuality of Western expression.

I might add that the importance of image, metaphor, story, and dreams has had a coherent urgency in native traditions, while these literary elements are more readily extracted as separate governing principles in Western traditions. What may appear to be a mishmash of literary elements in a native tradition is rather a coherent whole that refuses to yield readily to standard Western literary analysis.

## *The Wild Woods and High Fells*

It is my contention that the way in which symbolic language is constructed differs significantly between Western and native literatures, and that an ecological reading goes right to the heart of either construction. As I proceed through the wild woods of New England poetry and the high fells of Sámi poetry, I suggest that symbol is an important analytical key to making sense of New England treatments of nature and Sámi treatments of nature. While both landscapes have symbolic significance for me as a scholar, it is the process of symbolic construction used in New England by Robert Frost and in Sápmi by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, which may help to understand the cognitive maps each is using.

For this comparison, let us look at two poems that delve deeply into the qualities of spring. The first is a poem by Robert Frost, frequently learned by heart because of its seeming simplicity. "Nothing Gold Can Stay" is a masterpiece of compression, imagery, and symbolic intent. The poem contains a mere eight lines, but it goes from a sensitive recognition of an evanescent golden moment in spring before leaves turn green — to a comparison of this transient moment to man's Edenic downfall.

*Nothing Gold Can Stay*

Nature's first green is gold,

Her hardest hue to hold.

Her early leaf's a flower;

But only so an hour.

Then leaf subsides to leaf.

So Eden sank to grief,

So dawn goes down to day.

Nothing gold can stay.

(Robert Frost, *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, 222–3)

Frost acknowledges spring in deeply poetic language, but he also makes an intellectual and symbolic leap to express in religious terms his initial perception. In the case of Valkeapää, the distance between perception and expression is mediated by a much more intimate and immediate sense of symbol.

Valkeapää's Poem 120 is also a vernal poem, a poem resonant with recognition, when the poet senses a joyous kinship with the elements of spring.

| | |
|---|---|
| 120. *giđđa* | 120. *spring* |
| *lieđbmás luohti* | *a spirited yoik* |
| *juoigá miela lieđđaat* | *makes my mind bloom* |

(Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Poem 120, *Beaivi, Áhčážan; The Sun, My Father*)

Like "Nothing Gold Can Stay," Poem 120 is a masterpiece of simplicity and compression. Haiku-like, this very brief, six-word poem rests firmly on the spring/morning/birth cycles that precede it in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. Earlier in Poem 20, Áillohaš has already acknowledged spring as a sister and daughter of the sun; spring is: *Beaivečalbmi / Sun Eye // Beaivvášoabbá / Sun Sister // Beaivvášnieda / Sun Daughter*. As a son of the Sun himself, the poet is also kin to spring. Valkeapää names spring as his sister. Spring is a sister, spring is a yoik, she is a sister who makes his mind blossom, as does the land around him. Here his symbols draw directly from the Sámi sense of self and place, which are grounded in community and kinship.

In Sámi culture, the yoik is at the heart of human expression, so the poet's metonymic association of spring with a yoik — or more accurately, with the *luohti*, the words accompanying a yoik — is a deeply resonant symbolic association in Sámi tradition. "Traditionally the Sámi have expressed their feelings and understandings with the yoik, which is both the Sámi folk music and their oral poetry (Hirvonen, *Saamenmaan ääniä*, 147, translated by Dana)." In fact, yoiks are an individual's essential identity. Personal identity is deeply embodied in the yoik tradition, where individuals receive a naming yoik that becomes their identity:

> A *yoik* is not merely a description; it attempts to capture its subject in its entirety. It is not **about** something, it **is** that something…. Even if no people existed, the yoik would still exist. [Liner notes from *The Magic of Sámi Yoik*, by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. See also Järvinen, *Maailma äänessä* (*The World in a Voice: Studies of the North Sámi Yoik Tradition*), 67.]

Or, as Gunn Allen said, "thought and feeling are one, where objective and subjective are one, where speaker and listener are one, where sound and sense are one (*Sacred Hoop* 71)." The distance between perception and expression is very slight. For the poet, spring is his sister, with her own identity, which is part of his identity as well. Áillohaš captures the essence of spring with his allusive, elusive language. There is no verb to link or identify "*giđđa / spring*" with "*lieđmas luohti / a spirited yoik*", nor is there any expression of simile — spring IS a yoik; it is not LIKE a yoik. There is no mediation between spring and the yoik. They are the same; perception and expression are virtually identical.

In Frost's case, the distance between perception and expression, while close, is nonetheless much more deliberate. More than one critic has noted his symbolic method, but George Bagby has looked at his use of metaphor as reflecting "Frost's characteristic way of perceiving reality, an angle of vision which is rooted in a tradition of American nature writing." Bagby goes on further to demonstrate the metaphorical or "synecdochic design" of many of his poems:

> The structures of most of Frost's nature lyrics are related in one way or another to the fundamental synecdochic design of … the emblem poem: they begin with the observation of a specific natural fact or emblem and lead through one process or another to a recognition of the larger imaginative reality implicit in it. The two underlying parts of such an emblem poem, description and commentary, or vehicle and tenor, reflect what Emerson calls the "natural fact" and its corresponding "spiritual

> fact." The movement from one to the other not only reflects but, in many cases, acts out the process of "reading" the natural emblem. (Bagby 45)

Bagby draws on "Nothing Gold Can Stay" as epitomizing Frost's synecdochic method, suggesting Frost's reliance on Henry David Thoreau's transcendental approach to nature. (See further discussion of Thoreau in Chapter 5 on Landscape and Literature.)

> The basic structure here, though extraordinarily compressed, is typically synecdochic. In the first five lines Frost describes the concrete vehicle: the delicate, yellow, flowerlike beginning of a bud, followed by its "subsiding" from that brilliant, unlimited potential to the comparative green dullness, and the inevitable limitations, of the actual leaf. These poems begin the poem with some of the "delight" which comes from a Thoreauvian familiarity with the minutiae of natural process; but — were we dealing with anyone except an American nature writer — they would scarcely prepare us for the next line. (Bagby 47)

The poem starts with Frost's image-rich perception of the transience of spring, but then leaps to an abstraction linking the fleetingness of spring with human decline.

> Suddenly, in a startling expansion from physical part to more than physical whole — the synecdochic analogy made explicit in the "So" — Frost moves from a detail of vegetable growth to the history of human failure and suffering. We need to remind ourselves how remarkable it is to see so slight a vehicle expanded into such a weighty tenor. (Bagby 47)

So, Frost uses the very golden instant of early spring as an emblem for our fall from Paradise. His observation of a natural phenomenon becomes a meditation on the human condition. "In short the seemingly incongruous terms of Frost's analogy have their own kind of logic; the trope reflects Frost's characteristic way of perceiving reality, an angle of vision which is rooted in a tradition of American nature writing." (Bagby 47–8)

Valkeapää also worked from a keen delight in the arrival of spring to a larger recognition, but it is his kinship with the season, with whom he shares a Sámi identity in the yoik tradition. In Poem 120, particularly when taken in the context of the larger cycle of spring and morning poems at the beginning of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, spring IS a yoik. Spring is named and identified in the same way that Sámi children are named and identified. Spring is family, just as the sun is the father of the Sámi people.

So while Frost and Valkeapää both use similar elements of nature for poetic expression, their meanings and symbols are constructed in quite different ways. Frost, in contrast to many modern Western poets, did, in fact, find his materials in a "poetics of dwelling," in his actual life lived in New England near to country things. When he makes the synecdochic leap in his emblem poems, he is melding elements of nature with Western cultural meaning, connecting the two in symbolic ways that help to mend that disconnect between perception and expression, that enlarge our understanding of the world.

However, Frost *must* make a poetic leap, and it is his symbolic constructions that carry us with him. Meaning is not implicit in that first gold of spring to any Westerner, even one as versed as Frost in country things; the poet must construct that meaning. Valkeapää

similarly uses his Sámi "poetics of dwelling," but his symbolism is implicit — no, more than implicit — it is *intact* in the materials he selects. To a Westerner unfamiliar with the importance of Sámi kinship or the prevalence of the yoik in Sámi culture, Áillohaš's symbolism disappears and is invisible. On the other hand, Sámi symbols operate fully in a Sámi worldview, where there is no large leap between perception and expression. Sámi symbols will need interpretation for a Western consciousness where the divide between nature and culture is already a historic disconnect.

"Nothing gold can stay" and *"giđđa"* share their subject, poetic joy at the evanescent coming of spring. Both poems use symbolism to create meaning, but in Frost's case, the synecdochic pattern of his emblem poems reflects a pattern already evident in Romantic writing, where symbol connects perception with expression. "Nature's first green" is representative both of first joy AND of Man's fall from Eden. In Áillohaš's poem, the symbols are imbedded in the words; spring is his sister, spring is a song.

This brief comparison can only serve as a signpost in a very large territory of exploration. Frost frequently uses his observations and perceptions of nature to lead us to speculations about the larger spiritual world, grounded in the Western tradition. Valkeapää, the Sámi shaman-poet, also draws on his knowledge of nature to write his poems and to make myth in his poetry. However, Áillohaš looks toward kinship and community in his symbols, while Frost negotiates the boundaries between the dark woods and the cultivated meadows.

Cultural representation in a "natural" worldview is mediated differently by symbol than it is in Western culture — and the reasons for these differences, regardless of landscape, go to the sources of our cognitive maps, to the ways we perceive nature and the ways in which we express those perceptions. I hope this study helps to map out those pathways. I hope it will help us make associations and connections between maps, and to explore the territories of both Western and natural worldviews with pleasure.

# 2 Sámi literature

Like Native Americans, the Sámi have launched a cultural renaissance whose origins correspond roughly with the larger voice of protest in Europe and America. Sámi generations after World War II have reacted strongly against the assimilationist policies of the Scandinavian countries and acted to reclaim their culture. Since the early 1970s, when the Sámi banded together to protest the damming of the Alta River in Norway, there has been a flowering of Sámi political and creative energy. (*Govadas*, "Alta") It is this Sámi cultural renaissance that provides the backdrop for my exploration of Valkeapää's poetry.

Before the Alta Dam conflict, Sámi creative arts were largely the critical province of ethnographers. But today, Sámi literature is no longer just the *juoigan ja muitaleapmi*-songs and tales archived by Western ethnologists and anthropologists, but a thriving, exciting, contemporary literature of its own (cf. Mai-Britt Utsi's syllabus for a course in this subject at Sámi allaskuvla).

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's work has had a significant impact in revitalizing the Sámi language and identity movement of the 1970s. His first work *Terveisiä Lapista* (*Greetings from Lapland*, 1971) could be, in effect, the political manifesto outlining Sámi views on the state of the world. Similarly, Kirsti Paltto, another Sámi from Finland, was to write a similar tract, *Saamelaiset* (*The Sámi*) in 1973, reinforcing the Sámi wish to have their own history, language, culture, livelihoods, way of life, identity, and worldviews. However, the two small books are as divergent in tone as they are convergent in content. Valkeapää's tone is personal and engagé; reading it is like having a personal conversation with the author. Paltto's tone is impersonal and confrontational; reading her book is like reading a textbook. As I will discuss later in this chapter's deep reading, Valkeapää's voice resembles what most Western scholars would call a female paradigm, emphasizing orality over textuality, while Paltto's book seems more a male paradigm, linear and textual. Nevertheless, both authors have had important roles in reshaping Sámi culture on Sámi terms.

For the Sámi to have their voice heard in coherent ways has been a major step toward the viability of their culture. However, the problems inherent in the literature of a small culture are manifold. In distinct contrast to literature written in "large" languages that have large readerships, minority languages such as Sámi, with their limited audiences, are

much more sensitive to cultural distortion, especially in translation and criticism. Veli-Pekka Lehtola writes:

> The language of millions is not like a single language; it is like a school of herring all swimming in the same direction. The language of a small people is like a small fox, unprotected by a pack. It has to look out for itself and hear danger in order to avoid it, it looks about and sees the others. Majority peoples, who are losing their grip on how to stay alive, have much to learn from a small fox. ("Saamelainen kirjallisuus", 49)

In their declarations in the early 1970s, Valkeapää and Paltto had chosen to write their stories in Finnish not only to express their views to a larger audience, but also to communicate with their fellow Sámi. Unlike now, with partial protection by Sámi language laws in Scandinavia authorizing Sámi as a language of instruction and governance, very few Sámi were literate in their mother tongue. Living a largely nomadic life until World War II, most Sámi had been educated at boarding schools, being forcibly acculturated into the dominant culture of the political nation where they happened to live.

Such grim experiences are typical of postwar acculturation policies around the entire circumpolar North and among Native peoples everywhere in the twentieth century. Drastic changes in livelihood and social structure after the war caused deep rifts in Sámi life, precipitating both social crisis and cultural renaissance, themes highly visible in Sámi writing and art.

This last half-century has seen wrenching conflicts between traditional and modern culture for the Sámi. On the other hand, nearly a third of the 900-odd titles extant in Sámi have been published in just the last quarter century, reclaiming language and identity and bridging not only the gap between Western and natural worldviews, but also the gap between a tribal, preliterate tradition and a global, postliterate tradition (cf. Piipola, *Girjin*, 128). Davvi Girjii, the official Sámi publishing house in Kárášjohka, Norway, describes the resulting publishing dilemma:

> The market for Sámi books is a relatively small one. The market for Sámi literature is also limited, since the total number of Sámi is not very large. A further limitation is imposed by the fact that many Sámi have lost their mother tongue, while others are illiterate in their mother tongue. This reduces the number of potential buyers and readers so much that no publishing house today can count on covering the production costs of publishing Sámi-language books through sales. Sámi book production is therefore dependent on subsidies.

Other problems of the Sámi as a small, indigenous people have been apparent throughout history on the Fenno-Scandian peninsula, as most Sámi were forced ever farther north, adapting adroitly to Arctic life. Other Sámi migrated southward or westward, blending in with the dominant populations. So, the Sámi people may number as many as 100,000 or as few as 35,000, depending on how they are counted. If language is the criterion, the Sámi population will be quite small, as Sámi is spoken primarily among the northernmost populations.

The Sámi language is a member of the Finno-Ugric language family, a near cousin to Finnish. However, until recently with North Sámi serving as the official dialect and orthography for many Sámi institutions, there were significant communicative problems

among the nine to thirteen dialects (again depending on how the dialects are classified). Sámi from the southernmost regions could not communicate with Sámi from the easternmost regions, although neighboring dialects are usually mutually intelligible. (cf. Sammallahti, *The Saami Languages 3–5*; Guttorm, *Davvin* I, 39)

There are written documents in Sámi dating from as early as the seventeenth century; however, until the present century the writing has been primarily for religious and didactic purposes, spawning a range of orthographies, including Cyrillic among the Orthodox Skolt Sámi. In fact a unified orthography dates only from 1979, and the very word Sámi has only recently been authorized as the official spelling for the language and the people by Sámi Instituhtta (Nordic Sámi Institute; in the absence of the accented a, the alternate spelling is "Saami").

## The Yoik and Story Traditions

On the other hand, the oral tradition among the Sámi has been and continues to be a rich and creative one, in practice and in contemporary literature. The yoik is the distinctive Sámi musical and poetic tradition. Originally the mystical domain of *noaidi*-shamans, yoiks were expressly forbidden by a Danish king on pain of death. Like American blues, the yoik went underground, becoming an individual, Aesopian, improvisational expression of self and nature — to sing a mood, to keep wolves from the herd, to lull a baby to sleep. Forbidden both by law and by society, yoiking became a very subtle act of self-identification and rebellion. (Valkeapää, "A Way of Calming Reindeer")

The yoik has become a part of World music, with a number of Sámi performers, such as The Girls of Angeli, Wimme, and Mari Boine bringing both traditional and original yoiks to Western audiences. No matter how provocative or contemporary the yoiks become with synthesizers and ambient rhythms, the fundamental features of the yoik tradition, such as repetition and improvisation, continue.

> [R]epetitions are not to be confused with a refrain, but represent an accentuation of a specific passage or (musical) statement. In many ways they are parallel to the way a yoik circles around the fundamental melodic element. This could be that which primarily describes the object or its essence… [The "new yoik"] is a modern parallel to the continuation of the mythological story which tells how the Sámi can find comfort and courage in the living and beating heart of a two-year-old reindeer cow that the Great Creator placed at the middle of the earth at the time when he created the ancestors of the Sámi. Ever since, whenever the Sámi people are in trouble, they can put an ear to the ground and listen for the heartbeats from below. If the heart is still beating, there is still a future for the Sámi people, and whatever problems they have can be solved one way or another. From the beating of the female reindeer heart deep in the earth there is a connection to the beating of the Sámi drum and to the ancient times when the songs of the people were developed and performed — the songs that tell the story and continue to renew the Sámi people's belief in the future. (From the liner notes by Harald Gaski to Mari Boine's CD, *Radiant Warmth*.)

Sámi tales, like yoiks, also function on several levels, explaining mysterious phenomena through *staalu*-giants or *gufihtar*-trolls, but also embodying elements of the pre-Christian past.

Such subtleties of traditional expression are quite accessible in the more sensory media, such as Sámi children's literature, theater, and film; in contemporary literature the *juoigan-muitaleapmi* tradition is still visible but much less accessible to a Western reader.

A fine introduction to Sámi culture and literature might be *Ofelaš* (1987; English, *Pathfinder*), a film directed by the Sámi Nils Gaup, winning an Academy Award for best foreign film. The film vividly retells a traditional story of Aigin, a young Sámi who negotiates the boundaries between the known and the unknown in his adventures, pitted against avaricious Chud invaders, who viciously murder his immediate family and pillage their reindeer pelts. On the silver screen, the tale takes on legendary proportions, with Aigin acquiring through adversity the skills needed to become the shaman, or pathfinder, for his siida-family. Aigin's intimate, insider knowledge of the landscape enable him to decoy the invaders to their deaths in a treacherous avalanche. (See also, "Insider and Outsider: An Inari Saami Case," in which DuBois demonstrates that Sámi insider knowledge of the land and its resources enables them to outwit outside intruders.) The shaman drum operates as the prevailing symbol in the film, being passed from Raste, the clan shaman, to Aigin at the crisis point of the film. The luminous, late winter landscapes selected by director Gaup lend an other-worldly quality to the film, with the rose-tinted expanses of snow-covered fells lending the backdrop to the escaping *ráido*-reindeer train of the clan. Reading a comparable tale recorded by a ethnographer, it would be hard for Western sensibilities to participate fully in Sámi culture, but Gaup has very successfully translated a traditional tale into a universal medium.

## Early Sámi Literature

Until this century, Sámi literature has been largely incidental rather than intentional. In the seventeenth century Olaus Sirma (1660–1719), a Sámi sent to study for the ministry in Uppsala, Sweden collected yoiks, two of which were translated into Latin (Schefferus's *Lapponia*, 1673) for an appreciative European audience. It was this early poetry that caught the attention of Herder and Longfellow, and later became the namesake of Robert Frost's first book of poetry, *A Boy's Will*.

Later, Anders Fjellner (1795–1876) collected more Sámi folk poetry, intending to create an epic like the Kalevala, which had helped to spark the Finnish nationalist movement. Although Fjellner never finished the work, Sámi still think of themselves as "the sons of the sun," as they are described in the epic's creation cycle. The heavenly bodies are direct kin to the Sámi. Áillohaš takes this original myth and builds his whole mythic cycle in *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (*The Sun, My Father*) around the sun as father of the Sámi, although actual marriages in the upper worlds do not occur. For Áillohaš, love is an earthly pleasure.

Drawing on this same folk heritage, Isak Saba (1872–1921) wrote the Sámi anthem "The Song of the Sámi People," which ends with a powerful cry for language, land, and identity: "Oh, tough kin of the sun's sons, / Never shall you be subdued / If you heed your

golden Sámi tongue, / Remember the ancestors' word. / Sámiland for Sámi!" (translated from the Sámi by Ragnar Müller-Wille with Rauna Kuokkanen).

However, Johan Turi (1854–1936) is really the pioneer of modern Sámi literature. His book *Muittalus samiid birra: En bog om lappernes live af den svenske Lap* (literally *A Tale of Sámi Life: A Book of Lapp Life by a Swedish Lapp*; 1910) was written as a corrective for Swedish bureaucrats who were apt to cultivate false impressions in their ignorance about Sámi life. Like Valkeapää and Paltto, his intent was to communicate a Sámi version of Sámi life to outsiders who did not appreciate or understand the qualities of Sámi life.

The original Sámi text of Turi's book flows in long, Joycean sentences, unencumbered by much punctuation, but subsequent translations such as that by E. Gee Nash in 1966 (*Turi's Book of Lappland*) were edited for Western readers as an anthropological text. Vuokko Hirvonen, a Sámi scholar at Sámi Instituhtta, considers Turi's work to be a narrative, a necessary transitional genre, which bridges the distance between the Sámi oral tradition and contemporary Sámi literature. Arguably a work of creative literature, *Muittalus samiid birra* with its lively stories and detailed drawings has helped many people understand Sámi life, despite the distortions of the Western editions.

Invigorated by the nationalist spirit at the teachers' college in Jyväskylä, Finland, Pedar Jalvi (1888–1916) looked homeward to collect Sámi stories and poems (*Sabmelažžai maidnasak ja muihtalusak*, 1966). Jalvi was among the first to use Sámi as a literary language, publishing at his own expense *Muohtačalmmit* (*The Snowflakes*; 1915). This uneven collection of a few poems and stories nevertheless shows great literary potential, snuffed out by Jalvi's early death from tuberculosis. In the title poem, single fragile snowflakes melt in the spring to become a river, thus gaining in strength. In "I Run in the Mountains," the impressionist quality of a yoik is apparent in the few lines evoking the poet's loss of his childhood: "I run in the mountains, wander on the bare ridges, / I climb the high mountain peaks, / I stroll in the forest looking at the rocks, / I sit there pondering things, and remember / my wonderful childhood days" (MSP). For Jalvi, as for most Sámi, the mountains are the source of perception and expression.

Paulus Utsi (1918–75) also has a distinctively quiet voice. His first book of poetry, playfully entitled *Giela giela* (*Snaring the Language*; 1974), starts with "The Word," a poem about the intimate connection between nature and experience: "Whisper into the rock / someone is listening in a hidden place / receives the word / carries it forward / and makes it come true" (MSP). That rocks listen and respond to human speech is not unexpected. Utsi's second, posthumous book of poetry, *Giela gielain* (*Snaring with Language*; 1980), emphasizes his support of the emerging Sámi nation and its landscape, protesting more loudly the intrusion of modern technology in nature, and in "The New Mountain Waters":

Human hands dam up the waters —
the water rises, pushes the Saami out,
reindeer food washed by the water,
cloudberry moors, haying meadows.
The fish has lost its path.

The lake was forced by human hands,
rises under weight and pressure.
Promontories, beaches become islets.
The water washes rock and strand,
the waves wash birch and bushes. (MSP)

Utsi is among the first to protest the ecological damage progress is bringing to the northlands, with hydro dams clogging salmon rivers and clearcut forestry displacing migration routes and Chernobyl nuclear disasters threatening existence itself. (Cf. Beach, *Year*, "Afterword.") His poetry anticipates the cultural protests at the Alta Dam site, which would have displaced reindeer herders and flooded ancient rock art.

Hans-Aslak Guttorm (1907–92) also deliberately tried to develop Sámi as a valid literary language and Sámi experience as a valid cultural experience, as in this poem from 1934:

| | |
|---|---|
| Samekiella, kooekiella, | Saami speech, golden speech — |
| manne oakak slundadak? | O, why did you joyless sleep? |
| Ale jaskod eadnikiella, | Die not, mother tongue of ours, |
| tastgo vieris kielak, mielak tudnje | e'en if foreign words and foreign will |
| juo havddi koivvokik, | dug their grave for you |
| vaihkke ik leak vela liddom, | ere you ever came to bloom, |
| eaige urbbik rahpasam. | ere your bud had opened wide. (MSP) |

His first work, *Čierru jietna meahcis* (*A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*), written in 1932–33, is an epic poem about searching for a mother tongue; but this work was published only in 1983, near the end of his life. In the collection *Koccam spalli* (*Aroused Like the Wind*; 1940), Guttorm praised the Sámi language as a new creative tool, honing his ability with everyday realism to paint powerful, if fleeting visual images. Thanks to authors like Guttorm, today's Sámi have access to a small body of original, creative material in their native tongue.

## Contemporary Sámi Literature

The work of early Sámi writers validated Sámi as an effective literary language and expanded the Sámi literary genres to include lyric poetry, short stories, novels, and vigorous new forms like photo essays or music/poetry collages. When asked what particular contribution the Sámi have made to world literature, Sámi poet Kerttu Vuolab is very clear about the importance of the ecology of the Sámi landscape:

> It is this world of ours that we live in. Our nature where we live and the knowledge that is thousands of years old that exists in our language. It is definitely an important heritage in the world, a deep wisdom that cannot be allowed to die. (Helander, No Beginning, 53–4)

With their designation as the only indigenous people in the European Union and their participation in the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the Sámi are creating an effective voice to sustain such deep wisdom as embodied in their language.

Sámi literature is flourishing, as in the poetry of Inger-Mari Aikio (1961-), a new strong-voiced Sámi poet. Rauna Kuokkanen, a young Sámi scholar, says that Aikio's poetry blurs the lines between humankind and nature (personal communication, spring 1996): "She does not have to step into nature from the outside; she is already there. Closeness to nature and Sáminess intertwine; nature is the everyday life she lives." This connection is visible in the following lyric from *Gollebiekkat almmi dievva* (*Skyful of Golden Clouds*; 1989), where a human deliberately violates nature. The pain caused by this act is like a red wave, like blood from a wound. This visceral pain of nature is something we can ignore, although we cannot help but sense it.

| | |
|---|---|
| juddasmeahttun giehta | thoughtless hand |
| gaikkoda soahkelastta. | rips off a birch leaf. |
| rukses barrun. | like a red wave. |
| oasazat gahccet eatnamii | little shreds fall to the earth |
| isket najmmat goiki suonaide | trying to suck into their drying veins |
| beaivvasa dalkkodan suolnni | nature's healing dew |

(translated by Rauna Kuokkanen with K.O. Dana)

Only nature can cure — or try to cure — nature. Aikio's nature imagery and her subdued lyric voice can be traced to the yoik tradition. Her identification with the pain of nature is visceral, as if her own body were the one to have been violated.

Olavi Paltto, a journalist in the Finnish and Sámi press, in his first book of short stories, *Juohkásan várri* (*Divided Fells*; 1995), focuses on issues of immigration, rootlessness, and recovering identities that are central to contemporary Sámi experience. Päivi Alanen, in her review of 2 June 1995 for the northern Finland newspaper *Lapin kansa* (*The People of Lapland*), admires Paltto's ability to examine conflicts between old

and new with cynical exactitude and psychological precision, often through human interaction with nature — another theme prevalent in Sámi literature.

Kirsti Paltto (1947- ) is a prolific writer with a remarkable range of genres, her production extending from her first political tract to stories to radio dramas to poetry to children's stories. Perhaps her most important work is what may be the Sámi epic novel, including *Guhtoset dearvan min bohccot* (*Let Our Reindeer Graze Free*; 1987) and its sequel *Guržo luottat* [difficult to translate exactly, in Finnish *Juokse nyt, naalin* poika (*Run Now, Son of Njalla*); in German *Zeichen der Zerstörung* (*Tracks of Destruction*); 1991), an intended trilogy describing Sámi life in Finnish Lapland from before World War II. The books follow siida-village life, focusing mostly on the family of Joavvna, who is eight and has to go off to school when the story starts and is fourteen when the war ends and Lapland is being evacuated. These are old-fashioned novels, not of the individual but of a Sámi community in particular, and even the Sámi nation. Paltto's novels have been compared, with cause, to Finnish author Väinö Linna and his epic trilogy about Finland's emergence as a nation, *Täällä pohjantähden alla* (*Here Under the North Star*; 1959–62).

Paltto is very skilled at detailed descriptions of domestic and social life and of reindeer herding, and she provides a convincing portrait of the period when Sámi culture underwent its most significant changes, as in this excerpt where Joavvna and his neighbor Hansa visit Biehti's abandoned cabin in *Guhtoset*. The cabin could belong to any reindeer-herding Sámi, but with the death of its owners, it has that sad, neglected emptiness for which even the most domestic details cannot compensate.

> [Joavnna and Hansa] walked single file down the path out of the yard and along the shore toward the point. In Biehti's yard, the path had grown over, but little mouse trails wound back and forth in the dry grass. The steps of the cabin were rotten and broken. Hansa opened the latch and then the door, which squeaked crossly. In the entry they stopped, and Joavvna could see Biehti and Malla's things still hanging on the wall: woven boot bands, leather summer boots, worn fur winter boots, and soft house shoes. In one corner was a sack of boot hay, and on another were a bone rope slide and a coiled rope.
>
> Cautiously they stepped into the room.
>
> In the middle of the floor was the large rock hearth, around which they could walk. The hearth was like a great old granny, sitting slightly askew gazing at the cabin. In front of the hearth was a long block bench, under the window a table. The walls were covered with shelves, which were filled with cream skimmers, butter boxes, a salt cellar, a coffee mill, wooden platters, all neatly lined up. The floor and the walls were as clean and white as if they had just been scrubbed yesterday. And a three-footed coffeepot sat on the hearth as if someone were just about to make coffee. (Translated by Dana from Eino Kuokkanen's Finnish translation.)

The conversational tone of Paltto's novels and the excellent dialogue between the various characters enlarge on the Turi narrative tradition. In this most Western of genres, the novel, Paltto's literary voice is at its most congenial and accommodating, although she

has also spoken out forcefully and clearly for Sámi women and children, especially in her short stories.

Áillohaš, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, is the undisputed master of many crafts — yoiks and jazz, poetry and photography, book design and cultural organization — with a master storyteller's fine sense of audience, able to embrace his own people while simultaneously universalizing the expression of the experience. Starting in the 1970s, he has been seriously engaged in recreating poetry on Sámi terms. Perhaps more than any other single Sámi figure, Áillohaš is the cultural spokesman for the Sámi people.

Sámi literature deserves our ongoing attention as Sámi authors claim their culture and construct Sápmi, their homeland without borders. We can learn a great deal from this small fox, which knows how to embody nature, incorporate traditional knowledge, and span genres and eras. Perhaps the most difficult problem in contemporary Sámi literature is the absence of native critical organs and theories. In at least three instances, where Sámi scholars have attempted critical analyses of Sámi literature, they have had to do incredible amounts of translation, editing, and publishing simply to creative the critical mass of materials needed for comparison and analysis. Through sheer descriptive powers, Hirvonen, Lehtola, and Gaski have formulated important bodies of materials, which form fundamental bases for further analysis. In a personal communication, Harald Gaski from the University of Tromsø laments the problems he is facing in providing a Sámi interpretation of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's *Beaivi, Áhčážan*: "[I]n my analysis I'm trying to take the Sámi rhetoric about our own understanding seriously, thus relying on a so-called Sámi reading of Aillohaš.... (Gaski, e-mail, 15 Oct 1999)"

Kuokkanen, who has studied culture in Canada with feminists and postmodernists, says that now Sámi literature needs its own critical constructs. Stimulating and illuminating as modern critical theories are for minority literatures, she is nevertheless reminded of an asphalt jungle. In her mind, Sámi literature needs its own criticism as well as its own literature, one that is reminiscent of the winds on the high fells, organic and unstructured, a literature cognizant of the might of nature and human connectedness to nature. Like Johan Turi, we may need to go high up in the fells to truly appreciate the beauty of the Sámi language and its literature.

## Second deep reading. Jietna ja giela:Voice and identity in the Sámi tradition

*... go sápmelaš boahtá moskkus gámmarii, de son ii ipmir ii báljo maidege, go ii biegga beasa bossut njuni vuostá. Su jurdagat eai golgga, go leat seainnet ja moskkus oaivvi nalde. Ja ii leatge buorre sutnje orrut suhkkes vuvddiid siste, gos lea liegga ilbmi. Muhto go sápmelaš lea alla váriid nalde, de sus lea oba čielggas jierbmi. Ja jos doppe livčču čoakkánbáiki soames alla vári nalde, de veajálii sápmelaš čilget oba bures su iežas áššiid. (Turi, Muittalus samiid birra, Sámi Girjjit, 1987.)*

*... when a Lapp gets into a room, his brains go round. They're no good unless the wind's blowing in his nose. He can't think quickly between four walls. Nor is it good for him to be among the thick forest when it is warm. But when a Lapp is out on the*

> *high fells, then his brain is quite clear, and if there was a meeting-place on some fell or other, then a Lapp could state his case quite well. (Turi's Book of Lappland, 1966, 19)*

In 1910, Johan Turi (1854–1936) published *Muittalus samiid birra*, the book in which he tries to tell all about Sámi life. In his introduction, quoted above, he makes a plea to move the prevailing discourse about the Sámi out of airless rooms and up on to the high fells, where a Sámi could hear his own thoughts and voice. To him, clarity of thought was grounded in place, on the high fells, where reindeer herding provided the ideal poetics of dwelling necessary to understand a Sámi way of life.

However, ironically, Turi found himself making his case in writing, a completely unfamiliar discourse for the self-taught reindeer herder at the turn of the last century. For Turi to discuss the Sámi he chose a discourse that effectively forced him to negotiate between the dominant Western textual paradigm and the Sámi oral tradition. The result is a remarkably polyphonic voice, effectively negotiating between the two traditions, and reinforced by the actual dialogue he maintained with his mentor and editor.

In this deep reading I argue that there is a dialogic relationship between literary voice and cultural identity, which can be found in authored literature from native traditions, and particularly in this case with three texts by three Sámi authors who address the problems of Sámi culture and politics with significant authority and intended purpose. The authors and their works I have chosen for their focus on Sámi life and culture are:

- Johan Turi's *Turi's Book of Lappland* (1932/1966; *Muittalus samiid birra*, 1910)
- Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's *Greetings from Lappland* (1983; *Terveisiä Lapista*, 1971)
- Kirsti Paltto's *Saamelaiset* (1973).

These books, especially Turi's and Valkeapää's, have contributed significantly to the "literature of Lapp life," and all three authors explicitly consider their task to shed light on the Sámi way of life. Valkeapää makes frequent references to Turi in his own work. Not incidentally, perhaps, Valkeapää is Turi's biographer with *Boares Nauti, Johan Thuri*. Paltto starts her analysis and description of the Sámi with a quote from Valkeapää, thus rounding out an interesting, self-referential cycle.

By looking at each author's introductory statements and their statements about the origins of the Sámi, we should be able to understand more readily how literary voice echoes cultural identity and its relationship with the dominant cultures. It is my contention that among these three works, which are comparable in their content and approach, there are significant variations in literary voice. Nevertheless, all three sustain a level of voice that is remarkably polyphonic, negotiating adroitly between the dominant Western paradigm and the Sámi oral tradition. That "dialogic imagination (Bakhtin)" seems to be an important feature of Sámi writing, and is particularly audible in an analysis of each writer's voice.

Turi's mentor and editor, Emilie Demant, describes his writing process in her introduction to his book, emphasizing the obstacles the self-taught writer had to negotiate in order to express himself:

> Turi wished to write down what he thought; he wished to tell of the nomad's life, but it was not easy. The work was strange to him, and the obstacles were many. He can write

> and read his own language … both reading and writing he has learnt since he grew up. Turi has never had any schooling. Also there were other hindrances. At first he wrote in Finnish — he was used to looking upon his own language as all too poor for a book written in it to have any possibilities — and he can talk Finnish quite well, yet his thoughts flow more easily in his mother tongue. Then too, both Finns and Lapps mocked at him for working at anything so useless as writing — they looked upon it as a waste of time — as a thing that could produce no daily bread; and Turi had often thought that they were probably right; luckily he had no family to whom he was responsible for the way he spent his time (*Turi's Book of Lapland*, 1966, 11–12)

For Turi, it would have been much easier to meet his readers among the reindeer herders, rather than having to commit "everything about Lapp life and circumstances" to writing in a book. Turi found himself making his case for the Sámi not out on the high fells but in the small quarters of a surveyor's cabin in northern Sweden. For him, as for many Sámi in the 20th century, writing in the Sámi language did not carry a high cultural value, nor did he have the benefit of formal training in writing.

Nonetheless, Johan Turi negotiates this unfamiliar territory with remarkable authority, retaining an authentic voice throughout his work. Turi was deeply engaged in a work of dialogic imagination in which his voice is sustained remarkably clearly through myriad translations. A comparable situation is visible in the later work of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Kirsti Paltto. All three writers engage deliberately through emulation or omission the Sámi oral tradition.

## *The Sámi Oral Tradition*

Hugh Beach, in his delightful recounting of spending a year in Lapland as the guest of the reindeer herders, tells how important the oral tradition still is among the Sámi. The problem is not a lack of storytellers, says Beach, but a dearth of listeners.

> In Lapland, storytelling is still a living art. Many people are noted for their great ability to tell stories, but as with most other active art forms, it has declined to a soft whisper. The decline of storytelling in Lapland, however, is not yet due to a lack of storytellers, but rather to a lack of listeners, a lack of situation and mood. Story atmosphere dies before storytellers disappear. (*A Year in Lapland, Guest of the Reindeer Herders*, 124)

The transmission of Sámi knowledge and tradition has relied heavily on storytelling, although the nature of the storyteller's voice has shifted more and more to the public domain, negotiating with varying skill the borderlands between the oral and the written traditions. (Cf. Kuokkanen, "Restory-ing the Sami Strength," 11–12; cf. also Jernslettern, "Sami Traditional Terminology: Professional Terms Concerning Salmon, Reindeer and Snow," 86–89). The boundaries between traditional, experiential knowledge — *diehtu* — and the *dieđa* of scientific knowledge are blurring, even as Sámi enter the 21st century.

For instance, Vuokko Hirvonen made the national news in February of 1999 when she defended her dissertation about Sámi women writers in the Sámi language at the University of Oulu, Finland. Her dissertation, *Sámeeatnama jienat: Sápmelaš nissona bálggis girječállin* (*The Voices of Sápmi: The Sámi Women's Road to Becoming Writers*), which has been published separately in Sámi and Finnish, details the work of Sámi women writers, particularly allying their literary production with the craft tradition and the yoik (or song) tradition.

At Hirvonen's doctoral ceremony, her opponent reviewed her work — not in academic prose — but in a half-hour long yoik, celebrating her achievement. Earlier this decade, Finland passed a language law, authorizing Sámi as a valid minority language in that country, and Hirvonen's dissertation was the first in Finland to be published in the little known language of the Sámi people — a cultural victory for the academic, cultural, and political future of Sámi writing.

However, the process to defending her doctorate in her mother's language was not a straightforward one for Hirvonen. Although her mother is Sámi, and Vuokko was born and grew up in Ohcejohka, the northernmost municipality in Finland that does boast a Sámi majority, her father was a Finn and the family used the Finnish language at home. Hirvonen was trained in Finnish in Finnish schools and universities, and it was not until her appointment to the Sámi allaskuvla / Saami College in Guovdageaidnu / Kautokeino, Norway that Hirvonen began to study her native language seriously. Her academic career has led her to feminist and native readings of her native literature.

*The Voices of Sápmi* gives voice to an emerging body of critical work, which can help us to understand literary voice, in general. Literary voice is an element imperfectly defined, yet central to understanding cultural context. This is especially true in a minority or native literature, where the output is small. Voice may be derived directly through the text of a piece of writing. Unlike other formal literary elements such as plot, setting, character, or point of view, which individually give a fragmented analysis, voice provides a tool that unifies analysis, especially when it is coupled with an analysis of audience and purpose, which are the fundamental rhetorical elements of any piece of public writing.

## *Voice, Audience, and Purpose*

Any act of communication requires an integration of audience and purpose, whether intentional or unintentional, and rhetorical choices are reflected in voice. All three elements — voice, audience and purpose — are defined in standard rhetorics, but voice deserves special attention, such as here:

> Each individual speaks with a distinctive voice…. To some extent, writers' voices like their personalities may be determined by factors beyond their control, such as their ethnic identity, social class, family, or religion…. [Voice is both] the audible sound of a person speaking … [and] a person's beliefs and values. Every writer's text conveys something of the person behind the words. The self that is conveyed often goes well beyond personality to include the writer's political, philosophical and social values as well as his or her commitment to certain causes…. In addition, what writers stand for

> may be revealed in the way they reason about things — in an orderly, scientific manner or more intuitively and emotionally. (Fulwiler, 62–3)

Fulwiler classifies the aspects of voice to include tone, style, structure, values, and authority (63–5). (See Table 1.) I would add that the element of language is also essential to a consideration of voice, especially with a minority or native literature, whose mother tongue may not be the language of the dominant paradigm. This is particularly true in the case of Sámi writers, who frequently have had to learn their mother tongue without benefit of formal education. Hirvonen, for example, emphasizes that the choice of language is necessarily a political act for most Sámi writers (*Saamenmaan ääniä*, 247–9).

*Table 1. Elements of Literary Voice*

| | |
|---|---|
| TONE | Attitude toward the subject and/or audience. |
| STYLE | Distinctive way of expressing self. |
| STRUCTURE | Organization of and relationship among parts of a text. |
| VALUES | Political, social, religious and philosophical beliefs. |
| AUTHORITY | Knowledge, experience and control. |
| LANGUAGE | Determined by choice or necessity. |

Tone is a writer's attitude toward subject and/or audience. A writer's tone can be factual or ironic, self-deprecatory or boastful, speculative or determinative, angry or indecisive. A sure tone can be linked to the author's knowledge of subject and/or audience. For instance, Johan Turi's tone is confident when he is describing "Lapp life and circumstances;" he is confident of his subject, because of his authority as a Sámi who has lived a Sámi life. On the other hand, his tone toward his audience is much less self-assured. While his relationship with Demant as his primary audience seems quite self-assured, he seems to be less clear about who his ultimate readers will be, even how to formulate his ideas as a book.

Style is the distinctive way of expressing oneself, although clearly style is linked to a writer's choice of tone and structure. Structure is an author's distinctive way of expressing self, and is shown through the organization of and relationships among the parts of a text. Here, a familiarity with the standards of written language enable a writer to model his or her writing, following familiar paradigms. An essay has a certain recursive structure, a research project must conform to certain academic standards, a memoir is typically chronological. To digress from these received models — whether intentionally or unintentionally — is to challenge the dominant paradigms, to engage in a stylistic dialogue. In Turi's case, he wrote in long, episodic sentences, with little or no punctuation or paragraphs. Given Turi's lack of formal school, it is clear that his sentence structure and overall sequence of materials was not a deliberate rejection of the dominant expository style, but rather an expression of his natural voice.

Values are political, social, religious, and philosophical beliefs. Even in a piece of writing with very little apparent statement of value, values are implicit in word choice and diction. Highly-charged connotative language — even about a neutral subject — conveys a writer's involvement in the subject. Very flat, denotative language can conversely convey a dissociation between the writer and the subject. Interestingly, in

Turi's case, his factual language and word choice might seem to convey a neutral perspective to the highly charged issues of Sámi culture, which he is trying to describe. On the other hand, it is rather more likely that his factual language is indicative of his command of his subject and the normal way of expressing that mastery in descriptive, masterful language.

Authority comes from knowledge and experience, and is projected through control of text. While authority may be academic or professional in nature, it can also be based in experience, as it is in all three examples we will be examining. The language of a text is self-evident; on the other hand, the reasons for a particular choice of language are not necessarily transparent.

## *Voice, Translation, and Identity*

As Arnold Krupat points out in *The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon*, "[T]he shift from oral to textual media means that there are problems of *presentation* as well as translation (103)." Leslie Marmon Silko, the Laguna Pueblo writer, also points out the problems of translation with non-canonical literatures:

> White poets use the term 'translation' very loosely when applied to Asian or Native American material; few, if any of them, are conversant in the Asian or Native American languages they pretend to 'translate.' What they do is sit down and rearrange English transcriptions done by ethnologists, and then call this a 'translation.' Silko, "An Old-time Indian Attack" 3)

For instance, if a book is published in a language other than the writer's native language, the reasons for translation are revealing of the overall cultural context and thus of cultural context and ultimate reading audience. Turi's book has been translated exhaustively in most European languages, and Valkeapää's book has been translated into both Norwegian and English. Paltto's book has appeared only in Finnish.

Turi ultimately chose Sámi as his language of expression, with the significant encouragement of Emilie Demant, while both Valkeapää and Paltto made deliberate choices to publish their first works in Finnish. The reasons each author had to choose a particular language and the ensuing reasons for translation have a great deal to do with how each author's voice is heard and how that voice engages other cultures.

Despite the clear political intent of Turi's writing, his book may be considered a narrative memoir, the first such narrative by a Sámi, although not to appear in either of Turi's languages until after his death (Sámi, 1965; Finnish, 1979). Valkeapää and Paltto, who both trained to be teachers, also engage autobiographical materials, although in Finnish, the language of their formal educations. Arnold Krupat points out that such memoirs or autobiographical materials can be a valuable field for examining images of self within a culture:

> Autobiography is the type of literary discourse to which we have regularly looked for models of the self, and Native American autobiography, in both its individually written (autobiographies by Indians) and its compositely produced (Indian autobiographies)

> forms, offers what I would call *dialogic* models of the self. In Native American autobiography the self most typically is not constituted by the achievements of a distinctive, special voice that separates it from others, but, rather, by the achievements of a particular placement in relation to the many voices without which it could not exist. As the textual representation of a situated encounter between two persons (or three, if we include the frequent presence of an interpreter or translator) and two cultures, Indian autobiographies are quite literally dialogic. In autobiographies by Indians where only the autobiographical subject writes, there is not the dialogue of specific persons, although cultural cross-talk persists; as an Indian *and* a writer, a Lakota (for example) *and* a Christian (or a self-conscious artist in the Western sense), even the apparently monologous Native autobiographer is likely to show his or her biculturalism. (*Voice in the Margin*, 133)

That is, autobiographic elements, in particular, reveal a dialogue and a situating of the native self in relation to the dominant culture. Vuokko Hirvonen considers narrative memoir, such as *Turi's Book of Lappland*, to be part of "transitional literature" ("Saamelaisten kirjallisuus ja taide", 103); in other words, memoir provides a generic bridge between the oral tradition of the Sámi and contemporary, creative literature. I would add to this that autobiographical writing not only provides a link in the history of Sámi literature, but also reveals the relationship of Sámi writers to the dominant cultures, as well as revealing the qualities of their voices, grounded in that oral tradition. In Turi's case, his book does just that: it provides a transition between the oral tradition and an authored tradition, and it negotiates the gap between the Sámi oral tradition and the Scandinavian written tradition.

## *Voice vs. Vision*

The concept of voice also occurs as a metaphor for learning and understanding in feminist theory. Voice is generally considered a feminist paradigm, while vision is considered a male paradigm, although many studies of minority literatures use the vantagepoint of feminist studies to illuminate their cultures. (See for example, Krupat, *Voice in the Margin*; Perry, *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development*; Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*; Said, *Orientalism*; Paglia, *Sexual Personae.*)

Krupat, for instance, reinforces the power anomalies associated with "voiced" literature in the postmodern setting:

> The sexist part of the modernist shift has to do with the fact that in leaving these values [of presence, immediacy, and full communicative intentionality … associated with oral forms] to women and to men who write like women…, it left them stigmatized as outmoded and subordinate. Textuality was new, advanced, and male; orality was old, backward, and female. Not only female, of course, for the backwardness of the oral encompassed the "primitive" as well…. (*Voice in the Margin*, 46)

According to Krupat, female voice stands in contrast to male textuality. Voice is notable for its "presence, immediacy, and full communicative intentionality," i.e., its engagement of both subject and audience.

Ecologically speaking, the very relationship between humans and nature, fundamental as it is, also goes a long way toward determining one's place in the world, whether that place is ecologically integrated or ecologically exploitative. Feminist studies, for their part, have gone a long way toward revealing the fundamental oppressions extant in the postmodern world, and these revelations are useful in revealing exploitative attitudes among scholars, including literary scholars of native literatures.

> Gender has wide implications for our conception of the universe, the earth, and the life process, as well as for the relation of human individuals toward each other and for identifying social roles. The industrial establishment is the extreme expression of a non-viable patriarchal tradition.... The four basic patriarchal oppressions are rulers over people, men over women, possessors over nonpossessors, and humans over nature. (Berry, 14)

Gender is, thus, a useful tool in recognizing biases and distortions, another lens to turn on the researcher and the object of research to reveal relationships and worldviews in human ecology. However, I would suggest that in minority or native literatures, gender on its own is a less productive element than are the power relations that gender studies have enabled.

While gender studies have revealed the qualities of voice and the relationship of voice to the dominant structures, other contemporary work considers the role of voice in the evolution of mind. For instance, in their groundbreaking study of self, voice and mind, the editors of *Women's Ways of Knowing* consider that voice reveals an intimacy of relation between subject and object, while vision suggests a distance. Again, they suggest that vision is a male paradigm, while voice is essentially female.

> The tendency for women to ground their epistemological premises in metaphors suggesting speaking and listening is at odds with the visual metaphors (such as equating knowledge with illumination, knowing with seeing, and truth with light) that scientists and philosophers use to express their sense of mind…. Visual metaphors, such as "the mind's eye," suggest a camera passively recording a static reality and promote the illusion that disengagement and objectification are central to the construction of knowledge. Visual metaphors encourage standing at a distance to get a proper view, removing — it is believed — subject and object from a sphere of possible intercourse. Unlike the eye, the ear operates by registering nearby subtle change. Unlike the eye, the ear requires closeness between subject and object. Unlike seeing, speaking and listening suggest dialogue and interaction. (18)

Postmodern scholars have also recognized voice as a fundamental rhetorical element, as opposed to perspective. The element of voice answers the question "*who speaks?"* while the element of perspective answers the question *"who sees?"* That is, "voice designates connections both between narrating and narrative, and narrating and story (Hawthorn, drawing on the work of Gérard Genette, 179–80)." Clearly, there are links between voice and place, between the one who speaks and what is being spoken of.

Should we ask the question *"who speaks?"* of Johan Turi's work, clearly the answer is that Turi himself is the voice we hear. On the other hand, when we shift to examine the perspective of his work, that is, *"who sees?"* we perceive a reader, who quite frequently stands outside of the dialogue Turi has established in his work. There is a significant dysjunction between Turi as the storyteller, speaking in an authentic and confident voice, eager for understanding, and those who are listening to his story, typically unable to engage the totality of Sámi culture in the same way that Turi has. Yet Turi negotiates this distance quite ably, with the capable assistance of his sympathetic editor.

Unlike much ethnographic writing, where the transcription and translation of the stories lie completely within the ethnographer's hands, Turi and Demant had an ongoing dialogue in formulating his book. This dialogic relationship between the two is one of the most abiding features of Turi's work. He was able to express himself fully to her, and she was able to transcribe that understanding in a way that brought Turi's voice to Europe at large. In Valkeapää's case and in Paltto's case, this dialogue is evident in the degree of their authorial control over style and structure, over the ways their voices are transmitted to the larger world.

Scholars of Native American literature, such as Paula Gunn Allen and Kenneth Lincoln, have also considered the problems of how transcription and translation affect the qualities of native voice. As Gunn Allen writes in *The Sacred Hoop*: "The study of non-Western literature poses a problem for Western readers, who naturally tend to see alien literature in terms that are familiar to them, however irrelevant those terms may be to the literature under consideration (54)." In other words, it is all too easy for Western scholars and critics to dismiss native literatures as primitive or to romanticize natives as noble and pure, but even the best of Western critical theories lack the tools to effectively appreciate the dialogue implicit in indigenous writing.

It is particularly easy to see the problems of transcription and translation in early authored, native works, such as Turi's. For instance, in Native American literature, the memoir *Black Elk Speaks* is one of the most ubiquitous Indian texts, one with which many readers are familiar. At first glance, the work appears simply to be the words of Black Elk retelling the story of his life. Yet, a closer examination of exactly HOW Black Elk's words have been transcribed and translated reveals a layered kind of polyphony, only some of which is audible in the ultimate text.

As Kenneth Lincoln points out, the transcription and translation of *Black Elk Speaks* required at least four levels. The story is told by Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk), but it is interpreted by his son Ben Black Elk who translates the spoken Lakota into English for John Neihardt. These words in turn are recorded stenographically by Enid Neihardt, John's daughter. Ultimately, John Neihardt shapes the written text, based partially on his daughter's notes, and partially on his own memory. But the book is promoted *as told to* John Neihardt, who puts the Sioux words into English, the form in which most people now read the words of the Indian shaman, Black Elk.

Lincoln points out the problems of this intensive dialogue in our Western understanding of the core intentions of Black Elk's initial words.

> The most basic paradigm of translation before writing is, simply speaking, one person listening to another tell his story. Even with writing, this human exchange occurs before an "as-told-to" text is ever written and published. Here is the radical in

> American Indian translation, since there is often no set text to check against variations in performance. (*Native American Renaissance* 26)

To help tease out the contextual setting for any one of the "stories" of Black Elk, Lincoln uses an analytical model to identify the factors affecting the ultimate qualities of voice and identity implicit in the original text. Lincoln writes: "At any one moment (or 'word') here, overlapping sets of at least six variables come into play (27)." (See Table 2.) By looking at these elements of literary identity — which can be cross-referenced to the elements of voice — it is relatively easy to pinpoint the dialogic relationship among writer, subject, and audience.

*Table 2. Literary Identity: Variables in Utterance*

| |
|---|
| An **individual** In his or her own psychogenetic complex |
| A personal **role** in the event |
| The **medium** involved |
| The **space/time** of the event (synchronic time cutting across a culture) |
| The **cultural matrix** around the event (diachronic time encompassing cultural history) |
| The **performance** itself |

Table adapted from Kenneth Lincoln's *Native American Renaissance* (27)

Lincoln proposes his framework as a series of concentric circles, with the individual in the innermost circle, successively embraced by the individual's role, the medium involved, the synchronic space/time of the event, the diachronic cultural context, and all encompassed by the actual performance. In a case like that of Black Elk, a reader can layer or array the heuristic to demonstrate the dialogic relationship among all those involved in the production of the text.

Lincoln's framework of variables in utterance is a nice adjunct to Fulwiler's framework for an analysis of voice. Here we can analyze all individuals — storytellers, listeners, mentors, notetakers, text-shapers, readers, critics — involved in a particular utterance, as well as their various inter-relationships. By concentrating on a particular utterance or text, these two frameworks lead back to the speaker, the teller of stories, and their relationship to their cultural and ecological context.

In distinct contrast to literature written in the "large" languages with large readerships, minority languages, with a limited audience, are much more sensitive to cultural distortion, especially in translation and in bibliographic form. Thus an analysis of voice and literary identity may help pinpoint such distortion or to amplify a particular idea. In the case of Turi, Valkeapää, and Paltto with their books about Sámi life, such an analysis of voice also ultimately reveals the ongoing literary dialogue between Sámi authors and the Western tradition.

## *Johan Turi (1854–1936)*

Johan Turi's little book, *Muittalus samiid birra* (Sweden, 1965), about how the Sámi live, first appeared in 1910 (*En bog om lappernes liv*). Although the writing is all Turi's, its

publication in Europe (German, 1912; Swedish, 1917) was due to the efforts of Turi's friend, mentor, and editor, Emilie Demant (later Demant Hatt). The English edition, *Turi's Book of Lappland* (Oosterhout, The Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1966), is more nearly an anthropological text in its paperback published presentation, although its contents are comparable to the original Scandinavian editions.

Turi, on the other hand, was concerned with the very real problems confronting Sámi herders in northern Sweden. He articulated his own purpose clearly in the introduction to his detailed narrative about Lapp life:

> I am a Lapp who, throughout my life, has busied myself with all manner of Lapp work, and I know all about Lapp life. I have heard tell that the Swedish Government will help us all they can, but they don't really understand our life and circumstances, because no Lapp can explain it to them. The reason for this is that when a Lapp gets into a room his brains go round … they're no good unless the wind's blowing in his nose. He can't think quickly between four walls. Nor is it good for him to be among the thick forest when it is warm. But when a Lapp is out on the high fells, then his brain is quite clear, and if there was a meeting-place on some fell or other, then a Lapp could state his case quite well. Now I've thought that it would be a good thing if there was a book which told everything about Lapp life and circumstances so that folk didn't have to keep asking…, "What are Lapps' circumstances?" … and so that folk shouldn't come to twist everything round till the Lapps are always slandered, and always made out to be in the wrong when there's trouble between the Lapps and the settlers up in Norway and Sweden. In that book every event must be written down and explained so that it is quite clear to everyone. And it will be good for other Lapps to hear of Lapp circumstances. (Turi, 1966, 19).

Throughout his book, Turi describes and illustrates the circumstances of Lapp life. After he introduces his authorial purpose, he discusses the origins of the Sámi, according to Demant-Hatt's added subtitles:

- The origin of the Lapps, that which has been handed down from one Lapp to another.
- Telling about the Lapps, where they first lived, what were their circumstances, what they lived on, and from whence they came.

Turi carefully substantiates his understanding of Sámi origins, letting us know, "There are all manner of tales, but it is not certain that they are all quite true, as they have never been written down (20)." He continues:

> No one has ever heard that the Lapps came to this land from any other place. From the very earliest times they have been up here in Lappland; and when, in the beginning, the Lapps lived by the sea coast, there wasn't a single other person living here, and that was a good time for the Lapps. (20)

Here, Turi acknowledges that the absence of a written record *may* suggest that his understanding *may not* be absolute. Nonetheless, he maintains in even-handed language that the Sámi have been in their lands since time immemorial.

While Turi clearly understands the indigenous nature of the Sámi and the superior status that they once enjoyed, nonetheless his choice of language is quite objective and factual, a tone that pervades his entire work. His efforts succeeded far beyond his original intention of informing the Swedish government about Sámi life. His book is a handbook for anyone interested in Sámi culture; both his chatty descriptions of Sámi life and herding, as well as his superb, detailed naïve drawings are frequent references for anyone interested in Sámi culture.

As described in Table 3, Turi maintains that earnest, conversational tone with which he starts out his book.

*Table 3. Johan Turi's Voice*

| | |
|---|---|
| TONE | Earnest, conversational. |
| STYLE | First person, intimate. |
| STRUCTURE | Loosely structured, dialogic. |
| VALUES | Preservation and understanding of Sámi culture. |
| AUTHORITY | Vast practical experience, limited authorial experience. |
| LANGUAGE | **Danish:** Edited and translated by Demant Hatt, prepared and bound for a cultured elite (1910). |
| | **English:** Issued as an anthropology text (1966). |
| | **Sámi:** Issued in the original Sámi, as a creative and historic text (1965; 1987) |

You can hear him talking to Emilie Demant in an intimate, conversational tone over their meal of reindeer stew, as they share the endeavour of creating this book. She is certainly his pupil, and he is her teacher in this winterlong conversation about Sámi culture. With slight promptings, he is able to expand on his ideas, following the threads of her interest. (See also Turi's extensive correspondence with Demant Hatt, duplicated in *Boares nauti*, Valkeapää's biography of Turi's life, 68–281.) And like a conversation, the book is loosely structured, most of its organization due to Demant Hatt's editorial hand. Interestingly, Turi suppressed some of the materials he committed to writing that winter with Demant, only releasing certain materials having to do with shamanic arts for a later book, *Lappish Texts*, also edited by Demant-Hatt.

Nevertheless, Turi comes through strongly in his individual identity in his book of Lapland. The uniqueness of his voice, with his extensive experiential knowledge, his willingness to share what he knows in order to make his culture visible, all these contribute to our sense of his identity. Nevertheless, this identity shifts subtly in the various translations, which vary significantly in their purpose and audience, as the various translations differently engage their readers.

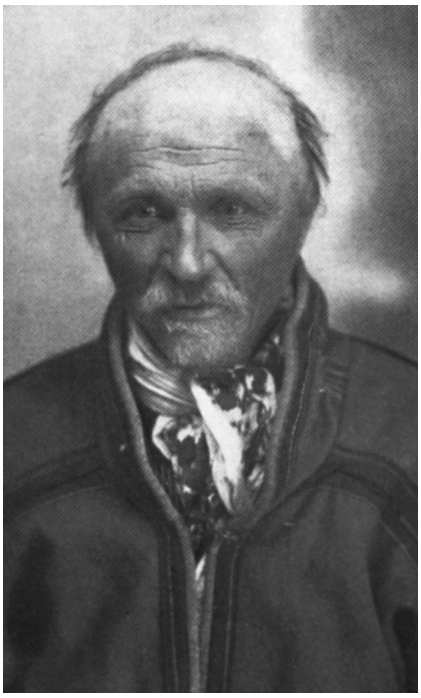


**Fig. 2. Photo of Johan Turi from the dustjacket of *Boares nauti***

The original Sámi version, intended for Demant Hatt, is said to have been written almost without punctuation, like a long, monologic story, told in the intimacy of the Swedish surveyor's cabin. The Danish publication, made for a literate, Scandinavian audience, fulfils some of Demant Hatt's research needs and the curiosity of a cultured readership. Demant Hatt is, however, very attentive to Turi's original purpose and honors his voice in her shaping of the text. The Danish translation in turn becomes the basis for the English translation by E. Gee Nash, which is published as an anthropological text.

Thus, in the English version, what was originally a conversation in Sámi intended to assist political change in Sweden, is published within the discipline of anthropology, Turi's original political and cultural intentions subsumed by a textbook. Interestingly, however, Turi's voice with its original warmth and knowledge, with his sincerity in conveying everything he knows about Lapp life still comes through quite clearly. Even a college student of anthropology, encountering Johan Turi for the first time in the pages of a college textbook, will find a friendly conversation with a Sámi, who wishes to share his knowledge. Turi's voice — his casual, familiar tone, his clear authority — engages readers across cultural traditions. (See Table 4.)

*Table 4. Johan Turi's Literary Identity*

| | |
|---|---|
| INDIVIDUAL | Johan Turi |
| ROLE | Storyteller |
| MEDIUM | **Sámi:** Conversations with Emilie Demant Hatt, notes |
| | **Danish:** Narrative, shaped by Demant Hatt |
| | **English:** Anthropological text |
| SPACE/TIME | **Sámi:** Surveyor's cabin in Swedish Lapland, early 20th c. |
| | **Danish:** Field work, Scandinavia, early 20th c. |
| | **English:** College classrooms, latter 20th c. |
| CULTURAL MATRIX | **Sámi:** Late 19th c./early 20th c. Swedish Lapland |
| | **Danish:** Early 20th c. Scandinavia |
| | **English:** Late 20th c. Western anthropology. |
| PERFORMANCE | **Sámi:** Conversations with Demant Hatt |
| | **Danish:** Publication for a popular, cultured audience |
| | **English:** Publication for an academic audience |

Through its Danish translation, Turi's book attracted attention in most European languages, more as a curiosity than as a guide for the better human and political relations as Turi had hoped. In its English translation, Turi's book is also a curiosity, deriving from its Danish origins. Turi himself had little concept of his audience beyond his friend, Emilie Demant, and he had little control over the design of the book itself. A review of the various editions, ranging from Swedish and Danish, Finnish and Sámi to German, French, Italian, Hungarian, and English, would yield an interesting comparison of Turi's voice. How have the various translators approached his conversational tone? Do they refer to the original Sámi text, as Demant Hatt and Samuli Aikio have? Or are they leaning directly on the Scandinavian translations? How are Turi's drawings incorporated into the translations? Are they part of the conversation, or are they an appendix, as they are in *Turi's Book of Lappland*?

As is clear in his introduction, Turi had hoped that his book would provide the information that would pave the way for better human understanding in a very practical sense of helping to solve legal problems in his homeland. In a larger sense, *Muittalus samiid birra* has perhaps helped far more people understand Sámi life than it would have, had it appeared only for the narrow audience of Swedish lawmakers he had originally intended.

## *Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943–2001)*

Valkeapää's small pamphlet *Terveisiä Lapista* provoked a lot of political debate when it appeared in 1971. I tried to buy it myself the following summer, but in the Akateeminen kirjakauppa (Academic Bookstore) in Helsinki, I was told, "Oh, that's not a book, that's a political pamphlet." Valkeapää's unflinching and provocative style provoked a rejection of his work as political literature. His tone, while familiar, is also confrontational and provocative.

But, he made the deliberate decision to write in Finnish, the language of his formal education, the language of the dominant culture. Through use of Finnish, he can engage ALL of Finland, not just the Sámi still conversant with their mother tongue. After all, his argument is not with the Sámi, but with the dominant powers, and his choice of language gives him access to those in power.

**Fig. 3. Áillohaš, Shaman-Poet**

Photo from *http: //www.itv.se/boreale/smusic.htm*

For instance, in his introduction, he speaks at some length about his own persona, as an intelligent, well-spoken, and sexy member of a "primitive" race, invoking all of the characteristics of the dominant culture that are usually denied to indigenous people. He writes in response to a challenge from "the really cultivated ones [who] tend to put on a snooty look and inquire in astonishment, 'Can you really speak Finnish…?'" He responds vigorously:

> I can speak Finnish, unfortunately. Notably better, in fact, than the average Finnish-speaking inhabitant. I am also capable of thinking in Finnish. And writing. Besides that, I'm fair, almost white-haired. I've even studied a bit.
>
> But above all, I can use a lot of foreign words, at least enough for me not to need to say 'Fuck' about everything.

> I may not be very tall, but I'm well built, and I have straight legs. I dress colourfully, and what's more I'm sexy. If I put my mind to it, I can converse in Finnish in soft, lilting tones, so it's not be wondered at that cultivated and intelligent women want to be acquainted with my sexual talents. (10)

Not only does his choice of Finnish as the language of his argument confront Finnish intellectuals and politicians directly, it goes to the root of the dominant culture's abiding fears about its own linguistic and sexual prowess. Here is a direct challenge to the patriarchal, male-dominated powers in their own language. However, despite Valkeapää's choice to use Finnish to challenge Finnish authority, he equally deliberately steers away from a more standard essay form — such as Paltto uses — and chooses a more provocative tone than Turi did in order to engage in a dialogue about Sámi culture in the period of cultural change at work in Finland in the 1960s and 1970s.

While clearly Áillohaš has surpassed this first-written book in his lyric poetry and other creative works, this first volume is worth considering, particularly in tandem with Turi's first work, *Muittalus samiid birra* and with Kirsti Paltto's *Saamelaiset*, for all three have similar purposes — to tell about Sámi life. Valkeapää was involved in the cultural and political revitalization of Sámi culture, and his voice reflects the concomitant spirit of protest and engagement that characterized that period.

In a very straightforward, unflinching, and charismatic way, Valkeapää speaks directly to his reader about the problems confronting the Sámi people in Finland. This intimate tone is similar to the opening poems in *Trekways of the Winds*, his first lyrical poems, which have a strong autobiographical current. However, his purpose in *Terveisiä Lapista* is markedly political and cultural, rather than exclusively personal or lyrical.

While there is no introduction or preface in the Finnish original, he expands on his purpose for writing the book in his Foreword to the English translation, *Greetings from Lappland: The Sami — Europe's Forgotten People* (1983):

> In your hands you have a book that was originally meant to be an exclamation mark, punctuating a certain moment in time. I wrote *Greetings from Lappland* in Finnish, for the Finns. The title comes from the innumerable postcards which attempt to depict Samiland and the Samis. Almost all of them are dreadful, insulting: non-Samis in thoroughly tasteless, ugly imitations of Sami dress.
>
> I wrote *Greetings from Lappland* in 1970. Twelve years later, summer 1982, the TV sent flashes from the Nordic Conference which was held in Rovaniemi. At that conference Samis were not mentioned, nor were any Samis present. But they had ushers; young non-Samis, clad in garish imitations of Sami costume. At the time that I wrote *Greetings from Lappland*, my intention was to act as a sort of initiator for discussion. The idea was to write so as to cause controversy, and to create an urge in people to get involved, argue. And a discussion did get started, to some extent.
>
> But today, there have been no noteworthy changes in these matters. Naïve that I was, I really believed that the progressive Nordic lands, which involve themselves so readily in Vietnam, Chile, the global situation had put their own houses in order.
>
> Now I know that the Nordic countries do not acknowledge that we Samis have our rights and our territory. If we try to assert ourselves, the attempt is suppressed, either

> 'through law and order' or by the use of force. So this little book, which was only meant to be a spontaneous cry of protest, is still fully relevant. And perhaps even more relevant in a global perspective, now just as before. (1)

Here we see in some detail how Valkeapää negotiates between what was, what is, and what might be. Where Johan Turi used simple, denotative language in his book of Lapland, Valkeapää's language carries connotative, angry weight. Where Turi spoke of the days when the Sámi were the only ones on the seacoast as simply "good," Valkeapää (at least in translation) makes value judgements in his language choice. Tourist postcards from Sápmi are "dreadful, insulting," non Sámi are "clad in garish imitations of Sami costume." He describes his work as "a spontaneous cry of protest," quite aware of the Nordic countries' pride in their liberal social consciences.

Valkeapää's book had a significant impact in revitalizing the Sámi language and culture movements, further enforced by his significant later participation and contributions to those movements. He realistically engages his reader in a provocative discussion of their understanding of Sámi culture. Interestingly, the tone of *Terveisiä Lapista* reflects quite closely the intimate, narrative tone of Turi's book in its immediacy. (See Table 5.)

*Table 5. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's Voice*

| | |
|---|---|
| TONE | Confrontational, provocative, conversational. |
| STYLE | First person, engagé, political. |
| STRUCTURE | Free form, stream of consciousness. |
| VALUES | Sámi vs. Finnish. Tradition vs. progress. |
| AUTHORITY | Multilingual; multicultural. |
| LANGUAGE | **Finnish:** To challenge Finnish authorities. |
| | **English:** To represent threats to minority cultures. |

Like Turi's book, *Greetings from Lappland* is loosely structured with the express purpose of describing contemporary Sámi life so that it will be understood. While both have subtitles and a loose organization, there is not a logical sequence of topics under consideration. For instance, in Valkeapää's book, he leaps from subject to subject as his interest directs him. There is a logical duality, for instance, between his third section, "Daccas (The Outsiders)" and the fourth section "The Samis." However, the leap from the tenth section, "Wolves," to the next section in which he addresses a petition in very personal terms to the President of Finland is less logically apparent. Actually, like Turi who concludes his *Book of Lappland*, *"Telling about the unknown animals of Lappland,"* who poach upon the endangered Sámi, Valkeapää is not speaking of animal wolves, but of humans posing as conservationists and preying on Sámi livelihoods.

Like Turi, Valkeapää also addresses the problem of the origins of the Sámi, and, like Turi, he is not concerned about a definitive origin. Unlike Turi, his tone is ironic, detached; he is eager to get to the real issues of Sámi culture, not scientific problems of absolute origins. He writes: "As far as I know, various scientific hypotheses have been made about the origin of the Samis, but there's nothing conclusive. Maybe there never will be either. (13)"

While he allows there MAY be scientific proof about the origin of the Sámis, he dismisses the importance of any definitive proof. And while he recognizes the power of academic institutions, he rejects them as being unimportant in this argument about Sámi cultural politics.

*Table 6. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's Literary Identity*

| | |
|---|---|
| INDIVIDUAL | Nils-Aslak Valkeapää |
| ROLE | Political protester |
| MEDIUM | **Finnish:** for fellow Sámi |
| | **English:** for worldwide minority rights |
| SPACE/TIME | **Finnish:** Sámi Renaissance, 1970s |
| | **English:** Protest movement, 1980s |
| CULTURAL MATRIX | **Finnish:** "an exclamation of protest" |
| | **English:** Zed Press, minority |
| PERFORMANCE | **Finnish:** Political pamphlet |
| | **English:** Political tract |

Both Turi and Valkeapää speak with genuine authority about Sámi life, with firsthand assurance that what they are saying is true. Valkeapää possesses considerably more editorial power in shaping his book and its translations, participating in the design of the original and participating in the English-language edition through its foreword. Valkeapää does not lack confidence in Finnish, his second language, as one sees Turi hesitating about his choice of language and organization of materials.

On the contrary, Valkeapää writes with vigor and assurance, confident in his authority to speak about these matters, pertaining to Sámi life. Where later Valkeapää is a fully-vested member of the DAT publishing house, from Guovdageaidnu, Norway that issues his poetry, he did not have the same control or authority over the publication of *Terveisiä Lapista*. Otava, his Finnish publisher, which also issued his first LP of yoiks in 1968, issued his book in a very inexpensive paperback pamphlet in 1971, in distinct contrast to the lavish first edition of Johan Turi's bilingual *Muittalus samiid birra: en bog om lappernes live af den svenske Lap*, some of which were issued in calfskin bindings with elegant rag paper. Possibly, Otava considered that Valkeapää's work was as disposable as the highly acidic and inexpensive paper on which they issued *Terveisiä Lapista*.

## *Kirsti Paltto (1947– )*

Nevertheless, Tammi, another Finnish publishing house, found the response to *Terveisiä Lapista* and the attendant emergence of a Sámi cultural consciousness substantial enough to issue a kind of companion piece in 1973, when they published Kirsti Paltto's *Saamelaiset*. Like Valkeapää, Paltto chose to write *The Sámi*, a manifesto about the status of the Sámi, in Finnish, as the language most accessible to fellow Sámi and Finns alike in Finland.

Interestingly, Paltto has since become quite radical in her insistence on the Sámi language for Sámi writers, provoking much controversy in the Sámi Writers Union,

where many Norwegian Sámi, for example, do not know their mother tongue at all. Most adult Sámi from Norway are fully literate in Norwegian, but have only a child's command of Sámi. Finnish Sámi have the advantage of having learned Finnish, a related Finno-Ugric language in schools. Educational materials are being developed for Sámi children in Sámi throughout Scandinavia, and there is a parallel expansion of literary materials in Sámi for children and adults alike, but there still remain significant problems of language for Sámi writers, not least of which is a choice of literary language, and the selection of a Sámi dialect. (Paltto, personal communications)

**Fig. 4. Kirsti Paltto**

Photo courtesy of the author

Like Valkeapää, Paltto's tone is confrontational and political. However, in contrast to Valkeapää's polemic *Terveisiä Lapista*, Paltto's book about the Sámi is more standard in its structure, emulating the standard organization of Scandinavian schoolbooks. The tension between her highly charged language and tightly controlled sentence structures with the apparent neutrality of her organization of materials and rather standard essay form provokes a dialogic confrontation of form and content. While Paltto operates in a very close authorial relationship with her subject, there is a significant distance between the author-cum-subject and the audience for her work, in distinct contrast to the intimacy and immediacy between author, subject and audience created by the tone in Turi's work or Valkeapää's.

In the "Preface" ("Esipuhe") to *Saamelaiset*, Paltto writes compellingly about the personal trauma, which led her to a radical exploration of her Sáminess. Essentially, she bases her authority on this personal trauma, making her subject largely personal, but at the same time distancing it from the potential embrace of her reader.

> Saamelaisuudesta tuli minulle ongelma jo varhain. Kun ekaluokkalaisena istuin kansakoulun pulpetissa, tajusin, että saamelaisena olin lapsipuolen asemassa armaassa Suomenmaassani. (7)
>
> Being Sámi proved a problem to me early on. When I sat at my school desk in the first grade, I understood that as a Sámi I had a child's station in "my dear Finnish land." (translation by Dana)

Paltto engages a cultural paradox in this image of being an actual Sámi child in a Finnish school, while simultaneously recognizing the inferior status accorded ALL Sámi in Finland. She adroitly uses language to show the irony of the situation. Finnish nationalism is deeply imbedded in the curricula of Finnish schools, as in the phrase, "armaassa Suomenmaassani," which recurs in history textbooks, in school songbooks, in the study of literature. To find herself in "my dear Finnish land" embodies the irony of the Sámi situation in the Finnish school system — here a Sámi child was not allowed to speak her mother tongue, explore her history, sing her songs, or read her literature, but she is encouraged to appreciate the greater dominion that has denied her own culture.

Paltto uses both the words ("armaassa Suomenmaassani") of Finnish nationalism and the language of that dominant nation (Finnish), as she explores what it means to be Sámi, effectively entering into a dialogue between her own personal experience and the dominant paradigms, which continued throughout her formal education as a teacher in Finland. Yet, there is also a subtle distancing between Paltto and her potential readership. Her life experience is effectively a dialogue between personal experience as a Sámi and the collective experience of Sámi in the Finnish nation.

Paltto's language is angry and dialectical. Her purpose in exploring the situation of the Sámi is deliberate and purposeful, and she uses both her personal trauma and her education to formulate a book, which negotiates between the larger Sámi experience and the dominant paradigm. (See Table 8.)

*Table 7. Kirsti Paltto's Voice*

| | |
|---|---|
| TONE | Angry, determined |
| STYLE | Dialectical, oppositional |
| STRUCTURE | Essay format |
| VALUES | Sámi vs. Finnish. Tradition vs. progress. |
| AUTHORITY | Traumatic personal experience, Finnish training |
| LANGUAGE | Finnish |

The organization and ultimate structure of her little book is quite typical of Finnish textbooks, rather than the kind of freeflowing, winterlong conversation that Turi had with Emilie Demant Hatt, or the loosely structured dialogue that Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had with Finnish society as a whole. While all three books present a rather comprehensive overview of Sámi life and culture, each author organizes his or her knowledge according

to vastly different paradigms. Turi's book is like a conversation with a Sámi elder, private and immediate. Valkeapää's is like the speeches of a cultural politician, public but personal. On the other hand, Paltto's approach to her material insists on a certain distance and — despite the purported objectivity the structure of her materials would suggest — her language is intensely personal and embodies the intimate and fraught anger of an individual who has experienced considerable personal violations in her life.

For example, she entitles her first section, "Alkuasukkaan maa" ("Land of the First Inhabitants"), and proceeds to investigate the dialectic between Sámi and Finnish settlers encroaching on Sámi territory in the North. First, she invokes Valkeapää's polemic about Scandinavians appreciating more fully the displacement of North American Indians than they have ever appreciated the situation of the Sámi in their own backyards. Then, with considerable determination, she goes right to the heart of the problem of being a first people implicit in the power relations between the Sámi and the dominant nations.

> Jo koulussa opitaan, että saamelaiset ovat rauhallisesti vetäytyneet villipeurojen mukana pohjoiseen. Siellä opitaan, että maahan tunkeutuva suomalaisväestö ei ole kohdannut mikäänlaista vastarintaa. Ei mitään yhteenottoja. (13)
>
> In school we learn that the Sámi have withdrawn to the North with the wild deer. In school we learn that the Finnish population penetrating into the land met with no resistance. Completely without any connection between the two. (translation by Dana)

By slight quirks of the language, Paltto invokes a fierce debate with the standard ideas taught in school. The first sentence of this briefest of excerpts starts out in a standard enough form, like a sentence one might expect in a textbook. Ah, yes, the Sámi did retreat ever northward — that is a given fact. But suddenly she throws in that the Sámi retreated with the wild deer, proposing a too facile parallel between the "primitive" Sámi and the "wild" deer. And the next sentence does not deviate from standard Finnish, EXCEPT that she has chosen as her descriptor of the Finnish population the verb derivative "tunkeutuva". This verbal adjective carries unpleasant connotations of intrusion and penetration, essentially of violation. This is no neutral presentation of received knowledge; although Paltto's sentence structure would suggest a factual, textbook tone, her word choice is highly charged.

And then, she suddenly breaks with the standard sentence to impose a sentence fragment — "Completely without any connection between the two"— startling her reader into a recognition of the obvious connection between intrusive Finnish settlements and Sámi displacements. (See Table 8.) There is a tangible tension between the propriety of her grammatically correct and her intensely personal and powerful word choice.

*Table 8. Kirsti Paltto's Literary Identity*

| | |
|---|---|
| INDIVIDUAL | Kirsti Paltto |
| ROLE | Educator/agitator |
| MEDIUM | Schoolbook |
| SPACE/TIME | Sámi Renaissance, 1973 |
| CULTURAL MATRIX | Sámi Renaissance |
| PERFORMANCE | Textbook |

Where Turi says that no one knows where the Sámi first came from, and Valkeapää says it doesn't really matter, Paltto makes an implicit assumption that the Sámi are the original inhabitants of the land, without invoking any particular authority, but dismissing out of hand Western notions of Western primacy. Essentially, all three are making the same point — the Sámi were here first — but their tone in doing so and the degree of dialogue they encourage through that tone is vastly different.

## *Voice and Sámi Identity*

For each of these authors in their discussion of what it means to be Sámi, the dilemma of the appropriate language in which to discuss Sámi life and culture is a politically and culturally charged one, which deeply affects the dialogue, emerging from their texts. For all three authors, choice of the language in which to write was a significant hurdle to expression. By choosing Sámi, Turi abdicated some of his authority to shape the final book, a role that Emilie Demant Hatt took over with considerable care and thought. By choosing Finnish, Valkeapää opened up his discussion to the whole of Finland. By using Finnish, Paltto is able to use the tools of her oppressors against them.

In translation, the problems of voice and identity are impacted significantly by the ultimate purpose of the publishers as opposed to the original purpose of the authors. In Turi's case, his book about Lapland becomes an anthropology text in English. In Valkeapää's case, his tract becomes part of a worldwide minority rights movement. Paltto's book remains in Finnish alone.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää follows Johan Turi's tone in *Turi's Book from Lappland* in his polemic *Terveisiä Lapista*. Like Turi, Valkeapää strives to state the case for Sámi culture in an authoritative, but conversational way, inviting participation in Turi's case, provoking discussion in Valkeapää's case. Valkeapää is markedly disenfranchised and angry, but the bite of that anger is offset by the irony of his presentation. Paltto's tone is angrier yet, and she uses language in ways that home in with unerring instinct on the violations she has experienced in her life.

Both Turi's book and Valkeapää's book are structured in loose, dialogic ways, promoting the kind of intimate engagement one might expect from conversations with the authors. The loosely structured, wide-ranging embrace of the two books suggests perhaps a preliterate style in Turi's case, perhaps a postmodern defiance of system in Valkeapää's case. Paltto's *Saamelaiset*, in contrast, is structurally similar to textbooks, the dominant Western paradigm, cleaving more closely to the textual tradition than the oral tradition that is audible in the work of Turi and Valkeapää. The dialogue is not between author and audience, but between the author and her subject.

Ultimately, an analysis, such as this one, helps to pinpoint the tools an author uses to establish the elements of voice. And uncovering the elements of voice and literary identity helps to situate Sámi literature in the world canon. By looking at literary voice and identity, we can tease out the problems of power relations and provide a key to cultural identity as expressed in literary works.

In the case of these three works — *Muittalus samiid birra* (*Turi's Book of Lappland*), *Terveisiä Lapista* (*Greetings from Lapland*), and *Saamelaiset* (*The Sámi*) — the problems

of Sámi culture and identity are addressed directly by three Sámi informed by personal, experiential authority. According to theories of voice, one might anticipate the "presence, immediacy, and full communicative intentionality … associated with oral forms (Krupat)" in Sámi literature. Indeed, one does find such immediacy in the intimate tone and dialogic structure of Johan Turi's work and in the provocative, engagé style and conversational tone of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

In the case of Kirsti Paltto, there is a significant — and unanticipated — distancing of voice. As a Sámi and as a woman, deeply involved with issues of native identity and feminist concerns, a critic might anticipate a deeply dialogic structure and intensely immediate tone. However, this is not the case, at least in *Saamelaiset*, where Paltto's use of the textual norms associated with pedagogical materials shifts the site of her dialogue away from her readers to an intense argument between the author and her subject.

Whether these very brief analyses have any merit for further theoretical applications in the Sámi cultural renaissance remains to be seen. Like John Turi, we might hope that this dialogue might continue "out on the high fells," in a domain that belongs first and foremost to the Sámi and their voices.

# 3 Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

He grew up alone
he liked birds
the first spot thawed bare in spring
delighted him
He learned to be alone
to play his own games
real games
For hours he waited for trout
Time was different
Each day as long as itself
not one like the other
He learned to imitate birds
Scream like a rough-legged buzzard
and a plover
For him that was not unusual

(*Trekways of the Winds*, 119)

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, also known by his Sámi name of Áillohaš, or Áilu, is perhaps the best-known Sámi artist today, his identity closely tied to his poems and his sense of natural language. Although he grew up apart, both in his Sámi family and in his Finnish education, Áillohaš has consistently adapted Sámi experiential knowledge to the ecology of Sámi culture. In this way, Áillohaš the poet functions as a Sámi shaman-poet in his extended Sámi *siida*-family, with the ability to cross boundaries, spiritual and natural, and to relate what he has learned in that world beyond this one in words and images. His

poetry books operate like shaman drums with comparable symbolic images and gestures. Áillohaš has embraced the shaman's role as the seer for his kind.

Like shamans throughout the north, Áillohaš early learned the language of birds — "For him that was not unusual" (*Trekways of the Winds*, 119). As Mircea Eliade writes in his comprehensive study of shamanism, "All over the world learning the language of animals, especially of birds, is equivalent to knowing the secrets of nature (*Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, as quoted in Manes, "Nature and Silence," 17)."

Born in 1943, Áillohaš was, in the last third of the twentieth century and at the outset of the twenty-first century, a prolific multi-media artist, collecting and performing yoiks, writing poetry, taking photographs, painting, designing books and exhibits, and generally speaking out on behalf of Sámi culture. In Kai Laitinen's standard 1981 history of Finnish literature, mention of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää ends the 676-page volume: "In [Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's] poems, which he himself has illustrated, a powerfully fresh sense of nature, sometimes tinged with melancholy, combines with the sharply critical perceptions of a marginalized people (613)."

Harald Gaski, in his history of Sámi literature, calls Valkeapää a "máŋggadáiddár," or "multi-artist" (*Čálagovat* 42), emphasizing the poet's adaptability in the postmodern era. Áillohaš's versatility is evident in his biography as well as in his art and writing. Veli-Pekka Lehtola attributes Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's versatility to the Sámi ability to adapt to the environment, whether the natural environment or the cultural environment. Áillohaš has lived on the boundaries of several nations and cultures, and he crosses similar boundaries in his art and his cultural political work. ("Kansain välit" 185) As Gaski writes in "A Hunting Shaman in the Media Age":

> Valkeapää is an artistic polymath who unites words, images, and music in a modern project, aimed at the future and powered by the past. Just as the old Saami mastered a range of hunting techniques to survive in a harsh climate, Valkeapää has mastered several artistic techniques. In the old society, a hunter could make a good knife and decorate it beautifully, but, most importantly, he could use it. Similarly Valkeapää creates the words and music of a *yoik* to be performed. The performance conjures up images that either illustrate what the *yoik* is describing or become a digression based on the associations produced by the *yoik*. Valkeapää is a hunting shaman in our modern media age, and he demonstrates the importance of belonging to location, environment and people. (iii)

The poet's most ambitious work is *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (1988; English translation, *The Sun, My Father*, 1997), which is designed as a shaman drum the poet uses to explore the totality of Sámi experience. The book, like an image drum, is capable of transporting the shaman-poet beyond time to prophesy and to heal. The artistic complexity of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* has led German-American scholar Jurgen Kremer to think about the poetic experience in this work as a false "Gesamtkunstwerk," rather than a healing ritual, as a *govadas*-drum would indicate:

> From a Eurocentered perspective one might say: Beaivi, Ahcazan (sic) is a Gesamtkunstwerk, a holistic piece of art. The photos, the text, the music, the design, the sounds of nature. Take one away and a split begins to happen. Like making nature ahistorical. Or writing history without nature. The indigenous conversations are not

> just mental. This is not a Gesamtkunstwerk. I see a medicine bundle. A ceremony. A sacred place. A yoik. A healing. For me. Also. ("dego dacca" 49)

For the poet, also, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* appears to be a ritual healing, but by any account, the self-styled "visual-verbal epic" with its companion *Eanni, Eannážan* (2001; *The Earth, My Mother*) is perhaps Valkeapää's seminal work. In its multi-layering and multi-visioning, it is a literary work of great complexity and significance. Because of Valkeapää's key role in the flourishing of Sámi culture in the last thirty years of the twentieth century, and because *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is one of Valkeapää's key works, I have chosen *The Sun, My Father* to be the primary focus of my exploration of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, although some analysis of his other work will also be included.

Despite a serious automobile accident in 1995, when he nearly lost his life, Áillohaš continued to participate in Sámi affairs. Seriously crippled, he left his isolated childhood home in Beáttat (Pätikkä), Finland, and moved to his mother's home in Ivgu (Skibotn), Norway, with some modern conveniences. Although a move from one country to another seems like a potential insult from a national artist, Valkeapää nevertheless was still on home turf. The Valkeapää family-*siida* grazed reindeer on both sides of the national boundaries, and both the home on the Norwegian fjord and the home on the Finnish river are parts of Sápmi, the homeland of the Sámi, which has been mutually recognized by the Scandinavian countries.

Valkeapää is the poet-shaman for the Sámi people, transforming the stuff of a lapsing nomadic-herding lifestyle into the mythic materials of a whole people. However, a literary life was not part of his family-*siida*'s intentions for him. Growing up among a reindeer-herding family, centered along the Radje aednu (Könkämä River) of Finland, being a reindeer herder was considered the highest accomplishment for a Sámi man. While a high level of craftsmanship and technological expertise were part of that nomadic tradition, expressing your competence publicly to the world in word and image and song, rather than through your herding was not normal.

**Fig. 5. Áillohaš, Spring's silent child (from jus gazzebiehtár 143)**

Early on, Áillohaš realized he was different from his reindeer-herding kin along the Arm of Lapland. He was overwhelmed at the idea of having to slaughter reindeer at the fall round-ups, and preferred to spend his time alone, conversing with the wind and the birds. His solitary life of the mind set him apart, and made him the object of some scorn as being unfit for the rigors of reindeer herding. As Harald Gaski writes in the preface to *Trekways of the Winds*:

> It was not at all obvious that Nils-Aslak Valkeapää was going to become an artist. At the time he was born, in 1943, art was not looked up as a man's work among the Saami, even though their tools were artfully decorated. Brought up in a reindeer-herding family, Nils-Aslak was expected to become a reindeer-herder himself. However, as an adolescent, he looked too long into the eyes of the reindeer and put down his knife. He had to leave the tundras of Samiland's free life and find another. The artist-to-be heard the calling of the birds, the roaring of the rivers and the

> humming of millions of mosquitoes. He would grow to include all these sounds, in his words, in his music, and he would create a symphony of nature to enjoy a life-style connecting them to nature.(i)

Although he completed his teacher's training in Finland, Valkeapää was catapulted into cultural and political work, bursting onto the world scene in 1968 with his initial release of yoiks, *Joikuja*, containing both traditional and original materials. Áillohaš's interest in the future of his own people led the author to an instrumental role in the formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in 1975, the first meeting of which was held at Port Alberni in Canada, on an island near the border with the United States in October of that year.

He later served as the cultural coordinator for the WCIP from 1978–81, when he formulated the commonalities among northern native peoples in his theoretical critical essay "Beaivi, terbmes ja almmidolat" ("The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven"). This essay, just published in English in 1998, contains Valkeapää's worldview, articulated in clear opposition to Western worldviews. His cultural travels also brought him into compelling contact with the photo archives of the Sámi and other indigenous peoples kept in Western museums, which he collected and classified for his work. His own photographs and visual art are also impressive and have been fully integrated into his literary works.

In 1994 he composed and performed a Sámi yoik for the opening ceremonies at the Winter Olympics at Lillehammer, Norway (*Dálveleaikkat/Wintergames*), skiing into the vast open-air winter arena, circled by fellow Sámi in regional dress driving reindeer. Áillohaš sang to the assembled world, and then skied out behind a lively draft reindeer. Typically, yoiks have been not been public performances, but private expressions, typically performed on the great high fells to the birds and the wind, or in the small spaces of Sámi *goahti*-tents or homes. However, in recent years, many Sámi performers, including the Girls of Angeli, Mari Boine, and Wimme, have brought this traditional, often despised, certainly marginalized tradition onto large public stages and across the world. The great open expanse of the winter arena was a perfect setting for a yoik to be performed for the world (see the CD *Dálveleaikkat/Wintergames*). Áillohaš has also received honorary degrees from the University of Oulu in 1994, and from the University of Lapland in 1999.

Áillohaš's work has provoked varying responses among his fellow Sámi writers. Eino Guttorm, from Ohcejohka, Finland, who has written poetry and novels in the Sámi language, and who founded the traveling theater group Rávgos, dismisses Valkeapää's work as being too "sweet." "There is too much whining, sun, moon, squeaking, birds' singing and sunshine. Like mother's milk at its sweetest. It is good for sure. But it is not necessarily to everybody's taste. (Helander, *No Beginning*, 65)"

On the other hand, Inger-Mari Aikio, a young Sámi poet, finds considerable solace and inspiration in his poetry, which she considers as a kind of inner cleansing using "nature as a vehicle to describe his own feelings" (Helander, *No Beginning*, 77). Other Sámi find that Áillohaš's poetry accurately and truly expresses the essence of Sáminess, as does Nils Vasara-Hammare, a Sámi who herds reindeer in Könkämä on the Swedish side of Áillohaš's home district (personal communication, May 18, 2001).

In effect, Valkeapää's oeuvre is a Sámi shaman drum, complete with the natural and mythical images that comprise the Sámi world, replete with the images and totems that signify Sámi identity. For the poet, the *govadas* serves to carry his shaman self into yonder worlds and to interpret what he sees there. And, in his work, Áillohaš has looked long and hard at the world around and above and below him, and *yoiked* that world into existence. However, he has worked long and hard to acquire the tools of perception and expression to make *Beaivi, Áhčážan* a creative reality, as will be evident in his literary biography that follows here.

## Terveisiä Lapista (Greetings from Lapland)

Valkeapää's first published book, *Terveisiä Lapista* (Helsinki: Otava, 1971; English translation, *Greetings from Lappland*, London: Zed Press, 1983) appeared in Finnish, because that was the political language of Finland, the place where the author lived, and that was the language he had learned in school and studied in his teacher's training college.

I reviewed this book for an independent study in Scandinavia at the University of Vermont in 1973, when I had been deeply affected by the Native American renaissance. I was given Valkeapää's book just after I had read *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, by Dee Brown, first published in 1971, which had been fundamental in increasing American awareness of Native perspectives on history. (At that time, general use of the masculine pronoun was still acceptable, and the term "Sámi" had not entered official or general use, so my language is regrettably dated in this review.)

> Nils-Aslak Valkeapää could be termed the leader of the Lapp Resistance Movement in Finland, if such a movement existed…. He is an out-spoken leader for reform in Lapp schools … and has worked for recognition of broken treaty rights….
>
> I was rather dubious about reading an entire book in Finnish, but Valkeapää is very fluent and writes in the more popular colloquial language, which I understand far better than the more stuffy literary languages. His ideas were clear and well-presented. He would analyze an aspect of Lapp life from a historical and then personal point of view. He usually had suggestions about improving life for the 4,000-odd Lapps who live in Finland today.
>
> The Lapp occupies a position in Finland, similar to that of the American Indian a century ago. A string of broken treaties pushed him ever further north, while the Finnish free farmer and fur trader encroached upon his hunting and fishing grounds. Also like the Indian, the Lapp originally had no conception of 'owning' land. Land was for everyone to use as he needed. The Scandinavian efforts to baptize and Westernize the Lapps met with little success. However, since highways opened up the North and the Lapps have started to build permanent homes and adopt Western ways, they lose ever more of their identity and are ostracized or consumed by the dominant

> civilization. … Just as the Plains Indians lost their identity and rights in exchange for railroad ties and reservations.
>
> The Lapps are greatly exploited by the tourist industry. They are discriminated against by schools which teach courses designed for the needs of the average Finnish child. (In Norway, however, Lapps have greater educational opportunities and more suitable schools than in either Sweden or Finland.) The Lapps are capitalized by reindeer markets, controlled by Helsinki interests, etc., etc.
>
> Valkeapää suggests many constructive educational reforms, many of which are already in operation in Norway. One of his more original and interesting observations is that many Lapps never truly learn one language, being forced to use two or three different languages and never actually becoming fluent in any one language because they lack the language education. He urges a Lapp co-operative to control the reindeer market, which is the Lapps' principal source of income. He deplores the commercialization of Lapp folk art and stresses that they still have a viable folk art tradition, but that it must be re-oriented to Lapp needs rather than tourists' pockets to keep it alive and prospering.
>
> Valkeapää … writes for a Finnish audience…. Even though Finns are generally characterized by a great awareness of their own surroundings, there is an amazing amount of indifference and even opposition to any recognition or aid for the Lapps. I think this attitude is perhaps typified by a clerk in the bookstore at Stockmann's [Helsinki's most important department store]. I asked him, if, by chance, an English translation of *Terveisiä Lapista* had been done. He replied, "Oh, that's just a political pamphlet. It doesn't deserve translation."

Clearly this book has deserved translation, as its bibliographic history demonstrates, having been translated into Norwegian and English. The little book is an intensely personal and articulate description of the plight of the Sámi nation in the face of ever greater pressure from "progress" throughout Scandinavia. Subtitled a "pamfleetti", this "pamphlet" is nonetheless an intensely personal work, filled with pertinent and current facts and information about the status of the Sámi in the early 1970s.

The title, "Greetings from Lapland," is taken from tasteless tourist postcards from the Sámi North, which exploit Sámi culture without making any reference or remuneration to the source of the images. At the time the Finnish press derided his informal style and considered the book little more than worthless pamphleteering. Personally, the book was a turning point for my understanding of Sápmi and minority traditions.

In a similar instance of disregard for Sámi rights or opinions, in the 1970s Norwegian officials were proposing extensive dam construction on the Alta River in northern Norway. The dam would flood long-standing Sámi villages, and rising waters would threaten Sámi petroglyphs at the mouth of the river. This Alta conflict provoked the first-ever, consolidated Sámi protest, with sit-ins at the construction site, hunger strikes in front of the Norwegian Parliament in Oslo, and a remarkable flourishing of Sámi music and performance events (cf. Paine, *Dam a River, Damn a People? Saami (Lapp) Livelihood and the Alta/Kautokeino Hydro-electric Project*). Valkeapää's tract, with its clear statements about the fragility and tenacity of Sámi culture was in demand, and it was translated into Norwegian (*Helsing frå sameland*. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 1979).

In 1983 an English translation from the Norwegian by Beverly Wahl was issued by Zed Press in London, intended for a world audience (*Greetings from Lappland: The Sami — Europe's Forgotten People*). Zed Press had been set up in 1976 with the "aim of creating a significant Third World publishing house which would enrich socialist literature in the English language … broadly anti-imperialist and supportive of liberation movements ("Zed Press")." Originally, a profoundly personal political statement, *Terveisiä Lapista* became part of the larger political protest movement in its Norwegian translation, and in its third language, *Greetings from Lappland* had become more and more politicized.

The English version of *Greetings from Lappland* includes an epilogue by the author about his participation in the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and he spends a considerable amount of time defining the solidarity among what he calls "wilderness cultures," where the songs, although in different languages, sound like Sámi *yoik*-songs, and Indian cradles look like Sámi *komse*-cradles. However, Ms. Wahl's second-generation translation from the Norwegian comes across with little of the force and less of the humor and irony of Valkeapää's original Finnish. Valkeapää's descriptions of his own nation's plight relies on now outdated statistics and tenuous references to popular scientists, such as the futurist Alvin Toffler. Eschewing academic accuracy in favor of a timely publication, Valkeapää's voice is considerably diminished, and his message is politicized in a way that dims the information about the Sámi. (For more about the nature of voice and in this book and in related volumes about Sámi identity, see the second deep reading.)

## Ruoktu váimmus (A Home in the Heart)

In addition to *yoik* recordings and performances, and to photography and other artwork, the 1970s were a period of deep personal expression in poetry for Áillohaš, expressing the poet's clear sense of identity as a Sámi man in Sápmi and his profound recognition of other native peoples. His "exclamation point" of protest against industrialization and pollution, against assimilationist policies and concomitant Western alienation found poetic expression as well.

In 1985 Valkeapää published *Ruoktu váimmus* (*A Home in the Heart*), a trilogy consisting of *Giđa ijat čuovgadat* (*White Spring Nights*, 1974); *Lávllo vizar biellocizaš* (*Bluethroat, Twitter, Sing*, 1976); and *Ádjaga silbasuonat* (*Silver Veins of Water*, 1981). The trilogy is finely designed and illustrated by the author, with music melding to drawings, covered with the flared hem of a man's bright *gákti*-tunic fluttering across the front and back dust cover.

The first cycle *Giđa ijat čuovgadat* (*White Spring Nights*) opens with an invitation to the reader to hear what the author has to say in the sounds of the wind. It is, in its beckoning intimacy, very much like the well-known poem, "The Pasture", which opens Robert Frost's collected poems (1). Both poems acknowledge the reader in a friendly, inviting way and invite them to join in a visit to a near, known place.

In "The Pasture," Frost invites the reader to help him clean the pasture spring and watch the waters clear, and maybe to help to fetch home a newborn calf. Frost never proclaims that there is poetry in these acts, but any perceptive reader knows that she can come along too to see the poetry of these natural wonders.

*The Pasture*

*I'm going out to clean the pasture spring;*

*I'll only stop to rake the leaves away*

*(And wait to watch the water clear, I may):*

*I shan't be gone long. — You come too.*

*I'm going out to fetch the little calf*

*That's standing by the mother. It's so young*

*It totters when she licks it with her tongue.*

*I shan't be gone long. — You come too.*

(Robert Frost, Introductory poem in *The Poetry of Robert Frost 1*)

In Frost's poem, the reader is beckoned along to witness the natural wonders of the pasture; the reader, like the poet, is invited to be an observer. In Áillohaš's opening invitation, the reader and the hillsides seem to be mutual friends of the poet. The reader blends into the very hillsides, part of a mountain the poet clearly loves. The reader is reminded of voices in "the sound of the wind" that are similar to the poet's:

Do I have to say

that I think about you and therefore write

Do I also have to say

that I like you

But you have probably heard that

already in the sound of the wind

When darkness fell

you became visible in the lines of the mountain

Until I no longer knew

was it you

or did my eyes delude me

(Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Introductory poem to *Trekways of the Wind*, n.p.)

In fact, Valkeapää compares his relationship with the reader to a blurring of his vision, merging both with the familiar lines of beloved mountains. In Frost's poem, reader remains reader, poet remains poet, pasture remains pasture, while in Áillohaš's poem reader, poet, and mountain meld into a single imaginative impression.

Frost's poem is much more formal in its structure, with its regular meter and four-line verses. Still, his language is very natural, Shakespearean in its meter, using regional, lapsed variants of English, "I shan't be gone long." Valkeapää's poem, too, is a very natural Sámi speech pattern, with the kind of free sounds that one associates with the Sámi *yoik*-song tradition.

In both poets, the friendly concern with the reader is evident at the outset. Both poets are eager to share their perceptions of nature. And the nature they are looking at is comparable in fundamental ways. Frost's northern New England is a familiar, sparsely populated, hardscrabble place where people get by, mostly through their knowledge of "country things." Valkeapää's grazing pastures and camping places are also familiar, sparsely populated, peripheral places, where traditional knowledge makes living there possible. And yet, despite the similarities in voice and materials, there is a fundamental difference in how they make their poetic meaning known.

Frost's poems exist on their own, part of a larger collection; Frost's poem relies on words, on text, and on sound to create imagery. On the other hand, Valkeapää's poems are only part of his creative endeavor. He extends his invitation to the visual realm as well, as his fine pencil drawings of grasses on the pages with the poems quickly become the long view across the high lands in the gathering dusk on the next page opening, and then open to dwarf birches casting long spring shadows across the melting snow on the next opening.

In the larger design of *Ruoktu váimmus*, the poems proceed rapidly through the bright white nights of spring and love, shrink with the unavoidable onset of winter, and then rejoice in another spring at Eastertide, when Sámi were wont to wear their finest:

*Vuoi* how happy I am

spring in my heart and sunshine

Easter is close

And I have a new white reindeer fur coat (84)

The next cycle in *Ruoktu váimmus*, *Lávllo vizar biellocizaš* (*Bluethroat, Twitter, Sing*), is perhaps the most personal of Áillohaš's works, rejoicing in a love match and telling of his anguish as a young Sámi, unable to slaughter a reindeer, unable to fit in at boarding school, and yet clear in his identity as a Sámi. The love match comprises a beautiful set of poems, which have been set to music by Pehr Henrik Nordgren. The hand-written musical score, Nordgren's Opus 45 for baritone, cello, and piano, skims along the bottom

of the pages, the words to the poems lilting with grace notes and trills. When the music ends, the poet begins:

How I respect

the old Sámi life

That was true love of nature

where nothing was wasted

where humans were part of nature (165)

These paeans to his ancestors alternate with sharp protests against Western culture, set against Valkeapää's black and white petroglyph-like drawings. Áilu concludes that his home is in his heart, which is always with him:

My home is in my heart

it migrates with me

The yoik is alive in my home

the happiness of children sounds there

herd-bells ring

dogs bark

the lasso hums

In my home the fluttering edges of *gáktis*

the leggings of the Sámi girls

warm smiles

My home is in my heart

it migrates with me (175)

Along the bottom of these last pages in the cycle, the text appears in white against a black background and a waterway with fish and ducks and mystical figures, which finally comes to a *govadas,* or image drum, and the last personal poem before a final protesting outburst:

All of this is my home

these fjords rivers lakes

the cold the sunlight the storms

The night and day of the fells

happiness and sorrow

sisters and brothers

All of this is my home

and I carry it in my heart (191)

The cycle concludes with muddy, angry drawings, and then fades into a last regretful poem, recognizing the greater sisterhood and brotherhood of all his readers. Like his recognition of spring as his sister, the poet senses a kinship in all of life, which he expresses by merging spring with his sister, family with land, reader with poem. In Áillohaš's poetry, as in Sámi thought, the boundaries between concepts are very fluid. Standard Western classifications just do not apply.

The last cycle of poems in *Ruoktu váimmus* (*A Home in the Heart*) is called *Ádjaga silbasuonat*, or *Silver Veins of Water*, and in it, Áillohaš recounts his impressions of traveling in the circumpolar North among other native peoples. At the time, placenames are still in English and he tells us he is in Eskimo Point, or Arviat, as it is now mapped in Inuktituk. He is shocked by the poverty and alcohol abuse he encounters: "on cold streets in chilly houses / Eskimo Point puked blood / below the icy sky of the north / twisted in culture shock's grip (224)." But at the same instant, he is joyfully overwhelmed by the friendship he encounters: "Warm fine people / we posed together in front of each other's cameras / Elisabeth and Biret-Elle yoiked in friendship / into the same coffee pot / And how we laughed / we laughed hard (224)."

At a drum ceremony, the poet thrills with *déjà vu*:

*Lávvu* poles against the sky

and the moon peeping into the teepee

So familiar

so strange

this life

have I been here before (225)

As with his earlier recognition of kinship with other native peoples, the poet seeks an understanding of what unifies human beings, using very specific, very precise *dieđa*. For him the unity between Native Americans and the Sámi can be found by seeing "the moon peeping into the teepee" — or is it the same moon seen through the smokehole of a Sámi *lávvu*-tent? In his later philosophical and theoretical essay, "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven," Valkeapää further articulates the kinship ties among people of the North (see the seventh chapter, Literatura Borealis).

At the end of *Ruoktu váimmus*, the poet leaves us with a hopeful postscript. The reader could do as well to listen to the poet as to the wind; both are kin and speak a language we know:

It was not the wind

you did not hear the bird

it was I

my thoughts

*Trekways*, 300

At the same time, the poet wonders if his words will vanish as quickly as the wind, if they will vanish before they are heard. Or as Paulus Utsi wrote about the transitoriness of the Sámi way of life:

Our life

Is like a ski track

On the white open plains

The wind erases it

before morning dawns

("Our Life," In the Shadow of the Midnight Sun, 115)

According to Harald Gaski, "the Saami used to write in the snow, and that made him think of writing poetry. Perhaps it is precisely the transitoriness of this type of writing that he had in mind when in one of his poems, he compares the threatened state of the Sami way of life with ski tracks across the open tundra that the wind wipes out even before the next day has dawned." (Gaski, *In the Shadow of the Midnight Sun*, 25)

While Valkeapää seems to make a similar comparison between his poetic voice and the voice of the wind, his intent seems rather different than Utsi's. One does not have the sense that Áillohaš is lamenting the passage of meaning, but rather that he is declaring a recognition of kinship that surpasses transitory meaning.

## *jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivčči (if the titmouse should laugh)*

This emphasis on kinship is also perpetuated in Áillohaš's most elegiac book, *jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivčči*, which appeared in 1996. The title comes from the lyrical middle section of the book and means "if the titmouse should laugh." Originally the book was conceived as a requiem for the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II, which had devastating effects on all of the Sámi people. As the German troops retreated from Finland at the end of WWII, nearly the entire population of Finnish Lapland was evacuated to other parts of Finland, or in the case of Valkeapää's family and other Sámi in the Enontekiö region, to Sweden. This dislocation had long-reaching effects on all Sámi.

[See Lehtola's *Saamelainen evakko*, (*Sámi Evacuation*) for more on the ramifications of the Second World War and the ensuing evacuations of the Sámi.]

However, this collection became instead a requiem for his family, especially for his mother, who died from the effects of a stroke as he was writing the poems. Even more ironically, Valkeapää himself nearly lost his life in a near-tragic auto accident in 1995 as he was delivering the book's manuscript to the post office near his Lapland home, after which he had to relearn his art and poetry, word by painful word. Thus, this beautifully produced book has become a tribute both to international peace and to the absence of personal peace in a person's lifetime.

Ellen Susanna Valkeapää created the drawings in the book on her visits to her son from a nursing home before her death. The psalmlike poems from the middle section, which had been meant for her ears, became an elegy for her life. They were first performed live at Easter in 1992, and now are presented as the heart of this beautiful volume. *jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivčči* is fraught with personal tragedy and grief but is still celebratory of the great gifts of family and the restorative value of wilderness.

The collection evokes a quiet melancholy, a blueness, a longing in its heft, in its illustrations, and in its lyrical mythic poems. It is bound in deep blue, with Susanna Valkeapää's pencil drawings in green on the cover depicting Sámi families leading reindeer by boat to their summer pastures, appearing here like constellations floating on the sea or soaring in the sky, with the title as a rising, silvery hologram above.

The first section of *jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivčči* begins with sunrise and the last section closes with sunset, both literally in the poems and figuratively in the photographs. Throughout the volume the landscape is a companion on the trip toward the blue night of birth and death. Susanna Valkeapää's drawings are featured in the middle section, which comprises the poems originally written expressly for her. Like the classic drawings by Johan Turi in *Turi's Book of Lappland*, these illustrations are compellingly detailed vignettes of traditional reindeer-herding life, but this time from a woman's perspective. In some of the pictures the women are actually drawn larger than the men, and women's activities dominate.

Throughout *jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivčči*, the poet speaks directly to the reader, and because his mother is the reader of choice in the middle section, the tone of the whole book is very loving, unforced, and open to interpretation, drawing on its wellsprings of filial love and domestic detail.

## *Beaivi, Áhčážan (The Sun, My Father)*

Áillohaš's 1988 work *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is arguably the artist's seminal work, along with its companion piece *Eanni, Eannážan* (*The Earth, My Mother*) published in 2001. Perhaps a definitive classic in world poetry, the first volume strives to establish the mythological, natural, and personal cycles of life on purely Sámi terms, while the second volume embraces all native cultures. With the publication of its English translation in 1997, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* also interprets Sámi mythography to a world audience. We will have to wait for a translation of *Eanni, Eannážan*.

As with many important poetic works, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is a kind of encyclopedia of Sámi life and language, a reference that is quoted largely in much work about the Sámi today. As Russian poet Alexander Pushkin established Russian as a literary language with his long poem, *Eugene Onegin* (1823–31), so, too, has Nils-Aslak Valkeapää established Sámi literature with this complex cycle of poems in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. Where *Eugene Onegin* is "an encyclopedia of Russian life" (Holquist, citing Belinsky, xxviii), *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is a repository of everything about Sámi life, an image drum encapsulating all that is true about Sámi life and culture.

Valkeapää has embraced both the poetry of his own personal past, and the past, present and future of all Sámi people. The poems are delicate and strong, like the finest Sámi handcrafts, made of local materials and cleverly used by the skillful craftsman; in this case, the artist has chosen his words and his images from his homescapes, has shaped those materials with great skill and talent, and has used those words and images in making a unified mythography that Sámi can use.

The Sámi original is beautifully produced, with nearly 400 photographs of the Sámi and of Sámi life, gleaned from world archives and museums, along with the author's own photographic collection; *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is like the ultimate family album for the Sámi.

Furthermore, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is accompanied by a soundtrack (available in audiotape or CD form), in which Áillohaš reads the poems with great care and expression, while the photos may be viewed to the accompaniment of yoiks and the incantatory music of Esa Kotilainen, a versatile musician who collaborated with Valkeapää on many projects in the past. Each syllable is precise, exact, and quiet; each image is magical, expressing centuries of adaptation to the landscape, despite domination by other cultures.

Sápmi is a vast territory, but there are fewer than 60,000 Sámi people. Many Sámi, disrupted badly by the aftermath of World War II and brought up under powerful assimilationist policies, do not read their native language. While the situation has improved significantly in the latter part of the twentieth century and young Sámi are proud of their language and culture, many still are not literate in their native language. This dilemma is further complicated by the fact that there are as many as ten dialects of Sámi, with the easternmost dialect of the Russian Skolt Sámi being mutually unintelligible to the Southern Sámi in Jämtland, Sweden. Valkeapää writes in the central North Sámi dialect, which is closest to Finnish, and which has become the orthographic and pedagogic standard for the language.

Linguistically synthetic, like Finnish, Sámi has also developed an undercurrent of secret syncretic codes, particularly in its yoik tradition. The poet draws deeply from this Aesopian well, by very deliberately designing book and translations for specific audiences, enhancing materials in the former case, suppressing it in the versions for outsiders. The English translation is presented without the photos, and, thus diminished, it is less a book of translated poetry than a handbook to the Sámi original.

In fact, the central poem in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, Poem 272, which describes a reindeer roundup, remains in the Sámi language in all the translations, simply because other languages — even related Finnish with its comparable ecological traditions — do not have the words or concepts or sounds that can describe reindeer herding, an activity central to much Sámi culture. (See the fuller description of Poem 272 as a literal reindeer herd on the move at the end of this chapter.)

*Beaivi, Áhčážan* is an ambitious, multilayered work, reaching well beyond the personal expression and insights in *Ruoktu váimmus* toward the mythic. Veli-Pekka Lehtola, in his history of the Sámi, says that Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has earned the well-deserved status of mythographer for the Sámi people and interpreter of a new national mythology and identity ("häntä on ansaitusti nimitetty Saamen kansan mytografiksi, uuden kansallisen mytologian ja identiteetin tulkiksi," *Saamelaiset* 129).

In an interview, the American critic and editor, Philip Landon, says, "the personal and the cosmic are seamlessly joined [in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*](142)"; Landon links this visual-verbal epic to "the celebrated 'broken' epics of Tennyson and T.S. Eliot" (140). Landon goes on to describe the book:

> *Beaivi, Áhčážan* unfolds in fragments, in an ironic, elegiac, meditative mode that contrasts with the monumentality of more traditional epics. Valkeapää's poem interweaves the personal and the historical: as with *In Memoriam* and *The Waste Land*, a critical distance exists between the epic's speaker and the public realm he contemplates. However, Valkeapää is hardly haunted by Western-style cultural alienation. While avoiding the belligerent assertions of a nationalistic bard, he also shuns excessive self-preoccupation. Valkeapää takes pride in his nomadic ancestry and his close relationship with nature. The elements and the Arctic flora and fauna are viewed as part of a continuum with the social world. Births, deaths, arranged marriages, the rhythms and rituals of reindeer husbandry, the bustle of the marketplace, and the contemplative life of the nomad are all brought to life in freely structured stanzas, some only two words long. Valkeapää situates history in the context of an inexorable biological process, the "hoop of life" that circumscribes all cultures. He views impermanence with equanimity: the disappearance of an entire culture is a minor event in the cosmic flow. This poetry accepts and celebrates the ephemeral, earthbound role that humanity plays in the natural order, where truths, nations, and languages come and go like dreams. The consoling, pantheistic aspect of Valkeapää's cultural relativism is highlighted in dizzying glimpses of what it means to be defined by the physical world: when the poet perceives the sun, the sun swims inside him. (140–1)

Valkeapää calls this work his *govadas* or image drum, a direct allusion to Sámi shamanic drums with their symbol worlds (*Aurinko*, introduction; also, *Govadas*, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää). In that same interview with Philip Landon, Valkeapää describes the making of this magic drum:

> *Beaivi, Áhčážan* was six years in the making. (If you add the time spent on the recorded version, it was eight or nine years in all.) A vast amount of background information from a variety of fields was distilled into that one book. It contains a lot of prehistory, especially religion, as well as modern Saami history. But I tried at least to write so that it could be understood in several ways: in a broad, almost cosmic sense; in a slightly narrower way, as the history of a people; and even more narrowly, as the history of a single person. It certainly also contains some of my own personal experience. (142)

*Beaivi, Áhčážan*, a multi-layered mythic cycle of poems, songs and pictures, is Valkeapää's most ambitious and most mature work. It received the prestigious Nordic

Council's Literature Award in 1991. The Sámi original consists of 540 poems, photographs, and drawings, accompanied by a four-tape narrative accompaniment, published in 1991. Valkeapää portrays the cycle of the seasons and the years through multiple layers: natural, personal, historic/national, and mythic. With its archival photographs of Sámi individuals and groups gleaned from European museums and archives, the Sámi version is like a family album of a kind, with Valkeapää's voiceover providing the narrative line, linking landscape to people. Like a shaman, the poet is present at creation and at the last days of his own life. The poet-shaman invokes creation and drums into being the plants and creatures of Sápmi, the homeland of all Sámi people.

In the translations, the poet has authorized translations of the poems only, yielding slim, exotic volumes of slender poems, the only visual elements being interesting layout and typography [Swedish (*Solen, min far*, 1990); selected poems in Norwegian (*Fadir min, solin*, 1992), Finnish (*Aurinko, isäni*, translation and introduction by Pekka Sammallahti, 1992) and English (*The Sun, My Father*, translation by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström, Harald Gaski, 1997)]. Bereft of the photographs and unaccompanied by the poet's narration and musical accompaniment, the translations are rather pale representations of the sinuous, sinewy original. This tension between the Sámi original, replete with music, voice, and photographs, and the stripped-down translations is rendered all the more ironic, since the Nordic Council's Literature Award was made based on the Swedish translation, a language more accessible to the majority of Nordic judges. The central poems in the cycle, Poems 272–273 spanning eight pages in a typographical, vocal representation of a reindeer roundup, persist in the Sámi language in all the translations, honoring the poet's decision that the terminology for the variety of deer and their behavior is simply too poor and too sparse in non-Sámi languages to do justice to the complexities of this activity.

Nevertheless, the translations are authoritative and poetic, still under control of the poet's roving eye. In my research, I have used the Sámi original, with the accompanying audiotapes, the Finnish translation, and the English translation. The Finnish translation was made by Pekka Sammallahti, professor of Sámi languages at the University of Oulu, and author of *The Saami Languages*, a historic and comparative linguistic introduction to the various dialects of Sámi. Finnish and Sámi both belong to the Finno-Ugric language family, and share a common proto-Finnic heritage. Sammallahti is very attentive to the correspondences between the North Sámi dialect and the Finnish spoken in Lapland Province, where there is a rich store of borrowed terms for reindeer herding and Arctic living. The English translation was done by an experienced team of three, who had collaborated earlier on the translation of Valkeapää's autobiographical poetry trilogy *Ruoktu váimmus* (1985; *Trekways of the Winds*, 1994): Ralph Salisbury, a Native American poet responsible for the content and poetry of the final version; Lars Nordström, Valkeapää's Swedish translator; and Harald Gaski, responsible for the Norwegian translation.

Interestingly, Valkeapää anticipates new media in his mythological and personal cycle of poems. The hardcover book emphasizes the photographic image, mainly from Western archives, while the tapes emphasize sound, natural and human-made. Vision and voice are linked by the text. To get the full benefit of the complete work is a complex undertaking. In the translations, the poet has authorized translations of the poems only, the only visual elements being interesting layout and typography. I have the English

translation (without pictures, as with all the translations) open on one side of my desk, the Sámi original on the other side, my notebook in front of me, and the tape player off to the side. The experience of the poems is a fragmented one at best, with my reading outpacing the tapes, or vice versa. Often I pause to look closely at a photo, only to find the poet had gone on ahead to his next section. Nevertheless, I have at my disposal the original Sámi text, the solid English translation, and the stellar Finnish translation.

A book is, by necessity, a linear document, from the moment one opens the covers and then proceeds word by word through the text, finally closing the book again, thus completing a reading. However, as the poet is all too aware, *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, this large, mythical recounting of Sámi life, is not a linear experience. No page numbers appear in the book, although the poems and pictures are numbered sequentially, 571 in all; nevertheless, these numbers seem mere logistical adjuncts, unimportant to the larger sense of the project. One can happily read this book as a family photo album, opening it at random and taking pleasure in the fine reproductions of familiar and less-familiar images. Typically comprising a dozen or more images, each photo sequence has its own theme, satisfying in itself.

## *Eanni, Eannážán (The Earth, My Mother)*

On February 26, 1996 Áillohaš suffered a serious road accident near his home, Sinetnjunni. He survived and gradually took up his work again, concentrating on reviewing his experiences while serving as cultural coordinator on the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. *girddán, seivvodan* (1999) consists of transcriptions of the author's journals from this period on the WCIP, which seem to serve as artistic preparation for *Eanni, Eannážan* (*The Earth, My Mother*).

Long anticipated as the companion book to *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, the April 2001 publication of *Eanni, Eannážan* (*The Earth, My Mother*) confirms the ecological connections in *The Sun, My Father* and expand Áillohaš's embrace to the world's indigenous peoples. *The Earth, My Mother* provides a womanly partner to the maleness of *The Sun, My Father*, the female counterpart to the male. "Ailu himself says that *Beaivi, Áhčážan* needed a partner..... (Piera Boine, DAT Publishing, e-mail communication, 30 July 2001)."

In these two volumes, we have father and mother, we have sun and earth, we have history and prophesy. In these two volumes, we have a poetic and encyclopedic embrace of Sámi and indigenous neighbors, we have family photo albums that can be opened again and again to tell stories in images, we have poems that go to the heart of a native poetics in their experiential expression and layered symbolism and that expand the Sámi language in expressive and poetic ways.

The title of *Eanni, Eannážan* is a play on words, layering the meaning of the kinship implicit between the earth and her people. In the North Sámi dialect that Áillohaš uses, "eadni" ("mother") can also be known as "eanni," the form often used by children when talking about their mothers; "eanni" expresses love, caring and closeness. "Eadnam" is the earth, and "eanni" can also be the "caring form" of the earth. Earth is also "eana", and "eannazan" is its diminutive, possessive form, meaning "my little earth". "Eadni" is

mother and "eannazan" can also mean "my little mother." In other words, "eanni" can be both earth and mother and "eannazan" can also be both mother and earth. The English title will be *The Earth, My Mother*, but it could also be *Mother, My Earth*.

Áillohaš's use of color in this book is extravagant and luscious, a series of bright paintings providing visual continuity through the lavishly designed and produced 336-page book. The book is similar in size and shape to both *Ruoktu váimmus* and *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, and like its predecessors the design of *Eanni, Eannážan* is part of Áillohaš's poetic intent in the work, which includes over 200 photos, both color, and black and white, twenty paintings by the author, and 117 poems. For the first time in Áillohaš's production, the book is nearly continuously paginated.

Even the dust jacket and opening pages function as part of the drumhead of this global drum. The dust jacket displays an embossed goddess on a painting with the golden earth, deep blue sky, and reddening northern lights layered. The actual book cover beneath is a starry night over a silver earth. The opening pages, both front and back, show autumn fells against a cobalt blue sky, like an inverted *gákti*-tunic. These are followed by four overlay transparencies, which together constitute a literal layering of the Sámi landscape: a fellscape silhouette, the silhouette with some detail and suggestions of a sun, the Sámi goddesses in their own drumscape over the fells, an earth/sun on red over the title page.

*Eanni, Eannážan* mirrors the meaning and design of its companion book, its poems alternating with evocative photographs and Áillohaš's own paintings. But where *The Sun, My Father* was solemnly black and white, this volume dazzles with vibrant colors. The smell and feel of the colored inks make the experience of viewing/reading this book very sensual and tactile. Where *Beaivi, Áhčážan* uses historic photographs of Sámi from world archives, *The Sun, My Father* uses contemporary ethnographic photographs of world peoples.

In both cases, the borrowed photos are captioned with the original photographers' titles, but without comment by the poet. In effect, these photographs, like his paintings, appear as images, not as reproductions. They are to be experienced as the primal first image captured on film or on canvas. The paintings, too, are unframed and uncaptioned; they bleed over the edges of the pages, carrying the reader/viewer from page opening to page opening, even if unable to read the Sámi poems.

Where *Beaivi, Áhčážan* operates as a shaman drum, defining the Sámi experience and traveling through layered worlds, in *Eanni Eannážan* Áillohaš's voice is global, and his worldview embraces a sense of kinship with indigenous peoples across the globe in the new millennium. If *Eanni, Eannážan* is a drum, it is a drum of the 21st century, engaging voices and images from around the world in hypertextual layers, enabling reader and author to travel through worlds. In his ever modulated and kindly poet's voice, he derides imposed religion and sacrilege of sacred places.

The paintings in the book signal a subtle, but significant shift from a book designed around its words to a book designed around its images, which integrate the poems with the photographs. Even readers unable to read the Sámi poems will be able to page through the volume, their eyes drawn to the powerfully simple two-page paintings. In their horizontal format, the paintings break the normal vertical plane of the book, and the absence of any frame around the paintings extends the significance of the images, with the sense that the paint is spilling over the pages of the paintings and beyond to the photos or poems that come before or after.

Áillohaš's palette ranges from cooler northern blues, as when moulting geese and swimming ducks paddle through black and turquoise lakescape (121 and 122) to hot reds and yellows in the dance paintings (232–233 and 248–249). While Áillohaš borrows at will from the totemic inventory of Sámi animals, known from the rock art at Jiepmaluoktá in Alta, Norway to the naïve drawings of Johan Turi or Susanna Valkeapää, his art shows clear influences from photography and other media. His paintings evince a clear sense of spatial perspective, with land birds flying off a black cliff toward seagulls hovering over a blue-black sea (40–41) or with reindeer and six-legged fantastic horned creatures cavorting diagonally up across a orange-yellow landscape into the far distance (280–281). Regardless of element, land, air or water, there is a sense of distance and proportion that is not evident in more primitive art, as where large whale shapes outlined in blue float easily in the deep blue depth, while rosy-headed humans fish for them with a blue line from a reindeer-headed boat (216–217).

Even when the artist deliberately selects a single plane as his palette, he uses layering to achieve a sense of loftiness and proportion, as in his two emblematic paintings in red. In the first (232–233), handprints of yellow and blue track across a scarlet background, while in the second (248–249), winged shamanic shapes and circles and magical forms are overlaid across the handprints of the first painting. The right-handed prints in the first painting hurry across the page pointing toward celebration, illustrated in the black and white photographs that follow of Pygmy children playing and other native peoples playing pipes or drums, dancing spontaneously.

The second painting is overlaid with fanciful serpent and winged figures, with dotted circles implying ritual dance circles. This painting is followed by Valkeapää's amazing color photographs of a Native American powwow, somewhere in the misty North American Plains. The brilliance and elegance of their feathered regalia, their solemnity astride handsome horses, their elegance and beauty in the dusty dance arena speak to an unbroken celebration of life. While his human figures are drawn in sticklike outlines, their involvement in their worlds of bright and surprising colors is clear. These are not children's drawings, merely marking fingers and gonads, but a totemic spearman launching his magic staff across a double rainbow toward an inquisitive creature equally engaged in this hunt (168–169) or colorful emblematic children crawling or men, women, children and elders strutting and dancing across a blue and brown background (264–265).

At the heart of this highly synthetic work is the notion that the earth is, indeed, our mother, not a symbolic mother, but our actual mother, who cradles us, and whose heart beats as human hearts beat. It is nigh on to impossible to distinguish his heartbeat from that of the earth's, as in Poem 31, whose spacious layout and syncopated spacing is itself evocative of an eternal rhythm

**Poem 31. coahk – ká**

| | |
|---|---|
| coahk – ká | beating |
| gu –lan | I – hear |
| coahk – ki –ma | beat –ing – s |
| coahk –ká | beat – ing |
| váib – mu | heart |
| mu – go | is it – my |
| váib – mu | heart |
| vuoigo | or is it |
| eanan | the earth |
| EANNI | THE EARTH |
| EANNÁŽAN | MY MOTHER |
| váibmu | heart |
| EANAN | EARTH |
| EANNI, | MOTHER |
| EANNÁŽAN | MY DEAR MOTHER |

Translation by Kathleen Osgood Dana with Piera Boine

The publication of *Eanni, Eannážan* is a capstone to the enormously productive career of an exceptionally talented artist and author. Not long after its publication, following a cultural trip to Japan, Áillohaš died in Helsinki on November 26, 2001.

## Third deep reading. Biegga ja bohccot: The wind and reindeer as recurring images

Throughout Valkeapää's work, the wind, *biegga*, is a unifying element, sweeping across the landscape to scour the high fells, to freshen the poet's thoughts, and to epitomize the Sámi way of life. Like other universal Sámi symbols such as the tracks of skis or a *ráido*-reindeer train or clouds or birdsong, the underlying cultural assumption is that there is something of permanence in these transitory natural elements, even as there is something of permanence in the passage of Sámi as they pass again and again through the landscape on migration routes. The wind, especially, appears throughout Sámi literature and culture as a unifying symbol with which the Sámi identify viscerally, standing for both eternal presence and temporary absence.

As early as the first collected Sámi poems, Olaus Sirma records the wind as changeable — and as strong — as a boy's will in "Mårse faurog" ("Yoik for a bride"). In the yoik, a young man longs for his beloved away off at Orre Lake. He imagines being able to fly with the wings of a crow or an eagle, and laments the distance and her absence. He cries that youthful thoughts may distract him, like the wind might, but he claims he is bound by strong cords, by iron bonds, to her.

The original version of the yoik first appeared in Latin appeared in Johannes Scheffer's introduction to the Sámi, *Lapponia*, which appeared in Latin in 1673:

Puerorum voluntas;

voluntas venti;

juvenum cogitations,

longae cogitations.

(Átányi, 111)

Sirma's original transcription is in a lapsed orthography, as it appears below, but a modern Sámi transcription and arrangement follows. Both appear in Sámi anthologies published in the Sámi cultural renaissance, having been generally unavailable in the Sámi language for three centuries before that.

Parne miela

piägga miela, noara jorda kockes jorda.

(*Skabmåtolak*, 1974, 29)

Bártni miella

biekka miella

nuora jurdda

guhkes jurdda

(*Čuotnamat*, 1987, 11)

In English, as rendered by Longfellow, the refrain goes:

A boy's will is the wind's will

And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.

"My Lost Youth"

This is the yoik that caught the attention of cultured Europeans engaged in building the Romantic movement, first by the German poet and philosopher Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832), who based his poem "Nähe der Geliebten" ("Near my Beloved") on the Sámi lyric (*Skabmåtolak*, 28–9) and by Johann Gottfried Herder. Later Swedish-Finnish bishop Frans Mikael Franzén (1772–1847) delved into the Romantic mood and borrowed the poem as the inspiration for his poem "Spring min snälla ren" ("Run, my quick reindeer") (*Skabmåtolak*, 28–9; Lassila, 25–6). The Sámi wind was blowing strongly among the Romantics, but more as a motif on loan from the Sámi than a direct identification with the wind.

In John Turi's work, the wind on the high fells represents the kind of intellectual clarity Turi feels is necessary for real understanding and communication. In the more autobiographical *Ruoktu váimmus*, Áillohaš the shaman-poet feels his reader may mistake him for the wind: "it was not the wind / you did not hear the bird / it was I / my thoughts (300)." The poet identifies so closely with the wind, with the birds, that his voice seems to sound like the wind's voice or birdsong.

On the other hand, in Poem 546 of *Beaivi, Áhčážan,* the entire Sámi people are identified with the wind, in the same kind of direct, unmediated symbolic gesture that we found earlier in Áillohaš's Poem 120, *giđđa / spring*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 546. | *biegga,* | *a wind,* |
| | *biegga mii leimmet* | *we were the wind* |
| | *šuvaideaddji eallima biegga* | *life's singing wind* |
| | *njávkame duoddara muođuid* | *caressing the tundra's cheeks* |
| | *vuomážiid, gorssaid* | *the forests, the valleys* |

The fact that the poet uses the past tense is unusual in his work, which more usually concentrates on the immediate, the present tense. This poem appears toward the end of the *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, where the dreams of the opening become more like prophecies.

By the end of the volume, the poet has shown us much of the harsh treatment the Sámi have received in recent history, including the intrusion of religion in the guise of evangelical Laestadianism (cf. Laestadius, *Lappalisten mytologian katkelmia*); the

intrusion of science in the guise of racial biology (cf. Isakson, *Kumma kuvajainen*); the widespread practice of boarding Sámi children at schools where the dominant culture was taught (cf. *Govadas*, "Asuntola"). Poem 546 appears in a cycle of poems that operate prophetically, relating historical adversity as if in a dream. Like the Sámi wind, dreams and yoiks vanish yet are ever present in a perpetual, natural cycle. The poet continues to say, the Sámi were as a vanishing yoik that came and went, is forever present and forever gone.

| | |
|---|---|
| *láhppovaš luohti* | *a vanishing yoik* |
| *eahketroađi ruoksadin, biegga* | *the reds of evening, a wind* |
| *biegga mii leimmet* | *we were the wind* |
| *ja mii bođiimet ja manaimet* | *we came and we went* |
| *iige mis eará báhcán* | *and nothing remained of us* |
| *go luohti biegga šuvas* | *but a yoik in the singing wind* |
| *niehku leahkimis* | *a dream about being* |

Later in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, in Poem 558e, the poet refines his ontological definitions, the fundaments for existence:

| | |
|---|---|
| 558e. *biekka biegga* | *wind's wind* |
| *áiggihis áiggi* | *infinite time* |
| *áiggihis biegga* | *timeless wind* |
| *livččiigo čuovga* | *would light exist* |
| *jus ii livčče suoivvan* | *if there was no shadow* |

Just as light would not exist without shadow to show it, time would not exist without the wind, and just as the wind does not stay, neither does time or light or shadow, and yet all are eternal, infinite, bound in the web of creation.

In Sámi mythology, *Bieggolmmai* (The Wind Being) is the master of the wind. He can conjure up the wind and force it back to its lairs. Indeed, the Sámi understanding of the wind became the stuff of legend among Westerners, who believed that Sámi *noaidi*-shamans could make and stop wind, as in this extract from a short story from Isak Dinesen, who blurs Finns and Sámi:

> [I]t was the mighty night of northern lights, and in it things lived: heavy, shaggy bears padded and puffed, wolves whirled in long trails through the blizzard over the plains, ancient Finns, who knew witchcraft, chuckled while selling fair winds to the seamen. ("Tempests")

Like other Western authors, the Danish author makes Sámi out to be versed in witchcraft with powers over the wind (Cf. , Moyne, *Raising the Wind: The Legend of Lapland and Finland Wizards in Literature*), granting necromantic powers to these northern people. The Sámi, on the other hand, are more interested in the symbolic qualities of the wind

rather than its control. Valkeapää recognizes the qualities the winds share with a life lived on the land:

In the treeline

both the winds and life

can hurt

but are worthwhile

(*Beyond the Wolf Line*, 13)

The very ephemeral qualities of a natural people, living in close association with their surroundings, can be nothing more than the slightest caress or a "vanishing yoik." Indeed, even to an informed and interested Western reader, many of the cultural constructs of native literatures and cultures are like a wind, invisible and transitory, leaving little behind that is tangible or real. In fact, to perceive the wind of the Sámi without having experienced it on the high fells is nigh on to impossible without a lived, known poetic of dwelling that can be obtained through a traditional livelihood, such as reindeer herding.

## *Reindeer on the Move: Poems 272 and 273*

In Poems 272 and 273, the central poems of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, the poet reproduces — quite literally — a reindeer herd on the move. Reindeer herding is a primary defining activity for the Sámi, and annual roundups are social and cultural occasions, epitomizing a Sámi way of life. Even though he himself was not willing or able to participate fully as a reindeer herder, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is nonetheless very familiar with herding techniques and naming traditions. For instance, in Poem 51, the poet remarks on the arousal of self-awareness during a migration. The poet asks if he was born in the light of the sun and moon, in the spring, behind "the backward pointing horns of the white nosed reindeer" ("gálbbenjuni njáidečoarvvit"), flying along behind the "white legged reindeer" ("biddojuolgi"). In this most Sámi of Sámi experiences, the poet comes to his identity as a human being.

These reindeer herding poems appear in the Sámi original in all translations, provoking a tacit understanding of the centrality — and untranslatability — of reindeer culture in the Sámi language. Most of the Sámi technical terms dealing with landscape, reindeer, snow, and fishing do not occur in English. Citing the work of Nils Isak Eira ("Boazobargi giella," 1984), Nils Jernslettern points out that the terminology for reindeer is extremely expressive and precise, describing with great specificity the variety and range of reindeer in a herd. Age and sex, reproductive condition or capacity, color of various body parts, and types of horns are embedded in names for each member of the herd.

> For a reindeer owner it will often be necessary to describe a reindeer so precisely that the experienced listener knows with certainty what kind of reindeer is being discussed even though those conversing do not see the animal (Jernslettern, 94).

Thus, the poem consists of eight pages of reindeer names. Each deer is named, just as Jernslettern suggests. One is a white-legged deer, another a crooked-horned deer. With the various descriptive names of the reindeer streaming across the page, and the expressive layout of the poems, one can imagine that reading the poem is a metonymic experience of being part of a reindeer herd on the move, perhaps viewing the ritual event from on high, as a seeing shaman might.

As Harald Gaski points out in his article, "A Language to Catch Birds With," Áillohaš has drawn deeply on the Sámi tradition of reindeer-herding, but he has also exercised his poetic prerogative by shaping that tradition:

> When Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in his book *The Sun — my Father* (1991), chooses to create a metaphorical poem of a migrating herd of reindeer and uses [in his poem] some of the wealth of names that exist in Sami to describe the reindeer's appearance, age and sex, he does so not only to demonstrate the wealth of terminology within the Sami language — he does something beyond that: He plays with the language, conjuring up concepts that have never been used before in that fashion. He conceives, in a sense, new fictional animals by combining familiar words in new ways. And he creates different reindeer which, in terms of their being a part of the herd or outside of it, can easily be viewed as parallels to the artist and his or her position in society, as well as to all human beings in their common experiences of being part of a "flock" or alone.
>
> To this wealth of words can be added a great number of Sami onomatopoetical expressions for sounds pertaining to migration, words for working the herd, for the baying of dogs, and the sounds of a thousand hoofs on frozen ground, for undulating moors over which reindeer horns move, for the sound of bells that, like a blanket of clouds, lift the sky up and give the basis for life in these northern regions. And, as if that isn't enough, there are allusions to the Sami national anthem, and tracks left behind by the herd, both concrete tracks where it has walked and abstract tracks for us, the readers, to follow back into history. Whether we journey *with* the herd or only pass by it as we wander, it is impossible for us to survive into the future without the tracks, without nature ….
>
> Valkeapää entices the reader to join him on new adventures on familiar territory. A journey on the Sami tundra, — the vast, open mountain plateaus — together with the Sami artist can make us readers see other things than those we are used to seeing. (3)

Through this visual, aural, linguistic trance, the reader is brought into the essence of a Sámi way of life. On the first page of Poem 272, the deer are called by the lead bell deer; a single line of italic type runs horizontally across the middle of the page. The snuffling and snorting of the deer — *uuuuuuu uuuuuu* — is heard. On the next page, a number of deer come along out of the high fells. There are now three lines of type, three lines of deer headed in one direction, onto the next page opening. More deer join, five lines of line streaming across the page. Their names are named, and we can follow particular deer in the herd as they snuffle into the corral, their hooves clicking.

The lines of type are like an inverted arrow, all of the named deer are headed onward; by the next page, there are ten lines of type in an arrow. The deer are plentiful, on the

recorded version, their characters and behavior are audible in their names and the voices of the layered voices, chanting this herd into reality.

Only the most attentive herder-reader can keep track of the many, many deer that are scattered across the next two pages. Some whirl and turn. Others stand quietly alone. The migration is beginning. Little dots mark the marked deer. Only a few at first, and then more and more. By the next page, the dots are streaming toward resolution. The deer are marked. They are touched and known. And in Poem 273, they are once again organized in a column of italic type, perfectly calm and, once again, at the heart of Sámi life, at the center of this remarkable book. In Áillohaš's work, the experience of reindeer herding IS knowledge of the Sámi worldview.

# 4 Nature and culture: Ecology and Worldviews

> *Weltanschauung,* or worldview: A comprehensive conception of image of the universe and of man's relation to it.
>
> (*Random House Dictionary*, Unabridged Edition, 1973)

When I first began thinking deeply about the relationship people have with the natural worlds about them, I turned to American nature writers as a source of understanding. In an exchange with John Elder, co-editor of an anthology of Anglo-American nature writing, I asked about including Finnish authors, whose take on the natural world seems so central to much of their writing. He thought Finnish writers probably would not fall under his definition of nature writers, since "the impetus for Finnish inclusion in nature was neither scientific nor romantic, but organic (personal communication)."

That nature writers might require a human-nature relationship based on intellectual or scientific or explicitly emotional grounds surprised me at first, since my own take on the natural world tends toward the organic. Later correspondence with fellow Finnish-American translators brought this message from Steve Stone, which put my question into more historic terms:

> After I arrived in Finland in 1956, I was frequently invited to indulge in the Finns' favorite leisure-time activity, walking through the forest. Soon it began to dawn on me that my pleasure in doing so differed strikingly from a Finn's pleasure. For a while I was nonplussed but soon realized that I was essentially a soul of the West, a Wordsworthian, in my relationship with nature, and that the Finn was something quite different.
>
> By Wordsworthian, of course, I mean that I was an individual personality who ventured forth in Nature to enjoy and partake in Her beauty as an individual person, always keeping my very self separated and distinct from Her. Later I would return to contemplate the wonders of what I had experienced in a "spontaneous overflow of emotion recollected in tranquility." Which is to say that I had maintained my own identity and Nature kept Hers.

> My Finnish friends, however, reacted differently. As they walked through the forest, their individuating identities became at first diffused and then encompassed by the identity of the nature (notice, no capital letter) surrounding them. Soon the identity of nature became their identity too, and they experienced (for lack of a better term) a one-ness with their surroundings that I could never know. (Personal communication, October 10, 1996.)

According to Elder and Stone, a Finnish worldview differed dramatically from an Anglo-American worldview practiced by "nature" writers, whose worldviews arose with the Industrial Revolution and the Romantic Movement, or implied by Wordsworth's dictum that poetry should arise in a "spontaneous overflow of emotion recollected in tranquility." That the Western worldview should require a separation of self and nature was to me a revelation, premonitory of the deep alienation and fragmentation in much of postmodern Western culture. That revelation has helped me to get closer to understanding a Sámi worldview and how that worldview is reflected in Valkeapää's poetry.

## Western and Natural Worldviews

> *The particular landscape that serves as the backdrop for our childhood — the topography, the buildings, the trees, the light — imprints itself forever on our memory; it is the norm with which we will compare every landscape we encounter for the rest of our lives.*
>
> (Brubach)

In the case of Áillohaš the poet, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää the author has already made a very critical analysis of the striking differences between Western and natural worldviews in his essay, "*Beaivi, terbmes, almmidolat*" ("The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven"). An attentive reading of the poet's theory of worldview does much to guide the attentive reader in understanding the meaning of his poems.

In Sámi culture, as in Sámi literature, the very close relationship between humans and nature is in constant evidence. The human voice takes on natural sounds, and nature speaks back. The wind sweeps across the high fells both inspiring thought and sweeping away visible traces of the past; the wind is the voice of both the *sápmeláš*-Sámi self and of nature. When the sun shines, the poet is the sun. There is no difference between the two. Or as Philip Landon says about Áillohaš, "when the poet perceives the sun, the sun swims inside him." (141)

Negotiating this relationship between nature — as perceived by the Sámi — and culture — as constructed by the Sámi — is key to negotiating an understanding to literature written by the Sámi. The necessity for articulating this relationship is heightened still further in a book such as *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, where the poet has very intentionally and deliberately selected and shaped cultural images and natural voices into a mythography of the individual, a people, and a land. In the absence of a Sámi tradition of literary criticism on Sámi terms, it is wise to turn to this human-nature relationship for the tools to evaluate Sámi literature. The landscape and culture — the ecology — of

Sápmi provide a critical source of materials for understanding and appreciating the poetry of the Sámi poet Áillohaš.

Ethnographers — Lappologists — have ably collected and analyzed Sámi folk literature, but contemporary Sámi literature — that is, authored, imaginative Sámi literature is neither fish nor fowl: neither entirely reliant on the folklore tradition nor totally established as a literary tradition. Any reliance on the discipline of ethnography for the tools of literary analysis is apt to skew a contemporary literary reading, since ethnographic method is not literary method. On the other hand, a Western literary reading of Sámi literature, uninformed by an understanding of Sámi culture, is just as apt to distort an otherwise sensitive and sensible reading.

The ethical dilemmas facing a Western scholar presuming to analyze a native literature in the absence of a native system of analysis are rife. Nonetheless, I believe that an informed understanding of Sámi culture, coupled with an appreciation of the unifying effects of Sámi ecology, will go a long way toward providing the tools of critical analysis for Sámi literature, in general, and most particularly, in the work of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, who systematically uses Sámi culture and ecology as the stuff of his poetry.

There is definitely a danger of irreparable damage if native culture is dealt with too harshly. To quote Paulus Utsi, in his poem "Reflections by People of Nature":

In the modern times

the thoughts of people of nature

are like dust

if something touches them

they turn to nothing

lift

and disappear

They are like the mountain birch

when it is weighed down

and bent

to never again stand erect

(Gaski *In the Shadow* 112–3)

Utsi directly compares "people of nature" to a "mountain birch." In Sámi culture, the birch (*soahki,* or *Betula pubescens*; Lukkari, 30) is the tangible stuff of Sámi culture: the stuff of fire, the materials of handicrafts, the source of comfort and of shelter.

Mountain birch is found as far north as trees will grow and as high up the fells as the winds will allow, about contiguous with the outlines of Sápmi and the landscapes of the Sámi. Sometimes, heavy snows will weigh the *soahki*-birch down, and it will never stand erect again, although the birch has the enviable ability to re-root where its branches touch the ground, sometimes creeping leeward with glacial tenacity. On the other hand, the

mountain birch does not prosper under human care, growing on its own terms and in its own time. But the unbearable impress of modern times may cause Sámi culture — like the mountain birch — "to never again stand erect."

Áillohaš extends this allusion in his Poem 510, where he talks about the subjugation of Sámi people by outsiders who do not understand their way of life. The Sámi struggle to conceive of the big spruce forests with as much difficulty as they do to understand "war, soldiers." Neither warfare nor the boreal forest is familiar to them. They can survive if they are allowed to grow at the very limits.

| | |
|---|---|
| *dáppe mii* | *here* |
| *moadde moalkkagan miestaga* | *a few twisted bushes* |
| *gohal dal heakka doalašeimmet* | *if we can stay alive* |
| *ordarájis* | *at timberline* |
| *eallenrájis* | *life's line* (Poem 510) |

As in Poem 510, where the poet protests the imposition of Western concepts, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is keenly aware of the contrasts between Western and natural worldviews, over which he has agonized in his life and in his writing. His works valiantly articulate the Sámi relationship to nature in aesthetic terms that are understandable to all sentient beings. In an interview with Philip Landon, Valkeapää emphasizes that the central difference between Western — or, in this case, Finnish — and natural worldviews lies in human relationships with nature, the relationship which is central to his own work. He emphasizes that the Sámi recognize a harmony of humans and nature, while Finnish culture — with its long-established agrarian history — emphasizes the domination of nature by humans:

> *Finnish culture is ultimately informed by the Western ideology whereby HUMANITY IS MASTER OF NATURE. By contrast, the philosophy of indigenous peoples is that HUMANITY IS PART OF NATURE, NOT ITS MASTER. I think the latter attitude comes through strongly in all my books.* (142)

To pursue this distinction further, let us take as a starting point a basic assumption that elements of both nature and culture appear in literature. Similarly, one finds elements of nature and culture in landscape. While this may seem like the most simplistic of statements, a closer analysis will show that it is difficult and demanding to articulate the actual relationship between culture and nature. In the simplest of terms, the Westerner sees nature as separate from culture, that is, culture is imposed on the land, while the native sees nature AS culture, that is, land and culture are one. To simply this notion, let me classify these opposing viewpoints thus:

Western and Natural Views of Nature and Culture

| | |
|---|---|
| Western | nature/culture |
| Natural | nature-culture |

We might take this argument a bit further to distinguish between actual nature and culturalized Nature — or to use more contemporary terms — between actual reality and culturalized Reality (capitalization mine):

Western and Natural Views of Nature and Reality

| | |
|---|---|
| nature | Nature |
| reality | Reality |

Since this inquiry into the qualities of nature and culture is being written in English, with its own attendant cultural biases, let me define the ambiguous word "nature" at some length. In an unabridged English dictionary, the word "nature" will have dozens of definitions, but I have limited my use of the word to mean actual universal, physical nature, as below:

> *nature* 6. the universe, with all its phenomena. 8. the elements of the natural world, as mountains, trees, animals, rivers, etc. [ME natur(e) < L natura blood-kinship, quality, character, natural order, world, equiv. to nat(us) born (ptp. of nasci) + -ura -ure] (*Random House Dictionary*, Unabridged Edition, 1973)

I have deliberately excluded from my working definition of nature those definitions, which separate "nature" from "human," as in:

> *nature* 5. the material world, esp. as surrounding man [sic] and existing independently of his activities. 7. The natural world as it exists without man or his civilization. (*Random House Dictionary*)

Interestingly, the Sámi word "luondu" also carries similar multiple meanings, ranging from the natural world to human nature (Sammallahti, *Sámi-Suoma Sátnegirji*), thus semantically, the words "luondu" and "nature" are comparable, although Western and Sámi worldviews are sharply divergent. In other words, when I use "nature" in this dissertation I mean "the universe, with all its phenomena," largely in the same way as the Sámi have traditionally considered their world.

An historic overview of the ways in which nature has been viewed in the West is also illuminating in order to set this analysis in a world context. I want to make clear my understanding of the qualities of the human-nature relationship, since that understanding is fundamental to the ways in which I interpret Áillohaš's writing.

## *Vox clamatis in deserto: The place of wilderness in Sámi literature*

Max Oelschlager has reviewed the human-nature relationship by a historic examination of the term "wilderness" in his *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*. In Oelschlager's analysis, "wilderness" stands in as an alter-ego for "nature," as defined here. Oelschlager concludes his examination of wilderness with a chapter on ecology, suggesting that the ecological movement will reconcile wilderness and culture. I am reaching toward a similar conclusion, in that an appreciation of ecology may reconcile Western and native understandings of poetry and of culture.

Interestingly, there is no word for "wilderness" in Sámi, although the idea of wilderness is one that is receiving increased attention in this age of global capitalism and burgeoning populations. The notion of wilderness is highly variable, depending on its cultural context, as historian William Cronon writes in his essay, "The Trouble with Wilderness: "

> [T]here is nothing natural about the concept of wilderness. It is entirely a creation of the culture that holds it dear, a product of the very history it seeks to deny. Indeed, one of the most striking proofs of the cultural invention of wilderness is its thoroughgoing erasure of the history from which it sprang. In virtually all of its manifestations, wilderness represents a flight from history. Seen as the original garden, it is a place outside of time, from which human beings had to be ejected before the fallen world of history could properly begin. Seen as the frontier, it is a savage world at the dawn of civilization, whose transformation represents the very beginning of the national historical epic. Seen as the bold landscape of frontier heroes, it is the place of youth and childhood, into which men escape by abandoning their pasts and entering a world of freedom where the constraints of civilizations fade into memory. Seen as the sacred sublime, it is the home of a God who transcends history by standing as the One who remains untouched and unchanged by time's arrow. No matter what the angle from which we regard it, wilderness offers us the illusion that we can escape the cares and troubles of the world in which our past has ensnared us. (79–80)

Indeed, the very word for "wilderness" varies distinctly from language to language. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, anchorites left *civis*- the city and its civilization — for the *desertus* — the wilderness, there to commune with God the Father and to return with prophecies. In the Gospel of Matthew 3.1–3 in the New Testament, John the Baptist proclaims the coming of Christ, which had been prophesied by Esaias, "crying in the wilderness."

While the idea of attaining divine inspiration in desert isolation is a long one in Western religions, nevertheless, the actual locus of that isolation becomes problematic in translation. In modern and contemporary translations of the Bible, even the words are not cognate. For instance, as shown below, in the English, Finnish and Sámi versions of this Gospel, the location of Esaias' desert solitaire varies culturally with the language.

In the King James Edition of the Bible, most often considered the poetic standard for the English Bible, the prophet's is a voice crying in the "wilderness," which is defined as a "wild and uncultivated region, as of forest or desert." In other words, wilderness is a place outside of cultivation, beyond the fields and pastures of home, untouched by the agrarian imperative of the Old Testament (see Fig. 6).

1 In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judaea,
2 And saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.
3 For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying,

**The voice of one crying in the *wilderness***

Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

wilderness: 1. A wild and uncultivated region, as of forest or desert, uninhabited or inhabited only by wild animals; a tract of wasteland. 2. Any desolate tract, as of open sea. 3. A part of a garden set apart for plants growing with unchecked luxuriance. 4. A bewildering mass or collection. [ME, OE *wilder(en)* wild (*wildor, wilder* wild beast _+ -*en* –EN) + -NESS, the n. suffix r. adj. one] (*Random House Dictionary of the English Language*)

**Fig. 6. English translation of *"wilderness"***

The Finnish Bible, which was translated in the 16th century by Mikael Agricola, archbishop of Turku, was based on Luther's German translation and so has a somewhat stronger Protestant flair than the King James Bible, although the thrust of that protest is not as clear in this passage as in the entire Bible. Here the prophet Jesaja hears a voice calling in the "erämaa." A standard English-Finnish dictionary defines "erämaa" as a wild place, but the comprehensive *Nykysuomen sanakirja* also includes a definition of "erämaa" as hunting and trapping lands. In other words, when considered through the agrarian tradition, "erämaa" is a wild, uncultivated place, but considered through a hunting-trapping tradition, it is a place to hunt and trap (see Fig. 7). Interestingly, later versions of the Finnish Bible use other words to translate the Latin, using both "korpi" or "backwoods" and "autiomaa" or "empty lands" (http: //www.funet.fi/ pub /doc /bible/html/finnish/1992/Matt.3.html).

1 Niinä aikoina Johannes kastaja esiintyi ja saarnasi Judean erämaassa
2 ja sanoi: "Tehkäät parannus, sillä taivaan valtakunta on lähestynyt!"
3 Sillä hän on se, josta Jesaja profetta puhui, sanoessaan:
**"Huutavan ääni kuuluu *erämaassa*:**
Valmistakaat Herralle tietä, tehkäät polut hänelle tasaiseksi."
erämaa: 1 wilderness (a pathless wilderness *tietön* ~; of streets *kivi*~); (*korpi*) (*pl*) wilds (of Lapland *Lapin* ~*t*; go out into the wilds *lähteä* ~*han*); ~*n* (*adj*) desert, wild (nature *luonto*); ~*n kutsu* the call of the wild 2 (*autiomaa*) desert (the Sahara Desert *Saharan* ~) 3 *(hist*) = *eräalue* ~alue desert area, waste land ~vaellus wandering in the desert (of the Israelites *israelilaisten* ~) (*Uusi suomi-englanti suur-sanakirja*)
erämaa. *s.* 1. asumaton, metsäinen seutu, salo (maa), korpi, kaukainen takamaa. / Jylhä, synkkä, asumaton e. Lapin tiettömät e: at. E: an rauha, yksinäisyys. Kaukaisten e: itten asukas. Paeta e: an kätköön. – *Erik.* Hiekka- t. kivi- aavikko, autiomaa. / Polttava e. Saharan e. E: an keltainen hiekka. E: an laiva 'yksikyttyräinen kameli, dromedaari'. Keidas e: assa. – *Yhd.* Hiekka, kallio-, kivi-, louhikko-, lumi-, suoe. 2. Riista-, saalistusmaa; vars. *hist.* Kaukana rintamaista sijaitseva metsästys-, kalastus- t. kaskenviljelyalue, erä, eräalue, nautintamaa. / Hämäläisten e: at. E: an omistus. Taistella e: ista. E: iden asuttaminen. Anialla oli melkoisia e: ita mm. Haapamäellä ja Rämingissä. 3. *kuv.* yksitoikkoisesta, ikävästä paljoudesta, asiasta t. olemisesta, tapahtumasta. / Kokonainen e. koneita. Numeroe. Kieliopin kuiva e. Hengen e. Kahvitauko oli ainoana vaihteluna konttorityön e: assa. Elämäni olisi ilman sinua lohduton e. – maailma oli alkuaan riidan, sodan ja turmeluksen ja pahennuksen e., mutta sen keskessä oli rauhan ja rakkauden keidas AHO. (*Nykysuomen sanakirja*)
erämaa: Agricolalla erimaa, alkuaan erillään oleva maa, sitten kaukainen metsäinen oleva maa, asumaton. (*Sanojen synty*)

**Fig. 7. Finnish translation *of "erämaa"***

Both in the 19th century translation of the Sámi Bible and in the new Sámi translation of the Bible, just authorized in the year 2000, "wilderness" is a troublesome concept. According to Berit Rajala, who worked on the Sámi translation committee, the term they chose reluctantly is "meahcci," which means a place where one can hunt and fish and pick berries, etc. To really fulfill the idea of wild wilderness, a desert where nothing can live, they had to modify the term, "ávdin meahcci," meaning "empty forest." (Rajala, personal communication, April 13, 2000) (See Fig. 8.)

1 Mutto dain sæmma beivin boði Johannes gastašægje ja sardnedi Judea mæcest ja celki:
2 Jorggaleket ječaidædek; dastgo alma rika læ boattam lakka!
3 Dastgo son læ dat, gæn birra profet Esaias læ sardnom, gutte cælkka:

**Dat læ su jiedna, gutte mæcest čuorvvo:**

Rakadeket Hærra gæino, dakket su balggaid njuolggaden!

meahcci: *s.* asumaton seutu, autiomaa, erämaa, selkonen, takamaa, metsä, *meahci valji* riista (*Sámi-suoma sátnegirji*)
mæc'ce: pasture land, open country, waste country, wilds; wilderness, desert (relig.) (Nielsen)

**Fig. 8 . Sámi translation of *"meahcci"***

The problem with wilderness is that it is an elusive cultural construct, depending on whether one finds oneself inside the woods or outside. What is the wild sublime to one culture is home and sustenance to another. In Western modern experience, wilderness is outside of Western culture even though wilderness itself is a cultural construct. In Sámi culture, there is no such distinction; hunting and herding grounds are also home.

In direct contrast to an ecological approach of recognizing nature and reconciling human action is the modernist approach that dismisses nature completely. Nature is irrelevant to the modern experience, as clearly articulated by a number of theorists. According to Oscar Wilde, we cannot perceive nature without art. Jacques Derrida, the deconstructionist, posits a similar position that without culture there is no nature. *A priori*, according to these 20th century Westerners, without human texts there is no natural text. As Bagby writes in his examination of Robert Frost and "The Book of Nature," modernists and deconstructionists have made nature

> thoroughly textualized: particular trees and mountains and streams may exist (without meaning) outside of literary works, but "nature" — that beautiful scenery and potentially meaningful text — exists only in certain traditions of painting and what we call nature writing. (xii)

Nature, whether central to human understanding or entirely peripheral, nevertheless is a key element in this examination of Sámi literature. Like the Sámi, who have been largely marginalized in their history by dominant powers, women and nature have also been marginalized in modern times. In her intellectual histories of the ecological movement, Carolyn Merchant has defined nature historically in *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*. Merchant emphasizes the Western associations of nature with women, resulting in the alienation and commodification of both nature and women with the Scientific Revolution:

> *Nature* in ancient and early modern times had a number of interrelated meanings. With respect to individuals, it referred to the properties, inherent characters, and vital powers of persons, animals, or things, or more generally to human nature. It also meant an inherent impulse to act and to sustain action; conversely, to "go against

> nature" was to disregard this innate impulse. With respect to the material world, it referred to a dynamic creative and regulatory principle that caused phenomena and their change and development. A distinction was commonly made between *natura naturans*, or nature creating, and *natura naturata*, the natural creation.
>
> Nature was contrasted with art (*techné*) and with artificially created things. It was personified as a female being, e.g., Dame Nature; she was alternately a prudent lady, an empress, a mother, etc. The course of nature and the laws of nature were the actualization of her force. The state of nature was the state of mankind prior to social organization and prior to the state of grace. Nature spirits, nature deities, virgin nymphs, and elementals were thought to reside in or be associated with natural objects.
>
> In both Western and non-Western cultures, nature was traditionally feminine. In Latin and the Romance languages of medieval and early modern Europe, nature was a feminine noun, and hence, like the virtues (temperance, wisdom, etc.), personified as female. (Latin: *natura, -ae*; German: *die Natur*; French: *la nature*; Italian: *la natura*; Spanish: *la natura*.) The Greek word *physis* was also feminine. (xxiii)

Curiously, the Sámi language — like other Finno-Ugric languages — does not have linguistic notions of gender, which somewhat dampens an overtly feminist analysis of Sámi nature descriptions. While there are gender roles assigned to the Sun as Father and to the Earth as Mother, which births the sun, these are primarily spiritual, rather than biological roles. Within Western thought, culture is often considered a male construct, while nature is considered a female construct. This clear distinction between male and female does not occur within natural thought systems, where living creatures are endowed with spirit, rather than sexuality.

Camille Paglia has considered this problem of humans, nature and sexuality in her radical *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson*. Paglia sees nature as a pagan force, still visible under a gloss of Judeo-Christianity, arguing: "Judeo-Christianity never did defeat paganism, which still flourishes in art, eroticism, astrology, and pop culture (xiii)." I would add that paganism also flourishes in native traditions, often camouflaged by the Judeo-Christian aesthetic, a form of religious syncretism. We can see this in the ways that the traditional Sámi image drum and the yoik operate as the primary modes of communications in a book, which has all the formal appearances of a Western book of poetry, as in Áillohaš's *Beaivi, Áhčážan*.

## *Nature / Culture*

In many ways, the problem of separating nature and culture is tremendously exacerbated in modern, urban settings, where natural resources are commodified and packaged conveniently. The technology and processes by which a natural product arrives in one's home are magically erased, and all that is left is the commodity, distinct in itself and separate from its source. A ready example is the child who thinks that milk comes in cartons, never realizing a particular cow that grazed in a particular meadow and drank

from a particular spring was the original source. Modern dairy farming methods also have separated the calf from its mother to increase milk production, thus eliminating the reproductive cycle from the overall picture. Savvy advertising may capitalize on the romantic characteristics of this cow and perhaps its calf, but the cow, too, has been commodified in the glossy ads or 30-second spots.

This enormous distance visible between natural resource and commodity is also visible in literature. While the most compelling example might be the overwhelming emphasis on alienation in modern Western literature and on fragmentation in postmodern Western literature, a more telling example may be found in a simple classroom discussion of a 20th century poet. When I teach Robert Frost to my students, I have to go to great lengths for them to understand the actual and literal meanings of the poems, which they immediately consider to be symbolic statements. Instead of nature, they read Nature; instead of reality, they read Reality. They simply do not know the stuff of life from North of Boston that Frost knew through working on his hardscrabble farms (cf. Cook, "Robert Frost's Concept of Place," 20). Of course, some of this confusion on the parts of young readers is due to their emergence as critical readers, but much of it is due to their actual ignorance of the poet's reality.

For instance, in "Into My Own," the poem that opens *A Boy's Will* (1913), Frost writes about escaping into "those dark trees." For him the forest is a source of danger and temptation and renewal. Even students who are not outdoorsmen appreciate the idea of escape and renewal. However, the problems come later when we look at the particulars of the poem. In the second stanza of this sonnet, Frost is at his very best, using the actual nature of the New England agrarian tradition to describe the actual physical reality of such escape:

> I should not be withheld but that some day
>
> Into their vastness I should steal away,
>
> Fearless of ever finding open land,
>
> Or highway where the slow wheel pours the sand.
>
> ("Into My Own," Frost 5)

Rather than reading "open land" as an actual landscape of open pastures and meadows and hayfields of northern New England, students see only the symbolic Reality of open space, in contrast to the darkness of the forest. And "the slow wheel" that "pours the sand" is not an actual buggy wheel rolling over a sandy road, but rather some symbolic representation of a human lifespan. So, while the symbolic meaning of the poem remains, even for the novice literary scholar, the actual physical and experiential sensation of open land and slow wheel have been eliminated from their catalog of experience and understanding. Thus, a reader unfamiliar with the realities of New England farming leaps to the Reality of the poem, unfamiliar with the "need of being versed in country things."

Frost actually negotiates the boundary between nature and culture in a very deliberate way, drawing on the English Romantic and American Transcendental traditions of descriptive-meditative encounter (Bagby xii–xiii). As critic George Bagby writes, Frost was keenly aware of the role the imagination plays in delving the meaning of nature,

always aware of the danger of allowing the subjective imagination too free rein or denying it any power at all. In discussing Frost's emblem poem, "The Need of Being Versed in Country Things" (Frost 241–2), Bagby recognizes the poet's visit to a burnt-out farm as being fraught with desire for what has been. Without the common sense of a country life experienced on country terms, the nostalgic visitor could experience the bird song from the still-standing barn "more like the sigh we sigh / From too much dwelling on what has been."

> The need to avoid the subjectivist extreme is the obvious point of "The Need of Being Versed in Country Things," where human nostalgia for the past threatens to misread the phoebes' song as a lament — the imagination almost fails to draw that necessary "line where man leaves off and nature starts." But Frost is also aware that, in seeking to avoid subjectivism, the observer may run the risk of falling into an opposite error, which equally impairs his vision — the error of drawing the line so heavily that he fails to see, in the otherness of nature, any kinship or value. (34)

Similarly, a knowledge of Sámi things can help a reader understand Sámi nature and Sámi poetry. As for American college students unversed "in country things," a Western reader unversed in Sámi things will have a diminished understanding of this native poetry without an understanding of the Sámi ecology.

## *nature — culture*

To carry this discussion further, we can consider that there is both a real, experiential nature and a real, perceived reality, as well as a culturally experienced Nature and a culturally perceived Reality (capitalization mine), an emic/etic distinction discussed at length by Tim Ingold in his "Hunting and Gathering as Ways of Perceiving the Environment" (*Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication* 118–9). Drawing on the insider/outsider dichotomy of Harris and Pike (cf. Headland, "Introduction", *Emics and Etics*, 13–25), Ingold suggests that for hunter-gatherers, the primary mode of cultural construction is of *action*, rather than *metaphor*. There is an "ontology of dwelling," which activates perceptions of nature as real. In other words, native peoples live IN nature — reality — rather than in the Nature of Reality:

> [T]he human condition [is] that of a being immersed from the start, like other creatures, in an active, practical and perceptual engagement with constituents of the dwelt-in world. This ontology of dwelling … provides us with a better way of coming to grips with the nature of human existence than the alternative, Western ontology whose point of departure is that of a mind detached from the world and which has literally to formulate it — to build an intentional world in consciousness — prior to any attempt at engagement. The contrast … is not between alternative views of the world: it is rather between two ways of apprehending it, only one of which (the Western) may be characterized as the construction of a view, that is, as a process of mental representation. As for the other, apprehending the world is not a matter of

> construction but of engagement, not of building but of dwelling, not of making a view *of* the world but of taking up a view *in* it. (Ingold 121)

The Sámi have traditionally been nomadic reindeer herders, and they have actively procured their living from the land as hunter-fisher-gatherers. Living close to Arctic resources has been a precondition of Sámi existence, one that tempers the Sámi worldview. Tuula Tuisku, a Finnish researcher of reindeer herding in Sápmi and among the Nenets in Siberia, suggests that nomadism in the Far North has differed drastically from the pastoral models of the Middle East and Asia. The extreme Arctic ecology restricts economic activity to what many would still consider primitive herding, fishing, and hunting (e-mail communication, 21 January 2000). The ecological conditions of the Arctic per force require an active involvement with the environment that more temperate, urban conditions do not. Many Westerners would consider Sápmi a wild, empty wilderness destination, a place impossible to live in actually or imaginatively. Yet for the Sámi, the European North is home, peopled by memory and shaped by culture.

Valkeapää articulates this sense of place in almost everything that he writes. He says that his home is not a house or other humanized landscape, but that his home is in the high fells above the treeline, where he has lived and worked and where his forebears have lived and worked:

> [T]he high fells are my home, not any particular place in the fells, not even any particular fell, but rather all of these mountains. Their night side and their day side. The sun-filled skies and the snowstorms. My home. And that of many another Sámi….
>
> Yes, I am the child of the fells — and so is many another Sámi: my brothers, my sisters. It is not at all easy to say where my home is, since all of these fells are my home. ["Kotini on tunturissa" ("My home is in the fells") 258; translation from the Finnish by Dana]

By living in the landscape, the Sámi have made it their home, even though the Sámi "ontology of dwelling" is largely invisible to Western eyes. I agree with Ingold that culture is a matter of action, rather than metaphor for hunter-gatherers and pastoralists.

Max Oelschlager, in his examination of the concept of wilderness, also points to metaphor as the key to understanding archaic and postmodern worldviews. He writes "there is a radical contrast between modern people, who live in a desacralized nature, and Paleolithic humans, who lived in a sacralized cosmos" (19). Oelschlager often turns to contemporary native peoples to help construct his theory of Paleolithic wilderness, again suggesting metaphor as a tool for understanding worldviews. Oelschlager considers that Paleolithic Hunter-Foragers likely:

- Believed that irrespective of place, nature was home
- Regarded nature as intrinsically feminine
- Thought of nature as alive
- Assumed that the entire world of plants and animals, even the land itself, was sacred
- Surmised that divinity could take many natural forms and that metaphor was the mode of divine access
- Believed that time was synchronous, folded into an eternal mythical present

- Supposed that ritual was essential to maintaining the natural and cyclical order of life and death (Oelschlager 12)

Oelschlager is describing a Paleolithic worldview similar in its dimensions to the natural worldview, described by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in his essay, "Beaivi, terbmes ja almmidolat," ("The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven"). Although Oelschalger's descriptions of Paleolithic nature pertain neatly to a reading of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, in this work we have a contemporary creative work authored by a contemporary poet, who is active in world affairs and hardly prehistoric in his worldviews.

## Comparison of Western and Natural Worldviews

"The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven" (*ReVision*, Summer 1998) is Valkeapää's theoretical and critical essay examining the key differences in worldview between native or northern peoples and Westerners. This essay establishes a critical foundation for understanding Sámi literature. While Valkeapää's classification of Western and natural worldviews seems to beg modernist Cartesian duality, it nonetheless offers simple and profound distinctions.

In this essay, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has articulated in detail his understanding of the fundamental differences between Western and natural worldviews, including discussions of religion, culture, and a sense of place. Áillohaš's own descriptions are a wonderful foundation from which to launch a discussion of historical Western views of culture, in order to tease out the differences in cultural perception, practice, and expression, which impact an understanding of his poetry. He starts at the beginning, considering the role of worldview in shaping religions — or is it the other way around?

> *The eternal question: Does one eat the egg first? Or the chicken? It is just as fruitful to ponder whether humans create their own religions. But I dare to propose that people shape their religions to fit their needs, their purposes. Or could it be that religion shapes people to fit the religion? The fact is, nonetheless, that there are numerous religions in the world. Which differ radically among themselves. Just as the spiritual climates of various cultures vary. So whether it is a question of the egg or of the chicken, it does not matter once you get started.*
>
> *My purpose in comparing cultures through their religions is not to debate their superiority. And when I choose Christianity and natural religion, it is solely for personal reasons. And it is a poet's privilege to create verse.*
>
> *What a person believes determines how he lives. Determines what is good, important, right. With time it shapes the worldview, the culture's thought model. And even if one individual does not believe, the culture does shape that person's way of life, form of thought, nature of deeds.* ("Sun, Thunder, Fires of Heaven")

Valkeapää schematizes comparisons of Western and natural religions, with the recognition that these underlying cultural understandings shape a person's "way of life, form of thought, nature of deeds." He begins with a comparison of the worldviews

fostered by Christianity, as opposed to the worldviews fostered by natural religion. The Judeo-Christian heritage is to master nature, since God has placed man on this earth to take dominion of everything.

The Protestant tradition, which has been the dominant Western politicizing and socializing influence in Sápmi, carries the Judeo-Christian intent of mastery to its extremes. The Diet of Augsburg set the standards for the Lutheran faith in 1530, denying:

> … the possibility of salvation through one's own actions. [The Augustan Confession] notes that an individual can at the same time be both righteous and sinful. This fundamentally Lutheran realisation gives birth to the modern, contradictory human being, and the modern, human being builds the modern, functional society.
>
> Lutheranism denies the individual the possibility of buying mercy, justice or truth. These are moved inside the individual to become questions of conscience. An internal restlessness is sown within people, driving them onward to the end of the world. This is how the protestant spirit acts within us, whether or not we are members of the church. (Raittila, 44–5)

While Lutheranism and its evangelical sects, such as Laestadianism, have had profound impacts on Sámi culture, nevertheless, elements of natural religion are clearly evident in all of Áillohaš's writing.

Finnish author Yrjö Kokko, who spent his adult life in Finnish Lapland, frequently syncretizes Sámi religious belief in a clearly Lutheran paradigm. For instance, *The Way of the Four Winds* is an examination of Sámi and Laplander life around World War II in the Muonio River valley, not far from where Áillohaš grew up. The main character, Jouni, Sámi on his mother's side, Laplander on his father's side, decides to take a Sámi wife. His decision takes place on the high fells, and Kokko's description shows a fine sensitivity to the role of landscape in life decisions, as well as to the ritual nature of that hill country.

> The hill beneath [Jouni's] feet lay motionless, but it was alive. It had laid its head in its arm and hidden a smiling mouth in the crook of its elbow. Spring had made the ground as soft as a girl's skin, and it was young. It spied on Jouni stealthily as he moved like a fly over its rounded haunch.
>
> Hill country is Madderakka: the mother of all new life. Madderakka had caught Jouni in her snare and meant to show Death that she was more powerful, more wily than he. When the time comes, Madderakka will send her daughter Sarakka to watch over the seed unfolding in the womb of Jouni's wife; and if Jouni can please Juksakka, her second daughter, his wife will bear a son whose little feet the third daughter, Uksakka, will swathe in the soft shoe-hay of her blessing.
>
> What is Jouni, with outland knowledge and the sturdy legs of a Lapp? A little insect, and his joys and sorrows are like the hum of midges. And the girl he goes to meet? A shy yellow violet that has grown up in the shelter of the rocks.
>
> Here the mighty Bieggagalles blows his winds from all four quarters of the sky. Madderakka and Death fight their everlasting battle.
>
> Yet above them too stands the Great Master. (279–80)

While Kokko invokes the Sámi gods and goddesses in their multifarious natures, he ends his novel definitively by evoking a Christian "Great Master."

Interestingly, the Russian Orthodox missions among the easternmost Sámi were initially quite tolerant of native traditions, resulting in relative religious syncretism, or reconciliation of Christian and native belief systems. Consequently, among the Skolt and Kola Sámi many ethnic beliefs have been preserved, which were eradicated or driven underground in the Lutheran areas of Sápmi (Sergejeva 177). However, the shamanic elements of Sámi ritual practice and the place of humans in the natural world order still differ significantly from Christian practice.

In distinct contrast to Christian and especially Protestant tradition, natural religions emphasize the kinship among all elements of nature, while the problems of "mercy, justice or truth" remain matters for the kinship groups. The animals and birds and plants are Áillohaš's sisters and brothers, a view that corresponds neatly to Oelschlager's description of hunter-foragers. The key difference between Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Max Oelschlager, however, is that Valkeapää is speaking about contemporary Sámi worldviews, while Oelschlager is speaking about prehistoric, Paleolithic archaic worldviews. To reconcile this difference, one has to decide if Sámi culture is an atavistic remnant reminiscent of the Stone Age, or if it is a contemporary, viable culture, capable of communicating its meaning despite the impress of postmodernism. Regardless, the compelling correspondences between the two point to an amazing connection between the prehistoric and the postmodern.

André Codrescu, outré Romanian-American poet-provocateur, in his insightful analysis of the post-Soviet world challenges us to realize that we are caught here between the two extremes embodied in a contemporary, native poet. "At one point … is the old oral tradition (preliterate, mythical, forbidden, trivial), and at the other point is the new oral tradition (postliterate, inescapable, global)." (*The Disappearance of the Outside*, 123) The technology of writing is the functional characteristic of a literary tradition, although, as Arnold Krupat tells us in *Voice in the Margin*, poetry differed significantly in either the oral or the written tradition from other lettered traditions:

> [H]istorically literature was simply the term for whatever language Western cultures deemed important enough to preserve by means of the technology of writing. Literature, from Latin *littera*, letter, as is well known, served broadly to indicate anything that had been written down and — to achieve a measure of social circulation — copied over. (For oral societies without alphabetic "letters," literature is whatever language is deemed worthy of sufficient repetition to assure that it will be remembered and passed along. From a quantitative point of view, oral cultures will inevitably have less literature than chirographic and print cultures.) Now, although everything written down might have at least an etymological claim to be taken as "littera — ture," poetry, the term that precedes our modern term literature, was always distinguished as a specific kind of writing different from lettered discourse in general because of its curious capacity to appeal either to the emotions, the senses, the imagination, or the fancy — the faculty posited varies with each commentator's psychological understanding and social vision — all of which were contrasted in some greater or lesser degree with the rational or analytical faculties to which other written discourse makes its primary appeal. Poetry, by its rhyme and meter, or — this is the case in

> literary prose — by its figures and structure, *delights* us; it is pleasurable beyond what can be accounted for rationally. (Krupat 39)

Particularly problematic in native literatures emerging now at the beginning of the Information Age is the lack of a significant lettered tradition, and the parallel existence of preliterate and postliterate elements in what may well be a soon-to-be vestigial literary tradition. Robin McGrath suggests that Inuit authors today have a simultaneous grasp of both the Stone Age and Atomic Age, saying:

> It is virtually impossible for an Eskimo today to write of his life without being acutely aware that he (sic) is something of a time traveler, born in a culturally rich but primitive nomadic isolation. Brought up to a life of satellite communication, he is always referring back and always looking forward with an intelligent eye, a fresh approach and a retentive memory. (93)

The conflicting position of a native poet writing in a postmodern era would seem to invite alienation and fragmentation, but Valkeapää's stance is so firmly grounded in his own culture that it acts rather as a corrective to global distresses. The same lived experience that Inuit enjoy and that gives contemporary Inuit literature some of its edge that might be compared to Valkeapää's simultaneous creative control and lived experience of an ancient tradition.

## *Comparison of Western and Natural Religions*

The painfulness of Christian teachings is reflected more than once in Valkeapää's poetry. In the 14th cycle of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, outsiders impose their ways on the Sámi. The photos in this cycle are even more wrenching, taken from the Institute of Race Biology's unsettling photographs of non-Aryan Sámis. Even so, the poet's even, quiet voice does not falter, although the irreconcilable divides in this conflicting worlds are ever more evident.

The wrenching experience of being measured for racist purposes is told in some details in Frank Jenssen's *The Salt Bin* (1981; English translation by 1998 by Roland Thorstensson). This novel tells the story of Agnar, a young Sámi man, trying to make a living on the Norwegian-Swedish boundary. On a cloudberry-gathering expedition to Swedish Lapland, the group listens to an old Sámi telling stories of how the Nazis had plans to send Sámi to concentration camps in Hungary, and how Sámi served as guides for Norwegians across the mountains into neutral Sweden (26–7). The old man continues with the story of a strange book that Agnar has never seen:

> "It must have been in the twenties or around that time," says the old man and stares out into the night. "Then a professor comes to Kjöpsvik, from Oslo. In Kjöpsvik he enlists the services of a Norwegian farmer, a fellow who knows the area, and together they travel around the fjord."
>
> ….

> "Yes, around the whole fjord, to every settlement along it. And wherever they come, they have to measure us Sámi folks, or 'Lapps' as they called us. They measure how big our heads are, the position of our ears, how high our cheek bones are, how broad we are across the shoulders … everything they measure. The people get scared and run for the mountains. But they gagged the poor ones that the professor and his aid (sic) got hold of, held them in check while they used the tape measure, the farmer holding and the other one measuring. So if you want to see how we really are, you can just leaf through the book. There are pictures of us, too, and you can borrow the book from the library in Kjöpsvik. I can't read, and I think the book is written in German, but many people say that the books shows that we Sámi aren't as good as other people. I think you'd find many of your relatives in the book." (Jenssen 27)

Contrasting the photographic intent of the original photos with Áillohaš's inclusion of them in his "family album" emphasizes the vast irony of the inclusion of any photographs at all. Despite the racist content of the photos, the poet's even, quiet voice does not falter, although the enormous contradiction implicit in these conflicting worlds is ever more evident.

For instance, there is an irredeemable loss of innocence between Poem 428 at the foot of one page and Poem 429 at the top of the next, between the natural joy of life and the compelling sweaty sense of sweaty Biblical duty.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *428.* | *illu* | *happiness* |
| | *miela čuovga* | *the mind's shining* |
| *429.* | *čabbodat* | *beauty* |
| | *lea suddu* | *is sinful* |

For Westerners, the Bible, specifically the Jewish Old Testament, establishes the human condition. Hugh Brody, the versatile scholar and philosopher, believes that agrarian demands of God in Genesis supplant the hunter-gatherer ways of being that had been the standard of human existence theretofore. In his provocative book, *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers and the Shaping of the World*, Brody speculates that the advent of agriculture and the spread of Indo-European languages are at the source of Western colonialism. And Genesis is the creation story that supports this Indo-European and agrarian tradition.

> With its place at the centre of both knowledge and morality, as the wellspring of Judeo-Christian heritage, and with its place as the source of humanity, surely Genesis was a universal story. Not *a* myth, but *the* myth. In European culture — be it theology, art or literature — Genesis is the text that stands, somehow without question, beyond challenge, as the myth that carries…. The universality of genesis is assumed and implicit. If a figure is Eve, then she represents all women; if a man is Cain, he evokes all murderers; if a boat is an ark, it stands for the salvation of human and animal life on earth; if a tower is Babel, it shows the essence of human conceit and the puzzle of language itself. The images, ideas and ideals of western civilization again and again take their inspriration and metaphors from the creation story of the Jews. (71–2)

Valkeapää makes an argument similar to Brody's, although he couches his argument as the contrast between "Western" and "natural" systems, rather than between hunting and farming ways of life. In the table below adapted from "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven," Valkeapää demonstrates the Christian stance of dominance over nature in contrast to the natural sense of kinship with all nature. In the Western stance, there is a division between self and nature. In the natural stance, the self is part of nature.

*Table 9. Comparisons of Western and Natural Religions*

| Christianity | Natural Religion |
|---|---|
| Go and do. The plants of the earth. The animals of the forest. And fish. Subjects. | Animals and birds and plants. Nature, all this. My sisters and brothers. |
| Lord of Nature. | Part of nature. Mother Earth. |
| Others are pagans. With primitive cultures. | Surely nature teaches. The reindeer lead. |
| Earn your bread by the sweat of your brow. Punishment. | I follow. The joy of life. Nature, powerful nature. Sun, moon, wind, thunder gods. Stars are our guides. |
| There shall be no other God before you. And He is a just God. | |
| Go forth and do. Even unto space, past the moon, into the Unknown. | Space is internal. Power is within us. The world is within us. |

As Valkeapää points out, monotheistic Western traditions place one god over all as the Lord of Nature. In the Western Judeo-Christian tradition, God, humans, and nature are seen as separate and distinct entities, opposing dualities that go to the core of our worldview. The same dualities extend to the ways in which we read and study literature. Indeed, a generic approach to literature outlines the basic oppositions from which plot derives as being humans versus society, humans versus nature or humans versus self.

The Western dichotomy between nature and culture is further articulated in the duality between thought and action and the distinction between mind and body. In contrast, the shaman-poet in *Beaivi, Áhčážan* passes between worlds and beyond time, where there are no dualities of nature and humans, or of nature and self — despite an emerging theme of wrenching alienation between the Sámi and the dominant society (Cycle 14: Images 396–413; Poems 414–432).

Valkeapää further posits that there are significant differences in Western and natural cultures. Western culture is concerned with posterity and professions, while natural cultures concern themselves with process and ritual. These are fundamental differences in worldview that profoundly affect perceptions.

*Table 10. Comparison of Western and Natural Cultures*

| | |
|---|---|
| For all time. To remind future generations. Rigid forms. Egg. Sphere. Circle. Square. Cube. Steps. Corners. | The land is holy. Sun. Moon. Fell. Wind. Wave. Fire. Nature is beauty. |
| Specialize. Be professional. Learn the rules. Limit yourself. | Self-sufficient. Make crafts. Bake. Fish. Herd reindeer. Sing. Make fires. Tell stories. Know the weather. Learn from nature. |

Suffice it here to say that Western and natural worldviews contrast sharply, an understanding of which will help to temper a Western reading of native poetry, provided the reader has a sufficient understanding of the ecology of the place that is central to the poet's own understanding. Where Western concerns center on posterity, natural concerns center on place.

## *The Ecology of Place*

> *[P]lace can be considered either premodern or postmodern; it serves to connect these two far sides of modernity.*
>
> *[P]laces not only are, they happen. (And it is because they happen that they lend themselves so well to narration, whether as history or as story.)*
>
> *(Casey 20)*

Concurrent with the evolution of contemporary native literatures throughout the world has been the development of ecological thinking. By and large, both ecology and native literature are deeply grounded in the protest movement against modernist alienation starting in the 1960s. (Essentially, the development of native literatures worldwide and an appreciation of ecology have been contemporaneous intellectual and cultural developments for both Áillohaš and me.) An ecological way of thinking with its integrative stance of self and place stands in distinct contrast to modernism with its attendant alienation of self and to postmodernism with its attendant fragmentation.

As Oelschlager writes, "*Modernism* — understood as a historical movement that begins with the Renaissance and extends to the present — is … analogous to alchemy, for through science, technology, and liberal democracy modern people hoped to transform a base and worthless wilderness into industrialized, democratic civilization (68)." Modernism stands in direct opposition to native traditions, which are bursting from a preliterate era directly into a postliterate one, bypassing modernist and postmodernist expression. Thus, the emerging practice of literary ecology promises new ways of understanding both Western and native literatures.

Ecology is variously defined. Like the word "nature," the word "ecology" gets used variously, in fields ranging from politics to philosophy to history. As a general term, ecology usually attempts to relate — rather than integrate — human and natural activities. As Carolyn Merchant has documented in *Radical Ecology: The Search for a*

*Livable World*, the very term "ecology" has to be understood in its historical context and its various manifestations:

> The science of ecology looks at nonhuman nature, studying the numerous, complex interactions among its abiotic components ... and its biotic components. Human ecology adds the interactions between people and their environments, enormously increasing the complexities.... Social ecology ... analyzes the various political and social institutions that people use in relationship to nature and its resources [including technologies, systems of economic production, cultural systems of reproduction, laws and politics]. Ideas and ideologies, such as myths, cosmologies, religion, art, and science, offer frameworks of consciousness for interpretating [sic] life and making ethical decisions. (8–9)

Merchant goes on to demonstrate that the contradictions between production and local ecological conditions and the contradictions between production and reproduction are beginning to cause thinking people to re-evaluate their worldviews: "[These two contradictions] undermine the efficacy of western culture's legitimating [sic] worldview, pushing philosophers, scientists, and spiritualists to rethink human relationships with the nonhuman world. (11)"

Both Merchant and Oelschlager discuss the amplification, distortion, and limitations imposed by modern technology in establishing a modern worldview, a problem that goes to the heart of understanding experiential and scientific knowledge. The introduction of scientific technology as a means of perceiving the world in order to describe and measure it caused a divide between humans and nature, between perception and observation, as Oelschlager so neatly puts it in this observation about the Copernican revolution:

> [S]cientific instruments, or more accurately, the data that they convey about the world, represent both an amplification and a reduction of sensation. Through the telescope Galileo confirmed the Copernican hypothesis. What he lost was the sweeping field of view of naked eye astronomy, the relation of the Milky Way to the starry sky, and the movement of the wandering stars across the ecliptic plane. And perhaps, in his intense concentration, he lost also the sounds and smells of the night and the awareness of himself as a conscious man beholding a grand and mysterious stellar spectacle. Galileo was no longer within nature, but outside it. He became a scientific observer apart from nature, for it had been replaced with a theoretical object of inquiry. (Oelschlager 78)

The strides that Copernicus made for science and technology set up a divide between human beings and their experience, between nature and culture. Arnold Krupat, in *Voice in the Margin*, suggests that further scientific developments would lead to "Sigmund Freud's blows to human narcissism," further alienating humans from their natural sources:

> After the Copernican wound, affirming that we humans occupied not the center of the universe but just another planet revolving around the sun, and after the Darwinian wound, demonstrating that we humans were not descended from the angels of heaven but ascended from the apes of the jungle, the psychoanalytic wound came to say that we were not even masters in our own house[.](5)

The exploitative nature of most modernist systems of thoughts are so deeply entrenched that one must be very careful to declare how and if those systems are being used, particularly when human-nature relationships are being interpreted. The deeply-rooted nature of the "separation of humankind from nature's embrace"

> … began long ago with the Neolithic turn and the advent of civilization in Sumeria and Egypt. The Pre-Socratics intensified the separation by making nature an object of intellectual study; the paragons of Athens reanimated the natural world, conceiving of nature as organic and self-moving, yet they divorced the essence of our humanity (*psyche*) from nature. Judeo-Christianity both desacralized nature — since only God was divine — and raised humans above it, thinking the world God's gift to his most favored creation: *man*. The scientific and industrial revolutions were the ultimate realization of the alchemist's dream: through science the biological and physical world was conceptualized as a machine that could be understood simply as so many atoms of matter in motion…. Capitalism and democracy coalesced with machine technology to effect the conversion of nature into a standing reserve possessing market value only. Modernism thus completes the intellectual divorce of humankind from nature. (Oelschlager 95–6)

Under the philosophical leadership of Arne Naess, the deep ecology movement has made a sharp distinction between anthropocentric ecology — which Naess calls "shallow ecology" — and ecocentric ecology, which Naess calls "deep ecology." Naess goes further to talk about philosophical ecology, or "ecosophy," by which he means wisdom based in nature; ecosophy involves a shift from science to wisdom (Naess, "From the Shallow to the Deep"). Ecosophy "means the wisdom … of nature, of the universe, rather than that of human thought concerning nature (Vachon, "Ecosophy and Silvilization", 2)."

The deep ecology movement has sought to apply in its practice the principles of natural wisdom, rather than of "human thought concerning nature." A small effort has been started to apply deep ecology to literature, by considering literature — especially Romantic literature — in terms of ecological systems, rather than human systems. While these preliminary efforts have potential significance, especially in considering native literatures with their ecological worldviews, only the most modest of methodologies or critical approaches have emerged.

In an overview of the deep ecology movement, George Sessions further emphasizes this shift from a human-based worldview to an ecologically based worldview:

> The long-range Deep Ecology movement emerged more or less spontaneously and informally as a philosophical and scientific social/political movement during the so-called Ecological Revolution of the 1960s. Its main concern has been to bring about a major paradigm shift — a shift in perception, values and lifestyles — as a basis for redirecting the ecologically destructive path of modern industrial growth societies. Since the 1960s, the long-range Deep Ecology movement has been characterized philosophically by a move from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism, and by environmental activism. (ix)

Deep ecology attempts to integrate humans and nature through its emphasis on context and larger understanding:

> Deep ecology strives for holistic, contextual understanding and solutions, in direct contrast to the dualistic, mechanistic worldviews we Westerners have inherited from Descartes and Galileo…. Deep ecology does not separate humans from the natural environment, nor does it separate anything else from it. It does not see the world as a collection of isolated objects but rather as a network of phenomena that are fundamentally interconnected and interdependent. Deep ecology recognizes the intrinsic values of all living beings and views humans as just one particular strand in the web of life.... Ultimately, the recognition of value inherent in all living nature stems from the deep ecological awareness that nature and the self are one. This, however, is also the very core of spiritual awareness. Indeed, when the concept of the human spirit is understood as the mode of consciousness in which the individual feels connected to the cosmos as a whole, it becomes clear that ecological awareness is spiritual in its deepest essence and that the new ecological ethics is grounded in spirituality. (Capra, 20–1)

The associated paradigm shift from anthropocentric concerns to ecocentric concerns is one that mirrors effectively the worldview of the Sámi as presented in Áillohaš's poetry. However, the Sámi poet makes reference to a premodern condition in a postmodern age, while deep ecology is primarily a postmodern phenomenon.

Nonetheless, ecology provides a means to understand natural and cultural forces in context, unlike mechanistic science or 20th century literary criticism, which separate and isolate elements as part of the prevailing method. Ecology is used by scientists, philosophers, and politicians to provide a worldview from which to take political or scientific action. Occasionally, ecological interpretations of literature have applied, and my interests here are to cultivate this notion of literary ecology with which to assist an understanding of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's Sámi poetry. Ecology has proved to be a revolutionary force in reinterpreting and re-evaluating history, economics, and science, and has great potential as well in the humanities.

Other disciplines are also systematically re-evaluating their methods and stances at the end of the twentieth century. Of particular interest to me in my studies of native and nature writing are the ways in which anthropologists and ethnographers are steering away from the mechanistic division of culture and nature; thus, anthropologists have "tended to reproduce these oppositions" in their studies of native peoples. (Milton, 9)

> Through the period dominated by environmental determinism, it made sense to describe those studies that analysed the environmental impacts on social life as 'ecological' anthropology, because ecological relations were clearly distinguished from (though linked to) social relations. In a similar way, the strict use of the ecosystem model belongs to this tradition because it treats human beings as organisms operating in an environment rather than as actors operating in a social world. But once the emphasis shifted to a concern with how people perceive and interpret their environment, the etic distinction between ecological and social relations became redundant. For the purposes of understanding a worldview, anthropologists take their lead from those who hold that view as their own; a distinction between social and ecological relations is only significant if the people themselves treat it so. (Milton 14)

For instance, in using historical ecology to analyze changes in the New England landscape, William Cronon documents the impact, slight though it may have been, of the original Native Americans and contrasts their ecological mobility with European fixity in the landscape. New England Indians used controlled forest fires to clear the virgin forests of undergrowth to facilitate hunting. When the Puritans arrived, they were struck by the "natural," parklike beauty of the landscape, which was not the work of God — as they believed — but of their native neighbors. When fur bounties practically wiped out the beaver population in New England, the hay meadows that followed the evolution of a beaver dam also disappeared, forcing early New England farmers to do more of their clearing themselves, unaware of the important ecological contribution of beavers and their deliberate management. (Cronon, 159–161)

Thus, ecology has provided a tool to show the evident, albeit slight, harmonious humanization by Native Americans of New England, in contrast to the exploitative humanization of the Puritans. Ecology provides a lens with which to see and understand the landscape, which provided the stuff of the Native American practice of life and the materials for the proclaimed Puritan City on a Hill.

## *A Sense of Place*

> *... that close companion of heart and mind, often subdued, yet potentially overwhelming, that is known as sense of place*
>
> Keith H. Basso, "Wisdom Sits in Places" (54)

Because of its emphasis on context and natural communities, ecology turns a scholar's attention toward the actual places in which an ecological activity occurs. While literature has long emphasized the value of a sense of place for an author, that sense of place is becoming a concern to many scholars in many fields, and literary ecology is an endeavor that seeks to relate nature and humans through an understanding of place and identity. Among native peoples places often embody stories, and can themselves be stories (cf. Silko, 888; also, Rankama, Collignon, Nuttall and Fair). There is a literal association between geography and oral culture. As Leslie Marmon Silko says:

> [T]he places where the stories occur are precisely known, and prominent geographical details recalled, even if the landscape is well-known to listeners. Often because the turning point in the narrative involved a peculiarity or special quality of a rock or tree or plant found only at that place. (888)

As defined by Fritz Steele in *The Sense of Place*, place is made up of a number of factors, which he defines as setting plus psychological factors. Steele says that one's surroundings, or physical setting, plus context, or social setting, combine to create setting. Setting plus psychological factors combine to make a sense of place, or a "[particular] experience of a particular person in a particular place (11)." This sense of place contrasts with the "spirit of place," which is the special feel of a place, regardless of the person involved. Place experiences can include:

- immediate thoughts and feelings
- views of the world
- occupational experiences
- intimate knowledge of one spot
- memories and fantasies
- recognition or newness
- personal identification
- sense of accomplishment or failure
- sense of pleasure or displeasure (11–12)

Through memory and other time-bound experiences, place embodies identity. When we consider the problem of interpreting the relationships between humans and nature, a sense of place provides a locus for interpreting culture, and the self within that culture. "'Place' is an oddly misleading word … the nature of place, having a sense of place, is above all a process of situating the self, of negotiating and integrating information on many levels (Overing and Osborn 42)." In other words, place is a locus of identity and of self-interpetation. Overing and Osborn suggest that an exploration of place (as opposed to landscape) invites a kind of interdisciplinarity that I am seeking in this investigation of Sámi literature. They write:

> Our experiences and images of places, whether or not they are "the very places," might then frame a kind of functional and dynamic interdisciplinarity, or a prism of semiotic convergence. They frame a newly created space where the literary, the historical, and the cultural are in ongoing negotiation with the geographical, the personal, and the material.... (Introduction to *Landscape of Desire: Partial Stories of the Medieval Scandinavian World*.

Perhaps the issue is not so much whether there is a domination of nature by humans or a synergy between nature and humans, but rather HOW and WHERE that human-nature relationship has been negotiated.

## *Western and natural homes*

Because our homes are places rich with emotional content, a consideration of HOW and WHERE we make our homes is a way to interpret our sense of place, a problem Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has thought about in his comparison of Western and natural homes. While the Western, or Scandinavian, paradigm calls for a little farm and potato patch, the Sámi think of the whole *siida*-territory, the winter places/summer places of the annual migration. The prevailing difference is the sense of permanence and ownership inculcated by Western systems, as opposed to the occasional, but recurring sense of home that nomadic Sámi reindeer herding epitomizes.

*Table 11. Western and Natural Homes*

| | |
|---|---|
| Fences around the place. Red cabin. Potato patch. My home is my castle. | Fells are home. Winter place, summer place. Brought by the wind, taken by the wind. |
| Permanence. Eternity. Windows. Stairs. Floors. Roofs. Nameplate by the door. | Lavvu-tent, goahti-camp. Tipi. Yurt. Iglu. Hollow in the snow. Set up, take down. Move. So nature is not worn out. |

As Áillohaš says, his home is the fells, his home is in his heart; that is, he carries his sense of identity with him, and that identity is visible in the words he chooses and the images he creates to describe his sense of place. Increasingly, other native scholars and artists are also participating in the definitions concomitant to their disciplines, as in *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso. They define senses of place as "the relation of sensation to emplacement; the experiential and expressive ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced, lived, contested, and struggled over; and the multiple ways places are metonymically and metaphorically tied to identities (Introduction, 11)." Ultimately, place becomes the site of negotiation for the relationship of nature and humans, a relationship that is "metaphorically linked to identities," and profoundly grounded in time.

Ultimately, place — rather than words — becomes the site of metaphor in Áillohaš's poetry. And place is bound beyond time in memory.

## Fourth deep reading: Duovdagat, orohagat: Placenames in *Beaivi, Áhčažan*

In May 1998, when I was visiting Sápmi, I was privileged to stay with the Sámi writer, Kirsti Paltto (1947–), in her home in Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), Finland, which she shared with her Finnish husband and translator, Eino Kuokkanen, daughter Rauna Kuokkanen, and Irish son-in-law Philip Burgess. Paltto is a noted Sámi author, and her historical novels about Sápmi had greatly influenced my interest in Sámi literature.

I met several other members of her family, as well, including her mother, two sisters, and a couple of nephews. There had been eight children in the family, raised on the land higher upstream on the Deatnu River, where most of the children now had homes or summer cottages. Around Kirsti's kitchen table, where languages shifted and transformed with nearly every bite, I was the one ill equipped to participate. Kirsti and her family all spoke Sámi among themselves, while I was a quiet listener. I was fed Sámi food and taught a few words in Sámi.

When the family spoke Sámi, the tone brightened, and laughter was more frequent, including me in its good humor. Sometimes, when the subject shifted to literature and culture, we spoke Finnish (this time leaving the son-in-law out of the conversation). The tone would become serious and the timbre of our voices collectively dropped. Other times, we spoke English, this time leaving out Kirsti and her sister. Our voices seemed louder still, rather shrill, no matter the topic.

**Fig. 9. The Paltto Women in front of Rastegáissa (Dana photo)**

Later, Maarit, the artisan sister, decided she would like to return to her home higher up on the Deatnu River. She had no car, and Kirsti had no driver's license, so I drive the Paltto's car the many kilometers upstream and back, with Maarit, Kirsti, and their mother as passengers. It was a glorious sunlit day in early May, as we followed the course of the river upstream. The high fells were still snow-covered, but the strength of the sun spoke of great changes to come. We stopped partway up the river to admire the lofty snow-covered peak of Rastigáissa on the Norwegian side, and the three women posed together, the mountain of myth in the background, and the river of home below them.

All three had grown up in this river valley, but each of them read the high fells and wide river valley as a slightly different cultural landscape, each one according to her character. Kirsti told how spirits live(d) here, how Stállu slid down into the river there.

Their mother took the journey up the valley as though remembering her entire clan and family history: "I was born here…. My father went to school here, and so did I and so did my children…. My cousin worked on that farm for a while…."

Maarit, an artisan who makes Sámi jewelry with native materials, traveled with a naturalist's eye. "There are good cloudberries up there." "Probably lingonberries here." "Such and such a rock there."

Although all three chimed in on culture, kinship and natural history, that's how they each told me about their valley. Not to have known this place, even slightly, would be to know these remarkable Sámi women still less.

In a similar way, a sense of place plays into native literature generally. To know a place is to know its stories. To know its nature is to know its culture. Leslie Marmon Silko articulates this perception very clearly in her correspondence with American poet

James Wright, when she tells about trying to "translate" her stories of Laguna Pueblo life onto film:

> In a strange sort of way, [this] is an experiment in translation — bringing the land — the hills, the arroyos, the boulders, the cottonwoods in October — to people unfamiliar with it, because after all, the stories grow out of this land as much as we see ourselves as having emerged from the land there. Translations of Laguna stories seem terribly bleak on the printed page. A voice, a face, hands to point and gesture bring them alive, but if you do not know the places which the storyteller calls up in the telling, if you have not waded in the San Jose River below the village, if you have not hidden in the river willows and sand with your lover, then even as the teller relates a story, you will miss something which people from the Laguna community would not have missed. Laguna narratives are very lean because so much of the stories are shared knowledge — certainly descriptions of the river and the river willows are *not* included in the narratives because it is assumed that the listeners already know the river and the willows. So with a wonderful cinematographer, I hope to bring the stories out in a manner most faithful to the heart of the Laguna storyteller. Film will be used to create a context, a place within which the narratives reside. (*Delicacy*, 24–5)

While *Beaivi, Áhčážan* provides the cognitive map, the poet also refers directly to the lands he has known, to his "home in the heart." Often in Áillohaš's poems, placenames appear, sometimes in very concentrated form, as in Poems 74, 456, and 558 in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. In each case, a litany of names serves a different purpose, but the evocation of place is clear in all three.

## *Sápmi: Poem 74*

Poem 74 completes the fifth cycle of poems in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, where the poet claims the lands for the people pictured in the sections before and after this poem cycle.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *74* | *Čietnjalvákki čeavlás gájanas,* | *Čietnjalvákki with its proud echo,* |
| | *urtás čazat* | *greening slopes* |
| | *Jiehkkevárri várdu* | *Jiehkkevárri stands watching* |
| | | |
| | *Eallenváris riđut fierran,* | *Eallanvárri where avalanches rolled,* |
| | *firret* | *roll* |

This is very much like a traditional yoik that Áillohaš sang on his second album with the group *Daednugádde nuorat* (1973), which names all of the villages throughout Sápmi, characterizing each one with a simple, but compelling epithet. (The Sámi orthography is from the liner notes on the album, rather than standard North Sámi orthography; the translations are mine through the Norwegian translation, included in the liner notes.) Sometimes, the epithets link the place to a tool or article of clothing (Guov'dagæi'dno

varrranii'be / Guovdageaidnu, a butcher knife), other times to human characteristics (Giekkir njárga gáđaš vai'bmo / Fisker peninsula, an envious heart):

Guov'dagæi'dno varrranii'be

Guovdageaidnu, butcher knife

Kárášjåkka goar'go čoarvi

Kárášjohka, marvelous horn

Anárgielda gåmo gallut

Ánár Town, crooked forehead

Åccejåkka skoarre muod'da

Ohcejohka, tattered tunic

Buolbmat, Buolbmat lakkačoarvi

Buolbmat, Buolbmat, horn of the law

Unjár giel'da rim'be ram'be

Unjár Town, the halt and the lame

Giekkir njárga gáđaš vai'bmo

Giekkir peninsula, an envious heart

This type of yoik is similar to the personal naming yoiks by which Sámi children received their Sámi identity. Áillohaš has participated in collecting and recording name-yoiks in *The Magic of Sámi Yoik*, which includes 37 personal yoiks, including a yoik for Áillohaš (No. 6, 1: 32). In Poem 73, the poet evokes *"people from distant times"* (*"dolož olbmot"*), in the same breath with which he then evokes "*Čietnjalvákki with its proud echo, / greening slopes // Jiehkkevárri [which] stands watching // [and] Eallanvárri where avalanches rolled, / roll*".

While it would be tempting for a Western literary scholar to identify in Poem 74 the anthropomorphism of place, I would contend that it is, rather, a native recognition of kinship with place. That is, poet and place are of the same kin, and they receive their names in similar ways. The effect of the naming yoik is further intensified in the recorded recitation of Poem 74, where each placename is followed by the silvery chimes of distant bells.

## *Prophecies of Displacement: Poem 456*

In distinct contrast to the homelike feel in the litany of placenames to follow in Poem 558, the effect of Poem 456 has a distinctly unsettling effect. The poem is introduced with heavy, bass chords, and is very emphatic, with full, long sentences filled with placenames, which do not feel anything like home or family! It comes midway through a

cycle I have named "The faith," in which the poet negotiates nimbly, if wearily and desperately, between Sámi tradition and Western culture.

Like Poem 272 about the reindeer herd on the move, where the poet insists on using the original Sámi as the only language sufficiently descriptive for a reindeer roundup, placenames have been left in the original Sámi in the English translation. In the Finnish version, translated by Pekka Sammallahti, the placenames have been put into their Finnish versions, as would have happened as the Scandinavian governments took ever greater control of their northern borders. The closing of the northern borders cut people off from their families, their siidat, their orohagat. Poem 456 talks about resettlement, listing the places where people were taken or left as the borders are defined. These are the very places from which Sámi people were literally uprooted and displaced. This is a litany of upheaval.

## *Places named in Poem 456*

*Másealgi (Maaselkä)*

*Suomanjárga (Käsivarsi)*

*Suovddit (Suonttajärvi)*

*Rounál (Rounala)*

*Geaggáneatnu (Könkämäeno)*

*Vuohču (Vuotso)*

*Vazáž (Vittanki)*

*Borjjas (Porjus)*

*Váisá (Vaisa)*

*Jieknjáffu (Jiekngaafu)*

This poem, and the entire cycle surrounding it, is filled with displacements and resettlements and uprootings. Even the yoiks are different, heavy with presentiment. The final poem of this dread-filled cycle, Poem 464, contains a frightening bloody premonition that goes on for two pages. Perhaps this poem and its preceding cycles should be read as a prophecy narrative (cf. Julie Cruikshank's chapter on prophecy narratives *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*). The poet is reluctantly forced to prophesy: *I saw blood / thick blood shining red / and when you ask / I have to answer.* A Sámi sense of place is not universally a sense of home.

## *At Home: Poem 558*

In another litany of places, the effect is quite other. Poem 558, a long, eight-page poem, with intermingled italic and regular type, comes in a late cycle I have named "The gatherings," for its evocative memories of Sámi groupings. And yet, the poet is very much alone in the poems, preceded though they may be by photographs of large groups, accompanied by lively yoiks with flocks of geese calling companionably on migration in the background. When Poem 554 starts, the poet's loneliness and the onset of winter and old age are apparent. The geese calling are replaced by the sounds of trickling water and lonely bird call. The poet is very much alone in the cold:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *555.* | *akto* | *555.* | *alone* |
| | *buolaš* | | *frost* |
| | *ii šat mihkegge* | | *nothing more* |
| | *eai oba jurdagatge* | | *not even thoughts* |

As Harald Gaski suggests, the shaman-poet sees himself alone in his *siida*-family (Gaski, personal communication). As an artist, as someone who speaks with birds and stones, as someone whose knowledge of birdcall and windvoice is keener than his communion with fellow humans, Áillohaš sets himself apart, although still a part of the natural-cultural whole that is his Sámi identity, his northern identity, his native identity. His is not the norm for Sámi activity. He is not a reindeer herder, he is not apt at marketing, but he is gifted at reading dreams and images and in hearing the voices therein; he is a shaman-poet.

As discussed above, the recitation of places in Poem 558 follows an invocation of the wind, a preparation for dream travel across familiar and beloved places. Perhaps more importantly than the evocation of place I am considering here, this poem is a kind of testimonial to the life of the shaman-poet. It is, as well, a continuing series of dear, little poems describing what makes the heart ache and throb, memories of meaning and place. The page starts with a definition of the infinite changefulness of wind and time, light and shadow.

And then, there is a sudden listing of place names, in their original Sámi in all translations. These are places up and down the Arm of Finland, where Áillohaš made his home as a child (personal communication from the poet). In the way they are recited in the accompanying tapes, one gets the sense that here is home, these are the places that define self and place.

Rohpi Gahperus Stuora Njeaidán

Ropi

Gahperus

Great Njeaidán

In this first line, the poet outlines the extent of the annual migrations, up into Rohpi Fell, 940 meters above river level, with a vista northward toward the Gahperus Ridge along

the Norwegian border, some fifty kilometers toward the sea. From Gahperus Ridge, a string of peaks 1,060, 1,139, and 1,213 meters high, one can descend to the seaside of Lyngen Fjord along the great, abrupt drop of the Great Descent, plunging within thirty kilometers from a thousand meters of elevation to sea level.

And in the clusters of names that follow in Poem 558, we have spots on the map that only the most astute of those who have dwelled there can locate.

Galbasuolu Čiŋkárášša Bielločohkka

Derpmesvárri Jollánoaivi Njamátvuopmi Gođđoguoika

Luossačahca Dápmotoaivi Návdebuolža Bierdnamaras

Suohpat Sáđgi Urttasvággi

Silbajávri

A glossary of terms gives us some idea of the descriptive powers of these place names, of their ecological place in the livelihoods of the reindeer herders who migrate up and down these heights and fords and rapids and hills:

Placenames in Poem 558

Galbasuolu Čiŋkárášša Bielločohkka
Calf Island Hopping Gravel Hill Bell Crown Hill
Derpmesvárri Jollánoaivi Njamátvuopmi Gođđoguoika
Derpmes Fell Jollá Head Sucking Bog Valley Spawning Falls
Luossačahca Dápmotoaivi Návdebuolža Bierdnamaras
Salmon Gorge Brown Trout HillWolf Ridge Birch Bear Hill
Suohpat Sáđgi Urttasvággi
The Fords The Moors Angelica Dell
Silbajávri
Silver Lake

bierdna – bear
buolža – (cross)ridge
čahca – high pass between two mountains; gorge, defile
čiŋká – hop
čohkka – summit, top; crown of a hat
dápmot – brown trout (Salmo trutta fario)
galbi – cow's calf
gođđo – (gođđu) spawn
guoika – falls
luossa – salmon
maras – birch-covered hill
njamát (njamadit – to nurse, suck)
návde – wolf (or fur-bearing creature)
oaivi – head; hill standing alone
rášša – karu (bald), somerikkoinen (gravelbank), korkea vaara (high hill), tunturi (fell)
sáđgi – heathlands, moors
suohpa – ford, crossing place
suolu – island
urttas – angelica root
vággi – short, deep valley
várri – hill, mountain, fell (by itself; monadnock)
vuopmi – a wide, wooded river valley; (treeless) bog or marsh in a river valley
(Sammallahti, Sámi-Suoma Sátnegirji; Uusi Suomi-Englanti Sanakirja)

The descriptive powers of these placenames are great — these are the places that constitute the "home in the heart" for this Sámi poet. These places are much more difficult to place on Western maps, many of which do not honor the Sámi names, and many of which do not record the smaller places. But in this dense recitation of places, we have a sense of home, one that has constituted the ecology of place, the poetics of dwelling for the poet. By naming places, the poet conjures up their essence and gives them a poetic truth that directly confronts geographic reality.

# 5 Landscape and literature

The whole earth

is a great tablet

holding the multiple overlaid new and ancient traces

of the swirl of forces.

*Gary Snyder, The Practice of the Wild (27)*

## Aesthetics and landscape

A sense of place is central to a sense of identity, and central to Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's art and writing. Yet how that sense of place is constructed culturally has deep reverberations in the construction of art. As a means of viewing the construction of a sense of place, let us first consider how the notion of landscape has evolved within the Western worldview. Like the word "nature," the term "landscape" seems a simple word at first. However, for this study, "landscape" is highly problematic, manifesting the same cluster of cultural constructs as can be found in the lengthy definitions of "nature" (Chapter 3).

"Landscape" is not a term that occurs in the core vocabulary of the Sámi, thus landscape is a foreign concept in the Sámi worldview, as it is in other native traditions. Leslie Marmon Silko, a Laguna Pueblo Indian, writes in "Landscape, History, and the Pueblo Imagination" that "[native] identity is linked with all the elements of Creation" (885). While she uses the term "landscape" in discussing how the Pueblo imagination is present and visible in the rocks and mesas of her homeland, she makes very certain that we understand she is using the term in a sense beyond the Western definition:

> So long as the human consciousness remains *within* the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term *landscape*, as it has entered the English language, is misleading … [The term *landscape*] assumes the viewer is somehow *outside* or *separate*. [Native v]iewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulders they stand on. There is no high mesa edge or mountain peak where one can stand and not

> immediately be part of all that surrounds. Human identity is linked with all the elements of Creation…. (885–6)

Unlike native landscapes where "human consciousness remains *within* the hills…," Western landscapes are a cultural overlay between humans and nature. The dominant Western experience has been one of conquest and movement emphasizing political and exploitative ties to any particular landscape, whereas a native experience is rooted in place, however wide-ranging that place may be. Thus, a Western sense of place is mediated by the human/nature divide fundamental to a modernist worldview. Because landscape is essentially a Western cultural construct, intimating a cultural overlay over a natural base, understanding that construction goes a long way toward a discussion of place in Sámi ecology.

Following my definition of "nature," which I limit to mean "the universe, with all its phenomena, or the elements of the natural world", when I use the term "landscape," I use it in Silko's sense; that is, with a recognition of its initial Western definition, but emphasizing the native sense of place. However, the term "ecology," particularly as it has been used by deep ecologists (cf. Capra, "Deep Ecology: A New Paradigm") is my preferred term, since it points to the connectedness of a place, rather than its layering. (Like "nature" and "landscape," "literature" is also a problematic term, but as an unadorned term I mean "imaginative literature," or what is often defined as "belles lettres" in Western terms. Should I use "literature" in a different sense, I will modify the term, as in "ethnographic literature.")

The initial definition of landscape has been much cultivated in the Western tradition, being the link in many cases between art and literature. John Brinckerhoff Jackson has explored the development of landscape in New England in *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. For instance, the Connecticut River Valley of New England was deemed a natural Eden because of its topography, which was naturally suited for agriculture. The Connecticut was chosen as a topic of many Protestant sermons about the corresponding noble qualities of an agrarian landscape and a worthy character.

This equating of landscape and human character can also be found in other New England literature. New England writers sought evidence of their Protestant ethic in the granite bedrock of New England. For instance, "The Great Stone Face," a short story by Transcendentalist Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864), tells about the sterling qualities of a young man growing up under the formative influences of "the great stone face," a natural feature in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. Like the landscape, the young man is a product of his environment. Here we see a Transcendentalist worldview imprinted on a young man, through the sublime landscape.

While problems of national and cultural identity as expressed in literature have been documented from the late 18th century to today, "it is only in the present century that the collective landscape has emerged as a social necessity (Jellicoe, 7)."

> The philosophy of landscape design began as belief in myth, merged into humanism based on the establishment of fact, and is now grappling with the realization that facts are no more than assumptions. Humanism is passing into another, unknown phase. It is possible, for instance, that the present disruption of the environment can be traced beyond the manifest reasons to one basic cause: the subconscious disorientation now in man's (sic) mind concerning time and space and his relation to both (Jellicoe 390).

This "disorientation now in man's mind concerning time and space and his relation to both" is part of the distress of the modernist worldview, deeply implicit in the synthetic construct of landscape under review here.

> [Landscape] is not a natural feature of the environment but a synthetic space, a man-made system of spaces superimposed on the face of the land, functioning and evolving not according to natural laws but to serve a community — for the collective character of the landscape is one thing that all generations and all points of view have agreed upon. A landscape is thus a space deliberately created to speed up or slow down the process of nature. (Jackson 8)

However, a sense of place does not correspond precisely with the construct of landscape. The literary mechanism that Hawthorne was cultivating in his short story about the great stone face is more far-reaching than a simple equation of place and personality. Landscape is not a simple notion, since it can have both personal and political-cultural reverberations. For instance, the Vermont that I inhabit is tangible and real, while the Vermont of my home state is geographical and abstract; I can know the state as a whole, but not through intimate, personal memory. To grasp the abstract, political construct, I have to understand through politics and culture, rather than through experience.

Barry Lopez, the nature writer who has experienced the North in very personal ways, has gone a bit farther in negotiating the relationship between internal and external landscapes in his close examination of desire and imagination as the shaping forces in the Arctic (*Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape*). In his essay, "Landscape and Narrative" in *Crossing Open Ground*, Lopez says he imagines that there are, in fact, two landscapes, "one outside the self, the other within (64)." It is the relationship between these two landscapes that helps to shape individual characters and group cultures. Lopez continues, suggesting that a sense of place is an ecological perception of relationships, rather than a particular classification of its biota:

> The external landscape is the one we see — not only the line and color of the land and its shading at different times of the day, but also its plants and animals in season, its weather, its geology, the record of its climate and evolution…. One learns a landscape finally not by knowing the name or identity of everything in it, but by perceiving the relationships in it — like that between the sparrow and the twig. The difference between the relationships and the elements is the same as that between written history and a catalog of events.

The effect of this ecological perception of relationship is conveyed to an inner landscape, what we might also call a worldview; depending on how that perception is acted upon, we can also project that worldview through our minds onto our culture. Lopez describes the second landscape, as:

> … an interior one, a kind of projection within a person of a part of the exterior landscape. Relationships in the exterior landscape include those that are named and discernible … and others that are uncodified or ineffable. Similarly, the speculations, intuitions, and formal ideas we refer to as 'mind' are a set of relationships in the interior landscape with purpose and order; some of these are obvious, many impenetrably subtle. The shape and character of these relationships in a person's

> thinking, I believe, are deeply influenced by where on this earth one goes, what one touches, the patterns one observes in nature — the intricate history of one's life in the land, even a life in the city. These thoughts are arranged, further, according to the thread of one's moral, intellectual, and spiritual development. The interior landscape responds to the character and subtlety of an exterior landscape; the shape of the individual mind is affected by land as it is by genes. (65)

This notion that our interior landscape is a direct reflection of our exterior landscape is a compelling one. Indeed, how we perceive the outside contributes directly to the worldview of the mind. Whether perception precedes experience or stems from experience, whether perception is experience, or experience perception, there is a relationship between the ecology of place and a sense of place.

Anthropologist Keith Basso suggests that an examination of the relationships between exterior and interior landscapes can lead to almost any result, but that an understanding of a *particular* landscape can lead to an understanding of a particular culture. Basso writes:

> The experience of sensing places [is] both roundly reciprocal and incorrigibly dynamic. As places animate the ideas and feelings of persons who attend to them, these same ideas and feelings animate the places on which attention has been bestowed, and the movements of this process — inward toward facets of the self, outward toward aspects of the external world, alternately both together — cannot be known in advance. When places are actively sensed, the physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape of the mind, to the roving imagination, and where the mind may lead is anybody's guess. ("Wisdom Sits in Places" 55)

Basso came to these discoveries about the particularities of place through careful investigation of stories in a Western Apache landscape. Like Leslie Marmon Silko in her nearby Pueblo landscape, the landscape IS the story. Seeing a particular arroyo brings to mind a particular story. Standing on a particular mesa embodies a legend.

Áillohaš, the man and the poet, actively negotiates the relationship between the geography of Sápmi and the interior, culturally constructed world of the Sámi. Áillohaš can name and remember the grazing lands and camping grounds he has known, and he does just that in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. On the other hand, Sápmi, the homeland of the Sámi, is a political, cultural and historical concept, one with which Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has identified with passionately and particularly, and one which he has actively helped construct through his art.

Architectural historian Brinckerhoff Jackson makes a clear distinction between personal and political landscapes. For him, there are layers of meaning in the landscape, one personal, the other political:

> The contrast between the two is clear: man, the political animal, thinks of the landscape as his own creation, as belonging to him, thinks of it as a well-defined territory or domain which confers on him a status totally distinct from all other creatures; whereas man the inhabitant sees the landscape as a habitat which was there long before he appeared. (40)

To carry Brinckerhoff Jackson's distinction one step further, we might imagine that this political/personal distinction suggests that even Westerners possess a personal landscape.

We, too, can negotiate a personal ecological understanding, concomitant with the dominant cultural construction.

This distinction between political landscape and personal landscape can also be found in "the dialectical relationship between … the 'habitat,' the immediate physically and socially structured environment, and the 'habitus,' the collective symbolic codes that order the experience of its members." (Pierre Bourdieu as quoted in Overing and Osborne, 45). Now, here is a curious distinction between humans as political beings with a "status totally distinct from all other creatures" and humans as inhabitants of places that existed before memory.

Is it possible, then, that humans, even completely acculturated Westerners, embody both this political understanding of space and this sense of place as a habitat existing long before human presence? And, is it possible, by extension, that Westerners can embody both the notion of mastery and habitation simultaneously? Perhaps, the key here is whether one lives in a landscape or lives in nature — or more precisely, to what degree one's ecology is negotiated through landscape or with nature. Nevertheless, in the modern era, Westerners have invariably maintained a separation from nature.

## The Romantic Re-Creation of Landscape

Even in this postmodern era, Western literary criticism is still the heir of centuries of deliberate development, concurrent with other Western cultural and institutional development. In this way, Western literature is unlike Sámi literature, which is just now at a stage of self-awareness and institutional support to cultivate an indigenous literary critical method (cf. Hirvonen, *Sydämeni palava*; Said, *Orientalism*). Essentially, Sámi culture and literature, as a self-aware phenomenon, can probably be said to be a post-World War II phenomenon. Before that, Western Lappologists, who shaped Sámi studies as we know the field today, dominated [cf. Pentikäinen, "Lappologiasta Saamentutkimukseen" ("From Lappology to Sámi Studies") in *Saamelaiset: Pohjoisen kansan mytologia* (*The Sámi: Mythology of a Northern People*), 38–59].

In the same way that Lappologists have shaped the foundations of Sámi studies, the history of Western civilization is imbedded in any Western analysis of a native literary tradition, from its Cartesian roots in reason to the postmodern ecological era. Similarly, Western worldviews are implicit in the 20th century education of contemporary Sámi writers, a problem with which the self-aware writers of Sápmi have grappled in a variety of ways.

Like other Europeans, the Sámi have also inherited the school curricula and church dogma of their fellow Scandinavians, as delivered through the political institutions of school and church. What is of interest here is the persistence of a Sámi worldview in Sámi literature, *despite* the institutional impact of modernism.

Again, let us consider the cultural legacy in literary history, as evidenced in the Age of Reason (The Enlightenment) and the Age of Emotion (Romanticism). The Enlightenment was the philosophical movement of the 17th and 18th centuries, which was characterized by belief in the power of human reason and innovations in political, religious, and educational doctrine, and an emphasis on classical forms. With its emphasis on rational

human thought and classicism, the Enlightenment fostered a counter-protest against reason, resulting in the Romantic Movement, with its emphasis on emotion and organic forms.

Art and literature during the Enlightenment were characterized by conformity to established treatments, and by attention to form with the general effect of regularity, simplicity, balance, proportion, and controlled emotion. In contrast, Romanticism subordinated form to content, encouraged freedom of treatment, emphasized the imagination, emotion, and introspection, and often celebrated nature.

The formal practice of landscape art in the West and the incorporation of landscape into literature is one way in which the human-nature interaction can be interpreted. What is striking here is how fully developed landscape is as a cultural construct, standing as an interface between direct human interaction with nature. James A. W. Heffernan has undertaken a comparative study of the Romantic poets William Wordsworth and Samuel Coleridge and the artists John Constable and Joseph Turner in *The Re-Creation of Landscape*. Each of these poets "grew up to practice the art of landscape: to recreate the life of natural objects in pictures or in words" (xvii). Heffernan writes:

> By the end of the eighteenth century, landscape was not a natural phenomenon but a cultural one, something jointly crafted by the triangulated arts of painting, poetry, and landscape gardening. To re-create landscape, therefore, poets and painters had to re-create the arts of landscape, and inevitably to challenge and redefine the traditional "sisterhood" of the arts." (xviii)

Thus, Heffernan suggests that by reinventing the practice of landscape, the very definition of landscape is altered. He says the transformation is marked by "their self-referential concern with the language and processes of transformation," emphasizing that

> … for all the atmospheric indistinctness that we commonly associate with Romanticism … linearity was crucial to the romantic vision of landscape: that poets and painters had to establish boundaries in order to cross them, that they caught from evanescent phenomena the permanence of implied geometrical forms, and that paradoxically, they used such forms to represent both serene transcendence and vital interaction, pure rationality and passionate subjectivity, finitude and infinitude. (xix)

Interestingly, even the Romantics with their urge toward natural expression felt compelled to "establish boundaries in order to cross them." Brinckerhoff Jackson further emphasizes the importance of boundaries in defining landscape:

> The most basic political element in any landscape is the boundary…. Boundaries, therefore, unmistakable, permanent, inviolate boundaries, are essential…. In the contemporary Western world we assume that a boundary is the point (or line) of contact between two defined spaces, a way of regulating contact and communication with neighbors, even while it protects us against invasion or unwanted entry. We assume — and rightly from our point of view — that the boundary is like a skin: a thin surface which is in fact part of the body, part of space which it protects. (13)

This keen awareness of boundaries, even among the emotionally adventurous Romantics harks well back to the foundations of Western thought:

> This dichotomization — of the supernatural from the natural, the sacred from the profane, the transcendent and eternal from the corporeal and evanescent — is the heart of the Greek legacy to Christianity. And thereby metaphysical boundaries were drawn between nature and culture, borders that did not exist for the savage mind. (Oelschlager 66)

The Sámi are by no means "savage" minds, but the lines they draw between nature and self are all but invisible to Westerners. Despite their marginalization over the centuries, the majority of contemporary Sámi are full citizens in progressive Scandinavia (with the noted exception of the Skolt Sámi of the Kola Peninsula of Russia), with corresponding educations and social privileges. Still, Sápmi, the Sámi homeland, is not so readily defined or bounded. The Sámi worldview is still deeply immersed in nature, even as Sámi experiences are still deeply rooted in traditional livelihoods. The political construct of Sápmi is not a geopolitical nation-state, but a cultural construct, which crosses national boundaries across the north of Europe.

And Sámi still identify deeply as being kin with the natural world, that their homes are everywhere in the tundra, in the high fells. Or as Áillohaš says, that understanding is mutual among the Sámi, but how can it be expressed to outsiders who intrude in that world?

*You know it brother*
*you understand sister*
*but what do I say to strangers*
*who spread out everywhere*
*how shall I answer their questions*
*that come from a different world*

*How can I explain*
*that I can not live in just one place*
*and still live*
*when I live among all these tundras*
*You are standing in my bed*
*my privy is behind the bushes*
*the sun is my lamp*
*the lake my wash bowl*

*(Trekways of the Winds, 176)*

## Romanticism and the Wild Sublime

> *This, then, is the central paradox: wilderness embodies a dualistic vision in which the human is entirely outside the natural. If we allow ourselves to believe that nature, to be true, must also be wild, then our very presence in nature represents its fall. The place where we are is the place where nature is not. If this is so — if by definition wilderness leaves no place for human beings, save perhaps as contemplative sojourners enjoying their leisurely reverie in God's natural cathedral — then also by definition it can offer no solution to the environmental and other problems that confront us.*
>
> (Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," as cited in Albers, 295)

In distinct contrast to native writers who write from their understanding *in nature*, Romantic writers "cultivated *la sensibilité* — the affective relation to and bonding with the natural world (rather than an objective relation based on reason and logic) (Oelschlager 111)." The Romantics considered the aesthetic problems of nature, intimating a divine presence in nature, as epitomized by natural cultural landscapes, such as the English countryside or the Connecticut River Valley in New England. However, the model for these "natural" landscapes was an agrarian ideal, deeply engaged with the primacy of agriculture as the proper culture for humankind.

Nevertheless, many landscapes fall outside the agrarian norm, in the wild and mountainous places. As Hugh Brody writes in *The Other Side of Eden*, these wildernesses are defined Biblically, suggesting a return to Edenic origins.

> Genesis is the myth of agriculture and pastoralism, the story that sets the character and consequences of farming and herding. Where agriculture has no place, beyond the farmer's frontier, there is no such thing as countryside. Instead, there is wild, raw nature, a wilderness. Agriculturalists have much difficulty imagining a human socio-economic system, rather than a few inchoate, animal-like wanderers, existing in this wild beyond. Farmers assume a right to enter the wild, tame it, reshape it, farm it. (100–1)

Romantics, starting with Jean-Jacques Rousseau sought out these "exotic" places in search of the Sublime. Oelschlager considers this a teleological problem for the Romantics in his book about the place of wilderness in the Western imagination:

> Rousseau's praise of the sublimity of the Alps and their effect on the soul stimulated a generation of artists and poets. He had been influenced in his thinking by natural theologians, who had attempted to account for the mountains, deserts, dark forests, and other seemingly godforsaken areas devoid of civilization. Such geographical features had long been a theological problem, for they embodied an imperfection of the earth. How could the Supreme Being, possessing omnipotent power, allow such randomness and irregularity? The physico-theologists answered this question by distinguishing the beautiful and the sublime (111).

The agrarian ideal stood for Beauty, while the wild ideal stood for the Sublime, something incomprehensible, and well beyond human ken:

> The beautiful elements of nature expressed God's care and benevolence, while the wild (sublime) elements, such as mountains and hurricanes, represented his power and capacity for wrath. So viewed, the wilderness was a consequence of humankind's sins, punishment by a wrathful God for transgressions from his way. (Oelschlager 111)

Henry David Thoreau, the New England Transcendentalist, literally and physically negotiated this divide between the agrarian and the wild in his ascent of Mt. Ktaadn, Maine's highest mountain (*The Maine Woods*). Ktaadn is an enormous monadnock mountain looming solitarily above the lakes and waterways of Penobscot County, which remains to this day largely unsettled and inchoate, a lofty massif to the North of Boston with its dense, urban population. In Thoreau's words, Ktaadn appeared to be something primordial and powerful and unknown:

> … The mountain seemed a vast aggregation of loose rocks, as if some time it had rained rocks, and they lay as they fell on the mountain sides, nowhere fairly at rest, but leaning on each other, all rocking-stones, with cavities between, but scarcely any soil of smoother shelf. They were the raw materials of a planet dropped from an unseen quarry, which the vast chemistry of nature would anon work up, or work down, into the smiling and verdant plains and valleys of earth. ("Ktaadn" 188)

Despite Thoreau's notion that "that vast chemistry of nature would anon work up, or work down [the roughness of Ktaadn] into the smiling and verdant plains and valleys of earth," today this part of Maine remains much as it was in Thoreau's day. Ktaadn and Penobscot County are scarred by extensive logging, and now largely left to the recourses of campers and canoers. Visitors to the region often refer to Thoreau's experience to comprehend this huge, unsmiling, unsettled mountain, above the over-populated eastern seaboard of North America. Like Thoreau, most visitors comprehend the majesty of Ktaadn in terms of their own modernist and postmodernist experiences. Like Thoreau, contemporary visitors are apt to consider Ktaadn a kind of divinity, a godlike, arbitrary presence that challenges humankind by its presence. Thoreau wrote of his ascent:

> Some part of the beholder, even some vital part, seems to escape through the loose grating of his ribs as he ascends. He is more lone than you can imagine. There is less of substantial thought and fair understanding in him than in the plains where men inhabit. His reason is dispersed and shadowy, more thin and subtile, like the air. Vast, Titanic, inhuman Nature has got him at disadvantage, caught him alone, and pilfers him of some of his divine faculty. She does not smile on him as in the plains. She seems to say sternly, Why came ye here before your time. The ground is not prepared for you. Is it not enough that I smile in the valleys? I have never made this soil for thy feet, this air for thy breathing, these rocks for thy neighbors. I cannot pity nor fondle thee here, but forever relentlessly drive thee hence to where I *am* kind. ("Ktaadn" 189)

In his exploration of the wilds of Ktaadn, Thoreau was accompanied by an Indian guide. A native worldview creeps into his musings about wildness. Nature is no longer scrutable, as in his wanderings around Walden in settled Massachusetts, but "vast, Titanic, inhuman." Even Thoreau, the rashest of the Transcendentalists, cannot prosper on Ktaadn, and he leaves the land to the Penobscot Indians and the loggers. Yet, Thoreau's

perceptions have left an indelible mark on Western literature, and his experience of the "wild" remains a benchmark for Western readers.

## Romanticism and Observation

Literature has often served as a means to unravel human understandings of nature — even wild and sublime nature — and to delve the emotional and intellectual content of that relationship. During the Romantic and Transcendentalist period, nature played an explicit and central role in much poetry, which Joseph Warren Beach examines closely in his landmark study, *The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry* (1956). Beach contends "the metaphysical concept of nature [in nineteenth century English poetry] is the joint construction of science, philosophy and religion, and is not dependent for its main force on Arcadian sentiment or supernaturalism." (22)

As Oelschlager says, Romantics tried to deny objective, scientific nature, and sought out poetic nature:

> *Scientific nature* was devoid of taste, sight, sound, and feeling; it was known only through mass, velocity, position, and repetition of invariant patterns. *Poetic nature*, in contrast, was alive, subjective, capricious, a riot of colors and sounds, and a source of aesthetic delights and philosophical inspiration. (Oelschlager 113)

However, Beach theorizes that the Romantic understanding of nature was not a primitive or animist understanding, but a Western understanding, founded on the same modernist strands of science, philosophy, and religion, which gave rise to the Enlightenment. The significant difference, of course, is that the Romantics gave credence to emotion and to an appreciation of nature, over reason and an appreciation of form. What is useful here for a consideration of Sámi literature is how a Romantic appreciation of nature is founded on very different principles than is a Sámi understanding of nature.

English and American poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as European poets of the same period, were fond of personifying Nature — or the virtually equivalent Earth — using the term as an abstraction so as to cover not merely the individual phenomena but also the principle that was supposed to underlie them all. Most often this use of the word "nature" grew out of the poets' desire to associate the "beauteous forms" of the out-of-doors world with the laws and order of the universe, reinforcing the aesthetic pleasure derivable from these beauteous forms with the philosophical notion of order and unity, and vice versa. In the more enthusiastic of these poets, it was assumed that the order of the universe is purposive, harmonious and, taken in the large, benevolent toward man and the other sensitive creatures. This was assumed to be inherently so in the nature of things, or — more often — it was considered as being such by the providential design of a good and intelligent deity. (Beach 22)

Beach goes on to classify the sources of Romantic understandings of nature in an Arcadian myth of the Golden Age, on an innate belief in a primitive natural order, or as a protest against excessive reliance on reason. We will see as this study progresses, that even the Romantics differ vastly from native writers in their relationship with nature, despite the emphasis on nature in their works. As Beach sees it, the Romantic urge toward

nature can be found in these three realms: the Golden Age, natural order, and anti-rationalism. By looking at these foundations of Romanticism, it will be easier to appreciate Áillohaš's use of nature in his poetry.

The Arcadian myth harks back to the Bible, when human beings enjoyed a pre-agrarian, pastoral Eden. The dream that a Golden Age might still be found intact on this earth is at the heart of this notion; thus, it is a mythic presumption about nature being the original lap of luxury. As Beach describes it, the Golden Age

> was greatly affected by the disposition, early manifest in European literature, to associate the word nature with a state of life untouched by human arts and institutions. This disposition is apparent, for example, in the widely diffused legend of the Golden Age — a time when men, fresh from the lap of Mother Nature, and obeying the good and happy impulses implanted by her in their bosoms, lived an innocent and blessed life. This legend of the Golden Age readily joined with the notion that the savage, or primitive, man is in many ways superior to the sophisticated product of a corrupt civilization, and that many of our ills may be cured by a return to something like the savage state. (17)

Another lynchpin of Romanticism, according to Beach was a reliance on the "natural order," an economic doctrine suggesting that there is Good in a primitive natural order. The fundamental difference between this and the belief of a Golden Age, is that the natural order took its direction from economic theory, rather than Biblical stories:

> Ordre naturel: What literary historians do not always sufficiently recognize is that this conception of a primitive natural order is no purely literary and mythical invention but is intimately bound up with legal and economic theory of a much more serious stripe. The economic doctrines of the French Physiocrats were based on the assumption of a benevolent and harmonious ordre naturel, which stands opposed to the ordre positif actually embodied in existing human laws and arrangements.... (Beach 18)

And, lastly, the philosophical rationale for Romanticism came about as an explicit protest against the Age of Reason, rather than through any innate connection to nature.

> Anti-rationalism: Nature, interpreted by intuition, came to be in a sense a rival to reason or understanding as a means for apprehending spiritual truth. And the "return to nature" at times implied the virtual abandonment of reason of some "higher" — some more mystical — faculty. (Beach 20)

Romanticism drew on emotional connections to nature that are also found in native literature; however, in contrast, Romanticism was a highly self-aware movement, striving intentionally to define what is beautiful in nature. Romantics insisted that Beauty "is discovered in the unifying relationship between the individual observer and the environment observed, that is in the experience of landscape, in the coming together of the half-perceived and half-created elements of the experience of landscape" (Overing 42–3). That is, Romanticists sought an understanding of the landscape (a cultural phenomenon) through observation (part of the scientific method), whereas native writers write about experience from their perceptions (a cultural phenomenon) within nature (cf. Ortiz, *Song, Poetry and Language: A Statement on Poetics and Language*; Hirvonen, "Aurinko"; more on native perceptions of nature in Chapter 6).

## Perception and Experience

*Concepts without percepts are empty,*

*percepts without concepts are blind.*

(Immanuel Kant, as cited in Oelschlager 114)

*The sun illuminates only the eye of the man, but shines into the eye and the heart of the child.*

(Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature")

Western philosophy and art have striven to articulate how reason and emotion operate, and here I am particularly interested in how that understanding is expressed in relationship to nature. The Romantics addressed this problem of mind and nature head on, forging their understanding of God and of beauty with their observations and experiences of nature.

> [The Romantic poets] did not aim to know nature through symbolic quantification and scientific law, nor to use such knowledge to manipulate nature. Their goal was to experience beauty, for through beauty one might know divine presence. And through such experience the individual might gain knowledge of self as part of the world — immersed in and bound with wild nature. The Romantic project, in this sense, is post-Kantian, an attempt to transcend aesthetically the bifurcation of knowing subject and known object, the theoretical and the practical, even the phenomenal and the noumenal. (Oelschlager 121)

Despite the Romantic impulse to "transcend aesthetically the bifurcation of knowing subject and known object," the Romantic method was, nonetheless, based in the Western notion that body and mind are separate, that self and nature are separate. *Through* nature, the Romantic sought to transcend this separation and achieve an understanding *beyond* this earthly experience. Both Samuel Coleridge and William Wordsworth grappled directly with this problem of understanding nature, but each for a different purpose, Coleridge to understand God and Wordsworth to understand beauty.

> God was for Coleridge the first cause of all, including mind and nature; in this sense God was the identity of mind and nature. In effect, reality was a continuum of being that had been erroneously distorted by the operations of the rational (scientific) intellect. Coleridge believed that God could be known immediately and directly through perception of simple phenomena…. (Oelschlager 117)

Wordsworth's poetry is not that of a mystic, describing mysterious revelations of God, but of a person deeply immersed in the wonder and beauty of nature. He ultimately found God through and in nature, but his affirmation of divine presence was more a genuine discovery of a deity through wilderness experience than confirmation of an article of faith. A passionate Romantic, Wordsworth unabashedly wore his heart on his sleeve, making clear the depth of his involvement with wild nature. (Oelschlager 118)

While both Coleridge and Wordsworth are at the heart of the Romantic movement and its exploration of nature, their purposes and their methods varied significantly. What I am

interested in here is not so much the *why* as the *how*, which is what also interests me in Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's work. Ultimately, I believe there is something in the manner of perception as it is recorded in experience, which goes to the heart of one's worldview and one's poetic experience. In the same way that one can distinguish between a personal and a political landscape, I think it is important to distinguish between a personal perception and a received perception, or objectified experience.

Martin Buber, the Jewish humanist philosopher (1878–1965), has worked out Western mechanisms of perception and experience in his fundamental philosophy, *I and Thou* (German, *Ich und Du)*. While the Hasidic mystical tradition from which Buber draws is really very far from Sámi traditions, nonetheless Buber's keen insight into the problem of experience and perception is a useful one, which may help to unravel the relationship between exterior and interior landscapes, between nature and culture that I am trying to tease out here.

Buber proposes that truly human understanding originates in a unique and intimate relation, for which he uses the term, "I-thou," suggesting the informal second personal singular, long since lapsed from the English language, but still extant in German — and in Sámi. Once that "I-thou" moment of epiphany, once that eureka of insight is past, the relation becomes an experience, which can be denoted by "I-it." "As soon as the relation has been worked out or has been permeated with a means, the THOU becomes an object among objects…. (16)" Thus, "I-thou" is fully subjective and mutual, while "I-it" is objectified experience.

Buber borrows from Plato's philosophy in describing three levels of "I-thou":

- *Natural* A moment of glory while on a walk in the woods might be a natural "I-thou" relation. As Buber writes about a moment of recognition with a natural object, "[I]f I have both will and grace, … in considering the tree I become bound up in relation to it. The tree is now no longer IT. I have been seized by the power of exclusiveness (7)."
- *Human* A true understanding between teacher and student or ecstasy in love might be a human "I-thou" relation.
- *Eternal* A truly intimate relation with what Buber terms "the eternal God" would constitute the third level.

Similarly, we enter into a relation depending on our level of human development; thus, an animal or a child is fully capable of an I-thou relation, but only to the limits of its understanding. At its heart, the I-thou relation is mutual, inherently requiring sacrifice or suffering, and fleeting, existing only in the present. In contrast, the I-it experience is cumulative and necessary, accruing in the past; the accretions of I-thou become human institutions, such as culture, religion, economics, and the state. "It is not possible to live in the bare present. Life would be quite consumed if precautions were not taken to subdue the present speedily and thoroughly. But it is possible to live in the bare past, indeed only in it may a life be organized." (34)

Buber suggests that an I-thou relation is at the center and beginning of all I-it experience and always available to a person, given sacrifice and suffering. However, objectified experience (I-it) can exist without a personal I-thou relation. Thus the

boundaries between what constitutes I-thou relation and I-it experience are eternally fluid for each person.

Ralph Waldo Emerson suggests a similar intimacy of perception in his essay, "Nature," suggesting that a childlike innocence puts us more closely in touch with true meaning. And that kind of innocence is most readily experienced in nature:

> To speak truly, few adult persons can see nature. Most persons do not see the sun. At least they have a very superficial seeing. The sun illuminates only the eye of the man, but shines into the eye and the heart of the child. The lover of nature is he whose inward and outward senses are still truly adjusted to each other …. (Hale, 284–5)

The correspondence of inward and outward senses of which Emerson speaks suggest an intimacy, such as Buber describes in an I-thou moment. Keith Basso also identifies a similar I-thou moment in discussing human perceptions of landscape in general and Apache sense of place in particular:

> In many instances, awareness of place is brief and unselfconscious, a fleeting moment (a flash of recognition, a trace of memory) that is swiftly replaced by awareness of something else. But now and again, and sometimes without apparent case, awareness is seized — arrested — and the place on which it settles becomes an object of spontaneous reflection and resonating sentiment. It is at times such as these, when individuals step back from the flow of everyday experience and attend self-consciously to places — when, we may say, they pause to actively sense them — that their relationships to geographical space are most richly lived and surely felt. For it is on these occasions of focused thought and quickened emotion that places are encountered most directly, experienced most robustly, and … most fully brought into being. Sensing places, men and women become sharply aware of the complex attachments that link them to features of the physical world. Sensing places, they dwell, as it were on aspects of dwelling. ("Wisdom Sits in Places" 54–5)

The intimacy of a personal sense of space is not necessarily present in a political landscape, although BOTH may be imbedded in the same scape of land. Similarly, the intimacy of an I-thou relation is imbedded within an I-it experience, although I-thou is verifiable ONLY on an individual level, while I-it experience is available to all beings and transferable among them. In other words, a native with prior lived experience of a landscape can draw on those perceptions, while an outsider must reconstruct that same landscape, without the benefit of the native experience and perceptions, a near impossible task, but one that must be accomplished to come to a full understanding of native expression.

## Transcendentalism and Immanence

The method by which the Romantics — and later the Transcendentalists — worked gives us a means to understand more fully the human-nature relationship, and a known basis from which to compare Sámi notions of ecology as expressed in Sámi contemporary literature. Transcendentalism, like Romanticism, taught that the principles of reality are

to be discovered by the study of the processes of thought, emphasizing the intuitive and spiritual above the empirical, hence cultivating I-thou intimacies with experience.

American Transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau felt that the processes of thought were immanent in nature and that through nature, one could transcend the known. However, while Romanticism and Transcendentalism consider nature an important part of the human experience, there is nonetheless an intellectual distance in both movements between the mind and the spirit (cf. Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England*).

Emerson is often considered the father of Transcendentalism, with his credo expressed in his essay "Nature" (1836). He opens his essay with an invocation of the heavenly bodies that manifest a "perpetual presence of the sublime."

> But if a man would be alone, let him look at the stars. The rays that come from those heavenly worlds will separate between him and what he touches. One might think the atmosphere was made transparent with this design, to give man, in the heavenly bodies, the perpetual presence of the sublime. Seen in the streets of cities, how great they are! If the stars should appear one night in a thousand years, how would men believe and adore; and preserve for many generations the remembrance of the city of God which had been shown! But every night come out these envoys of beauty, and light the universe with their admonishing smile.
>
> The stars awaken a certain reverence, because though always present they are inaccessible; but all natural objects make a kindred impression when the mind is open to their influence. (Cited in Hale, 284)

Emerson considers that a transcendental consciousness is immanent in the stars. That is, through the stars, a higher understanding can be achieved by men (sic). Unlike Valkeapää, who names a direct kinship with the sun, his father, and the spring, his sister, Emerson calls upon the stars as a vehicle to transcendence.

With his Puritan upbringing and poetic inclinations, Emerson personified New England ideals of self-reliance, love of liberty, and virtue. Emerson saw nature as the correlative of the human mind, and, in keeping with other thinkers of the period, sought to elucidate the correspondences between mind and matter. For Emerson, nature was "where there can be commerce between spirit and substance."

> In its full development by Emerson, the doctrine of correspondences provides a particularly apt solution to the basic Cartesian dilemma. On the one hand, it preserves the autonomous status of both spirit and things. Mind need not be reduced to substance in the obvious impoverishment of materialism; matter (at least in Emerson's theory, if not his practice) need not be subsumed to mind in the solipsistic dead end of complete idealism. Mind and matter, subject and object, can coexist without being compressed into a single entity. Yet, at the same time, the theory of correspondences or analogies guarantees that there can be commerce between spirit and substance, since each mirrors the other. Sensory perception, even of the most commonplace objects in nature, can lead to more than sensory truths. (Bagby 4)

Although Emerson was fundamental in establishing the American tradition of finding meaning in nature, the life he lived was more a life of contemplation than of action. In

other words, Emerson, like other Transcendentalists, considered that there are correspondences between mind and nature — and by extension between self and God — immanent in nature, and that those correspondences are made visible through observation and contemplation.

But Emerson, himself, did not live *in nature*, so much as *through nature*. "Ralph Waldo Emerson was free-thinking, but conventional in his daily life. A friend to eccentrics, rebels, and reformers, Emerson, nevertheless, lived a middle-class life of regularity, responsibility, and order." (Levine 110) "Nature" was written in Emerson's study, with his books and atlases at hand. Despite Emerson's insistence on the primacy of Nature in American identity, his personal experience of nature was well domesticated (Levine 111).

Among Emerson's more unconventional protégés was Henry David Thoreau; younger, less Protestant, Thoreau carried Transcendentalism to its peak. Where Emerson *thought about nature* and wrote about it with profound appreciation, Thoreau *lived in nature* and negotiated the relationship through that experience, resulting in a prose based in an ecological understanding that is unparalleled in the New England tradition.

> … Thoreau brings an ironic awareness to his nature writing, continually recognizing in his wry style that by focusing on nonhuman nature we objectify and abstract it…. Thoreau's supremely self-conscious style has kept him continuously available to readers who no longer draw a confident distinction between humanity and the rest of the world, and who would find a simpler worship of nature both archaic and incredible. (*Norton Book of Nature Writing*, Introduction, 23)

Yet, despite Western reliance on Thoreau as the voice of ecological awareness, Thoreau's means of discovering meaning — like the Romantics — was based on deliberate observation and experience, rather than perception and experience. On the descent from Ktaadn, Thoreau and his party encountered the "Burnt Lands," where natural fire had destroyed a portion of the primeval forest and left a verdant meadow in its wake. He says that it is difficult to think of nature "uninhabited by man [since] we habitually presume his presence and influence everywhere." His experience in the wild unsettled his more deliberate observations of nature in his homefields around Walden Pond:

> And yet we have not seen pure Nature, unless we have seen her thus vast and drear and inhuman, though in the midst of cities. Nature was here something savage and awful, though beautiful. I looked with awe at the ground I trod on, to see what the Powers had made there, the form and fashion and material of their work. This was that Earth of which we have heard, made out of Chaos and Old Night. ("Ktaadn" 192)

Thoreau has trouble describing what this place is, and has to describe it in terms of what it is NOT:

> Here was no man's garden, but the unhandseled globe. It was not lawn, nor pasture, nor mead, nor woodland, nor lea, nor arable, nor waste land. ("Ktaadn" 192)

Rather than reconciling the discrepancy in his experience of the wild and the familiar, Thoreau suggests that only "men nearer to kin to the rocks and to wild animals than we" can possibly perceive what he does not fully grasp:

> It was the fresh and natural surface of the planet Earth, as it was made forever and ever, — to be the dwelling of man, we say, so Nature made it, and man may use it if he can. Man was not to be associated with it. It was Matter, vast, terrific, — not his Mother Earth that we have heard, not for him to tread on, or be buried in, — no, it were being too familiar even to let his bones lie there, — the home, this, of Necessity and Fate. There was clearly felt the presence of a force not bound to be kind to man. It was a place for heathenism and superstitious rites, — to be inhabited by men nearer to kin to the rocks and to wild animals than we. ("Ktaadn" 192–3)

Although largely unrecognized in his own lifetime for his insightful observations about nature and his powerful experiences in nature, Henry David Thoreau has become the founding philosopher-poet of the ecological movement in the late twentieth century (cf. Oelschlager). Thoreau also had a profound influence on Robert Frost, who mimicked the Thoreauvian approach to description and meditation in his emblem poems discussed earlier in the first deep reading (see also Bagby 46). As such, Thoreau and Frost both epitomize a Western stance that is very close to nature, that draws from a life very close to nature, yet which is constructed on a significantly different metaphorical and metaphysical basis than is Áillohaš's poetry. Thoreau and Frost strive for abstract understanding through nature, metaphorically through association; Áillohaš strives for abstract meaning in nature, metonymically through attachment. Taken together, the three authors provide a fine foundation for literary ecology.

## Nature Writing

Thoreau's essay "Walking" is often considered the touchstone of the ecological movement and of nature writing. In it, he makes a case "that in Wildness is the preservation of the World," and looks expressly for an understanding of "wildness" and for "the literature which gives expression to Nature: "

> Where is the literature which gives expression to Nature? He would be a poet who could impress the winds and streams into his service, to speak for him; who nailed words to their primitive senses, as farmers drive down stakes in the spring, which the frost has heaved; who derived his words as often as he used them, — transplanted them to his page with earth adhering to their roots; whose words were so true and fresh and natural that they would appear to expand like the buds at the approach of spring, though they lay half-smothered between two musty leaves in a library, — ay, to bloom and bear fruit there, after their kind annually, for the faithful reader, in sympathy with surrounding Nature. (185)

Thoreau was of the mind that a person could transcend immediate experience through walking in nature. And this notion of an "excursion" is one that forms the basis for much nature writing. In New England parlance, the idea of going out in the woods to "pesticate" indicates a rather perverse inclination to turn one's back on the duties awaiting and to re-discover oneself in the woods (Osgood, 2). This penchant for exploring nature is a common basis for nature writing:

> Contemporary nature writers characteristically take walks through landscapes of associations. Beginning with a closely observed phenomenon, they reflect upon its personal meaning for them. Or, beginning with an argumentative point of view, they venture out into a natural setting that has no vested interest in their opinions and that contradicts or distracts as often as it confirms. (*Norton Book of Nature Writing*, Introduction, 24)

While identified as a distinctively Anglo-American genre with attendant roots in the Western worldview, nature writing nonetheless intentionally seeks connection with nature, through observation and "walking: "

> To a distinctive degree, nature writing fulfills the essay's purpose of *connection*. It fuses literature's attention to style, form, and the inevitable ironies of expression with a scientific concern for palpable fact… [N]ature writing asserts both the humane value of literature and the importance to a mature individual's relationship with the world of understanding fundamental physical and biological processes. (*Norton Book of Nature Writing*, Introduction, 24)

But perhaps the most important aspect of nature writing in the postmodern era is that it continues the Romantic and Transcendentalist urge to re-connect *with nature* and to achieve understanding of the human condition *through nature.* However, the methods used throughout this Western nature tradition are deeply rooted in Western observation and experience, rather than on native perception and experience *in nature*. While both the Western nature tradition and the native tradition are evident in the sense of place, the fundamental reasons for understanding place are significantly different, as literary ecology attempts to articulate.

## Literary Ecology

> [*T]he literature of place (ideas of place, being in place, having a sense of place) can be an interdisciplinary forum for questions about divisions and relations between self and other….*
>
> *Gillian R. Overing and Marijane Osborn*
>
> *Landscape of Desire: Partial Stories of the Medieval Scandinavian World (42)*

Coincident with the environmental movement has been a development of ecocriticism, or literary ecology. Thus, ecological awareness and literary ecology have developed coincidentally with Sámi literature. Like the poetry of Áillohaš, literary ecology pays particular attention to the role of nature and the problems of place in literature. "Simply put, ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment (Glotfelty, 'Introduction,' *The Ecocriticism Reader*, xviii)."

William Howarth in his review of the principles of ecocriticism prods readers to understand how nature and culture are part of a whole, rather than dualistic and opposing elements:

> *Ecocriticism* is a name that implies more ecological literacy than its advocates now possess, unless they know what an embattled course ecology has run during its history. *Eco* and *critic* both derive from Greek, *oikos* and *kritis*…: "a person who judges the merits and faults of writings that depict the effects of culture upon nature. … All writers and their critics are stuck with language, and although we cast *nature* and *culture* as opposites, in fact they constantly mingle, like water and soil in a flowing stream. ("Some Principles of Ecocriticism," 69)

Literary ecology, or ecocriticism, seeks to unify literature through place, sharing a common theoretical ground with feminists, ecofeminists, and deep ecologists, who:

> … share a preoccupation with rethinking self/other divisions as these are imposed on or derived from place. The premise of interrelatedness, that everything has an effect on everything else in our biosphere, has long been a fundamental tenet of ecocriticism; we exist within a network of biosocial relationships that define and sustain us. To isolate self from its environment, or to promote or aggrandize self at the expense of the environment, is to ignore, at our peril, the balance and harmony of this network. (Overing and Osborn 47)

This "premise of interrelatedness" has long been at the heart of native worldviews, while the isolation of self from the environment has been part of the premise of modernism. Deep ecology, or ecosophy, seeks to reconnect humans and nature, while literary ecology seeks to understand the human-nature relationship through literature. The deep ecology movement was born in the protest movement of the 1960s, and has paralleled the flourishing of contemporary, authored, native literatures.

However, literary ecology, as such, is still a relatively undeveloped critical method. Because it has evolved from the discipline of ecology, which originated in science, the application of ecological, bio-centered readings to the arts and humanities has been essentially an individual scholarly task. "In a sense, each critic was inventing an environmental approach to literature in isolation. Each was a single voice howling in the wilderness. As a consequence, ecocriticism did not become a presence in the major institutions of power in [literature]…." ("Introduction," *The Ecocriticism Reader*, xvii)

Deep ecologist Dolores LaChapelle has found that the link between ecosophy and culture is through ritual; simultaneously she criticizes the strictures of language that confine Western thought.

> .... The nature of language is such that a particular language forces those who use it to think in the categories of that language. It is precisely the dualistic mode of thinking inherent in the European language system which has been one of the factors leading to the current devastation of the environment as well as modern stress-related physical and mental ills. Our language system acknowledges only the type of phenomena that support this particular system. Other phenomena are dismissed as either impossible or scientifically unproved. (57)

LaChapelle directly contrasts Western dualistic language systems with native systems:

> Most native societies around the world had three common characteristics:
> - they had an intimate, conscious relationship with their place;
> - they were stable 'sustainable' cultures, often lasting for thousands of years;

– and they had a rich ceremonial and ritual life. (57)

LaChapelle's descriptions of native systems correspond neatly with Oelschlager's descriptions of Paleolithic hunter-gatherers and with Áillohaš's descriptions of native worldviews. LaChapelle goes on to emphasize the role of ritual as of vital importance to human beings: "Ritual is essential because it is truly the pattern that connects. It provides communication at all levels — among all the systems within the individual human organism; between people within groups; between one group and another in a city; and throughout all these levels between the human and nonhuman in the natural environment. Ritual provides us with a tool for learning to think logically, analogically, and ecologically as we move toward a sustainable culture. Most important of all, perhaps, is that during rituals we have the experience, unique in our culture, of neither opposing nature or trying to be in communion with nature; but of finding ourselves within nature, and that is the key to sustainable culture." (62)

The problem of a stripped context, a culture without its rituals, is endemic in readings of native literature, as will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6. "Analyses of environment stripped of its relation to a subject describe an estranged aesthetic, where space and place, and the individual's relation to them, can be objectified, commercialized, and exploited." (Overing and Osborn 46)

However, when a Westerner comes to an interpretation of native literature, one runs the very real risk of presuming to understand fully an aesthetic that may not be fully articulated. In the case of the Sámi, the problem of what is good and what is beautiful, while deeply engrained in the culture, is an ethic/aesthetic that the Sámi have only begun to articulate themselves (cf. Hirvonen *Sydämeni palava*, 2–3, or Paltto as interviewed by Kailo in *No Beginning, No End*, 23–42). Overing and Osborn discuss this problem in their investigations of medieval sagas:

> [A]esthetic perception of nature simply did not exist in the world of the sagas, because this would imply an opposition of nature to "man" and the differentiation of nature as an object external to human consciousness. Distinctions between truth and art, the historical and the artistic, the human and the natural, self and place, only become articulated by self consciousness in language (65, referring to M.I. Steblin-Kamskii, *The Saga Mind*)

The problems of an aesthetic appropriate to Sámi literature, despite the growing body of Sámi work (Hirvonen, Gaski, Paltto, Lehtola, Valkeapää), are still inchoate. Perhaps through an examination of perception in Sámi culture, we can begin to approach a full appreciation of the poetry and meaning of Áillohaš's *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. As Vuokko Hirvonen writes in *Sydämeni palava*, much Sámi poetry is intertextual, that is "runot asettuvat verkostoon, jonka perustana on saameslaisten suullinen perinne, mutta myös koko kultturiperinne" ("the poems belong to a network, the basis of which is the Sámi oral tradition, as well as the entire cultural tradition" 27). Or as Áillohaš puts it, he can show all of this culture to the reader if we will follow him on the secret paths:

> come
>
> and I will show you

secretly

these paths,

that begin, disappear

(Poem 70)

## Fifth deep reading. Duoddariin, duoddariin: Traditional ecological knowledge

In Poem 69 Áillohaš invites his readers to experience being on the high fells as the grass is greening and the reindeer are calving in the simplest of language. [Vuokko Hirvonen has also discussed this poem in detail in her essay "Aurinko, isäni — Nils-Aslak Valkeapään runoudesta" (The Sun, My Father — About the Poetry of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää) in her *Sydämeni palava: Johdatus saamelaisen joiku- ja kertomaperinteeseen, taiteeseen ja kirjallisuuteen* (*My Burning Heart: Introduction to the Sámi Yoik and Story Tradition, to Sámi Art, and to Sámi Literature*), 42–43.]

In the taped accompaniment to *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, flutey, floating sounds open this cycle, as though one were gliding over the landscape. The poet walks the reader through this experience "step by step" ("*lávkkis lávkái"*), starting with his observations of plants near at hand, the first spring green to show after the snows have left.

69. *lávkkis lávkái* — *step by step*

*ruonashádja rahttáhádja* — *smell of green, the first grass*

*ruvdorásit* — *blue heather*

*boska* — *angelica*

*juopmu* — *wood sorrel*

This is no idle walk in the highlands, seeking beauty, but the traditional ecological knowledge of an experienced reindeer-herder, who recognizes the value of this spring pasturage appropriate for calving. "The reindeer shifts pasturage just as the leaves come out on trees and the grass starts to grow. Grass starts growing first on lower places, and near the calving grounds there should be terrain where grass grows early. Reindeer does do not go very far, before they have calved." (Näkkäläjärvi, "Porosaamelaisten luonnonympäristö" 149; translation by Dana).

The plants are noted — not only for their beauty, but also for their practical usefulness. In the same way that the eye is drawn to the far horizon by the poem, these plants also draw the gaze upward from low-growing blue heather to thigh-high sorrel to towering angelica.

Blue heather (*ruvdorásit, Cassiope tetragonia*, liekovarpio, in Finnish; Lukkari 97) is a delicate little bell-like flower found in the high fells. Botanist Steven B. Young suggests that *cassiope tetragonia* is valuable because its woody, perennial stems can be used for firemaking above the treeline (personal communication, October 2000). Its heatherlike blossoms appear early in the summer, following the retreat of the snow.

*Angelica archangelica* (*boska*) is "a tall, ostentatiously handsome plant, [with] large, bright green, irregularly toothed leaves on hollow stems which rise four to nine feet (Dawson, 107; see also Lukkari, 93; *Suomen terveyskasvit*, 271). Known for its juniper-like scent and its curative properties, the hollow, ribbed stems of angelica are also used by the Sámi to make a flutelike instrument, called a *fátnu.* This flute, with its several notes, can be made on the spot and sometimes accompanies yoiking, producing a "range of gentle, melancholy tones. This tone range can be used in a way reminiscent of yoiks. The pipe is serviceable as long as the stem is fresh; as soon as it dries out, it is useless and has to be thrown away." (Vorren and Manker 113).

Johan Turi tells us about the uses of angelica in *Turi's Book of Lappland*, telling how traditional herding Sámi:

> …cooked *fadno* (one year old angelica) in water, and then they put it in a reindeer's stomach, and mixed it with milk, and then they put it in blood-gruel, and it was very good in the winter. And they collected a lot of *boska* (two year old angelica), and salted it and ate it. And sorrel is much in use even to this day. (69)

The ascorbic and oxalic acid in wood sorrel (*juopmu, Rumex acetosa*, niittysuolaheinä in Finnish; Lukkari 37) is used by the Sámi to sour milk in order to make their reindeer milk cheeses (Manker, *People of the Eight Seasons* 65, *Suomen terveyskasvit*, 175). It is one of the first spring plants to green, and its lemony-flavored leaves are tasty and purgative to children and adults alike. Taken together, these three plants symbolize beauty, music, and nurture, visible to the Sámi herdsman who sees them and uses them.

After a look at what is at his feet, the poet's sights sweep upwards to the sky and to the distant horizon. He repeats the grammatical construction (**-s *-i* ; *from * to **) of the first line three more times, creating an insistent physical progression through the landscape that is much less evident in the English translation:

1. *lávkkis lávkái* (literally, "*from* step *to* step")
2. *čohkás čohkkii* ("from peak to peak")
3. *lágus láhkui* ("from highland to highland")
4. *vuomis vuopmái* ("from river valley to river valley")

Then he completes the stanza with "*vággái"* ("to the coast"). The repetition of the "*-i*" postfix in this line mirrors the earlier constructions and emphasizes the progression along the migration routes toward the coast, where herding *siida*-families would take their herds with their newborn calves to spend their summers, somewhat free of the pesky mosquitoes that plague the wooded places of the lowlands. The repetition of this simple construction adds a familiar urgency to the movement of this perennial migration.

| | |
|---|---|
| *allagasain duottarjávrrit* | *upland waters* |
| *almmivuostá* | *toward the sky* |
| | |
| *čohkás čohkkii* | *from peak to peak* |
| *dát eatnamat* | *these lands* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *leagit* | *the valleys* |
| *lágus láhkui* | *the high mountain slopes* |
| *vuomis vuopmái* | *over the forests* |
| *vággái* | *toward the coast* |

At the last, his sight settles on the middle distance, on the familiar, on the places where the *siida*-family will settle for the calving and grazing.

| | |
|---|---|
| *čearpmatgiettit* | *meadows* |
| *miesseguolbanat* | *reindeer calf moors* |
| *guottetbáikkit* | *lands where calves are born* |

As in Frost's poem "The Pasture," we readers have been privileged to join the poet's invitation to see the calving grounds, as Áillohaš's gaze sweeps the horizon and rejoices in the greening of spring that bodes well for the reindeer calves about to be born.

Even a mature Western reader who first dips into Áillohaš's poetry is like my freshman readers of Robert Frost who do not know the material culture of the lapsing New England farm tradition out of which Frost wrote with such perception. Without knowledge of the material, ritual culture of a poetry, a reader is apt to skip to the abstractions of the poems, thus diminishing the full experience. For a Westerner accustomed to the division of self and nature, it is easy to skip the FACTS of Áillohaš's poetry, to miss the ecology of meaning, and to dwell on the abstractions of experience in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. Reading a Sámi poem within its ecological context will yield far more when the daily life, the ritual context, the contours of the landscape are known. And, as one comes to understand the fullness of Sámi ecology, the full experience of the poems becomes clearer. And as the poems become clearer, the ecological perceptions gain depth.

# 6 Native lands and stories

> *For the anthropologist, Space comes first; for the native, Place; and the difference is by no means trivial. (Casey 15)*

Sámi literature is unarguably a native literature. Participants in the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the many activities of First Nations, the Sámi stand out as one of the most extensively studied and most articulate of native peoples. Like other native peoples, the Sámi, and Áillohaš in particular, are struggling to establish a literary presence that transcends its own context. Native literature is particularly problematic, since it has been systematically excluded from the dominant literary gaze, as Arnold Krupat reminds us:

> "Littera-ture," of course, meant precisely the culture of letter (as agri-culture meant the culture of the fields), and the man of letters, European or Euramerican, was the man of culture; Native Americans — Indians — were "children of nature" precisely because they were not men of letters. And oral literature, at least until near the nineteenth century, was simply a contradiction in terms. American literature, seeking to define itself as a body of national writing and as a selection of distinctively literary texts, considered only European models because no other models — no local or Native models, no "autochthonic" own — seemed to be present. (*Voice in the Margin* 97)

In this dissertation, I have tried to establish a variety of comparative and descriptive methods whereby Sámi literature can be examined in serious and productive ways. I have chosen — following the usage among Native American authors and critics — to use the term "native", rather than "First Peoples" (New Age) or "aboriginal" (anthropological) or "indigenous" (sociological). Native American authors, through force of numbers and diligence of scholarship have forged critical and aesthetic constructs with which to evaluate their own writing. Because of this, I have chosen to emulate and adapt these methods and perspectives as I describe and analyze Sámi literature, while simultaneously attempting to forge a field of inquiry about the literature of the North, whether native or western.

Because the North is still largely a region where place has a real role in human lives (see Chapter 7 on Literatura Borealis for further discussion of the North), and because native literature still reflects the sense of place that has been largely alienated from Western experience, the work of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää as a northern native poet is an

ideal ground on which to examine ideas of northerness and native sensibilities. Like Native Americans, the Sámi poet has a keen sense of Sápmi, not only as a political construct, but also as the *habitus* of self and kin. Áillohaš knows the "spirit of place."

In her interview with Native American Creek poet Joy Harjo, scholar Laura Coltelli focuses the discussion on the particular contributions of Native American authors to mainstream American literature, and most particularly on a "spirit of place." In her responses, Harjo emphasizes the important of a "a certain lyricism, a land-based language." Harjo goes on to underscore "a knowing of the landscape, as something alive with personality, breathing. Alive with names, alive with events, nonlinear. It's not static and that's a very important point. The Western viewpoint has always been one of the land as wilderness, something to be afraid of, and conquered because of fear.... For some the city is a wilderness of concrete and steel, made within a labyrinth of the mind." (63–4) Such an understanding of place and how that place plays into the context of literature is pivotal in my discussion of Sámi literature. I contend that to fully understand a native literature, one must have a fuller understanding of the context of place and perception than is the norm for a scholar of Western literature. Context, first and foremost, provides that understanding.

## *Cultural Context*

> *Traditional knowledge emerges from a context, carrying with it the cultural and spiritual values of its people. It is at once universal and specific. By definition, anything "traditional" is based on the sacredness of time and custom.* (Robinson, 34)

That there is only a small gap between stories and life, between perception and experience, between experiential knowledge and actual practice is fundamental in native culture. That there is no gap between nature and culture as there is in the western culture is also fundamental in native culture. The stories, the experiences, the practice all constitute the context within which a native literature ought to be read.

However, native literature has typically been a part of the ethnographic record, rigorously recorded, but frequently stripped of its context. For instance, in Stith Thomspon's comprehensive analysis of folk literature, Sámi folktales are shown as derivative of the dominant Scandinavian tradition.

> In all three of the [Scandinavian] countries the material has been well collected, and is systematically arranged in archives. Some of the best folktale texts have come from remote places in the north. Here the Scandinavians are in contact with the nomadic Lapps, whose stories they have profoundly influenced. (*The Folktale*, 18).

While there are certainly Scandinavian elements in Sámi literature, the reverse is also true. However, considering the Sámi folktale as derivative of the larger Scandinavian tradition effectively eliminates a Sámi context for interpreting Sámi materials.

Julie Cruikshank has ably articulated this problem of stripped or diminished contexts in her analyses of the stories of Yukon women elders. Her initial annoyance at being sidetracked from her own recording agenda turns to gratitude as the women elders with

whom she was working gently but insistently built the narrative context within which Cruikshank could understand the meaning of the stories. Cruikshank realized that the narrative tradition is a powerful force in distinct contrast to the academic background from which she came. With the help of the elders, she discovered that stories are "inevitably locally grounded, highly particular and culturally specific." Cruikshank continues:

> If much of the academic literature seems to universalize or to work against the notion that people lead storied lives in distinctive ways, the primary lesson I learned from these women is that narratives providing the most helpful guidance are inevitably locally grounded, highly particular and culturally specific. What is important is not just knowing the story but sharing the context for knowing when and why it is told … (*The Social Life of Stories* xii–xiii)

Coming from an oral tradition that still exists within living memory, native literature needs to be considered in its own cultural context. But accessing that context *in the absence of oral performance* is highly problematic. Context is perhaps more visible in mass communications, than in published literature, because of the audible orality still present in mass communications. Valerie Alia, a Canadian who has devoted her professional career to understanding media in the Canadian North, emphasizes the problems of a stripped context in analyzing communications. In her opinion, modern mass communications still point clearly to an extant oral tradition:

> Communications is more than the production and transmission of information. Understanding the subject requires examining the *context* in which information is produced and transmitted. In the case of the North, communications have evolved in an environment enriched and influenced by the cultures of northern Aboriginal peoples. (36)

The audible orality of native literatures is also evident in contemporary native media. Like the relationship between nature and culture that is reflective of perception and experience grounded in place, the relationship between native author and reader — whether native or Western — still retains an element of audible orality and visible utility. The relationship between author and reader is not one of near abstraction. Alia demonstrates the connections between an oral tradition and contemporary northern native media by connecting the storytelling connection with the use of radio in northern communities:

> In earlier times, the communications "media" in all cultures were human voices. Language and cultural traditions were transmitted and maintained through story telling and other techniques integrated into all aspects of everyday life. Oral cultural traditions continue today in northern broadcasting, particularly in the prevalence of radio in the daily life of northern communities.
>
> In oral cultures, literacy was not a "problem," but has emerged as one in the post-orality years, when some people have found themselves disadvantaged with respect to the dominance of written literature, news, and other information media. The whole concept of literacy is problematic, because it is often constructed and problematized as

> a negative — as illiteracy. Instead of being considered orally *advantaged*, people who have strong verbal skills but who are not facile readers or writers are disadvantaged in a world in which written language is usually considered the only valid form of literature. (36)

In other words, the problems of native communications must be considered within a native context, which means the questions asked must be asked from within that native culture, where the problems of communications, language, literacy, education, and politics are really part of the whole culture, rather than separate aspects of the culture as they would be more so in the West.

Of course, in striving to construct cultural context, the Western scholar also confronts the blinkering confines of the colonial experience, which is universal among native cultures. As Canadian critic Alan Filewod writes in "Averting the Colonizing Gaze," the colonial lens is particularly blinding to Western viewers or readers. Multiple problems face not only the author of native theater, but also the viewer and critic of native theater. The critic may resort to his colonial gaze without scruples, but the native playwright has to resolve both the problems of native identity and colonial powers, agonizing problems of dual identities. The native is per force part of the larger colonial structure, regardless of his or her own identity, forging an intense internal contradiction of forces. In a discussion of the Canadian native playwright Tomson Highway, he writes:

> [The] dramaturgical struggle is to reclaim cultural power by reviving mythic structures that have been erased by colonialism. The struggle is made complex by the fundamental problem that a colonized people is brought up within and as part of the cultural formation of the colonizer. The posture of the native artist is one of internalized contradiction; in their thematic and dramaturgical structures Highway's plays manifest a double vision that incorporates the colonized self and the colonizing other. (19–20).

Again, the problems of understanding refer directly to the act of communication. Who is listening (reading, watching, receiving)? And in what context does that listener (reader, watcher, receiver) reside? Filewod continues:

> This problem of resolving the self and other is further complicated by the nature of the audience who is watching the theater performance. Where a native audience will understand the allusions and appreciate the costumes, a Western audience will see only the exotic difference, threatening to turn an understood ritual into a costume drama (24).

Where a Western theatergoer may appreciate the exotic effects of native theater, the cultural allusions may be completely misunderstood — or not even perceived. But is not this problem of misperceiving context or missing allusions similar to the problem of an unenlightened reader, like the emerging student readers of Frost I discussed earlier? Ignorance of cultural context is bound to lead to misreadings, but in the case of native literatures, those misreadings are further skewed by cultural predilections, such as the blinkering constraints of colonialism.

## *Multidisciplinary approach*

Because most native literatures differ substantively from Western literature in their relative recent literacy and authority, a native literature needs a multidisciplinary approach. In her editorial introduction to *Studies in American Indian Literature*, a collection of critical essays and course designs commissioned by the Modern Language Association, Paula Gunn Allen emphasizes the necessity for a multidisciplinary approach to native literatures in order to do justice to their contextual needs. No one Western scholar masters the skills for a full understanding of a native literature.

> As traditional literatures are generally sung or chanted, a musicologist was necessary. Since literature studied in the absence of historical information is often incomprehensible, a historian was necessary. And because the study of both traditional and contemporary American Indian literature rests squarely on the whole oral tradition, which includes nonliterary materials, an ethnographer was required. (xiii)

This same inter- or multi-disciplinarity is also remarked upon by Kenneth Lincoln, whose *Native American Renaissance* is the handbook for an overview of American Indian literature. He says his approach is like Allen's, "collating literature, folklore, history, religion, handcraft, and the expressive arts [, demanding] of the scholar and the reader a cross-referenced mind, informed with due homework, freshly engaging multiple texts, asking variable questions, feeling for insights, hazarding perceptions (*Native American Renaissance*, 9)." Like Áillohaš, the "mánjggadáiddár", or "multi-artist," scholars of native literatures need to establish a multi-disciplinary approach

*Beaivi, Áhčážan* wants multiple approaches. Its mythic cycle wants folklorists. Its autobiographical elements want historians. Its use of photographic archives invites an art historian, an archivist, a scholar of intellectual history. The accompanying music wants an ethnomusicologist, as do Áillohaš's poetics, with their reliance on the yoik tradition. And the connections to the Sámi landscape call for cultural geographers. As a literary scholar, I can hope to describe his work and suggest the context, but even my sustained, close readings will barely sketch out the issues implicit in a work as rich and dense with intention and significance as *Beaivi, Áhčážan.*

James Clifford has considered this "predicament of culture" in reporting and interpreting literature and art through twentieth-century ethnography. The ethnographer has evolved into a committed participant observer, who in many cases is the recorder/transcriber/translator of native stories, essentially providing the cultural context within which the native tradition is then interpreted. "Participant observation obliges its practitioners to experience, at a bodily as well as an intellectual level, the vicissitudes of translation. It requires arduous language learning, some degree of direct involvement and conversation, and often a derangement of personal and cultural expectations. (Clifford 24)."

This problem is similar to the problem of the narrator/editor relationship described in *Studies in Native American Literature*, which emphasizes time and again the problems of context and source in interpreting literary materials. Since the bulk of traditional Native American literature has been recorded by ethnographers, the difficulties of transferring

this body of creative and imaginative work to the field of literature involves a number of assumptions about the dependability and integrity of the ethnographer (Evers, 26).

In particular, the problems of autobiography in the Native American tradition are complicated by the nature and quality of the relationship between the narrator and recorder/editor (Sands, 56–8; 64; cf. *Turi's Book of Lappland*, and his quizzical relationship with his Danish collaborator, Emily Demant Hatt; see also Valkeapää's biography of Turi, *Boares nauti Johan Thuri*, which includes Turi's sustained, if curious, correspondence with Demant Hatt, 190–275).

Native American autobiography provides a bridge between the oral tradition and the contemporary literary tradition, as well as source materials for literary readers, seeking a clearer understanding of the historical contexts of a particular native culture. However, Native American autobiographies differ markedly from American autobiography, lacking any confessional element, which makes bestsellers of many writers.

> [Native American autobiography] tends to be retrospective rather than introspective; thus, the narrative may seem understated to the reader unaccustomed to the emotional reserve of Indian people.... They are likely to describe even moments of crisis without much intensity of language, or to imply the emotional pitch, or to state it metaphorically rather than directly. Such understatement is not an indication of repression or absence of emotion, but often it is evidence that the narrator simply takes the emotion for granted, that he or she sees the events as speaking for themselves dramatically and emotionally. The Indian autobiography tends to look outward toward the world rather than inward to the person telling the story, and this focus has an effect beyond the understated expression of feeling that may be equally puzzling to non-Indian readers — the apparent lack of motivation in the characters in the narrative.
>
> In the narratives, the emphasis is on the event, and the interrelationship of events is sometimes only implied, primarily because the tribal consciousness of the narrators and their comprehensive understanding of their own cultural traditions and values makes expression of the rationale for specific actions unnecessary. (Sands, 61)

Scholar Arnold Krupat suggests that there are further metaphoric shifts in the relational elements of Native American autobiographies, an idea that seems to reflect my earlier thought that symbol in Áillohaš's poetry appears to operate on a different metaphoric plane than does the poetry of Robert Frost, for instance.

> Given the dominant culture's insistence upon singling out the individual, and requiring separation from the familiar nexus for the achievement of a unique identity, the Native American autobiographer committed to his or her Indianness has sometimes found it necessary to discover metaphors for family, to shift from the tribal allegory concerned with kinship relations to part-to-whole relations of *one sort or another* (e.g., *not* strictly of the individual to his kin). That Native American autobiographers have adopted this synecdochic mode (part-to-whole) rather than the metonymic mode (part-to-part) of modern Western autobiography seems evidence of the persistence of traditional forms of self-conception among educated and sophisticated contemporary Indian writers, whatever distance they may feel from the "cosmic soap opera" of traditional, mythological family orientations. (Krupat, *Voice in the Margin*, 231–2)

The emphasis on the event, rather than the individual, as well as a clear kinship relationship of the self to the group is certainly evident in Sámi literature. In *Turi's Book of Lappland*, Johan Turi's personal attitude and opinions are not explicit. Turi's personal difficulties and privations ARE to be found in Emilie Demant Hatt's introduction to his work. Turi's Western mentor is the one to give voice to his emotion, but Turi is the one who defines all that is true about Sámi life.

Similarly, in Valkeapää's *Trekways of the Winds*, which is autobiographical in effect, if not in intent, the emotional content of his writing centers on event, rather than confession. Emotion is evident in tone, but not in text. Áillohaš's purpose in his poetic trilogy is to draw together the disparate parts of an individual life — childhood, self-awareness, sexuality, cultural exploration — in a Sámi context. He does this through his poems, but also through his tone and through the design and illustration of his book.

Or, in Poem 555 of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* in a cycle I call "The gatherings" because of its emphasis on group photos of Sámi gatherings, the poet does not say he is lonely, but that he is alone. Faced with the coming of fall and the ending of life, the vast loneliness of the moment is expressed through event, not through emotion. The emotional tone is set in the audiotapes, where trickling water and a lone bird's call set the mood for the coming of snow, but the words convey only the event of the moment. The tremendous loneliness is implicit in the moment, not in the words.

*go váccán* *when I walk*

*muohta* *the snow*

*geardu* *sounds*

*geardduha* *echoes*

*akto* *alone*

*akto* *alone*

(Poem 555)

Unlike Robert Frost's *Collected Poems*, which rely largely on text, the linear order of the poems, and criticism to develop a worldview, Áillohaš uses voice, image, and word to tell his own story. Considering the conflicts that a Sámi man unwilling or unable to herd reindeer would face in becoming a poet, considering the numbing effects of assimilationist policies in Scandinavia after the Second World War, considering the exploitation of Lapland resources in the late 20th century, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää would have ample material for a confessional autobiography, exploring the inner self. However, Áillohaš uses his own story to "build connections where rifts might otherwise appear," as Julie Cruikshank might write about her Yukon storytellers:

> [Yukon] storytellers of First Nations ancestry frequently demonstrate ability to build connections where rifts might otherwise appear. They use narratives to dismantle boundaries rather than erect them. In so doing, they raise significant epistemological

> issues both about past Western classificatory practice and about contemporary theoretical constructions. If postmodern analyses attribute fragmentation of meaning to late twentieth-century uncertainties, Yukon storytellers have long experienced such fragmentation as springing from the structure of colonial practices…. (Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories* 3)

Stories, the stories of *olmmái*-beings, individual and collective, personal and mythic, are at the heart of the mythic cycle in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. The image drum metaphor that sustains this mythic cycle is the cultural context, the ritual experience that builds connections to demonstrate a ritual complexity and wholeness at the heart of culture.

## *The Image Drum as Story*

Indeed, the image drum is a unifying metaphor not only for Áillohaš's poem in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, but also for Sámi culture, as a whole. The image drum has been syncretic in character ever since the repression of shamans and their drums by emergent Protestantism; that is, the Sámi elements of belief persist beneath the Western cultural glaze. The native tradition of identifying with nature persists despite imposition of dominant cultures where nature is viewed as separate from the self. Remarkably, Valkeapää has succeeded in expressing the totality of his culture in a way that is also syncretic, with the fully produced and illustrated *Beaivi, Áhčážan* available only in Sámi. Those of us from the dominant cultures must be satisfied with the translated guides, unless we can respectfully understand the foundations of Sámi tradition, firmly established in a Sámi homeland.

Gregory Cajete, a Pueblo educator, has carefully explicated the five foundations of an indigenous education, emphasizing the need to honor native tradition to empower native knowledge and learning. He clearly underscores the importance of place in the curriculum, as knowledge is reflected in the landscape, in both the internal landscape and the external landscape. He writes:

> The first one, of course, is community. The next foundation has to do with technical environmental knowledge [TEK] or making a living in a place by understanding and interacting with it…. The third foundation is the visionary or dream tradition based on an understanding that one learns through visions and dreams. The fourth foundation could best be termed the mythic foundation…. And finally there is a foundation that we call spiritual ecology. It underlies the variety of expressions of indigenous religion that we find around the world. It is the intimate relationship that people establish with place and with the environment and with all of the things that make them or give them life. ("Indigenous Knowledge," 184)

In brief, Cajete proposes the following scheme of sequential understanding in establishing a respectful foundation for native education:

**Pueblo Foundations**

| Community |
|---|
| TEK |
| Tradition |
| Mythic foundation |
| Spiritual ecology |

In order to reconsider Cajete's sequence in Sámi literary terms, let us first see how his five foundations for a native education might be applied in philosophy and literature. Expanding on Cajete's proposal, I might translate Cajete's Pueblo foundations into Western philosophical terms, as they are reflected in my own ecological approach to knowledge. Where Cajete calls for community, I understand a sense of place. I consider his reliance on traditional environmental knowledge to derive from perception. His call for tradition is reflected in the use of metaphor, the visible sign of perception. A mythic foundation of native peoples is complemented in contemporary society by culture. And a reliance on spiritual ecology might be said to be reflected in Western aesthetics. Tradition is metaphor in either philosophical terms or literary terms.

**Common Foundations**

| Sense of place |
|---|
| Perception |
| Metaphor |
| Culture |
| Aesthetics |

Similarly, Cajete's sequential foundations can be put in literary terms. Community, or a sense of place, is evidenced in literature through the text, the site of discourse. Traditional environmental knowledge, perception, is reflected in a particular style of expression. Where a mythic foundation is to be found in culture in common parlance, a mythic foundation can be sought in context. A spiritual ecology that can be expressed as an aesthetic, could be considered a critical theory in literature, in this case, literary ecology.

**Literary Foundations**

| Text |
|---|
| Expression |
| Metaphor |
| Context |
| Literary ecology |

Retranslated into specifically Sámi terms for understanding *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, community is defined through the *siida*, the reindeer-herding communities that comprise Sámi families and their respective grazing grounds. Traditional environmental knowledge is *diehtu*, the particular experiential knowledge of the Sámi. Sámi tradition is expressed

metaphorically through the govadas, image drum, the cognitive map of the shamans. The mythic foundation of the Sámi is expressed in a number of ways, specifically through the book *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. And the literary ecology of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is expressed in his article, "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven."

**Sámi Literary Foundations**

| Siida |
|---|
| Diehtu |
| Govadas |
| *Beaivi, Áhčážan* |
| "Beaivi, terbmes, almmidolat" |

As administrators of native schools become more aware of the ramifications of native language instruction for their students, concurrent changes are being made in the curricula, helping contemporary native students gain an understanding of both the practical and the literary significance of their languages. For instance, the Katavik School district comprises eleven of the thirteen Inuit communities in northern Quebec, an area so disparate and vast that the Inuktituk dialects from Ungava Bay on the East and Hudson Bay on the west constitute almost two distinct languages, and travel in the area is through Montreal rather than cross country.

Katavik school officials began developing native materials under the watchful eyes of a native language committee. These materials are specially tailored to the needs of their children in kindergarten through grade 2, where instruction is exclusively in Inuktituk. Hampered by the 56-character directional syllabary developed in the 1880s, children have special problems recognizing characters and are confused by the varying use of finals now in general use. Consequently, their strong visual memories are used to help recognize first picture stories, then words, then letters, rather than first letters, then words, then stories, as is typical in Western instruction. The problems become more complex in the upper grades where children struggle with Western concepts of shape and number, rather than function and quantity. (Stairs) Fundamentally, stories become the tools that let these Inuit children negotiate between perception and expression, between experiential knowledge and expressive knowledge. (See Comparative Foundations of Understanding.)

**Comparative Foundations of Understanding**

| Cajete | Common | Sámi | Literary |
|---|---|---|---|
| Community | Place | Siida | Text |
| TEK | Perception | Diehtu | Expression |
| Tradition | Metaphor | Govadas | Metaphor |
| Mythic foundation | Culture | Beaivi, Áhčážan | Context |
| Spiritual ecology | Aesthetics | "Beaivi, terbmes, almmidolat" | Literary ecology |

Cajete's foundations of Pueblo education provide a tremendously useful framework through which to translate literary theory into practical understandings of a particular native literature in a particular native context. His emphasis on a sense of place and

practical knowledge are readily evident in literary ecology's emphasis on the connection between the self and a sense of place. And that connection between the self and the sense of place is readily evident in Valkeapää's poetry and in his theory.

## *Siida: Community and Context*

The *siida* is the Sámi community — the place, the people, the practice. With its reliance on place and practice to forge community, the siida provides a known community for understanding (cf. Lehtola, "Saamelainen siida ja valtiot"). With its ample photographs of kinsmen and ancestors, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is like a family photo album, each photograph calling for a story. Those photographs and stories are missing from the translations of the work. And, thus, the deliberate establishment of *siida*-communities in the poet's translations is diminished to text, altering substantially the author-reader relationship outside the Sámi community.

Kinship and the relationships implicit in a known community provide the web of understanding for native literature, a web that is all too often stripped completely from Western records of native stories. Without context, even the most richly complex of stories loses its meaning.

The printed record implies an author/reader relationship, one that is often carefully articulated by Western authors. However, in the ethnographic record, the implied audience is often absent or anonymous, further diluting the meaning of a particular piece of literature. Jordan Wheeler, a Canadian dramatist and editor from Manitoba, considers the manifold problems of dramatic voice for native theater in an article entitled simply "Voice":

> … By their nature aboriginal people are community oriented. Everyone in the community is part of a gigantic web that begins with the extended family, and all members of the community have the inherent responsibility to serve it. Everything must be of use, including entertainment, because to be useless is to be disgraceful. The contemporary aboriginal story puts the traditional philosophy and themes in a modern context. How we find harmony in this new, man-made environment is a common question addressed in contemporary aboriginal stories. For the survival of the community, that is the concern, and the storyteller is a member of the community.
>
> Beyond the style of aboriginal literature and the reluctance of misconceptions to change, there is another reason that the aboriginal voice still goes unheard. The dominant society doesn't know how to listen. Grandfathers and grandmothers of First Nations across Canada always tell their grandchildren the old ways. One of those old ways is the art of listening. When someone was telling a story, when a visitor came through camp, whenever anyone had something to say, you listened. It didn't matter if they spoke for ten minutes, or if they spoke for two days, it didn't matter if they were boring or if you didn't agree with what they said, you had to listen. This was the respect afforded to anyone who wanted to speak. This attitude is lost on Western society. Attention must be grabbed and held on to. The right to speak must be fought for. The right to be heard relies on people who want to listen. (39–40)

As Linda Hogan, the Native American poet, writes so simply but compellingly about the art of listening:

> Blessed
>
> are those who listen
>
> when no one is left to speak.
>
> ("Blessing," *Calling Myself Home*, 1978, as quoted in Coltelli, 28)

Or, as Johan Turi puts it, for a Sámi to communicate, s/he needs to be on the high fells, out of the dense forests, where the voice of the wind can be heard, where birdsong and windsong ARE song. Or as Áillohaš would have it, a Sámi needs to communicate where the sun is father, and spring is sister. Where rocks speak more clearly than merchants.

## *Diehtu: Perception and Expression*

Fundamentally different in their manner of experience and perception, Westerners and natives view their world in distinctly divergent ways. The rift between nature and culture in the Western world is reflected in the deep alienation of the postmodern condition. This fundamental attitude toward nature as apart from oneself, rather than as a part of oneself, has become part of the interior landscape of the postmodern mind, with its resultant alienation and fragmentation.

In contrast, native worldviews emphasize the kinship of the natural world, and — in many various ways, each reflecting a different exterior landscape, these worldviews imbue both external and internal landscapes with a spirituality not expressed in Western views. In his examination of Koyukon natural history, *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest*, Richard K. Nelson found that he needed to know not only which bird was in the forest, but what that bird meant to the Koyukon Athapaskan Indians and how that meaning had been constructed. Nelson emphasizes that he needed to first learn a new "way of seeing" (i.e., means of perception), before he could effectively understand the Koyukon forest. He writes:

> Traditional Koyukon people live in a world that watches, in a forest of eyes. A person moving through nature — however wild, remote, even desolate the place may be — is never truly alone. The surroundings are aware, sensate, personified. They feel. They can be offended. And they must, at every moment, be treated with proper respect. All things in nature have a special kind of life, something unknown to contemporary Euro-Americans, something powerful…. (14)

This sensibility of the natural world is a Koyukon way of seeing that combines traditional ecological knowledge complete with a spiritual dimension, unlike Western experience which strictly separates a spiritual experience from the daily round.

> Over a span of millennia, the Koyukon people and their ancestors have sustained themselves directly from their surroundings. The intimacy of their relationship to nature is far beyond our experience — the physical dependence and the intense

> emotional interplay with a world that cannot be directly altered to serve the needs of humanity. This close daily interaction and dependence upon an omnipotent natural universe has profound importance to the Koyukon people and provides a theme upon which their cultural lives converge.
>
> Koyukon perceptions of nature are aligned on two interconnected levels. The first of these is empirical knowledge. The practical challenges of survival by hunting, fishing, and gathering require a deep objective understanding of the environment and the methods for utilizing its resources. In short, the Koyukon people are sophisticated natural historians, especially well versed in animal behavior and ecology.
>
> But their perception of the natural environment extends beyond what Westerners define as the empirical level, into the realm of the spiritual. The Koyukon inherit an elaborate system of supernatural concepts for explaining and manipulating the environment. From this perspective the natural and supernatural worlds are inseparable…. (15)

In other words, for the Koyukon people, as for many native peoples, the direct, lived experience of dwelling in the forest, in nature, informs their spiritual world, which, in turn animates the natural world. Cruikshank emphasizes the syncretic tradition in her discussion of Yukon stories in contrast to the Christian tradition:

> Nineteenth-century Christian theology was concerned with fixed meanings — with the idea that there was a single truth. Consequently, missionaries were uninterested in spiritual traditions that guided people living in the Yukon, except when they identified practices they wished to change. A foundational local narrative, largely marginalized in European accounts because it was opaque to newcomers, concerned interaction between humans and animals, more generally conceptualized as relationships between human and nonhuman persons. Everyone understood that humans and animals were born into a world animated by power. At the beginning of time, these beings shared such attributes as language and thought, and animals had the ability to adopt human disguise. In the social contract they shared, such relationships were understood as mutually sustaining. Fur traders who saw animals as commodities and missionaries who categorized humans as distinct from animals and holding dominion over them were ill equipped and disinclined to pay close attention to such epistemology, which nevertheless continued to lend explanatory coherence to local understandings of the world. Whereas missionaries were committed to a single truth, Yukon peoples had no difficulty integrating the new narratives into their own belief systems…. (8)

This animation of the natural world, the kinship among all beings, is also fundamental to an understanding of Sámi poetry. Simon Ortiz, Pueblo novelist and educator, has thought about this problem of experience and perception for his people as well, only this time turning his attention not to the natural world but to the world of song and human expression.

> The song is basic to all vocal expression. The song as expression is an opening from inside of yourself to outside and from outside of yourself to inside but not in the sense that there are separate states of yourself. Instead, it is a joining and an opening together. Song is the experience of that opening or road if you prefer, and there are no

> separations of parts, no division between that within you and that without you as there is no division between expression and perception. (Ortiz 8)

Ortiz comes to this understanding of song as embodying both perception and expression through his relationship with his father:

> [When he sang, m]y father was expressing to me the experience of that affection, the perceptions of the feelings he had. Indeed, the song was the road from outside of himself to inside — which is perception — and from inside of himself to outside — which is expression. That's the process and the product of the song, the experience and the vision that a song gives you.
>
> The words, the language of my experience, come from how I understand, how I relate to the world around me, and how I know language as perception. That language allows me vision to see with and by which to know myself. (Ortiz 12)

By identifying keenly with the creation and performance of his father's singing, Ortiz teases out a telling distinction between Pueblo perception and Western perception. For his father, the *singing*, the *act*, was all-important, while in the West, the *song*, the *object*, is emphasized. Edmund Carpenter has noted this critical difference in his critiques of Eskimo art, as acts expressive of meaning and being, rather than objects signifying expression.

> [S]uch [natural] observations are meaningful to them and … years of unconscious training have made them masters at it. Moreover, they enter into an experience, not as an observer, but as participant. This is the only way I can describe, or rather account for, the wonderful naturalism of their carvings and mimicry of animals. Here the artist or hunter participates in seal-ness, becomes one with the seal, and thus finds it easy to portray, for he is now, himself, Seal. (26)

In the same way that a Sámi yoik IS the thing it expresses, in the way that spring is kin to the Sámi, in the way that wind is a known being, the book is the image drum.

## *Govadas: Tradition and Metaphor*

In many native traditions, metaphor is not a matter of dislocated meaning piled upon a symbol, but rather a matter of actual representation. Place IS symbol. This mountain is in fact the metaphor for our beliefs, or this place is the history of our family. Paula Gunn Allen writes in "The Sacred Hoop" about the realness of tribal symbols:

> Symbols in American Indian systems are not symbolic in the usual sense of the word. The words articulate reality — not "psychological" or imagined reality, not emotive reality captured metaphorically in an attempt to fuse thought and feeling, but that reality where thought and feeling are one, where objective and subjective are one, where speaker and listener are one, where sound and sense are one. (71)

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has wrought a transformation on how Westerners normally view books as a means of conveying text, as a contract between writer and reader. In the case

of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, the book IS the image drum, and the poet is the shaman, and the reader participates in a ritual that transports us beyond worlds and beyond time. For a non-Sámi reader to participate fully, s/he must suspend the division of self from nature, and partake of the native tradition where one is a part of nature. And, magically, shamanically, the text becomes context, the reading becomes ritual, and the reader is renewed.

## *Almmidolat: Aesthetics and Ecology*

Valkeapää extends his understanding about Sámi relationships with nature to those of other "natural" peoples, such as those he encountered in his cultural visits to native peoples in North America, as part of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP). He writes that nomadic peoples make little distinction between art and utility, that beauty is in function:

> *It is important for nomadic people to manage with what they can carry with them. This fact also applies to that which is called art. It is misleading that I use the term "art". People who live as part of nature, beside nature, on nature's conditions hardly understand a separate concept of "art". Yet such people experience and feel all that is experienced and felt while enjoying art. They may even experience and feel the same thing more deeply and more unconditionally than those who have cut out a piece of life and turned it around with tweezers or examined it under a magnifying glass, calling this cutout from life "art".* ("Sun, Thunder, Fires of Heaven")

Karl Nickul cites Emilie Demant-Hatt as saying that "the Sámi have not learned from the dominant population to value natural beauty or to be aesthetically inclined, rather they love nature the way plants do the sun, air and water, from which they gather their sustenance (*Saamelaiset kansana ja kansalaisina*, 263; translation by Dana)." Rather than stepping outside of their individual selves to articulate an aesthetic sense, they sought out places of beauty to set up their camps. Rather than talking about or possessing things of beauty, they occupy beautiful places and make beautiful and useful crafts.

Emphasizing the importance of procedural knowledge rather than possession among the Yukon Indians, Cruikshank talks about how portability translates into oral tradition, an easily carried "tool of the mind":

> Portability was essential, and only necessities were carried from place to place. More important than the object itself was the ability to make it again when and where it was needed. Principles underlying snare construction, for instance, could be applied to hunting ground squirrels or large animals like moose and caribou. The critical issue was to learn the idea of how to construct and use a snare. Oral tradition — tools of the mind — weighs nothing and can accompany a traveler anywhere. (102)

In distinct contrast to the postmodern ethos, with its emphasis on possession and consumption, the native tradition emphasizes the experience and the knowing. In literary traditions newly emerging from a recently oral past, the psychic distance between

perception and expression is slight. Robin McGrath, in her overview of Inuit literature links song and poetry, tools and art:

> [I]n traditional Inuit society, every person was a singer, and to some extent a poet, just as every person was a craftsperson, and to some extent an artist. It was necessary to work on language just as it was necessary to work on skins or ivory, in order to produce the requirements of life. In European culture it was, and is possible to grow from adolescence to old age without ever having to sing or create a poem, but in Inuit culture you had to sing and compose in order to catch a seal, break a fever, obtain justice, control the universe. Consequently, poetry was very special and important, but it was also very natural and commonplace. (44)

Similarly, Paula Gunn Allen finds that beauty and use (not utilitarianism) are aesthetically allied concepts. A thing is valued for its usefulness as for its beauty; in its use it is beautiful. She writes:

> When I read a poem I look for several things: I want right away to know what it says. The purely decorative is of little interest to me. I want also to know what it *feels*. I want to know *how* it is. (As distinguished from *what* it is.) I want to know who its mother is: that is, what context it comes out of.… [W]here I come from beautiful and useful are synonymous, and useful is always *beauty full*, always meaningful, given the context, given that one knows who is the mother of the item under consideration. I think a world that does not want meaning or use is a very strange world for a human being to operate in, although having seen New York City I can understand how one can come to such a pass. I cannot imagine a meal that is not of use, and thus beautiful; I cannot imagine a meal that is without meaning. I cannot imagine wanting such a meal which is no meal at all but a cruel fraud, like having a mother who never was and who never meant to be, one who died before you were conceived…. [T]ransformation is not only possible through proper use of language, but is inherent to it. Language, like a woman, can bring into being what was not in being; it can, like food, transform one set of material into another set of material. I think poetry, properly done, is both mother and food, like being the halfbreed Laguna/Lebanese I am is mother and nourishment of what I write and of what I do. (Bruchac, *Songs*, 2)

Gunn Allen thus succinctly links the craft tradition to the poetry tradition. In her interview with Laura Coltelli, she talks about the problems about a relatively recent published literature. While the larger literary issues for American Indian culture are as old as traditional knowledge, the contemporary published forms of literature for American Indian writers are often dated from N. Scott Momaday's publication of *The House Made of Dawn* in 1967. Essentially, Native American literature has come into its own in the last third of the 20th century, mirroring developments among other native peoples for whom full literacy and access to publishing have been contemporary developments.

> The fact that Native American people have writers of their own is so new that it's taken awhile, but we're beginning to have a real effect. We're beginning to take control of the image making again. And that's what most happens, because whoever controls your definition controls your sense of self. And so the more writers we have and the more readers we have and audience we have, the more Native American people are

> going to be able to claim themselves, and take it back from Hollywood, take it back from the anthropologists. Isn't that exciting? (Coltelli, Interview with Paula Gunn Allen, 18)

Many of the Native authors interviewed in Coltelli's volume of interviews with American Indian writers have had to grapple with the problems of not being able to focus on Native American studies or not having models to follow in their development as creative writers. In many ways, the emergence of a Native American literature, available in bookstores and in magazines, shifts the site of creative forces from a specific place to the non-space of mass communications. While the context and contents of contemporary Indian literature are still clearly linked to the ceremonial sources and places of their inspiration, their distribution and consumption is on a worldwide scale. Only with a determined critical native apparatus does a native literature gain a theoretical place and relationship in the larger canon. As a multi-artist, Áillohaš has transcended that boundary between text and context. Or, perhaps, rather he has chosen to show them to us in a form where form and content, metaphor and meaning are merged. For him, the book is the image drum, and the reading of his poems and photographs are the shamanic ritual.

## Sixth deep reading. Govat govadasas: Images in the drum

*Beaivi, Áhčážan* is a *govadas,* it is an image drum, replete with the meanings of a life dwelt among the Sámi. Like Johan Turi in his *Muittalus samiid birra* (*Turi's Book of Lappland*) or Kirsti Paltto's historical novels, *Guhtoset dearvan min bohccot* (*Let Our Reindeer Graze Free*; 1987) and its sequel *Guržo luottat* (*Run Now, Son of Njalla*; 1991), the poet ambitiously undertakes to set out the totality of Sámi history and culture. Turi uses memoir as his method, and Paltto uses the Scandinavian epic novel approach to encompass Sámi history and culture. Áillohaš, on the other hand, uses poetic and graphic means to express his understanding of Sámi culture.

By declaring his book to be an image drum, Áillohaš calls upon the traditional Sámi worldview as it was expressed on a drumhead (cf. Manker, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel;* also Hætta). Early on, he invokes the privileges of a poet-shaman to slip between worlds and "meaddel áiggiid" — "beyond time" to tell us what he has discovered (see especially the long, eight-page Poem 558, where the poet recollects what he has seen). Early on, the poet bemoans the burden of being one apart from the norm, one who has been asked to take on this role.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 42. | girdilan | 42. | I fly away |
| | oainnán | | see |
| | boađan ja muitalan | | come back and tell |
| | olbmui'e | | the people |
| | | | |
| | ja sin eallin deavdá | | and their lives make |
| | dáid oainnuid duohtan | | the visions true |
| | | | |
| | muhto ieažhan jerre | | but they asked for its themselves |

Even though the poet blames the people for asking for his intervention themselves, he is nonetheless confident of his ability to mediate worlds, the task of a *noaiddi*-shaman. The English translation somewhat blurs that shamanic tradition implicit in the Sámi words. In Poem 42, the poet-shaman flies away and sees in order to return and tell what he has seen. His visions ("oainnuid") are fulfilled through people's lives. Anyone can see and tell (although few humans can "fly away"…!) But in Sámi, the word "oaidni" means a "seer" (Sammallahti, *Sámi-Suoma Sátnegirji*), possibly pointing to the function of the shaman to see what is in other worlds and other times.

Biret Maret Kallio, a Norwegian Sámi dedicated to the practice and research of Sámi shamanic practice, *noaiddaseapmi*, suggests that the Sámi word for shaman, "noaiddi," may possibly be derived from the verb "oaidnit," "to see" (Kallio, 37). So, when the shaman-poet declares "oainnán," he calls on that long-submerged shamanic tradition of seeing beyond this world. And when he says "muitalan," "I tell," he also alludes to the great Sámi story-telling tradition, scarcely hinted at in the English verb "tell." The Sámi verb "muitalit" points directly to the story-telling tradition, largely archived by Western ethnologists and anthropologists, but now part of a thriving, exciting, contemporary Sámi literature.

As Elina Helander writes in her article about Sámi worldviews, the experience of hearing *muitaleapmi*-tales in a *lávvu*-tent has practical merit. "There is not much difference between theory and story in a tent. *Diehtu*-knowledge, which is developed or comes forth in the telling of a story, is put right into practice without further ado" (175; translation by Dana). Thus, the gap between perception and expression is small in an indigenous, largely oral culture.

In order to fulfill his shamanic role, the poet must be fully versed in the culture and traditions of his people. Juha Pentikäinen has recognized the universal appeal of shamanism among peoples of the far north, saying that a "shaman should be an expert in the folklore of his culture" (*Shamanism and Northern Ecology*, 11). And I would add that a contemporary shaman-poet should know his peoples and their places, which is what Áillohaš describes in his first three cycles of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*.

In the opening cycle of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, Áillohaš invokes his father, the sun, and his mother, the earth. (See the detailed discussion of these cycles in Chapter 3.) In the second cycle, the poet acknowledges his sister, the spring, and his brother, the wind. The forces

of nature are Sámi kin. And in the third cycle, Áillohaš drums himself into a shamanic trance and names each beast and fish and fowl and tree (see the discussion of Poem 34 in Chapter 3).

In the next set of three cycles, the shaman-poet surveys the places, the people, and the families of the Sámi past and his present. As he describes these places and these kinships, his poems are much enriched by the archival photographs that evoke the *duovdagat*-grazing lands, the *orohagat*-camps, the *siidat*-herding families. These three concepts (*duovdagat*-grazing lands, *orohagat*-camps, *siidat*-herding families) define Sámi community (cf. Manker, *Nomadism*, "The Concept of 'Siida,'" 13–17). Similarly, the poet describes and defines his larger Sámi family in *Beaivi, Áhčážan* .

## *Govat / Photo Images*

> The photographs are here because they are part of many of the stories
>
> and because many of the stories can be traced in the photographs.
>
> (Leslie Marmon Silko, *Storyteller*, 1)

Áillohaš's use of archival photographs in Beaivi, Áhčážan, which he has deliberately omitted from the translations, merits its own special study. The photographs are as carefully selected and sequenced, as are the poems. Many of the photographs are leitmotifs of Sámi culture, as for instance in Photograph 209 (Hellyyden osoitus. Petsamo, Suonikylä. Karl Nickul, 1934. Museovirasto, Helsinki), where a young boy affectionately kisses his small, shy, foster sister in the corner of their cabin. The tenderness of his caress, the children's lovely faces, the foster sister's shyness, all epitomize Sámi family life in a memorable way. Merja Aletta Ranttila, the contemporary Sámi graphic artist, has adapted the photograph for one of her drawings, which has, in turn, become a perennial image for postcards from Sápmi (cf. Jauhola).

The Native American writer Leslie Marmon Silko has also used a technique of incorporating family photos into her wide-ranging collection of poems and essays and memoirs entitled *Storyteller*. She expresses a keen appreciation of the storytelling power of images in correspondence where she describes the compilation of *Storyteller*:

> I have discovered, though, since I began looking through my grandma's collections of old photographs, that much of what I "remember" of places and people is actually a memory of the photograph of the place and person, but that I had forgotten the photograph and remembered it as if I had been told about it. There were always many stories that accompanied the evenings we spent with the tall Hopi basket full of photographs. We would ask Grandpa or Grandma to identify people we did not recognize, and usually we would get a story of some sort along with the person's name. I suppose that may be why I have remembered these old photographs *not* as visual images but as the words that accompanied them; in one sense, of course, the old snapshots are boring or meaningless if one doesn't have an identity of sorts for the person or places in them.

> I suppose that is the nature of the snapshot — it needs words with it. Photographs which speak for themselves are art. I am interested now in the memory and imagination of mine which comes out of these photographs — maybe I am more affected by what I see than I had heretofore realized. Strange to think that you *heard* something — that you heard someone describe a place or a scene when in fact you saw a picture of it, saw it with your own eyes. (*The Delicacy and Strength of Lace*, 64–5)

The storytelling power of images is one that Áillohaš uses with considerable flair in *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. While he leaves the "official" archival captions with all the photographs, and gives full credit to the researchers in the final pages of the book, the scope and sequence of the photos is the poet's alone. Each sequence echoes or anticipates the poems that precede or follow. In a way, the photos are to the poems the way *luohti*-words are to *yoik*-songs. The poems can exist without the photographs, but their meaning is diminished, just as yoiks can exist without words, although their meaning may be less.

On the other hand, Hugh Brody has written about "The Power of the Image" in *Imaging the Arctic*, saying that photographs are particularly compelling, because they are "silent and unreliable." Speaking about art and research photography in the North American Arctic, he suggests that the storytelling power of the photographs has been stripped, rendering them silent. While his remarks concern photography in the North American Arctic, they apply with considerable power to any photograph, and particularly photographs of northern natives, where a stripped context may render a photograph yet more silent and more unreliable.

> As we listen to and learn from expertise about Arctic photographers and photography, we may begin to lose contact with the remarkable and obvious ways in which photographs are silent and unreliable. Silence and unreliability are part of what holds our attention when a picture is first seen, and are, moreover, at the heart of a photograph's extraordinary power.
>
> The silence is obvious enough. Photographs make no noises, say no words. They seem, rather, to wait for someone to provide the story, the facts, that can transform the images into a mysterious aspect of oral history. A family snapshot is the starting point for our being told who the person is, who his or her relatives are, when the picture was taken, and what was happening at that moment — the lives and events hinted at by the single image, even a single face. More formal photographs — records of people in a photographer's studio or, more likely in the case of the Arctic, pictures of groups on a shoreline or ships at anchor — are self-evident records of some particular moment. The record is a fragment of history that urges historians to widen the frame and explain. Photographs in this way urge a breaking of their silence. (226)

Áillohaš's use of photographs in the already context-rich Sámi version of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* and his exclusion of those same images in the context-poor translations is a subtle irony played on unsuspecting Western readers, most of whom do not realize that photographs constitute over two-thirds of the original book; *Beaivi, Áhčážan* contains 571 items, 382 of which are photographs and 189 of which are poems. The photographs and poems work in tandem in 21 units of varying lengths; each cycle deals with a particular topic, and all

work together to build the mythographic and seasonal cycles that are the heart of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*.

For instance, in Photographs 43–50, Áillohaš has selected photographs that start with a birds-eye view of an encampment, and then proceed to a cozy *lávvu*-tent interior. To a Western eye, the vastness of the Arctic landscape and the nearly invisible human presence of the Sámi herders give the impression of a sublime and wild landscape, scarcely touched by human presence. The *habitat* of the Sámi (that is, the immediate physically and socially structured environment) is clear, but the Sámi *habitus* (the collective symbolic codes that order the experience of the Sámi) is difficult to perceive. (See Fig. 10.) For instance, Photo 43 (Rautasjauries västände, östra delen av lappplagret, Gustaf Hallström, 1909, Göteborgs Museum) is a double page black and white photo showing a lake with three tents, which look quite small and definite against the large open space of the high fells and the wind-swept water. In the vast reaches of Sápmi, simple *lávvu*-tents and *goahti*-turf huts are scarcely visible against the vast high fells.

On the other hand, the pattern of Sámi *habitus* is very clear to the shaman-poet, with his personal and supernatural memories of time on the land. Not only is the Sámi experience of the land different from Western perceptions, but the Sámi mode of perception and experience is different. To understand these lands and these places, it requires a life on the land, where you sweat and freeze; it requires annual rounds of the sun disappearing in *skabmaáigga*-winter darkness, and the sun returning for the white nights of summer.

43 Rautasjauries västände, östra delen av lappplagret, Gustaf Hallström, 1909, Göteborgs Museum. A double page B&W photo showing a lake with three tents, which look quite small and definite against the large open space of the high fells and the wind-swept water.
44 Merekenes, Arjeplog, Njarg-Semisjaur lappby, Anders Fjällmans renar, Janrik Bromé, 1918, Nordiska Museet, Stockholm. This double page B&W photo shows a single Sámi tent in the background against a foreground of a vast herd of reindeer, their horns looking almost like organic growths as they ruminate.
45 Nordvaranger, Jacobselv, Ellisif Wessel, Etnografisk Museum, Universitetet i Oslo Against a flower-covered turf hut, a Sámi woman and man make hay. Smoke rises from the smokehole and an elderly woman stands by the near door.
46-48 Borg Mesch Fritids och Kulturnämnden, Kiruna. Three small B&W photos show the slaughter of a reindeer by two Sámi men (a veiled reference to Poem 52, "I was expected to … kill".
49 Sodankylä (Vuotso?) K. Granit, 1882, Museovirasto, Helsinki. A small Sámi child stands by the doorway of a rather shabby looking tent. The campsite is in a forest newly leafed out, and there appears to be snow on the ground
50 Borg Mesch Fritids och Kulturnämnden, Kiruna A tent interior with two men, one lying down and smoking, and the other relaxing near the door.

**Fig. 10. The Camping Grounds Descriptions of Photographs 43–50**

Poem 71 states this perception of appreciating the lived life on the land very simply, in the simplest possible terms. The perceptions of *eanan*-the land have to be different if you have actually followed the herding wanderings living on the land — or soared above it as a shaman in a trance.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 71. | *eanan* | 71. | *the land* |
| | *lea earálágán* | | *is different* |
| | *go das lea orron* | | *when you have lived here* |
| | *vándardan* | | *wandered* |
| | | | |
| | *bivástuvván* | | *sweated* |
| | *šuvččagan* | | *frozen* |
| | | | |
| | *oaidnán* | | *seen the sun* |
| | *luoitime loktaneame* | | *set rise* |
| | *láhppome ihtime* | | *disappear return* |

The experience of a life lived on these high fells where you have followed the trails your ancestors have followed allows a Sámi to read the landscape in a way quite different from even the most sympathetic Western visitor. Even now when Sámi no longer follow their herds with reindeer trains and winter and summer camps, the herding experience is still within living memory for many contemporary Sámi. The land is the stories, filled with the stories of those who have gone before you:

| | |
|---|---|
| *eanan lea earálágán* | the land is different |
| *go diehtá* | when you know |
| *dáppe* | here are |
| *máttut* | roots |
| *máddagat* | ancestors |

(Poem 71)

To camp in a certain place is to evoke memories of others who have camped with you. To cross grazing lands is to recollect the herds and the *siidat* that have gone before you, even if the tangible traces of their passing are all but invisible to the untraveled eye. In the fifth cycle of photos, small groups of people cluster about their campsites. (See Figure 11. The People. Descriptions of Photographs 63–65.)

| |
|---|
| AII/225/63 Museovirasto, Helsinki, 1891 Four women and a man, a dog, and a tent. Snow-covered fells in the background. Tired faces.<br>AII//64 Borg Mesch Fritids och Kulturnämnden, Kiruna Two men and a tent in a birch grove. One is cutting wood, the other smoking a pipe. The photo has a sense of great calm, and enormous hard work. Their clothes are hard-worn, and the lávvu is small.<br>AII//65 Konrad Nielsen. Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo One Sámi man with a bottle, three women, four girls, two boys, several dogs, many reindeer skins, a very worn tent. |

**Fig. 11. The People. Descriptions of Photographs 63–65.**

In the sixth cycle of photographs, the families grow and grow, seemingly populating the landscape as much as the pages. The poet seems to be saying that once the land has shelters, the people arrive. In each of these photos there are more people added to the count.

The poet's own sense of self has been aroused in motion through the landscape as he rides in a *ráido* behind "the backward pointing horns of the white nosed reindeer," that is pulling his sledge. As "spring's silent child" (*"ádjaga jávohis mánás"*, Poem 54), the poet is born with the year, and perceives the warming sun and blowing wind, the moon silver and sun gold.

Marcel Mauss, a French anthropologist, emphasizes seasonal variation in all human endeavors, basing his key work, *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo: A Study in Social Morphology*, on a close analysis of Eskimo culture. Because of the extremes in the Arctic, the divisions between summer and winter activities are more evident than in some other cultures, and Mauss uses his significant research in academic writing on the Eskimo to identify the key differences in summer and winter activities among Eskimos:

> Like Sámi children, Eskimo children are classified by their season of birth as summer children or winter children, with attendant food rituals based on summer animals or winter animals. In the summer, Eskimo family groups tend to disperse, living in tents in search of summer game. In the winter, larger kinship groups gather together in longhouses or iglus with an emphasis on communal ceremonies, focused in a shared space called *kashim* (57–62).

Håkan Rydving confirms a similar calendrical cycle among the Sámi:

> We could make a comparison with the conditions among the Inuit.... There were no calendrical rituals during summer when life was so-to-speak laicized, while winter implied a state of continual ... exaltation. (Note in *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change Among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s*, 108)

For Áillohaš, "spring's silent child," he senses a particular affinity and kinship with spring, an experience that is transformed into a yoik. The yoik is an expression of his inmost self, aroused at that critical moment and place, traveling in a reindeer procession. This moment is the birth of the shaman-poet as a self-aware human being in the vastness of Sápmi, an experience related in Poem 51:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 51. | *riegadingo* | *was I born?* |
| | *go beaivi goarddahalai* | *when the sun was warming* |
| | *biegga bosastii* | *the wind was blowing* |
| | .... | |
| | *gálbbenjuni njáidečoarvvit* | *the backward pointing horns* |
| | | *of the white nosed reindeer* |
| | *mánu silbbai'e* | *the moon's silver* |
| | *beaivvi gollii'e* | *the sun's gold* |
| | | |
| | *njolgi* | *an easy trot* |
| | *rohttása luohtin* | *becomes a yoik* |

The poet is born to self-awareness in the most fundamental of Sámi contexts, in the great outdoors, on the high fells, on migration, in a yoik, in a context that could not be duplicated other than in the Far North. The experience is his perception; the perception is his experience.

# 7 Literatura borealis

*When some day — as I do believe — the cultures of Arctic peoples are researched as a whole, we will be astonished by all they have in common. Not only externally, but also spiritually. Which brings up thoughts about the connections among Arctic peoples. The Arctic is a highway. The tree limit, the scarcity of trees, freed people to walk. Particularly in the wintertime. Which connected people physically, communicatively. And mythically. The long nights of winter free people to tell. And to listen.*

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven"

*In the city of the Neva, named after Lenin, yesterday's illiterate children of the taiga and tundra were soon reborn as it were. They did not forget about fire and living trees, but books taught them a new kind of hunting. A page is like snow. Letters are like tracks. Whose tracks? Not an animal's. Thoughts have walked across a page. There are large and small beasts, valuable and worthless animals. All of them leave tracks. But not every track leads to a big catch. It is dangerous and difficult to follow the tracks of a large beast, but there is also an element of pleasure and excitement. And a hunter tracks a large beast with intense strength and passion in order to claim a big catch.*

*A page is like snow. Letters are like tracks. If thoughts have walked across a page, what were they: great or small, good or evil, transient or eternal?*

Yuri Shestalov, in describing his fellow native Siberian Soviet writers
"A Stride Across A Thousand Years," 234

## Literature in the North

There may be critical cultural unities across the native North that necessarily impact an understanding of any northern native literature. Literature of the North takes many of its elements from the northern landscape. Like the geographic Arctic and Sub-Arctic, literature of the North may be characterized by survival and by stark contrast: light and dark; heat and cold; beauty and severity. Nature is not merely setting, but also an actor.

For instance, Veli-Pekka Lehtola maintains that Laplander literature of the 1920s and 1930s is essentially a regional literature, written *in situ*, its aesthetic constructs deriving however from neo-Romantic models. He emphasizes the role of the Lapland landscape in shaping worldviews and vice versa:

> Nature and landscape are the basic motifs in settler literature of the kind represented in the case of Lapland, which leads [Lapland author] Erno Paasilinna to describe his overall impression in the following terms: "The main character in the literature of Lapland is always the landscape, nature, the environment. The principal actor is seldom a human being. He is merely a façade, an element of nature, a bystander or a victim." This does not mean, however, that we are dealing with pure descriptions of nature, on the contrary. The concept of nature carries a strong implication that this description represents the author's outlook on the world and the universe. It is a matter of the author's relation to the landscape, a human perception of nature. The landscapes … are frequently inward-looking; they are mental landscapes, maps of a state of mind. (*Rajamaan identiteetti*, from the English-language summary, 299–300)

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has certainly considered issues of northern-ness in his thoughts about native cultures, as he articulates in his essay, "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven." Other scholars also recognize such commonalities. Danish scholar, Jens Dahl, in a paper delivered to an international seminar on the Identity, Environment and Rights of Indigenous Peoples at Helsinki University in 1995, defines concisely the problem of identity and the meaning of territory for indigenous peoples in the Circumpolar North:

> The [territorial] identity of the Arctic peoples to the environment or the nature, to the land, the water, the ice, — is an identity of occupation, of culture and of history. This identity is not based on legal concepts like property or use-rights, but on knowledge, common heritage and on control. This identity can be inherited and it can be destroyed, but it cannot be sold nor mortgaged.... Identity with the territory finds its expression within acts of self-determination, and the right to have one's identity is inextricably anchored to the right of self-determination. (Dahl 17)

Thus, native identity clings much more closely to a sense of place, than does Western identity, dependent as Western identity is on ownership. This dichotomy between native and Western severely marginalizes native cultures in a Western-dominant setting.

Canadian Tony Penikett has thought deeply about such native marginalizations in the North in his article "The Idea of North." Penikett makes a distinction between a Northern frontier and a Northern homeland. For European explorers, the North has been a frontier; concurrently, that self-same North is also a homeland for northern natives (187).

Because of the extreme climatic and geographic conditions of the North, and because of the exploitative history of Westerners in the North, northern natives are subject to compounded stresses and social complications (cf. Hamelin, *Canadian Nordicity*). Nevertheless, Penikett believes that a new North is being forged as he writes, with many northern artists crossing cultural boundaries and synthesizing art forms (192). Compellingly, he writes:

> We are imagining a new north — not just one of snow and cold and remoteness but one with a new consciousness based on community, diversity, equality, flexibility,

> adaptability, and respect for the land. Our idea of "northernness" is changing. Of course there is still the eternal North: the scent of pine and spruce in the boreal forest, the midnight sun and summer solstice, the sun-dog on a cold winter's day, the rolling organ pipes of the northern lights, the perfect symmetry of a mountain reflected in the mirror of a northern lake on a windless day, a loon's call at dusk. (192)

For Penikett, this new north is one being imagined by northern natives with their abiding "consciousness based on community, diversity, equality, flexibility, adaptability, and respect for the land." Nonetheless, that same territory is often simultaneously a Western landscape open to interpretation. As Barry Lopez writes, the Arctic invites various dreams of desire and imagination (*Arctic Dreams: Desire and Imagination in a Northern Landscape*), depending on one's worldview.

The elements of those dreams, whether of a frontier to be exploited or a homeland to be dwelt in, reflect the worldview of the dreamer. Essentially, dreams connect self and place, the inner landscape with the outer landscape. For northern natives, the inner landscape IS the outer landscape, and is imbued with a sense of community and respect for the land.

## Place and Stories in the North

A sense of community and respect for the land are also evident among the Sámi (cf. Lehtola, "A History of Our Own"). As for other northern peoples, Sápmi is Sámi community, and identity is embedded in place. (Cf. Rankama, Tuija. "Managing the landscape: A study of Sámi place-names in Ohcejohka, Finnish Lapland.")

Among many native peoples, placenames are more than mere names, they are stories embodied in the land. Susan Fair writes in her research about Inupiat naming and community history near Shishmaref, Alaska:

> [N]ative teachings electrify each named place with an intimate conglomerate of activities, genealogy, history, memory, belief, moral lessons, and future …. Place-names constitute a critically important body of traditional knowledge among Native peoples. Understanding how and why Native places are named, what the places are used for and by whom, and how toponyms are remembered or disappear completely is a complicated endeavor that tells much about Native worldview. (466)

Like native identities in the North, which have to cross cultural boundaries and synthesize art forms, placenames have multiple dimensions. Mark Nuttall maintains that for the Eskimos of Northwest Greenland, landscape is also a "memoryscape," which "is constructed with people's mental images of the environment, with particular emphasis on places as remembered places" (58).

The new northern tradition harks back readily to the storytelling tradition as embedded in place, an oral tradition that acts as an important social and mythic connection among people of the north. Native traditional storytelling typically embraces multiple literary genres: song, poetry, drama, narrative, tale (cf. Gunn Allen, Lincoln). According to Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, northern native music and poetry should be considered in tandem:

> The folk poetry of northern Eurasia contains the same themes, found only among northern peoples. These northern music and poetry relationships and connections have not been sufficiently studied, not been sufficiently compared. Almost by accident, one can note correspondences with the folk legends of the Indians and the Inuit. But even on the basis of the scanty, unsystematic materials before me, I can see the commonalities among the Indians and northern peoples. ("The Sun," n.p.)

Valkeapää goes on to say that northern unities are also evident in both the external landscape and in the internal landscape, and he identifies strongly with northern peoples throughout the world through their art and rituals. The place of rock carvings, the bear cult, the magic of hunting, the fires of heaven, all are part of these unities. Áillohaš writes:

> Petroglyphs are found throughout the world. But I would think it possible to show a special Arctic petroglyph style. With Arctic motifs. Moose and reindeer. The bear. Magic associated with hunting. The stars of the heavens form a moose and a moose-hunter. The moose was an animal of another reality. The fires of heaven — the northern lights, the stars, the moon — live as a rich northern epic. And the bear then, has a special place in the lives of northern peoples. Killing a bear was a lengthy, complex ritual. With many beliefs and legends. ("The Sun," n.p.)

## Perceptual and Experiential Connections to the Landscape

Art and ritual are at the heart of northern native experience. For the Sámi, art is the *duodji*-craft tradition. Scholars of art and material culture might argue that there are also unities in northern native sewing traditions. (Cf. Issenman, "Stitches in Time: Prehistoric Inuit Skin Clothing and Related Tools;" Buijs and Oosten, *Braving the Cold: Continuity and Change in Arctic Clothing*; Zorgdrager, "Saami Clothing and Saami Identity"; Oakes and Riewe, *Spirit of Siberia: Traditional Native Life, Clothing, and Footwear*; Haetta, *Duddjo fal gárvvuid dohkkái*.)

Traditional northern crafts are intimately allied with the northern landscape, the materials arising from an immediate, known environment. Craft technology provides an experiential link between nature and culture. The Sámi craft tradition continues strongly in Sápmi, providing an intimate, personal connection between natural materials and material culture.

The skillfulness of the seamstress was evident in every article of clothing worn in the North, for well-made clothing was a matter of survival. But, more than that it was an aesthetic consideration:

> Meticulously-made, artistic clothing serves at least two purposes. A well-dressed hunter pleases the animals, who would present themselves more readily to a person who showed them respect. A well-dressed family demonstrates the seamstress' concern and affection. (Issenman 50)

Skin clothing is still used among the Sámi, particularly in their fur *pesk*-coats. Other garments are now made in cloth, sometimes even quite exotic stuffs, but the patterns

derive from skin clothing traditions. In her study of Sámi clothing and identity Nellejet Zorgdrager emphasizes the aesthetic component of this craft tradition:

> It is important for a woman to show, through her own clothes, but especially through those of her children and husband, that she is a clever seamstress. Such a reputation is valued highly in Sámi society. From an early age on children are taught to pay attention to clothes, their own as well as those of others. They can disgrace their family not only by their behaviour, but also by their clothes and by the way they wear them. The Sámi language even has a special term for this way of disgracing the family (*boalga* = a shame for). And a man who has quarreled with his wife and wants to hurt her feelings, has only to go out visiting in an old and well-worn *kufte* or *pesk*. (Zorgdrager 140)

Vuokko Hirvonen has frequently discussed the evidence of the craft tradition in contemporary Sámi art and literature, which is expressive of the same care and skill implicit in the clothing tradition among the Sámi. Rauna-Magga Lukkari expresses this love and pleasure in her handicraft, when she sees her lover fully adorned in the garments of her own making. She says, "What is most important to me is that the language is beautiful and that it is nice to work with it, like working with one's hands."

> My king's clothes
>
> shine like gold.
>
> Stars from the sky
>
> on his belt
>
> beneath his chin
>
> adorning his back.
>
> What else can I do
>
> but walk softly behind
>
> rest my eyes
>
> on my hands'
>
> accomplishment.

(translated by Edi Thorstensson in Gaski, *Shadow* 145)

Furthermore, the process of procuring and processing skins, of cutting and sewing patterns, and embellishing family clothing is closely linked to the natural rhythms Valkeapää talks about in his essay "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven." Throughout the Arctic, clothing is the link between the hunter and the hunted, between the home and the hills; traditional clothing has a spiritual dimension. This phenomenon is discussed in Buijs' collection of essays about continuity and change in Arctic clothing:

> Animals were considered to be spiritual beings and their death allowed people to survive. By adopting the skins of the animals they killed, a metaphorical relationship between humans and animals is evoked. The skin of the animal becomes a second skin

> to a human being…. But more was involved than just a metaphorical relationship. Among the Inuit the soul of an animal survived it at death and an enduring relationship between a human being and the spirit or inua of the animal was preserved. (Buijs 7)

Áillohaš is known among the Sámi as an artist in all media: words, images, and sounds. And *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is expressive of his skill and care in creating works of great care, skill, and beauty.

## Nationalism and landscape

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää feels there are important critical unities among northern cultures, as do I. I believe there are cultural unities implicit in the North, with its unflinching climate and topography, which deeply impact worldviews. And these unities should be taken into consideration in any literary critique. Placing Sámi literature in a larger northern, native context suggests some valuable tools of literary criticism, in a body of work that is growing surprisingly quickly today (cf. *First Fish, First People: Salmon Tales of the North Pacific Rim*; McGrath, Robin, *Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition*; Allen, Paula Gunn, *Voice of the Turtle: American Indian Literature, 1900-1970).* Other than Áillohaš himself, I have, however, found no other literary theorists suggesting northern native literature should pertain as a classification of world literature.

Westerners, like Canadian Margaret Atwood, struggle with other issues of unity, such as European views of the New World North as a malevolent place. According to Atwood, Canadian authors have had to be concerned with survival, both literal survival as well as literary survival (*Survival: A Theoretic Guide to Canadian Literature*; cf. also *From Puritanism to Postmodernism: A History of American Literature*, with its descriptions of American literature struggling to break free of a European worldview).

In a series of lectures at Oxford University in England, Atwood went to great lengths to describe and demystify the "malevolent" North that had entered the British imagination (*Strange Things: The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature*). However, in contrast to northern native creative literatures, such as those flourishing among the Sámi or the Inuit, Atwood's definition of Canadian literature cleaves quite closely to a dominant Western paradigm. Her scope does not extend to fully embrace these emerging literatures. Perhaps the establishment of home rule in Nunavut ("Our Land" in Inuktituk) in Canada will provide a political basis for Inuit writers to participate more fully in a world literature.

On the other hand, there is increasing recognition among social scientists of the northern native unities to be taken into consideration in an understanding of Arctic social and political identities. In their introduction to a collection of essays entitled *Arctic Identities: Continuity and Change in Inuit and Saami Societies*, the editors define identity as that concept that has evolved on northern terms. Citing Louis-Jacques Dorais' lifelong work in the Arctic, they articulate a careful distinction between cultural and ethnic identities: cultural identity is "the fundamental consciousness of the specificity of a group in terms of customs, language, and values", while ethnic identity appears only in modern society (Dorais as cited in Oosten, 2).

They also enumerate the common characteristics to be found among the small nations of the Circumpolar North, traditionally and currently:

Traditionally, the small nations of the Circumpolar North had:

1. small populations spread out over vast areas;
2. traditional nomadic lifestyle;
3. structurally weak leadership;
4. relatively egalitarian society;
5. highly flexible and adaptive social forms; and
6. shamanism.

Currently, the small nations of the Circumpolar North are:

1. marginal economically;
2. incorporated into modern nation states through colonization;
3. suffering the demise of traditional lifestyles; and
4. undergoing cultural revival [Oosten, 3; cf. also Pääkkönen, Saamelaisuus sirkumpolaarisena etnisyytenä (Being Sámi as a Circumpolar Ethnicity)].

All of these criteria apply directly to the Sámi. Their population of fewer than 60,000 is scattered over vast reaches of the European North. Until the latter part of the 20th century, the dominant Sámi lifestyle was nomadic; even today elements of that nomadic lifestyle continue (cf. Pelto, Beach, Ingold). The problems of a structurally weak leadership have been addressed by the political organizations of Sápmi, although the relatively egalitarian society continues. Significant flexibility and adaptability continue as important elements of Sámi society (cf. Lehtola, "A History of Our Own"). And the revival of Sámi shamanism has attracted worldwide attention (cf. Gaup, Ailo, "Shamanism of the Far North").

Throughout the circumpolar North, significant political activity among native peoples has had far-reaching effects. While the term Lapland — or its equivalent — has been in use for centuries, the autonomous entity of Sápmi with its own parliaments is a recent phenomenon. Like Sápmi, Siberia has been an amorphous political and geographical amalgamation, however without the clarifying unity of a prevailing cultural identity.

As a vast unknown northern territory, Siberia provoked strong emotional reactions. Equivalent to the wild sublime for the Russian Tsars, Siberia represented both fabulous wealth and terrifying primitiveness (cf. Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*). "From the very beginning, Siberia was represented as both the frightening heart of darkness and a fabulous land of plenty" (Diment, 2). Depending on the "Arctic dream," that is the worldview of a particular writer, Siberia transformed its imaginative content, vacillating between two extremes:

> Siberia in the nineteenth century Russian literary imagination is in large part shaped by the historical reality of imprisonment and exile. The image of Siberia as a place of punishment appears in works by and about the Decembrists, in the writings of political prisoners and exiles.... But at the same time, Siberia serves as a blank slate for European Russians, who inscribe it with many different visions of themselves and

> their culture. These representations of Siberia reflect the major currents of Russian literature and thought of the time.
>
> Two patterns or "topographies," can be distinguished among the various literary representations. One topography may be said to be secular, the other sacred. The secular topography includes works influenced by the Romanticism of the first part of the century, with its characteristic perspective of the suffering hero pitted against a hostile environment. The secular topography also includes works influenced by the realism of the latter part of the century, in which descriptions of the Siberian landscape and its inhabitants, both voluntary and involuntary, are given from the perspective of a detached observer who claims an ethnographic/scientific narrative stance.
>
> In contrast, the sacred topography pictures Siberia as hell, purgatory, and heaven, and its inhabitants as the incarnation of evil or goodness. A journey through the sacred topography is made to correspond to an internal transformation within the traveler, a conversion of sorts from the old Adam to the new. (95–6)

Anssi Paasi, a Finnish scholar concerned with ideas of place [cf. "Missä on tässä?" ("Where is Here?")], has struggled with conflicting views of the Finnish-Russian boundary in his deeply theoretical *Territories, Boundaries, and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Boundary*. Lapland, which spans the Finnish-Russian boundary, is significantly smaller and more accessible than vast inaccessible Siberia, but nonetheless, it has been portrayed in a variety of ways throughout history, ranging from the fabulous Ultima Thule of the ancients (cf. Lehtola, *Saamelaiset*, 14–5) to the home of terrifying wizards (cf. *Kalevala*; Moyne, *Raising the* Wind). Lapland has evoked conflicting views, particularly by outsiders or new arrivals. Veli-Pekka Lehtola has looked at these divergent views of Lapland in his dissertation thesis, *Rajamaan identiteetti: Lappilaisuuden rakentuminen 1920- ja 1930-luvun kirjallisuudessa* (*Frontier Identity: Constructing Laplander Identity in the Literature of the 1920s and 1930s*).

Shamanic totems throughout the North — whether Sámi siedit, Indian totems, or Inuit inuksuit — are metaphors for meaning. They are actual and they are figurative. In his beautiful exploration of Inuit stone figures known as *inuksuit*, Norman Hallendy stumbles upon their compelling reality as emblems of metaphorical meaning, as embodiments of "the material forms of the oral tradition." For him, these stone figures became the key to understanding the Inuit experience:

> How can a pile of stones have such power over the mind? For the Inummariit — those who lived on the land in the manner of their ancestors — the sinew of their world was the oral tradition, a graphic language made up of stories, images and vital geographic and cultural information that was passed from parent to child, from generation to generation. Within this spare world, one devoid of writing instruments, inuksuit were the material forms of the oral tradition. They created a profile in space. As an outsider, I realized that I could never hope to understand inuksuit without first understanding this cultural context…. I learned that it was not unmanly to be moved by the touch, smell and sounds of the land[, by] sensual communion, this *unganaqtuq nuna* (deep and total attachment to the land) (22–3)

One needs a special training to understand the metaphorical meaning of an inuksuk, which Hallendy learned slowly:

> The first step is to not think of an inuksuk's shape as symbolizing a particular message or piece of information. [T]he shape of an inuksuk does not function like the shape of the letters that form the words you are now reading. Instead, they act as mnemonic objects, cues that are a reminder of some condition or particular thing of importance. To truly understand an inuksuk, you need three essential pieces of information. You must record in your mind every detail of the landscape and the objects upon it. You must memorize the location of places in relation to one another. And you must know the shapes of the inuksuit that are known to your elders, as well as their location and the reason they were put there. (61)

Indeed, an inuksuk functions as metaphor, a literal representation of a story:

> To some elders with whom I have spoken, the inuksuk is … metaphor. It reminds them of the time when people were attached to the land by an unbroken thread of reverence, when they created great dancing circles, built fish weirs, placed huge inuksuit on hilltops, made traps to catch the most cunning animals, and communicated by rearranging or shaping fragments of the landscape. (Hallendy 63)

All too frequently, constructing a literary identity in the North requires negotiating different identities, a marginalized native identity and an outside, Western identity. Nevertheless, whether Western or native, northern tales are deeply rooted in place.

## Shamanism and the North

Juha Pentikäinen, inter alia, says that shamanism plays a key role in northern native identities. Shamanism as an expression of the ethnic religions seems to have a special appeal to the Northern peoples today. These religions are undergoing a revival at the moment because they have a lot to do with sharing the common feeling of cultural identity, the Northern togetherness of the Fourth World against the pressures coming from the cultures in power, and the attitude of the majority toward minorities. (*Shamanism and Northern Ecology*, 3; also van Deusen, *The Flying Tiger*, xi–xvi)

Like Pentikäinen, Valkeapää considers shamanism to be syncretically or actually present in northern natural religion:

> And this multi-layered ritual world demanded shamans. Shamanism is a phenomenon of northern Eurasia, but the Bering Strait is no barrier to the angakok of the Inuit. Perhaps shamanism is a natural religion. I am not sure what the connection is between the noaidi's drum and that of the Indians, but their function is the same. The music of northern peoples — of the Sámi with their luohti-songs and the songs of the Indians are the same, both in form and function. And the sacred sieidi-sites are also included in natural religion. Such as a mountain or lake or other holy place. Or a special stone. Or a made object. The Sámi often made fish seaidi-sites out of wood. The wooden god of the Evenks of Siberia is just taller. And if red pines, such as those in British Columbia,

> grew in Sápmi, I think our fish seaidi-sites would be the size of totem poles! ("The Sun," n.p.)

Across the North, shamanic traditions with their reliance on tradition are evident in the landscape for those who are able to read such symbols. Áillohaš has, in effect, adopted the guise of a shaman, for the Sámi people and for indigenous peoples everywhere. As a shaman-poet, he has flown, literally and spiritually through the worlds that constitute the homelands of people close to their origins. And he has interpreted those worlds in his words and songs and images.

One recurring image that leads directly back to the northern shamanic tradition is that of the shaman-drum, his book of the worlds, if you will. As he has said, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is a shaman drum (*Aurinko*, introduction; *Govadas*, "Nils-Aslak Valkeapää"), enabling an initiate to interpret images. But as a contemporary artist, Áillohaš has also deepened and layered the symbolism inherent in the images he has selected for his work.

Calling upon the shamanic drum tradition of his home region, Áillohaš has intentionally quoted from the ethnographic record borrowing Ernst Manker's drawings of Drum No. 65 as the drum that represents his shamanic purposes. Áillohaš has taken the sketched drum from Volume II of *Die Lappische Zubertrommel* to emboss in gold on the red cloth cover of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (and its translations), with only the central sun motif remaining on the back cover. In the opening and closing sequences, sets of figures from the drumhead stand watch over his poems.

Drum No. 65 is of the Luleå or Kemi type, a bowl drum, carved of a pine burl, its reindeer skin membrane painted with alderbark ink. When Manker sketched the drum, it was in the City of Leipzig, but its provenance prior to that point is unclear (I, 790). Perhaps most interesting for the poetic uses to which Áillohaš sets these images is the fact that the drumhead is not intact, but has been mended in three places. A large, irregular patch covers the middle right portion of the drumhead, tantalizingly obscuring the figures beneath it. The patch appears to have been done by someone skilled in reindeer hide sewing, probably by a Sámi. But why the concealed figures are not redrawn will remain an enigma.

Drum Number 65 exhibits five groups of figures arrayed on parallel lines resembling skis, which emanate from the circumferential line. The top two groups, with known attributes, probably represent god figures (See Figure 1 and Table 1.)

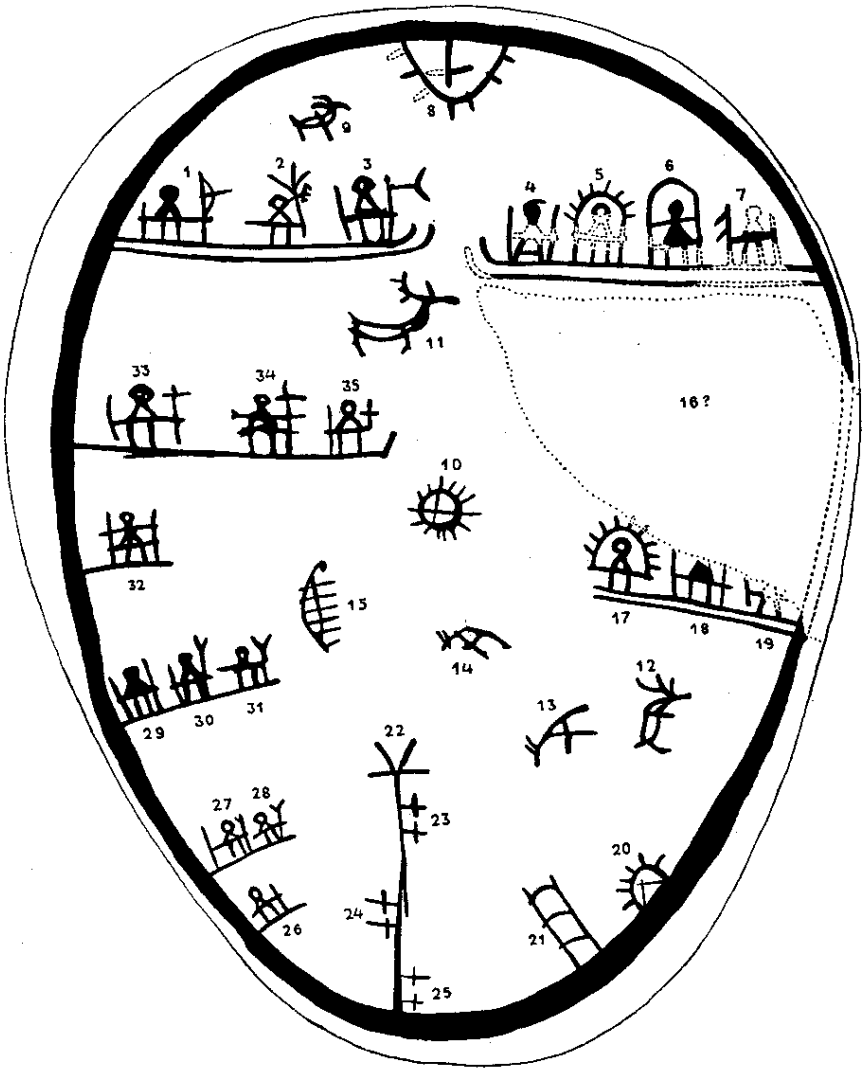



**Fig. 12. Figures on Drum No. 65**

Figures 1–3. Three god figures with known attributes. They stand on two parallel lines coming from the top left hand of the circumferential line.
Figure 1. Figure with a staff and a bow. Leibolmai.
Figure 2. Figure with Baumast? Väraldenolmai (or Rananeida?).
Figure 3. Figure with a staff and a double-headed hammer. Tiermes.
Figure 4–7 Four god figures with known attributes. They stand on two parallel lines emerging from the top right hand of the circumferential line.
Figure 4. Figure with a pair of staffs. Bieggolmai.
Figure 5. Figure with a halo-like bow with rays. Tjorveradian (Väraldnolmai?).
Figure 6. Figure with a similar halo-like bow. ?

Figure 7. Figure with ? Rananieida (?).
Figure 8. A halo-like bow with rays hanging from the top of the circumferential line. A cross is contained within the arc of the bow. A sun figure. Radien.
Figure 9. A reindeer figure standing between the top sun and the first three gods.
Figure 10. A circle with rays containing a cross in the very center of the drumhead. The sun.
Figure 11. A reindeer beneath the first three gods.
Figure 12. A reindeer in the bottom tier of the drumhead, representing the herd.
Figures 13 and 14. Animal figures representing wolfs or predators near the herd deer (figure 12).
Figure 15. A fishing or ? boat near the center.
Figure 16. An area of the drumhead is missing, although clearly it would have contained figures.
Figures 17–19. Three god figures with attributes, although the tops of these figures are missing along with the area in figure 16.
Figure 17. Figure with a halo-like bow with rays. Sáivo figure?
Figures 18 and 19. Figures possibly with staffs or bows. Sáivo figures?
Figure 20. A curved line on the lower righthand circumferential line, like a half sun. A grave?
Figure 21. A pillar or ladder with three segments on the lower righthand circumferential line, representing the underworld or the realm of the dead.
Figures 22–25. An upright line on the bottom of the circumferential line, ending in a terminal fork, with six crosses alternating along its sides.
Figures 26–28 Three human figures in two groups emerging along the lower left circumferential line. Perhaps members of the siida-family.
Figures 29–31. Three human figures with staffs emerging above Figures 26–28. Perhaps representing visitors.
Figure 32. A human figure in a cage emerging above Figures 29–31. A captured visitor or ghost.
Figures 33–35. Three powerful dark figures at the midpoint of the lefthand circumferential line. Tiermes and his servants?
(Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel, I*, 790–794; *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel, II*, 416–418)

While it is tremendously interesting to consider the singular attributes of each of these figures representing the layered Sámi world, what is important here is the use to which Áillohaš the shaman-poet has put these images of a confiscated drum. As with the photographs that he has repossessed from world archives, he has repossessed Sámi culture, captured it in a new medium, a govadas-drum book of his own making. In Áillohaš's work, and particularly in *Beaivi,Áhčážan* and *Eanni, Eannzan*, he has reclaimed the intellectual and cultural property of indigenous peoples and transformed them to his own intentions, by using the very tools Westerners have been developing for years.

The intelligent and beautiful design of these two books, with their layering of images and texts, with their clearly voiced commentary, with the incantatory effect of the flow of image and word, image and word, image and word — here we have books that function as shaman drums, and a poet who functions as a shaman in his northern, native community. By gathering photographs of native peoples scattered by time and over great distances, he has called together ideas of community among indigenous peoples. By centering *Beaivi, Áhčážan* on the poetics of dwelling in a reindeer herding lifestyle, he evokes one of the central ways of dwelling that the Sámi and many other northern, native peoples have known. With intelligence and artistry, he summons up shamanic powers to pass through worlds and beyond cultural boundaries. And he does this through reliance

on his understanding of natural religion, adroitly skirting Western, Judeo-Christian expression by relying deeply on Sámi traditions of craft and living. By his choice of materials, by his arrangement of image and word, by his strong, gentle voice, Áillohaš has created a cognitive map for the 21st century for the Sámi and other native peoples.

## Seventh deep reading. Niegut ja oainahut: Dreams and prophecies

Dreams, visions, trances, prophesies all are part and parcel of the shamanic experience, through which shamans pass into other worlds, other places, other times. Throughout *Beaivi, Áhčažan*, the poet charts his dreams and his role as the medicine man for his people. Early in the cycle, there are hints and intimations about the visionary role the poet is being called to play. In Poem 33, the poet is slowly, almost reluctantly drawn by his drumming and rock carving into visions:

go lean dearpan bottaža
jámálagan, rohttásan

oainnuid oaidnit

after drumming for a while
I am pulled into another world

to visions

The process is slow, physically demanding, like carving rock figures for a ritual or drumming for a trance. But once in the vision, the poet is able to "fly away / see / come back and tell / the people" ("girdilan / oainnán / boađan ja muitalan / olbmui'e," Poem 42). Having birdlike qualities, "lotti miela" (a "bird mind," Poem 119), gives the shaman-poet superlative powers of flight and birdlike vision, where he can "look down on the sky ocean" ("vulos almmi merrii," Poem 61), even from a prone position inside a *lavvu*-tent, where the celestial and maritime dimensions merge and reverse, blurring the boundaries between the Real and the natural. Whether it is the clouds or the bird or the shaman-self that journeys is hard to say; whether the bird flies in the clouds or the clouds and birds fly in the self is hard to say. As in Poem 67, distance is different, both near and far, both internal and external:

*aktonaš loddi ,*
*balvvat*
*mun girddan,*
*girdá mus*
*balvvain*
*guhkkin, nu lahka*

*lone bird,*
*clouds*
*I fly,*
*it flies in me*
*in the clouds*
*so far away, so close*

He seems reluctant to submit to these powers, these visions; the process is so slow (Poem 34) and the peoples's demands are so forceful ("muhto iežan jerre," "but they asked for it themselves," Poem 42). What one sees is terrifying and exhilarating and must be told.

"*[T]he heart hesitates*" ( "*váibmu dálloda*," Poem 67) at all that it sees and experiences, the intimations of forced relocations, cultural clashes, cultural struggles:

| | |
|---|---|
| *čoarrájit bámis hámit* | *dark weathered shapes appearing* |
| *dálkkiid spiddumat, ehcolaš* | *whipped by the storm, so intimate* |
| | |
| *ja biegga, dát duovdagat* | *and the wind, these lands* |
| *dálkkit, dálvvit* | *the weather, the winters* |
| *giđat, geasit* | *the springs, the summers* |
| *čavačča*t | *the falls* |
| *čarvot* | *imprint* |
| *iežat hámagin* | *their images* |

(Poem 67)

Despite the horror of the visions, they also contain terrifying beauty. Being a shaman has always been an outsider role, one that separates a person by his or her powers from the community at large, one with responsibilities and powers that transcend the ordinary. But the process, once started, is both painful and rewarding; it is extraordinary and compelling, taking the shaman to the heavens with the constellations of the ancestors ((Poem 68). The shaman-poet's role is clear; his life task is defined:

| | |
|---|---|
| 115. bohten fal niegadit nieguid | 115. I'm here to dream dreams |

The shaman-poet knows that the verities of life are to be found in visions; truth is a dream, and dreams are real. Not only is *Beaivi, Áhčažan* poetry, but it is metaphysics, it is philosophy, it is ethics and aesthetics, as in Poem 150 where the poet speculates on the nature of truth, and the shaman-poet demands the truth of dreams, even if only for the present moment.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *150.* | *jearahalan duohtavuođa* | *150.* | *I always ask for the truth* |
| | *vaikko dieđan* | | *even if I know* |
| | *duohtanai fal niehku* | | *that truth is a dream* |
| | *jáhkku dasa ahte jáhkká* | | *a conviction of one's faith* |
| | | | |
| | *dát niegut* | | *these dreams* |
| | *ávdnasat* | | *convictions* |
| | *eallimii* | | *for a life* |
| | *dát niegut* | | *these dreams* |
| | *lihkká buktán eallima* | | *have still brought life along* |
| | *dán rádjái* | | *until now* |

All is transitory; truth like dreams and the winds are both permanent and passing. It is the job of the shaman, the task of the poet to inquire continuously into truth, and dreams are his tool.

| | |
|---|---|
| *duođat duođat* | *truths truths* |
| *dassážii* | *up until* |
| *go fas ođđa duohtavuođat* | *new truths* |
| *niegut* | *dreams* |

(Poem 150)

Toward the ends of *Beaivi, Áhčažan*, the shaman-poet nearly succumbs to the evil wrought upon the Sámi people, by the dark visions that he must then tell to his people. Throughout the ages being a shaman has never been easy. Likewise, being a Sámi poet is also demanding and life-threatening, as in Poem 464, where he *"wrestled the darkest visions / was overpowered by sorcery"* (*"juođohin seavdnjadeamos oainnuid / ihtohallen"*). Nevetheless, the shaman-poet persists in his chosen task. By the end of the volume, where the poet's voice lingers meditatively on the nature of life and being, he once again invites his dreams and visionary journeys (Poem 539). Áillohaš is his dreams, and he lingers meditatively and metaphysically over the realities of his own life in the long, eight-page Poem 558. In effect, Poem 558 is Áillohaš's shamanic creed, his statement of beliefs and experience. He writes, somewhat sadly, at concluding his life cycle, his poet's cycle, his shaman's dream:

mu govadas devdon, mun, adjágasniehku, niehku niegus

my vessel is filled, I, this semi dream, dream within dream

rabestan uvssa olggos go sisa lávken

I open the door outward when I enter

mii lean go gullán, makkár

what am I when I awake, what

gii oaidná dáid neiguid

who can see these dreams

In the Western tradition, it is resepected literary practice to distinguish between the speaker of a poem and the poet. This cleft that goes to the heart of Western ontology persists in the practice of separating poet and poem. However, as Valkeapää himself says, he is in his poems (Landon 142) and at the risk of blurring the life of the poet with the story in *Beaivi, Áhčažan*, I dare say that we can know the poet clearly in these poems, which are the stories of his shamanic experiences. Dreams are truth, and the poems are the tellings of the dreams.

# 8 The poet as shaman

In Western terms, *The Sun, My Father* is a rich and complex cycle of poetry. American readers, for example, identify readily with the poet's ability to dream, his apt ways of describing an exotic way of life, and his gentle persistence in bearing witness against Western exploitation. And yet, the translations are remarkably stripped of context. The poet has chosen to consider the translations of the words to be mere guides to the original work. Thus, most Western readers do not have ready access to the fullness or richness of the Sámi version.

The original Sámi work, *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is the words, but is also much, much more. It is an integrated and layered piece of art, a shaman drum capable of seeing into other worlds, into the past, and into the future. It is encyclopedic; it embraces the totality of Sámi culture and history. And *Beaivi, Áhčážan* presents this mythic and poetic reality through the *govadas*-image drum.

## Govadasas govat: The Drum as Metaphor

Áillohaš constructs his cognitive map with archival photos and yoiks. But the poet also speaks explicitly about the power of images to evoke images, writing epigrammatically and enigmatically about the nature of symbols and images in his very synthesized Poem 31. He reinvokes the power of image in his final creedlike and prophetic Poem 558. Both poems play extensively on *govva*, the Sámi root word for "image."

In the Sámi version of Poem 38, the alternating alliteration between hard "g's" and sibilant "v's" reiterates through the seven short lines, a poetic feature carried through nicely in Sammallahti's Finnish translation. The vocalic correspondences between Sámi and Finnish are immediately apparent, with the Sámi "g's" hardening into Finnish "k's." As in the Sámi *govadas*, with its roots in the word *govva* (image), the imagic (*kuva*, image) origins of a Finnish drum, *kuvahinen*, are apparent. This play on sounds and words makes for a very compact, very complex, very beautiful poem, intimating that images are images-of-images (*govva/gova/govaid*).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 31. | govva | kuva | image |
| | gova | kuvan | the symbols |
| | govaid | kuvia | of the image |
| | govvái | kuvaisa | symbolic |
| | govadasa govat | kuvahisen kuvat | the images of the image |
| | girjái | kirjava | varied |
| | govvás máilbmi | kuvaisa maailma | world full of images |

While the English translation of Poem 31 (as of the entire *Beaivi, Áhčážan*) is a responsible one, it epitomizes the problems of correspondences between languages and between cultures. Sámi and Finnish are near cousins, both belonging to the Finno-Ugric language family, with many similarities of syntax and derivation, as well as some common linguistic heritage from a hunting/herding past.

For instance, the Finnish word *kuva* was originally perhaps the term for a decoy used by hunters to lure down birds (Meri, *Suomen sanojen*). If, in fact, the Finno-Ugric root for "bird" decoy is the same now used for "image," this poem has veritable power of attracting game and snaring it. Certainly, such word play is frequent among the Sámi, as for instance, in Paulus Utsi's clever titles for his books of poetry: *Giela giela* (*Snaring the Language*) and *Giela gielain* (*Snaring with Language*). The Sámi word *giella* means both "language; utterance, power of speech" and "snare, trap (esp. for grouse and hare)" [Nielsen].

Such subtle, Aesopian, hidden use of language has a long history among the Sámi, as Harald Gaski describes in *In the Shadow of the Midnight Sun*:

> Images are extremely important in the Sami's old epic poetry. Particularly elaborate are hidden messages conveyed in the more rebellious songs from the period of colonization. The Sami of that time no doubt feared being understood by any public officials who had acquired a little knowledge of their language and might happen to hear one of their songs. Therefore, they avoided the use of direct language and concealed implied messages in subtle texts; only the initiated could get the points being made. This means of communication served at least two purposes at once: on the superficial level, it contained a harmless tale of various events in the lives of the Sami, while its underlying message to the Sami audience conveyed a call to resist cultural suppression and assimilation. (15)

On the other hand, Sámi and English have very little in common. According to Pekka Sammallahti, Professor of Sámi Languages at the University of Oulu, Finland, the problems are already manifest in the core vocabulary of the two languages; sixty percent of the core words of Sámi do not exist in English, and sixty percent of the core words of English do not exist in Sámi. (Personal conversation, 1998.)

*Govva* (*kuva*) is a loan word from the Germanic to Proto-Finnic, from a reconstructed prehistoric past. [<Germanic **skuwwa*, cf. Gothic *skuggwa* 'mirror', archaic *skuggi,*

'shadow' (*Suomen sanojen alkuperä*, translation by Dana). While both Finnish and Sámi do absorb loan words, the proportion of loan words is significantly less than in English, as is evident in the variety of ways the single word *kuva* can be translated into English:

> *picture, illustration, image, idol, figure, effigy, photograph, reflection, impression (Uusi Suomi).*

or by the variety of options for the English word "picture" one has from a standard English dictionary or thesaurus.

In their English translation, Salisbury, Nordström, and Gaski struggle with very difficult problems of syntax, of alliteration, and of meaning in this small, nine-word poem. The resulting translation seems a bit less poetic. What does the poet mean? That image comprises the symbols of the images? That an image is compressed images?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 31. | image | 31. | image, |
| | the symbols | | images |
| | of the images | | of images |
| | | | |
| | symbolic | | imagic |
| | the images of the image | | image drum images |
| | varied | | magic |
| | world full of images | | imagic world |
| | (Salisbury, Nordström, and Gaski) | | (Dana version) |

In an alternate offering, I might use punctuation to compensate for the synthetic nature of Sámi in analytical English, and rely on the single word "image," with its "i**mag**inative" and "**mag**ical" associations, to translate *govva*, thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| *govva* | image, |
| *gova* | images |
| *govaid* | of images |

Whatever the translation, the poet delves deeply into the qualities of images for their evocative and shamanic powers on the *govadas*-drum. Near the end of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is the longest poem in the whole book; Poem 558 is a long prophetic poem, covering eight pages (which I have marked ìnidivudally as 558a, 558b, etc.) This poem starts out with a series of echoing, lingering sounds and concludes with large, quiet chords, and the sounds of birds in the distance. It is a kind of elemental catalog, listing with a kind of perpetual wonder all that is important to Sámi culture, but more significantly, it is a kind of summary prophesy/history of the Sámi people, alternating between the poet-shaman's visions and his thoughts, in plain text and italics.

He starts by declaring that it is "as if / I myself / inscribe [myself](558a)" and identifies in a dreamlike way with the images he himself has created:

| | |
|---|---|
| soapmásin jáhkán | sometimes I believe |
| ahte mun dat lean | that this is me |
| dáid govaid | these images |
| ja | and |
| vaikko mot rievdadan | however I change |
| dat govat, govat mus, | the images, images of me, |
| vui mungo | or I myself |

The imprecise borders between the poet's self and the images that prophesy or reminisce enable the shaman to pass beyond time and place to interpret what he sees there. The voices he hears are as ambiguous as the images and dreams he seeks. The voices are:

| | |
|---|---|
| girjái | ambiguous |
| govvái govadas, girjjat | like an image, emblem, figure |

(Poem 558d)

Despite the creative strain of the shaman's trance, despite the burden of the histories and prophecies the shaman must bear, there is still delight in the poet's voice, when he warmly intones "Beaivi, mu čalmmiin / the sun, in my eyes": "was it recently / I felt arms embracing, the warm lap, me too / the sun, in my eyes / no in my head, in my mind" (558d).

In this last long poem, the poet leaves no doubt about the importance of words, images, dreams and yoiks:

| | |
|---|---|
| dát niegut, sáhtáše leahkit | these dreams, could have been |
| dát govat, govaid luođit, luđiid govat | these images, the yoiks of the images, |
| | the images of the yoiks |
| ja jus báhcet | and if they are left behind |
| aktege goassege manin | anyone ever, |
| | for some reason |
| soames nu jalla | someone that silly |
| sárgon geađgái gárrái áibmui iežasii | inscribed in stone on the drum |
| | in the air to itself |
| luđiid, vuoimmálaš sániid, | yoiks, powerful words, |
| sánaláš vuoimmi | word power |
| govva, govaid | image, the symbolic |
| govadas | imagery |

(Poem 558g)

While the images and voices the poet-shaman sees and hears may be ambiguous, there is no ambivalence in the poet's conviction that these images, these dreams, these yoiks are powerful human expressions. No matter how ephemeral, they are potent emblems of life itself, written both on the drum and on the land.

## Eighth deep reading. Meaddel áiggiid: Beyond time and place

> *When a Westerner is born, he or she enters a stream of time that is always flowing. When a point in life is passed, it is finished. When a Westerner dies, he leaves the stream, which flows on without him. But for us [native Africans], birth plunges us into a pool in which the waters of past, present, and future swirl around together. Things happen and are done with, but they are not dead. After we splash about a bit in this life, our mortal beings leave the pool, but our spirits remain.*
>
> (Makeba 2)

> *In terms of an ecological world-view the hierarchy of the ecosphere must be seen as displaying a single spatio-temporal order. Vernacular man knew this…. [W]hile for us the order of nature is one thing, and the social order is another, to the Australian (aborigine) they are part of a single order—as indeed they were, for all traditional peoples who were imbued with the chthonic world-view.*
>
> (Goldsmith 8)

> *For the archaic mind humankind has no task higher than to live in an eternal mythical present, maintaining through ritual the sacrality and timeless harmonies of natural existence. The Judeo-Christian mind claims nothing from nature. God alone is of importance, and human attention shifts irreversibly from any idea of an eternal mythical present to the hopeful awaiting of the future. For the Christian, time has two poles: the beginning (as depicted in Genesis I) and the end (the Day of Judgment, when the dead shall rise).*
>
> (Oelschlager 65–6)

In "The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven," Valkeapää contrasts Western linear time and individualization with natural aesthetics honoring what is beautiful in nature, and what is self-sufficient in life. He places in aesthetic opposition Western geometric images with natural shapes, such as the fell or a wave. Valkeapää emphasizes the innate and self-sufficient qualities of culture, as opposed to the specialization and alienation of Western culture.

Time is an element in native literature that differs radically from time in western literature. Paula Gunn Allen suggests that the alienation dominant in western literature can be attributed to the psychic fragmentation of industrial time as opposed to the psychic integration of ceremonial time. (*Hoop*, 150) She contends that tribal time (that is, native understandings of time in a traditional context) and space are fluid.

> The traditional tribal concept of time is of timelessness, as the concept of space is of multidimensionality. In the ceremonial world the tribes inhabit, time and space are mythic … [I]f you held time constant, space went to infinity, and when space was held constant, time moved to infinity. That was why it was not possible to determine the exact location of a particle on a grid. The tribal sense of self as a moving event within a moving universe is very similar to the physicists' understanding of the particle within time and space. There is plenty of time in the Indian universe because everything moves in a dynamic equilibrium and the fact of universal movement is taken into account in the ritual life that is tribal existence. (Allen, *The Sacred Hoop*, 147)

In the same way that place is understood quite differently for native peoples, time also reveals itself in different ways for place-particular peoples. For most natives, time is not a linear concept, but a relational one, based on a notion that all things are imbued with spirit, and are thus related. Leroy Little Bear, a Blackfoot Indian who has led the Native American Program at Harvard University, puts it very clearly in his examination of "Jagged Worldviews Colliding":

> The idea of all things being in constant motion or flux leads to a holistic and cyclical view of the world. If everything is constantly moving and changing, then one has to look at the whole to begin to see patterns. For instance, the cosmic cycles are in constant motion, but they have regular patterns that result in recurrences such as the seasons of the year, the migration of the animals, renewal ceremonies, songs, and stories. Constant motion, as manifested in cyclical or repetitive patterns, emphasizes process as opposed to product. It results in a concept of time that is dynamic but without motion. Time is part of the constant flux but goes nowhere. Time just is. (78)

Edmund Carpenter confirms a relational, rather than linear sense of time in his thoughts about Aivilik time and space in his book, *Eskimo Realities*:

> I think the explanation for this phenomenon [of mechanical aptitude] lies in the over-all picture of Aivilik time/space orientation. At least three factors are involved: first, Aivilik do not conceptually separate space and time, but see the situation or machine as a dynamic process; second, they are acute observers of details; and third, their concept of space is not one of static enclosure, such as a room with sides or boundaries, but as direction, in operation. (26)

Time is many things, depending on who is using it. Among the Aivilik, there are no standard units of time (Carpenter). It may measure and mark our days, as it does to time-conscious, sound-bite-driven Westerners. Or it may be the mark of something "beyond time." In Poem 21 of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, the poet declares that time is marked step by step, inexorably linking time to place in the newness of morning:

| | |
|---|---|
| *lávkki* | *one step* |
| *nuppi* | *another* |
| *beaivi* | *day (literally, a sun)* |
| *jándor* | *day and night* |
| *vahkku* | *week* |
| *mánnu* | *month (literally, a moon)* |
| *jahki* | *year* |

The link between time and place is not incidental. According to Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi in his analysis of "The Natural Environment of Reindeer-Herding Sámi," "The principal division of reindeer lands corresponds to the principal divisions of the year into the 'summerside' ('*geassebealli')* and the 'winterside' ('*dálvebealli*'). Usually, northern (higher) and southern (lower) are the principal divisions of land." (148, translation by Dana) In fact, time is land-bound, if anything, among the reindeer herders:

> [I]n the free pasture system, a herdsman looks after the reindeer in the early autumn, winter, and spring. In the autumn the reindeer are gathered, in the winter they are observed, and in the spring they are measured. Only in the summer months do they roam free. Since reindeer tend to remain in a certain location, the herder is able to find them come autumn. (Volkov, 19, as cited in Robinson, 92)

Time may just be, simply, without beginning, without ending, as Valkeapää declares in Poem 566, a meditation on time and place. The poem graphically recalls a flight of migrating birds, guiding the reader from the beginning without beginning to the end without end. Despite the very good translation here, the synthetic, poetic features of the Sámi language are easily lost in English, with its analytical, word-driven syntax. The English version lapses easily into words of one or two syllables, whereas in the Sámi original, the first half of the poem is driven by multi-syllable words, multi-word lines, and ends with a series of single, multi-syllable words. The effect in Sámi is that the first half of the poem has a stronger tempo than the latter half (Hirvonen, "Aurinko," 45–6), an effect that is diminished in the simpler words in the English translation.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *566.* | *iige áigi leat, eai geažit, eai* | *and time does not exist, no end, none* |
| | *ja áigi lea, agálaččat, álo, lea* | *and time is, eternal, always, is* |
| | *loktana, luoitá* | *rises, falls* |
| | *jápmá, riegáda* | *is born, dies* |
| | *nu,* | *thus,* |
| | *jorbbodit jándorat jagit* | *days, years are rounded* |
| | *muohttagat suddet* | *snow melts* |
| | *luotkanit urbbit* | *buds swell* |
| | *ollána eallima rávdnji* | *the river of life* |
| | *oallása* | *in deep pools of motion* |
| | *johtolat váimmuid* | *the trek in the heart* |
| | *duovdagiin* | *land* |
| | *jollá* | *rounded off* |
| | *eallima gierdu* | *life's circle* |
| | *áiggihaga* | *infinite* |
| | *álgguhaga* | *without beginning* |
| | *loahpahaga* | *without ending* |
| | *ollašuvvá* | *fulfills* |
| | *iežáhuvvá* | *changes* |
| | *girjjohallá* | *colors* |
| | *eallin* | *life* |

The recurring cycle of life for the Sámi occurs both in the "river of life" and in "the trek in the heart," both in place and in time. *Beaivi, Áhčážan* operates on many levels, but the unifying theme throughout is the mythic cycle, simultaneously invoking a distant spiritual past and documenting a historical near past. The Sámi conception of time is central to an understanding of the overall cycle, and that concept is firmly established in the beginning sequences of the book, and reinforced throughout the cycle.

## *Sámi worldviews and the govadas-image drum*

From prehistoric times, the *govadas*-image drum and the *juoigan*-song tradition have been central features of Sámi cultural life, particularly as embodied in the ritual practices

of shamanism. Juha Pentikäinen, in his introduction to *Shamanism and Northern Ecology*, explains how the Sámi drum embodies Sámi worldviews. He considers shamanism to be a "grammar of mind" (10), because shamans need to be experts in the folklore of their cultures (11).

I would add that knowledge of the accompanying rituals would also be important to a successful shaman. Sámi shaman drums were the most visible emblems of shamanic knowledge, representing visibly the knowledge the Sámi shaman possesses.

> The Saami [sic] drum is particularly complex in its structure, representing in its microcosm the seasonal variation of universe as a macrocosm. Containing much mythical information, it is a kind of cognitive map for the trip of the shaman's egosoul between the three levels of the universe. (Pentikäinen, 9)

Áillohaš constructs his shamanic role very deliberately throughout *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. His poems reflect not only the Sámi cosmology represented on the *govadas*-image drum, but also a deep understanding of the rituals that sustained Sámi culture. For instance, early in the second cycle of poems (Poems 11–23, in a cycle I have captioned "The Deities"), the shaman-poet names the elements of morning-spring that awake sensation and emotion. In Poem 20, he equates the world of thoughts with the moon and stars.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *20.* | *jurdagiid máilbmi* | *the world of thoughts* |
| | *mánnu* | *moon* |
| | *ja almminástit* | *and stars* |

He calls out the proper names of "Sun Eye / Sun Sister / Sun Daughter" ("Beaivečalbmi / Beaivvášoabba / Beaivvásnieida"), and revels in the spring they have created with his earthly brothers and sisters:

| | |
|---|---|
| *gea vieljažan* | *look my brother* |
| *oabbá, oappážan* | *sister, my sister* |
| | |
| *giđđa!* | *spring!* |

In a poetry that uses very little proper attribution or punctuation, Áillohaš's use of capital letters to name the Sun Women, and his use of an exclamation point to emphasize the wonder of "*spring!*" adds emphasis to his own delight. And the final verse of Poem 20 goes right to the heart of Sámi ritual, recognizing that the sacrifice of a white reindeer, or one marked as white with white thread (Westman 45–6, citing Rheen, Skanke, Forbus, and Kildal, earlier Lappologists), clears the pathway to the sun and makes possible all this intercourse among the Sámi kin — birds, animals, stones, fells, brothers and sisters, sun, moon, and stars. Spring is the time of sacrifice, when a white reindeer is sacrificed to show the way to the sun for the sons and daughters of the Sun. The sacrifice assures there is "a white thread / in the right ear," which will clear "a path / to the sun." Knowing the sacrifice ritual, Áillohaš writes simply:

| | |
|---|---|
| *vilges láigi* | *a white thread* |
| *olgešbealljái* | *in the right ear* |
| *johtolahkan* | *a path* |
| *beaivvádahkkii* | *to the sun* |

In a poem of remarkable compression, the poet rejoices in springtime by invoking the Sun Women and by the merest mention of a white thread that stands as the means to travel to "The Sun, My Father."

Similarly, the image drum serves simultaneously as instrument for shamanic journeying, as cognitive and mythical map, and as a symbol of repression, since the overarching shamanic tradition was fiercely repressed with the advance of Protestantism in the seventeenth century in northern Scandinavia. Sámi *govadasat*-drums were confiscated and broken by the authorities, and public *juoigat* were repressed. In his examination of this period, *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change Among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s*, Håkan Rydving writes about the concealment of drums:

> What the clergymen and many of the Sámis did not know, was that in addition to the enculturative and deculturative processes, there was also a process of concealment. Sámis who continued to practice indigenous religious customs made a point of hiding them from the clergymen and from Sámis they did not trust. (167)

As a result of the repression of shamanism among the Sámi, these ritual traditions went deep underground; *govadasat* were hidden in remote, sacred places, and *juoigat* became intensely private, encoded language, scrutable only to initiates in Sámi language and culture. Writing about the existence of parallel sacred spaces for the Sámi, Rydving says that "Since the Christian sacred places were few and the indigenous sacrificial sites lay far away from them.... the ritual spaces of the two religions could function side by side in the area (101)." Despite later Sámi acceptance of the ultra-conservative and evangelical Protestant sect of Laestadianism (cf. Minde, "Constructing 'Laestadianism': A case for Sami survival?"), both *govadas* and *juoigan* — both drum and song — have persisted as indelible and subversive emblems and avenues of Sámi culture.

A compelling definition of this secret, sacred *juoigan* language is in the lyric by Sámi poet Paulus Utsi (1918–75), "The Yoik":

The yoik is a sanctuary for our thoughts
Therefore it has
few spoken words
Free sounds reach
farther than words

The yoik lifts our spirit
allows our thoughts to soar
above the little clouds
has them

as its friends
in nature's beauty

(Gaski, *In the Shadow* 112)

Utsi, the first Sámi poet really recognized as an individual poet, spoke clearly for younger Sámi involved in the protest movements of the 1970s, and his little poem resembles a yoik itself. It has "few spoken words," but has a clear affinity with nature. In nature, the yoik transports thoughts "above the little clouds," where they will be safe and cherished. His poem is itself a kind of secret yoik, but made visible to Western readers through translation, in this case.

In Áillohaš's poetry, these twin Sámi cultural traditions of drum and song are both visible and invisible. The poet publicly declares his mythic *Beaivi, Áhčážan* to be an image drum itself, thus creating a postmodern metaphor out of a premodern tradition. The title — *The Sun, My Father* — alludes to the core story of Sámi mythology, *The Sons of the Sun* (Hirvonen, "Aurinko", 39), doubling the mythic reverberations central to the *noaidi*-shaman tradition, and harking back to the creation myth of the Sámi, the source of Sámi identity emblazoned on the landscape of the European North.

In the Sámi recorded version of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, the poet reads his poems, accompanied by many yoiks, and soundtracks including contemporary musical instruments and recordings of nature sounds, such as birds' voices or the voice of the wind. The combined effect of the Sámi book-cum-drawings-cum-photographs-cum-reading-cum-music-&-natural-soundtrack is to create a work of deep, complex significance to those schooled in Sámi traditions, but more remote of access and more difficult of full interpretation to the non-initiate. The poet has himself repressed this complexity in the translations, which do not include the photographic images and are not accompanied by the literal soundtrack. According to the poet, the photographs are intended exclusively for the Sámi — for the exclusive use of the Sámi family (Hirvonen, "Aurinko", 38). Thus, the double entendre of using forbidden magic and concealing that magic from his foreign readers is made manifest.

In the introduction to *Aurinko, isäni*, the Finnish translation of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää discusses his meanings and motives in allowing a translation of his work. In authorizing the translation, Valkeapää was considering how a Finnish version might make the Sámi original more accessible to fellow Sámi who are not necessarily fully literate in their own language, but have been educated in Finnish schools, and are fully literate in Finnish. The Finnish translation is meant as a guide to readers who cannot access the Sámi original.

> *Kuvahinen.* Teoksessa *Beaivi, Áhčážan* — tai oikeastaan visuaalis-verbaalissa eepoksessa, kuvahisessa — kuvat ja runot luovat yhdessä hengittävän kokonaisuuden. Suomenkielinen käännös on tarkoitettu apuneuvoksi matkalle kuvahisen alusta sen loppuun. Teos aukeaa eri tavoin eri lukijoille, mutta kaikille se nousee askel askeleelta eteneväksi matkaksi tuntureiden elämään, myös pelkkänä tekstinä ilman kuvia. (introduction, n.p.)

> [*Govadas — the image drum*. In the work *Beaivi, Áhčážan* — or rather in this visual verbal epic, in this image drum — the images and poems together create a breathing, living whole. The Finnish-language translation is intended as a guide to the *govadas* from its beginning to its end. The work reveals itself in different ways to different readers, but for all it rises step by step as a journey into the life of the high fells, even as plain text without images. (Translation from the Finnish by Dana)]

Nonetheless, the pictures remain accessible to any Sámi, who may not be able to read the poems in their mother tongue. And the soundtrack, with its vast repertoire of yoiks and natural sounds, remain accessible to the larger Sámi family, which is intimately familiar with the yoik tradition and deeply experienced with the sounds of the high fells. Thus, while a Westerner is constrained to read the English version as text, Sámi — or other privileged readers — can access the poetry through image, sound, and word. The intertextuality of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is central to the artist's intentions, yet intentionally suppressed in the Western versions. Thus, the shaman-poet simultaneously conceals and celebrates the Sámi shaman tradition, adding a creative tension between concealment and celebration in his work.

*Govadasat* drums varied widely throughout Sápmi [cf. Ernst Manker's exhaustive catalog of Sámi drums, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel, I–II* (*Lappish Magic Drums*)]. Manker calls the *govadasat* "Zaubertrommel" or "magic drums," emphasizing their shamanic uses. I, however, prefer the term "image drum," which points to the symbolic and metaphoric uses of the *govadas*, and which points to the "*govva*-image" etymology of the word, since Valkeapää uses the drums symbolically and metaphorically, as well as shamanistically, in his work.

Whether they were oval, frame drums, or smaller bowl drums carved from birch burls, the Sámi cosmography would be painted in alder bark ink on the drumhead, portraying the fundamental worldview of the Sámi — or the Sámi "cognitive map," as Juha Pentikäinen describes the *govadasat* ("The shamanic drum as cognitive map"). The number of figures and their placement in the *almmi*-heavens or *sáivomáilmmi,* the sacred ancestral mountain where the dead live a carefree life, vary throughout historical Sápmi*,* but all drums carefully map the gods, the people, and the creatures in a carefully

intentioned ecology. (Cf. Odd Mathis Hætta, *The Ancient Religion and Folk-Beliefs of the Sámi*).

Juha Pentikäinen, in his *Saamelaiset: Pohjoisen kansan mytologia* (*The Sámi: Mythology of a Northern People*) emphasizes the importance of sacred places in the high fells from which a fine vista is available all around. Such sites were used as places of sacrifice, to represent the *sáivomáilmmi*, and as places to store *govadasat* drums and other shamanic paraphernalia (142–3). These sacred places are honored on the Sámi tradition, not only in practice, but also literally, such as *Áilegas* near Ohcejohka, *Nuvvos-Áilegas* on the Deatnu River, or *Áiligas* near Karigasniemi, both on the Finland side of the Deatnu River. The concept of sacredness is found in many variants of the North Sámi word *áiligas* (*áiles, áilis* < *helig*, Swedish < *heilig,* German; cf. *holy*, English).

Is it any wonder, then, that the poet is also called *Áillohaš*, with etymological pointers to these sacred places? Through his very careful selection of images and words, Áillohaš has very clearly constructed intentional cultural worlds, invoking the Sámi shamanic past and intimating a possible, if fleeting effect of Sámi worldviews on the world at large. As the poet, he assumes the shaman's role of divining both the past and the future. His poems of prophecy are especially compelling in the last section of *Beaivi, Áhcážan* (Poems 451–511), where he struggles with ideas of good and evil and the shaman's fleeting role in negotiating those worlds.

While drums and worldviews are as varied among groups of Sámi as Sámi dialects vary from one another, there are nonetheless common features among the worldviews that appear across Sápmi, and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has used image drums to frame and shape his poetry.

The metaphorical impact of the *Beaivi, Áhčážan* as the *govadas*-image drum of the shaman-poet is sustained in a similar manner throughout the entire 571 images and poems, complex with layers of meaning and intention. A look backward at Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's earlier autobiographical *Ruoktu váimmus* helps to show the evolution of Áillohaš's shamanic and poetic powers, particularly in his use of images and drums.

## *The Image Drum and Trekways of the Wind*

In the lyrically designed autobiographical trilogy, *Ruoktu váimmus/Trekways of the Winds*, a number of *govadas* images also appear, including the trademark-like design for DAT, Valkeapää's publisher in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. For instance, the last section of the second cycle, *Lávllo vizar biellocizaš* / *Bluethroat, Twitter, Sing*, is a compelling flow of images similar to those often found on *govadasat*; symbolic animals swim or paddle along a stream of water which follows the bottoms of 26 pages beneath the poet's hymn of praise to "the life of the ancient Sámi" (166).

This pages-long stream of water stops at a drum-like image on page 192, which seems to show humans chained together in protest in the lower world, while sun-like images and flying beasts cavort through the upper sky. Over the next two pages, the images burst out of the drum frame and are scattered apocalyptically across a dizzying landscape. The images darken in the next two openings, with faceless *čude*-strangers crowding a ravaged

landscape, a modern church teetering at the top of the page, while poisoned wildfowl stagger in agony at the foot.

But then, the images slip into black, and the poems reappear in quiet white letters against the stark black background. The recognition of fellow Sámi is comforting in its repetition: "I would know you / even if you were among others / you are my brother / you are my sister // I would know you / even if you were not wearing Sámi dress / You are my brother / you are my sister" (199).

The third cycle of *Ruoktu váimmus* / *Trekways of the Winds*, *Ádjaga silbasuonat* / *Silver Veins of Streams*, also culminates in a *govadas*-image drum, which is placed at the juncture of ecumene and anecumene, addressing through images the confluence of the "wilderness" and "civilization" as viewed by a native artist. Fluid, penned lines of a Sámi homescape flow easily across the top of the page, accompanied by the poet's perceptions of the dysjunction between natural and cultural homescapes:

in the mind's restlessness

my heart took my hand

led me to see

accompanied by the tones of wind

the home tundras speak

the campsites known

like a staff in the hand (277)

On the next page, the poet's image drum, framed by powerful reindeer antlers, sits in the airy distance, while the Sámi homescape lines shift and cross beneath it. Áillohaš speaks directly to his reader / lover / brother / sister, with an anxiously hopeful voice: "Before you left / the fall birds / gathered / day by day // Tomorrow / will the sun / be visible" (278). By the following page, the image has become a shocking, jagged technoscape of endless skyscrapers, while a faceless clock takes the place of the drum. The poet warns: "one alienated from nature / will not understand / that the bird must be killed / to remain in the hand" (279).

Beneath the dust jacket of *Ruoktu váimmus* / *Trekways of the Winds* with its brightly fluttering *gákti*-tunic hem, is a more sober blue cloth cover, with *govadas* images imprinted in silver, a sun on the front cover, and a sacrificial *sieidi*-site on the back cover. While *govadas* images lend substance and flair to *Ruoktu váimmus*, the more mythical *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is literally a drum, a *govadas*, an instrument which can reveal the past, the present, and the future, in all of the conceptual, intentional worlds of the Sámi from the *almmi*-heavens to the world beyond, or *sáivomáilmmi*. Áillohaš names his read version of the book a *jietnagovadas*, or "voice drum," further invoking the privileges of the shaman to master symbol and meaning. The poet has moved from alluding to the Sámi shamanic past to employing it whole, deeply integrated into the shape and substance of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*.

## *Beaivi, Áhčážan as a literal image drum*

In both the original Sámi-language *Beaivi, Áhčážan* and in its translations, the actual drum appears on the blood-red, dawn-red covers. On the front cover is a full *govadas*, an image drum embossed in gold, with more than a dozen images or clusters of images circling a central sun, while on the back cover only the central image of the sun remains, its gilded rays and central cross enlarged and solitary against the bright, birth-red color of the book's binding. These are but two of the many images of image drums that appear throughout the text.

The opening image, *6. govat govadasas* ("6. images on an image drum", Ernst Manker, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel II*), is a startlingly enlarged section from the top left quadrant of the image drum embossed on the cover. This quadrant is reproduced in white on glossy black paper, and the image transverses the central page fold of the book. Turning this page brings us to the opening sequence of text, Poem 7, again in white letters on black paper. The sun radiates in the upper left corner and a pair of randy reindeer from the image drum of the blood-red cover sprint across the tops of the pages.

The opening poem, Poem 7, starts with a long, prayerful incantation of "a's." In the English translation, "o's" replace the "a's," but the sense of the poet's meaning is less a rapturous "oh!," than a quiet, welcoming, "ah…," a sound that is repeated in the few words of the opening sequence:

*aaa*

*aaaaa aa aaaaa*

*aaaaaaaiivaaaaaaannn aaaaaaainnnnuuuuht*

*[ooo*

*ooooo oo ooooo*

*ooooooooriiigiiinaaaaaal ooooooooooooonlyyyyy]*

When the poem shifts to readily recognizable words on the next page, the poet as shaman starts: "*humahalan eatnama / meaddel áiggiid*" ("*I converse with the earth / beyond time*"), to hear the voices of "*The sun / the world's father / The earth / life's mother*". Significantly, the shaman-poet converses in the first person, linking the personal and the cosmic/mythic through shamanistic ritual.

This opening sequence of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* might be considered a variant of the creation story, with its invocation of the cosmic father and earthly mother, and with its catalog of earthly beings. Valkeapää's creation story simply calls into being a world that already exists "beyond time."

Note how distinct this worldview is from the Biblical Christian worldview, where creation takes place out of a darkened void, "in the beginning" (Genesis I, 1–2). In the Christian version there is a literal beginning, while in the Sámi version there is a magical recognition of something already existing "*meaddel áiggiid*" / "*beyond time."*

This first poem is a birth poem, with the poet speaking to the earth "*meaddal áiggiid / beyond time,"* after which the dim outlines of a tremendous *sieidi*-site loom majestically in a dim, scratched photo of Sejt-jaur on the Kola Peninsula. Close-up photos of powerful, human-like *sieidi* rock formations complete the images (Photos 8–10) before the poet continues with his prayers to the earthly powers, the *Beaivi, Áhčážan*-Sun, father (esp. Poem 7), the *Eanan, eadni/* Earth, mother, and the *biegga*-wind (Poem 12).

Such close kinship with natural elements is not unusual in native traditions. This concept of closeness, of living with the rest of nature, as part of nature, is a tremendously comforting concept, as in this lovely Laguna Pueblo lullaby, which concludes Leslie Marmon Silko's sad story of old age and cultural decline, "Lullaby":

*The earth is your mother,*

*she holds you.*

*The sky is your father,*

*he protects you.*

*Sleep,*

*sleep.*

*Rainbow is your sister,*

*she loves you.*

*The winds are your brothers,*

*they sing to you.*

*Sleep,*

*sleep.*

*We are together always*

*We are together always*

*There never was a time*

*when this*

*was not so.*

(Silko, *Storyteller* , 51)

To perceive the celestial as paternal and the earthly as maternal, the winds and seasons as brothers and sisters is at the heart of a worldview that does not separate nature and culture, for which perception and experience, metaphor and significance exist in an intimacy that is only marginally known in Western worldviews.

For the Sámi, this native worldview is expressed in its totality in the *govat*-images, which endow their drums with their magic. Thus, when Áillohaš acknowledges human expression in Poems 22 and 23, those poems are framed — literally framed — by g*ovadasat* images.

*juoiggadeimmet / illudeimmet / vizardeimmet*

[*we yoiked / we rejoiced / we sang like birds* (Poem 23)]

The first cycle of *Beaivi, Áhčážan* relates the elements of creation, greeting *Beaivi, Áhčážan* — "Sun, my Father" — and *Eanan, eallima eadni* — "Earth, Mother of Life" (Poem 7). The next cycle names the other kin of creation, including *biegga*, the wind. In the third cycle, in Poem 34, the poet names the conceptual worlds of the Sámi in the overture, and catalogues the real creatures of its ecology in a litany of recognition. Like the book itself in its image-drum guise, many of Áillohaš's poems in *Beaivi, Áhčážan* are literal representations of meaning, with their layout symbolic of relationships, like the images on the drumhead:

34. sárggun I inscribe

almmi heaven
ja almmimearkkaid and heavenly signs
sáivomáilmmi and the world beyond
ja and

lehkos ealli, let there be life
rieban fox
návdi wolf
bierdna bear
čeavrris otter
buoidda ermine
njoammil hare
rávdu char
dápmot trout
čuovža grayling
bálddis halibut
bossu whale
bižus golden plover
láful dotterel
čuonja goose
njukča swan
beahceloddi muorrageahčái game bird in a treetop
skáhpi rowan tree
sieđga osier
suhpi aspen
soahki birch

Significantly, the poet takes responsibility for calling his world into being. He says that he "inscribes" this world, referring both to the creative process of painting a drumhead in alder juices and to the magical process of being the shaman-poet who knows his world and can name the creatures in it. In naming the creatures and plants of the Sámi world,

Áillohaš intentionally classifies them, zigzagging from the larger mammals (*rieban*-fox, *návdi*- wolf, *bierdna*-bear) to the smaller fur-bearing mammals (*čeavrris*-otter, *buoidda*-ermine, *njoammil*-hare); from the freshwater fishes (*rávdu*-char, *dápmot*-trout, *čuovža*-grayling) to the saltwater fishes and the whale (*bálddis*-halibut, *bossu*-whale); from the birds of the air (*bižus*-golden plover, *láful*-dotterel, *čuonja*-goose, *njukča*-swan) to a "game bird in a treetop" (*beahdeloddi muorrageahčái)* to the trees themselves (*skáhpi*-rowan tree, *sieđga*-osier, *suhpi*-aspen, *soahki*-birch).

Images 24–28 are Valkeapää's own photos of rock carvings from Jiepmaluokta, followed by museum photos of the front and back of a "tambour chamanique", a *govadas* in the collection of Prince Roland Bonaparte (1884, Musée de l'Homme, Paris). The back shows the cross construction of the frame drum hung with talismans, the T-shaped antler drumstick neatly stowed. The front of the drum, with its shades of light and dark, almost throbs with the potential of the mystical figures on its face. These images contrast dramatically with the corresponding drum at the end of the volume, its drumhead brutally slashed.

Image 564 of a Sámi skeleton in a coffin from the Ethnographic Museum at the University of Oslo, the blurred and darkened *sieidi* in Image 568, and the curious petroglyphs of humans in Image 571, their arms upraised in surrender or despair or jubilation, emphasize the invasive nature of the Prince's collecting journey to Sápmi in the late 19th century and the ambivalent situation of Sámi culture at the end of the twentieth.

When the reader sits with *Beaivi, Áhčážan* in hand, listening to the poet's gentle, yet insistent voice read his poems to the accompaniment of yoiks and other nature sounds, one has the very experience of being in the high fells and witnessing a powerful shaman define his world and then plunge, trance-like, into its depths to find meaning in his own life and meaning for the Sámi nation and meaning for the world at large. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has not only made an image drum, but he is also a powerfully adroit shaman-poet who knows how to use natural and native symbols to see into the past and into the future.

# 9 Conclusions

nu mun sárggun dáid govaid

this is how I inscribe these images

(Poem 562)

Very close to the end of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, Áillohaš concludes his shamanic cycle. His drumming trance, with its dream images, is coming to an end. He draws the final images, negotiating the creative tension between his own vital images and the slashed "tambour chamanique" from the collection of Prince Roland Bonaparte in Photo 563. As in the very beginning, there is no drumming on the accompanying soundtrack. Human intercession has ceased. The poem concludes the cycle with large, quiet chords, distant birds. The poet ruefully acknowledges the immediacy of life, even though he may be merely passing through this world.

While most of the pages between the opening and closing sequences are traditional black ink on white paper, the closing pages repeat the alternative white images and text on black paper of the opening sequence, unifying the cycle. In the next-to-the-last page opening, the whole image drum, like a photo negative, appears intact and complete, despite the ravages of civilization and the impress of dominant cultures.

However, the book does not end here, with this apparent completion of the cycle, but on the following two-page opening, on which a short fourteen-word verse appears barely visible against the grainy gray of a photograph of a rock carving, *govat geádggis, Jiepmaluokta* (rock images, Jiepmaluokta), taken by the poet. The carving shows two jubilant humans, their arms raised high, perhaps in a ritual dance. Perhaps the cycle has moved one notch, ready to reappear in the next round. Thus, simply through the layout, Valkeapää the poet/artist, has bound the mythic cycle "beyond time" within the embossed red covers that appear in both the Sámi original and all of the translations.

When I started this dissertation research, I was inspired by the thrill of recognition I felt in the high fells of Sápmi, a thrill similar to the one I know in my own homefields in northern New England. The appreciation that I feel for the poetry and literature of New England was like the appreciation I have for much Sámi poetry, especially that of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. As with the poetry of Robert Frost, I could return again and again and again to Áillohaš's poetry, always with a fresh insight, a keener understanding of the words, an interior landscape that reflected the external landscapes I love. This spiritual

and emotional foundation led me to an intellectual and ecological approach to my research.

I thought that perhaps the practical life experiences of both poets in subsistence livelihoods in northern landscapes might yield an understanding of the sources of their poetry. Frost's familiar, if inept, farming methods on his hardscrabble farms as the material of his poems is so like Valkeapää's intimate, if unpracticed, experience of the reindeer herding as the stuff of his poetry.

Despite the apparent comparisons between the poets, the research obstacles to a sympathetic Western scholar of Sámi literature intent on a reasoned analysis are manifest and many. The body of authored, creative Sámi literature has grown exponentially with the resurgence of Sámi culture in recent decades; nevertheless, the absence of a coherent Sámi critical aesthetic hampers a purely native approach to Valkeapää's literature. The well-documented analyses of Frost's poetry pointed me toward productive critical analysis of Valkeapää's work.

Metaphor as used by Frost and metaphor as used by Valkeapää go right to the heart of language and poetry. Frost uses his perceptions of nature to lead toward philosophical statements about the human condition, to connect observation and understanding. For Valkeapää, perception of nature IS understanding of nature. Experience and knowledge are separate in Frost's poems, although nature is the avenue to transcend that distance; in Valkeapää's poetry, experience IS knowledge.

This simple, but profound, difference between a Western and a native viewpoint, between a New England perspective and a Sámi worldview, lies at the foundation of all my research. The sense of individual identity, which has been the central Western endeavor in historical times, sets humans apart from nature. In the Sámi worldview, the human is still a part of nature, a relationship that goes to the very heart of language.

The way in which Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has expressed his Sámi worldview in his art is simultaneously very traditional and quite radical. He is at once eternal and contemporary. His words encapsulate Sámi culture, history and myth in very clear and exact language, drawing on Sámi *diehtu*, or traditional knowledge, and on Sámi crafts and ecology. At the same time Áillohaš breaks the Sámi tradition of keeping *siida* culture within the *siida*-family.

The tension between the traditional and radical is evident in many ways. Áillohaš's *yoiks* are performed and recorded in modern media, they are not only the private voice of a *Sápmeláš*-Sámi person, or the quieter voice of Sámi protest, but also part of the larger protest movement of the 1970s. His poems, like the *yoik* tradition, keep returning to the same themes of tradition and identity, on the one hand in keeping with Sámi tradition, on the other hand, creating new modes of self-expression. Áillohaš's books have become a new medium for *diehtu*, or traditional knowledge, transforming *yoik*, bone and wood tools, and the shamans' *govadas*-drums into postmodern self-expressions, which simultaneously embrace *diehtu* and individual self-awareness.

Ecology points to the interrelationship of all things, and literary ecology uses that interrelationship as a tool for understanding literature. Interestingly, the way in which we perceive our landscapes and the ways in which we live in those landscapes also yield a productive method for understanding literature that is nature-based. While the Romantics and Transcendentalists turned to the wild sublime as a site of understanding, they still maintained a boundary between human culture and nature. Nature was the means to

transcend the limitations of this life, although some authors, such as Henry David Thoreau, came very close to unifying experience and understanding, bringing an intimacy of perception that is visible in Sámi literature.

In the Sámi tradition, with its extant experiences of the oral tradition, voice continues to be a strong indicator of cultural identity, as it is also in the Native American tradition. The Native American tradition, deemed to have surged into a literary renaissance in the late 1960s, provides another cultural aesthetic with which to approach other native traditions. Fundamentally, the living stories embedded in the landscape are evidence of the intimacy of experience and understanding. Throughout the North, as Valkeapää himself postulates, there are unities and universals that merit critical consideration.

Valkeapää has drawn deeply on Sámi cultural traditions to create his image drum. *Beaivi, Áhčážan* is a resonant and emblematic metaphor for Sámi worldviews, expressing the relationship between *Sápmeláčča*t-humans and nature. While it is difficult for a Westerner to presume to understand instinctively this relationship and what it means in poetry, nonetheless, ecology provides a postmodern model for examining the human-nature connection, and a paradigm useful for interpreting native literature.

## Päätelmät

nu mun sárggun dáid govaid

this is how I inscribe these images

(Runo 562)

Varsin lähellä *Beaivi, Áhčážan*in loppua Áillohaš vetää šamaanisen syklinsä loppuun. Hänen rummutushurmostilansa unikuvineen päättyy. Hän piirtää viimeiset kuvansa kehittämällä luovaa jännitettä omien elinvoimaisten kuviensa ja ruhtinas Roland Bonaparten kokoelman viilletyn ”tambour chamaniquen” välillä (kuva 563). Kuten aivan alussa, rummutusta ei ole säestävällä ääninauhalla. Nyt ollaan vailla ihmisvälitystä. Tämä runo päättää syklin isoilla, hiljaisilla soinnuilla, kaukaisilla linnuilla. Runoilija tunnistaa elämän välittömän läheisyyden, vaikka itse vilkahtaa tämän maailman lävitse.

Vaikka suurin osa sivuista avautuvien ja sulkeutuvien jaksojen välissä on perinteistä mustaa mustetta valkoisella paperilla, viimeisillä sivuilla alkujakson valkoiset kuvat ja sanat mustalla paperilla toistuvat luoden yhtenäisyyttä sykliin. Toiseksi viimeisellä aukeamalla kokonainen rumpukuva, kuten valokuvanegatiivissa, näyttää koskemattomalta ja kokonaiselta, huolimatta sivistyksen tuhojen ja mahtikulttuurien voimasta.

Kirja ei kuitenkaan pääty tähän, syklin näennäiseen loppuun, vaan seuraavaan aukeamaan, jolla lyhyt 14-sanainen virsi on tuskin havaittavissa runoilijan ottamassa kivikaiverruksen karkeanharmaassa valokuvassa, *govat geádggis, Jiepmaluokta* (kuvat kivessä, Jiepmaluokta). Kaiverruksessa on kaksi iloista ihmistä, kädet korkealla, ehkä rituaalitanssin lumoissa. Ehkä kierros on edennyt yhden pykälän, valmiina ilmestymään uudestaan seuraavassa kierroksessa. Näin, pelkästään asettelulla, runoilija/kuvailija Valkeapää on sitonut myyttisen kierroksen "aikojen ohi" koristeellisten punaisten

sisäkansien väliin, jotka ovat sekä saamelaisessa alkuperäisessä versiossa että kaikissa käännöksissä.

Kun aloitin tämän työn, ilahduin tunnistuksen ilosta, jonka tunsin Sápmin tuntureilla, samanlaisesta ilosta kuin omilla kotipelloilla Uuden-Englannin pohjoisosissa. Arvostin saamelaista — varsinkin Valkeapään — runoutta aivan yhtä lailla kuin Uuden Englannin runoutta ja kaunokirjallisuutta. Samoin kuin Robert Frostin runoissa, saan palata uudestaan ja uudestaan Áillohašin runoihin, joka kerta tuoreilla oivalluksilla, sanojen terävämmällä ymmärryksellä, tähän sisäiseen maisemaan, joka heijastaa ne ulkoiset maisemat, joita rakastan. Tämä henkinen ja tunteellinen perusta veti minut älylliseen ja ekologiseen lähestymistapaan tutkimuksessani.

Luulin, että molempien runoilijoiden karut kokemukset arkielämästä ja toimeentulon niukkuudesta auttaisivat minua ymmärtämään heidän runoutensa syntyperää. Frostin alkeellinen maatalous karuissa oloissa ja Valkeapään luonnonläheinen elämäntapa poronhoidon keskellä ovat varmasti olleet aineksia molempien runoilijoiden töissä.

Näistä merkittävistä yhtymäkohdista huolimatta asiaan vihkiytynyt länsimainen tutkija kohtaa työssään lukuisia esteitä. Saamelainen kaunokirjallisuus on kasvanut erittäin nopeasti saamelaisrenessanssin myötä viime vuosikymmenillä. Yhtenäinen saamelainen kriittinen estetiikka kuitenkin puuttuu vielä, joten Valkeapään runoutta on varsin vaikea lähestyä puhtaasti saamelaisesta näkökulmasta käsin. Toisaalta, Frostin erittäin perinpohjaisesti tutkittu runous näytti minulle tietä Valkeapään työn antoisaan kriittiseen analysointiin.

Frostin käyttää näkemystään luonnosta tuodakseen esiin filosofisia päätelmiä ihmisen tilasta. Hänen johtopäätöksissään yhdistyy näkemys ja oivallus. Valkeapäälle näkemys luonnosta ON sen olemuksen oivaltamista. Kokemus ja tieto ovat erillään Frostin runoissa, vaikkakin luonto tarjoaa sillan niiden välille. Valkeapään runoudessa kokemus ON tietoa.

Tämä yksinkertainen, mutta syvällinen ero läntisten ja alkuperäkansojen näkökulmien välillä, Uuden Englannin näkökulman ja saamelaisen maailmankatsomuksen välillä, on koko tutkimustyöni perusta. Yksilöidentiteetin tuntemus, joka on ollut keskeinen läntinen pyrkimys koko historian aikana, erottaa ihmiset luonnosta. Saamelaisessa maailmankatsomuksessa ihminen jatkaa osaansa luonnossa. Tämä suhde vie tarkastelijansa kielen sydämeen.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapään menetelmä ilmaista saamelaista maailmankatsomusta on samalla sekä perinteinen että melko radikaali. Hän on sekä ikiaikainen että nykyaikainen. Áillohašin joiut lauletaan ja julkaistaan nykymedioina; niissä ei kuulu ainoastaan *Sápmeláš*-saamelaisten ääni tai saamelaisen vastalauseen ääni, vaan myöskin 1970-luvun vastalauseliikkeen laajempi ääni. Áillohašin runot, kuten joikuperinnekin, palaa yhä uudelleen samoihin perinne- ja identiteettiteemoihin. Ne ovat sovussa saamelaisen perinteen kanssa, mutta luovat jatkuvasti uusia muotoja ilmaista itseään. Áillohašin kirjat ovat uusi *diehtu*-media, siis perinteisen tiedon keino, joka muuntaa joiun, luu- ja puukalut ja šamaanin *govadas*-rummun postmoderniksi itseilmaisuksi, joka pitää sisällään sekä *diehtun* että yksilöllisen itsetietoisuuden.

Ekologia viittaa kaikkien asioiden välisiin suhteisiin, ja kaunokirjallinen ekologia käyttää tätä suhdetta kaunokirjallisuuden tulkintaan. Se tapa, jolla me havainnoimme luontoa ja elämme siinä, luo varsin hedelmällisen keinon ymmärtää luonnon inspiroimaa kirjallisuutta. Romantikot ja transkendentalistit suuntasivat katseensa uljaaseen luontoon

päästäkseen syvempään ymmärrykseen, mutta he pitivät kuitenkin selkeän rajan kulttuurin ja luonnon välillä. Heille luonto oli menetelmä ylittää tämänpuolisen elämän rajoituksia, vaikka jotkut kirjailijat, kuten Henry David Thoreau, miltei yhdistivätkin kokemuksen ja ymmärryksen luoden siten läheisen näkökulman sille, joka on selvästi näkyvissä saamelaisessa kirjallisuudessa.

Saamelaisperinne, ja muut sen suullisen perinteen kokemukset, jotka ovat vielä olemassa, painottavat ääntä, joka on yhä voimakas kulttuurisen identiteetin viite samoin kuin Amerikan alkuperäkansojen perinteessä. Alkuperäisamerikkalaisperinne, joka kukoisti kaunokirjallisuudessa myöhään 1960-luvulla, antaa tutkijalle näkemystä ja välineitä muiden alkuperäisperinteiden tutkimiseen. Kaiken pohjana ovat maisemissa elävät kertomukset, jotka kertovat kokemuksen ja ymmärryksen läheisyydestä. Kaikkialla pohjoisessa, kuten Valkeapää itsekin olettaa, löytyy yhtenäisyyksiä ja yhteiskäsitteitä, jotka ansaitsevat tulla tutkituiksi.

Valkeapää on niin lumoutunut saamelaisesta kulttuuriperinteestä, että hän loi oman käsitteensä, kuvahisen. *Beaivi, Áhčážan* on kaikuva ja vertauskuvallinen metafora saamelaisista maailmankuvista, joka ilmaisee *Sápmeláčča*t-ihmisten ja luonnon suhdetta. Vaikka länsimaiselle tutkijalle onkin vaikeaa ymmärtää tätä suhdetta, ekologia tarjoaa postmodernin tieteellisen menetelmän ymmärtää ihminen–luonto-yhteyttä sekä ylipäätään alkuperäiskansojen kirjallisuutta.

## Jurddabohtosat

nu mun sárggun dáid govaid

(Dikta 562)

Oalle lahka *Beaivi, Áhčážan*a loahpa, Áillohaš loahpaha šamánalaš sykla. Su meavrresgári čuojahantránsa ja niegut nohket. Son sárgu maŋimuš govaidis dainna lágiin ahte kreatiiva gealdagas šaddá su fámolaš govaid ja čálašuvvon ”tambour chamanique” gaskii, mii lea prinsa Roland Bonaparte čoakkáldagas (govva 563). Dego áibbas álggus, duogášjietnabáttis eai čuojat trumbbu. Dál olmmošlaš sirdi lea jávkan. Dát dikta loahpaha sykla stuorra, jaskes šuoŋaiguin, gáiddus lottiiguin. Diktačálli dovdá eallima lagasvuođa, vaikko ieš livkkiha dán máilmmi čađa.

Vaikko stuorimus oassi siidduin, rahpaseaddji ja giddejeaddji osiid gaskkas, lea árbevirolaš čáhppes bleahkka vilges báhpáris, maŋimuš siidduin álgooasi vilges govat ja sánit čáhppes báhpáris geardduhuvvojit ja duddjojit oktilašvuođa syklii. Nubbin maŋimuš guovtti siiddus olles meavrresgári govva, dego čuovgagovvanegatiivvas, orru guoskameahttun ja ollis, das fuolatkeahttá makkár čuvgehusa sorbmi ja fámolaš kultuvrraid vuoibmi dan leat guoskkahan.

Girji ii goit noga dása, sykla gáddojuvvon lohppii, muhto baicca čuovvovaš guovtti siidui, gos illá fuobmá oanehis 14 sáni guhkes sálmma diktačálli roavvaránes čuovgagovas, mii govvida báktesárgosa: *govat geađggis, Jiepmaluokta*. Sárgosis leat guokte ilolaš olbmo, gieđat allin; kánske rituáladánsa lea lampudan sudno. Kánske sykla lea ovdánan ovtta ceahki, gárvvisin ihtit ođđasit čuovvovaš syklas. Ná, dušše hábmemiin,

diktačálli/govvideaddji Valkeapää lea čatnan myhtalaš sykla ”áiggiid meattá” hearvás, rukses sisbearpmaid gaskii, mat leat sápmelaš álgoálgosaš veršuvnnas ja buot jorgalusain.

Go álggahin dán barggu, ilosmuvven go dovdájin Sámi duoddariid seammalágan iluin go iežamet ruoktobealdduid Ođđa-Enlándda davviosiin. Atnen árvvus sámi — erenoamážit Valkeapää — lyrihka aivve seammaláhkai go Ođđa-Enlándda lyrihka ja čáppagirjjálašvuođa. Dego Robert Frosta divttaide, sáhtten máhccat ođđasit ah ođđasit Áillu divttaide, juohke háve ođđa fuobmášumiiguin, áddejin sániid ain čiekŋalabbot. Dát siskkáldas oainnus, mii speadjalasttii olggoldas oidnosiid, maid ráhkistan. Dát silolaš ja sentimentála vuođđu geasuhii mu geavahit dutkamušas intellektuála ja ekologalaš lahkonanvugiid.

Gádden, ahte guktuid diktačálliid garra vásáhusat árgaeallimis ja vátna birgenlágis veahkehivčče mu áddet sudno lyrihka vuolggasajiid. Frosta primitiiva eanadoallu guorba guovllus ja Valkeapää luonddulagas eallinvuohki boazodoalus leat leamaš sihkkarit ávnnasin guktuid diktačálliid bargguin.

Dáin mearkkašahtti guoskkahansajiin fuolatkeahttá oarjemáilmmi dutki, guhte lea vudjon áššái, deaivá barggustis máŋggaid hehttehusaid. Sápmelaš čáppagirjjálašvuođa faga lea sturron hui johtilit dáid logijagiid áigge sámerenessanssa fárus. Oktilaš sápmelaš kritihkalaš estetihkka váilu goittotge vel, ja dan dihtii Valkeapää lyrihka lea oalle váttis lahkonit čielga sáme oainnus. Nuppe dáfus, Frosta erenoamáš vuđolaččat dutkon lyrihkka čájehii munnje bálgá Valkeapää bargguid kritihkalaš analyseremii, mii attii olu.

Frost geavaha luondduoainnus vuohkin buktit ovdan filosofalaš jurddabohtosiid olbmuid dilis. Su jurddabohtosiin ovttastuvvet oaidnu ja fuomášupmi. Valkeapääi luondduoaidnu LEA dan hámi fuobmán. Vásáhusat ja diehtu leat sierra Frosta divttain, vaikko luondu fálláge šalddi daid gaskii. Valkeapää lyrihkas vásáhus LEA diehtu.

Dát oktageardánis, muhto vuđolaš erohus oarjemáilmmi ja álgoálbmogiid oainnuid gaskkas, Ođđa-Enlándda oainnu ja sámiid máilmmioainnu gaskkas, lea mu olles dutkanbarggu vuođđu. Dat ahte dovdat oktagasa identiteahta lea leamaš guovddáš figgamuš oarjemáilmmis oppa historjjá áigge ja sirre olbmuid luonddus. Sámi máilmmeoainnus olmmoš lea ain luonddu oassi. Dát gaskavuohta doalvu dárkkodeaddji giela váibmui.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää vuohki buktit ovdan sámi máilmmioainnu lea seamma áigge árbevirolaš ja viehka radikála. Son lea áigahaš ja ođđaáigásaš. Áillu luođit juigojuvvojit ja addojuvvojit olggos dálá median; dain ii gullo dušše sápmelaččaid jietna dahje sápmelaš proteastta jietna, muhto maiddái 1970-logu proteastalihkadusa viiddit jietna. Áillu divttat, dego luohteárbevierruge, máhccet ođđasit ah ođđasit seamma tradišuvdna- ja identiteahttatemaide. Dat leat harmoniijas sámi árbevieruin, muhto duddjojit oppa áigge ođđa vugiid buktit iežaset ovdan. Áillu girjjit leat ođđa *diehtu*-media, nappo árbediehtu vuohki, mii nuppástuhttá luođi, dákte- ja muorragálvvuid ja noaiddi *govadas*-meavrresgári postmoderna olggosbuktinvuohkin, mii doallá sisttis *dieđu* ja oktagasa ieš diđolašvuođa.

Ekologiija čujuha buot áššiid gaskasaš gaskavuođaide, ja čáppagirjjálaš ekologiija dulko čáppagirjjálašvuođa dáid gaskavuođaid vuođul. Dat vuohki, mainna mii áicat luonddu ja eallit das, ráhkada oalle ávkkálaš vuogi áddet girjjálašvuođa, man luondu lea inspireren. Romantihkárat ja transsendentalisttat geahččagohte ebmos luonddu, vai gávnnašedje čiekŋalut áddejumi, muhto sii seailluhedje goittotge čielga ráji kultuvrra ja luonddu gaskkas. Sidjiide luondu lei vuohki beassat eallima rádjehusaid badjel, vaikko

muhtun girječállit, dego Henry David Thoreau, measta ovttastahttege vásáhusa ja áddejumi ja dainna lágiin duddjojedje lagas oainnu dasa, mii lea čielgasit oidnosis sámi girjjálašvuođas.

Sámi árbevierru, ja eará njálmmálaš árbevierut, mat leat ain áimmuin, deattuhit jiena, mii lea ain fámolaš kultuvrralaš ideantiteahta čujuhus, dego Amerihká álgoálbmogiid árbevierusge. Álgoálgosaš amerihkálaš árbevierru, mii lieđui čáppagirjjálašvuođas maŋŋit 1960-logus, addá dutkái oainnu ja gaskomiid eará álgoálgosaš árbevieruid dutkamii. Buot vuođđun leat muitalusat, mat ellet eatnamiin ja muitalit vásáhusaid ja áddejumi lagasvuođas. Juohke sajis davvin, dego Valkeapää iešge návdá, gávdnojit ovttaláganvuohta ja oktasaš doahpagat, mat ánssášit analysaid.

Dan mađe sámi kulturárbevierru lea lapmudan Valkeapää, ahte son duddjui iežas doahpaga, govadasa. *Beaivi, Áhčážan* lea symbolalaš metafora, mii skáigá sámi máilmmioainnuid ja buktá ovdan sápmelaččaid ja luonddu gaskavuođa. Vaikko oarjemáilmmi dutkái leage váttis áddet dán gaskavuođa, ekologiija fállá postmoderna dieđalaš metoda áddet olmmoš-luondu -gaskavuođa ja oppanassii álgoálbmogiid girjjálašvuođa.

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Brody, Hugh. *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc. 1988. Originally published in 1981, this examination of British Columbia Indian hunting societies goes a long way to deconstruct dominant white attitudes toward hunting societies, demonstrating their effective use of resources and land. Alternating between journal musings and scientific findings, Brody effectively brings a marginal community to life and demonstrates the efficacy of their way of seeing.

— "The Power of the Image," in *Imaging the Arctic*, edited by J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998. 226–7. Concluding remarks to this volume about photography in the Arctic, concluding that photographic images are marked by silence and unreliability.

— *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters and Farmers and the Shaping of the World*. Vancouver / Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2000 (to be released in the U.S. in April 2001). Brody's provocation and eloquent ideology pitting hunting traditions against farming traditions. In Brody's opinion, farming has effectively marginalized hunting, which is the most natural human condition.

Brooks, Van Wyck. *The Flowering of New England*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1936, 1952. Standard literary history of New England Transcendentalism.

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Brubach, Holly. Review of *Singing the City: The Bonds of Home in an Industrial Landscape*, by Laurie Graham. In the *New York Times Review of Books* 21 March 1999: 22. Interesting discussion of landscape and identity in an industrial context.

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Bruchac, Joseph. Personal correspondence. November 19, 1996.

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Buijs, Cunera and Jarich Oosten, eds. *Braving the Cold: Continuity and Change in Arctic Clothing*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS, 1997. An interesting series of articles about native clothing in the circumpolar north.

Buijs, Cunera and Jarich Oosten. "Continuity and Change in Arctic Clothing: An Introduction," in *Braving the Cold: Continuity and Change in Arctic Clothing*, edited by Cunera Buijs and Jarich Oosten. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS, 1997. 1–10. Stresses northern clothing traditions as being very long-lasting, yet adaptable.

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Burgess, Philip. *Deatnu: Southern Habits in a Northern River - Fragmentation of a River System in Northern Fennoscandia* (*Deatnu: Mátta dábit davviguovllu joga alde*). Rovaniemi, Finland: Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, 1996. Master's thesis about the changing landscape along the Deatnu (in Finnish, Teno; in Norwegian, Tana) River with careful observations and research about the landscape in the late 20th century.

Caduto, Michael and Joseph Bruchac. *Keepers of the Earth*. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989. Anthology of Native American culture, collected and edited by Native Americans, and with an emphasis on ecological understandings.

Cajete, Gregory. "Indigenous Knowledge: The Pueblo Metaphor of Indigenous Education," in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, edited by Marie Battiste. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000. 181–191. Powerfully voiced essay about honoring native tradition in indigenous education, based on Cajete's 25 years as a Pueblo educator.

Campbell, Joseph, with Bill Moyers. *The Power of Myth*. (1. *The Hero's Adventure*; 2. *The Message of the Myth*; 3. *The First Storytellers*; 4. *Sacrifice and Bliss*.) New York: Mystic Fire Video and Parabola Magazine, 1988. A four-part series with Joseph Campbell, a lifelong scholar of myth, notable for its careful delineation of hunter and agrarian mythologies.

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Casey, Edward S. "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena," in *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 1996. 13–51. Philosophical review of the notion of place, concluding that place is primary — yet integral — to notions of space and time.

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Chatwin, Bruce. *Songlines*. Viking Penguin, 1988. Chatwin seeks out and follows the songlines of Australia, the aboriginal songtexts that map out territory, family, and identity.

Clark, Katerina and Michael Holquist. *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

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— ed. *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*. New York: Norton, 1995. A collection of essays emanating from conference sponsored by the state university system of California, focusing on postmodern views of nature.

— "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*. New York: Norton, 1995. 23–90. Cronon's provocative stance that heretofore all definitions of wilderness are self-defeating, denying historical reality.

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— "Glaciers and Climate Change: Scientific Research in Sentient Places."Address to the plenary session of the Fourth International Congress of Arctic Social Scientists. Québec City, Québec, Canada. May 17, 2001. By contrasting traditional tales of glaciers in the Yukon and Alaska with scientific discourse of the same glaciers, Cruikshank highlights with discerning clarity the divergent worldviews of native peoples and Western scientists.

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— "Literatura Borealis: How Far South is North?" Paper presented at the International Conference of Arctic Social Scientists, Copenhagen, Denmark, May 1998. A later definition of northern literature, essentially mapping the geographic and cultural demarcations between northern and "southern" (Western) literature.

— "Literary Voice and Cultural Identity: Saami Creative Literature."Paper presented at the International Conference of Arctic Social Scientists, Rovaniemi, Finland. May 1995. Close examination of the nature of voice in the writings of Johan Turi, Kirsti Paltto, and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, adapted here for a discussion of voice in Sámi literature in Chapter 2.

— "Northern Literature." *The Northern Raven*. 2: 3 (Winter 1982) 1–2. An early definition of northern definition as a valid genre for study.
— "Place and Identity: A Comparison of Robert Frost and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää."Paper presented at the Vermont Academy of Arts and Sciences Conference, *Robert Frost: Shaping the Image of New England*. Green Mountain College, Poultney, Vermont. October 19, 1996.
— Review of jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivčči, in World Literature Today. Autumn 1997.
— Review of *Greetings from Lappland*, in *Études Inuit Studies*. Vol. 8, No. 2, 1984. 193–4.
— "Sámi Literature in the Twentieth Century." *World Literature Today*. Winter 1997. 20–8. Synopsis of Sámi literature in this century.
— *Ultima Thule: Literature of the Far North*. Literature discussion series of contemporary writings about the circumpolar North, designed for the Vermont Council on the Humanities. Includes the following books:
Barry Lopez, Arctic Dreams: Desire and Imagination in a Northern Landscape
Peter Hoeg, Smilla's Sense of Snow
Olga Kharitidi, Entering the Circle: The Secrets of Ancient Siberian Wisdom
Velma Wallis, Two Old Women: An Alaska Legend of Betrayal, Courage and Survival
Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, *The Sun, My Father*
— *Northern Tales*. Literature discussion series, designed for the Vermont Council on the Humanities, about traditional literature of the American Far North, based on the anthology, *Northern Tales: Traditional Stories of Eskimo and Indian Peoples*, selected and edited by Howard Norman.
— *Literary Vistas*. Literature discussion series about the relationships between inner landscapes and outer landscapes, designed for the Vermont Council on the Humanities. Includes the following books:
Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*
Annie Dillard, Pilgrim at Tinker Creek
Bruce Chatwin, *Songlines*
Hugh Brody, Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier
Leslie Marmon Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*
John Elder, Reading the Mountains of Home
— "When a Lapp is out on the high fells**:** Literary Voice and Cultural Identity for the Sámi," prepared for Alkuperäiskansojen kirjallisuuksia ja kulttuureja: Saamelaiset ja Pohjois-Amerikan intiaanit (Literatures and Cultures of Native Peoples: The Sámi and Native North Americans). Oulu, 2001.
— "Vox clamatis in deserto: An exploration of the idea of wilderness in Finnish and Sámi literature" *Journal of Finnish Studies*.
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Drysdale, Helena. "Nils-Aslak Valkeapää." *The Independent*. London. 3 December 2001. Notice on Valkeapää's death.

DuBois, Thomas A. "Insider and Outsider: An Inari Saami Case." *Scandinavian Studies*. Vol. 67 (Winter 1995). 63–76. DuBois analyzes a traditional Sámi tale collected by linguist A.V. Koskimies to demonstrate how Sámi insider knowledge of the land and its resources enables them to outwit outsiders.

Edstrøm, Olle, Erik Prost, Veikko Holmberg and Elli Sivi N. Utsi. *Čuoja čáppa litna jietna: Sámi šuoŋat*. Kárášjohka, Norway: Davvi Girji, 1995. A Sámi songbook for Sámi schoolchildren, including a section on the songs of Áillohaš.

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— *Reading the Mountains of Home*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998. Exciting and innovative examination of Robert Frost's poems through careful and intimate examination of "the mountains of home" near Bristol, Vermont where Frost also walked.

— Personal communications. 1996–present.

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— *Freeze Frame: Alaska Eskimos in the Movies*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995. Overview of how Eskimos are represented in both feature and documentary films. Excellent filmography. A good companion to Jorma Lehtola's overview of Sámi in the movies.

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— *Collected Poems, Prose, & Plays*. (*Complete Poems 1949*, *In the Clearing*, *Uncollected Poems*, *Plays*, *Lectures, Essays, Stories, and Letters*). Selection and notes by Richard Poirier and Mark Richardson. New York: The Library of America: 1995. The most definitive edition of Frost's work.

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Gaski, Harald *Čálagovat: Sámi girjjáslašvuođahistorjá*. (*Hidden Pictures: A History of Sámi Literature*). Kárášjohka (Karasjok, Norway): Davvi Girji OS, 1998.

— "A Hunting Shaman in the Media Age."Preface to *Trekways of the Winds*. Translation of *Ruoktu váimmus* by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordstrøm, Harald Gaski. Guovdageaidnu, Norway, 1985. Distributed in North America by the University of Arizona Press. First four pages of the unpaginated volume.

— ed. *Sami Culture in a New Era: The Norwegian Sami Experience*. Kárášjohka (Karasjok, Norway): Davvi Girji OS, 1997. Collection of essays by contemporary Sámi scholars, dealing with cultural issues; edited by Harald Gaski, Sámi literature scholar at the University of Tromsø. Collection of essays by Sámi scholars on a range of contemporary and compelling topics dealing with Sámi culture and identity.

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— "A Language to Catch Birds With." Weber Studies. Fall 1999, Volume 16.2. Online at *http://weberstudies.weber.edu/archive/Vol%2016.2/haraldgaski.html*. A personal contemplation on the value of the Sámi language in education and worldview, beautifully crafted.

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*Give Us Our Skeletons*. Dir. Paul-Anders Simma. First Run/Icarus Films, 1999. Wrenching documentary about the return of rebel Mons Somby's skull from its Oslo museum to a proper grave in Lapland.

Glotfelty, Cheryll. "Introduction: Literary Studies in an Age of Environmental Crisis," in *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, edited by Glotfelty and Harold Fromm. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. iv–xxxvii. A review and overview of literary ecology.

Glotfelty, Cheryll and Harold Fromm, editors. *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. Long in coming, this collection of custom essays helps to define the field of literary ecology; in three sections "Ecotheory: Reflections on Nature and Culture"; "Ecocritical Considerations of Fiction and Drama"; and "Critical Studies of Environmental Literature". Includes sections on recommended reading and periodicals and professional organizations.

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Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999. The authors suggest that the Nenets who have maintained their traditional reindeer herding strategies on the lands of the Yamal Peninsula have demonstrated particularly successful indigenous resistance strategies, especially in the wake of the Soviet Union and its dissolution.

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Govadas / Dáidda Davvin: Multimediaduodji sámi govvadáidagis ja kultuvrras // Govadas / Saamelaista Taidetta: Multimediateos saamelaisesta kuvataiteesta ja kultuurista (The Painted Drum / Sámi Art: A Multimedia Work about Saami Visual Art and Culture, in Sámi and Finnish). Joint production by Saamelaistaiten Tuki/Sámi Dáidagadoarjesearvi, Edita, Davvi Girji, and Sámi Radio. Finland: Edita, 1998. Multimedia CD-ROM, exploring the roots of contemporary Sámi art and the works of ten Sámi artists, including Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

The Guideposts Family Concordance to the Bible. Foreword by Dr. Lloyd John Ogilve. Carmel, New York: Guideposts, 1982. Standard concordance to the Bible.

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Guttorm, Inga, Johan Jernsletten and Klaus Peter Nickel. Davvin: Saamelainen kielen kurssi. (In the North: A Course in the Sámi Language). Finnish version by Inga Guttorm and Veikko Homberg. Drawings by Merja Aletta Ranttila. Helsinki: Yleisradio oy. A four-volume North Sámi-language course with accompanying tapes, produced in cooperation with Sweden and Norway, intended for two years of independent or group learning. Volumes 1 (1999) and 2 (1997) are first-year books; Volumes 3 (1997) and 4 (1987) are second-year books.

The Group of Seven and Tom Thomson. Kleinburg, Ontario: The McMichael Canadian Collection. n.d. (1970s?) A brief description of the Canadian artist group and its formulation of the Canadian Landscape.

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Hale, Nancy. New England Discovery: A Personal View. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1964. Intriguing anthology of New England writings, with interesting selections from Emerson and Thoreau.

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Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "The Great Stone Face," short story from *Twice-Told Tales*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883. The retelling of a rural legend about a New Hampshire boy, whose character is formed in the shadow of the "great stone face" in Franconia.

Headland, Thomas N., Kenneth L. Pike and Marvin Harris. *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*. Frontiers of Anthropology, Volume 7. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1990. A protracted discussion of the varying meanings and applications of [phon]emic and [phon]etic approaches in the linguistics of Pike and the cultural materialism of Harris. While no conclusive definition of the terms is made in this volume, nevertheless, the problems of "insider" or "outsider" knowledge in research is valuable.

Heffernan, James A.W. *The Re-Creation of Landscape: A Study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable, and Turner*. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1984. Linking Romantic art and literature, Heffernan considers the Romantic shift of attitudes toward their environment from the rational views of the Enlightenment.

Helander, Elina, ed. *Awakened Voice: The Return of Sami Knowledge*. Nordic Sámi Institute. Dieđut 1996: 4. Collection of essays by Sámi scholars dealing with theoretical and practical issues in all domains, edited by Elina Helander, Sámi scholar of cultural issues.

Helander, Elina. "Saamelainen maailmankuva ja luontosuhde" ("The Sámi Worldview and Relationship with Nature"), in *Beaivvi Mánát: Saamelaisten juuret ja nykyaika* (*Children of the Sun: The Past and Present Days of Sámi*), edited by Irja Seurujärvi-Kari. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000. 171–82. A good recapitulation of Sámi worldviews, a frequent subject with Helander, including a paper at the University of Oulu, Spring 2000.

Helander, Elina and Kaarina Kailo, eds. *No Beginning No End: The Sami Speak Up*. Circumpolar Research Series No. 5 published in cooperation with the Nordic Sámi Institute, Finland, 1998. Ten conversations with Sámi artists and writers, including Áillohaš.

— "Nomadic Circle of Life." *ReVision*. Summer 1998. 2: 1. 14–27. Edited dialogue of conversations between the authors about Sámi knowledge and Western knowing, also published in *No Beginning No End: The Sami Speak Up*.

*Herder, Johann Gottfried*. Introduced and edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1970. Life and times of the German Romantic poet and philosopher.

Hirvonen, Vuokko. "Aurinko, isäni — Nils-Aslak Valkeapään runoudesta," in *Sydämeni palava: Johdatus saamelaiseen joiku- ja kertomaperinteeseen, taiteeseen ja kirjallisuuteen* (*My Burning Heart: Introduction to the Sámi Yoik and Story Tradition, to Sámi Art, and to Sámi Literature*) Oulu: Oulun Yliopisto, 1995. 37–47.

— Gumppe luođis Áillohaššii. Luođi šládjateorehtalaš guorahallan ja Valkeapää divttat njálmmálaš tradišuvnna joatkin. Pro gradu -bargu. Oulu University, 1991. Hirvonen's master's thesis about Áillohaš's use of the yoik traditon in his poetry.

— "Joikurunoa ja runojoikua. Joiku ja runo kohtaavat Rauni Magga Lukkarin *Jieŋat vulget*-kokoelmassa" [Yoikpoems and poemyoiks. Yoik and poem meet in the Rauni Magga Lukkari's *Jieŋat vulget* (*Iceout*) collection." In *Jäiset laakerit: Artikkeleita pohjoisesta naiskirjailijoista* [*Icy Laurels: Articles about Northern (Finnish) Women Writers*], edited by Sinikka Tuohimaa, Nina Työlahti, and Ilmari Leppihalme. Oulu: Pohjoinen/Oulun yliopiston Taideaineiden ja antroplogian laitokesen julkaisuja. A. Kirjallisuus 8, 1998. 143–53. Early analysis of the use of yoik in Sámi lyric poetry.

— "Saamelaisten kirjallisuus ja taide" ("Sámi literature and art"), in *Johdatus saamentutkimukseen* (*Introduction to Sámi Studies*), edited by Ulla Maija Kulonen, Juha Pentikäinen, Irja Seurujärvi-Kari. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1994. 101–121.

— *Sámeeatnama jienat: Sápmelaš nissona bálggis girječállin*. (*Voices from Sápmi: The Sámi Women's Roads to Becoming Writers*, Sámi version of Hirvonen's doctoral defense at the University of Oulu, Finland, 6 February 1999) Guovadageaidnu / Kautokeino, Norway: DAT, 1999. Hirvonen's doctoral dissertation examining the works of all 46 Sámi women writers who have published creative works, with a particular emphasis on literary connections to the yoik and handicraft traditions.

— *Saamenmaan ääniä: Saamelaisen naisen tie kirjailijaksi*. (*Voices from Sápmi: Sámi Women's Roads to Becoming Writers*). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999. See above.

— *Sydämeni palava: Johdatus saamelaiseen joiku- ja kertomaperinteeseen, taiteeseen ja kirjallisuuteen* (*My Burning Heart: Introduction to the Sámi Yoik and Story Tradition, to Sámi Art, and to Sámi Literature*) Oulu, 1995.

— "Yoik," handouts. University of Oulu, 1998.

Hoge, Warren. "Inside the Arctic Circle, an Ancient People Emerge." *New York Times/International*. Sunday, March 18, 2001. Remarkably insightful and informed article about contemporary Sámi politics and culture.

Holquist, Michael, editor. "Introduction," to *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994. Discussion of Bakhtin's contributions to theories of the novel and of discourse. xv–xxxiii.

*The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments*. Translated out of the Original Tongues and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by His Majesty's special command. Authorized King James Version. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [n.d.]

Honko, Lauri, Senni Timonen, and Michael Branch, eds. *The Great Bear: A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages*. Translated by Keith Bosley. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1993.

Howarth, William. "Some Principles of Ecocriticism," in *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, edited by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. 69–91. Excellent survey and bibliography about ecocriticism.

Hultkrantz, Åke. "Ecology," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1987. Definition of the ecology of religion by this well-known scholar of Sámi religion.

Hust, Victoria. "Cultural Syncretism in the Canadian Arctic: Speculations on the Canadian Inuit Art Industry as a Nativistic Movement." Unpublished manuscript. January 1999. Against a history of community development in the Canadian Arctic, the Inuit art industry has functioned as both stimulus and repository for cultural identity, although deeply influenced by Western aesthetic traditions.

Ingold, Tim. *Hunters, pastoralists and ranchers: Reindeer economies and their transformations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Based on fieldwork among the Skolt Sámi, Ingold teases out the distinctions among hunters, pastoralits and ranchers, concluding that modern reindeer herding more resembles ranching than a hunting or pastoral tradition.

— "Hunting and Gathering as Ways of Perceiving the Environment," in *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication*, edited by Roy Ellen and Katsuyoshi Fukui. Oxford: Berg, 1996. 117–155.

— *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge, 2000. A collection of essays arguing that environmental perceptions derive from skills, which are themselves derived through practice and training in an environment.

Isaksson, Pekka. *Kumma kuvajainen: Rasismi rotututkimuksessa, rotuteorioiden saamelaiset ja suomalainen fyysinen antropologia* (*An Odd Reflection: Racism in Race Sciences, the Sámi in Racial Theory, and Finnish Physical Anthropology*). Kustannus Puntsi, 2001. Drawing on much of the same archival material about Sámi race studies as Valkeapää, Isaksson theorizes about Finland's official stance toward the Sámi, especially in the early part of the 20th century.

Issenman, Betty Kobayashi. "Stitches in Time: Prehistoric Inuit Skin Clothing and Related Tools," in *Braving the Cold: Continuity and Change in Arctic Clothing*, edited by Cunera Buijs and Jarich Oosten. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS, 1997. 34–59. A historic overview of northern traditional skin clothing, with an emphasis on the Inuit.

Itkonen, T.I. *Lapin-Matkani*. (*My Lapland Journey*.) Helsinki: WSOY, 1991. A personal journal of the Finnish ethnographer, with copious photographs. Curiously, Valkeapää does not draw the photographic archive of this essentially favorable treatment of the Sámi, nor from Itkonen's more scholarly *Suomen lappalaiset* (*The Lapps of Finland*).

— *Suomen lappalaiset vuoteen 1945* (*The Lapps of Finland up to 1945*). Helsinki: Werner Söderström oy, 1948. An exhaustively researched, illustrated and indexed, two-volume study of Sámi folk culture in Finland before 1945.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984. Intriguing examination of the development of New England through its cultural articulation. For instance, the Connecticut Valley was deemed to be a natural Eden because of its topography.

— *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

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Jakobson, Roman, and Morris Halle. *Fundamentals of Language*. The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1956. Linguistic explorations of language, suggesting that univeral "deep structures" exist in all languages, enabling comparative linguistics.

Jama, Olavi. "Haaparannan lukiosta Sipirjaan. Tornionlaakson kirjallisuus kahden kansalliskirjallisuuden marginaaleissa" ("From Haaparanta High School to Siberia: The Literature of the Tornio River Valley in the Margins of Two National Literatures"), in *Marginalia ja kirjallisuus: Ääniä suomalaisen kirjallisuuden reunoilta* (*The Margin and Literature: Voices from the Edges of Finnish Literature*), edited by Matti Savolainen. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1995. 93–144. Jama discusses the literature of the Tornio River Valley under Swedish dominance and against the Laestadian/ Communist social background that colors the work of its writers.

Jauhola, Satu. *Oma kuva: Merja Aletta Ranttila / Self Portrait of Merja Aletta Ranttila*. Jyväskylä, Finland: Kustannus Puntsi, 1999. English translation by Kathleen Osgood Dana. A combination of journal and images, this art book looks at the graphic art of Merja Aletta Ranttila, born 1960 in Karigasniemi, Finnish Lapland. Her most personal work features women accompanied by shamanic creatures, sometimes in mourning with a swan, other times howling with a wolf at the moon.

Jellicoe, Geoffrey and Susan. *The Landscape of Man: Shaping the Environment from Prehistory to the Present Day*. Revised and enlarged edition. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987. A very practical primer of human/landscape interaction, intended for architects.

Jenssen, Frank A., director. *Sápmi: The Sámi People of Norway*. Nordnorsk Filmsenter A/S, 1990. Excellent background documentary about contemporary Sámi life in Norway, with much detail about the Alta dam conflict.

— *The Salt Bin*. Translated from the Norwegian *Saltbingen* (1981) by Roland Thorstensson. Bodø, Norway: Sentraltrykkeriet AS, 1998. The story of Agnar, a young Sámi man, and his efforts to come to grips with contemporary life in the face of Norwegianization policies.

Jernsletten, Nils. "Sami Traditional Terminology: Professional Terms Concerning Salmon, Reindeer and Snow" in *Sami Culture in a New Era: The Norwegian Sami Experience*, edited by Harald Gaski. Kárášjohka (Karasjok, Norway): Davvi Girji OS, 1997. Distributed in North America by the University of Washington Press. 86–108. An excellent catalog of Sámi terms dealing with salmon, reindeer, and snow.

Jones-Bamman, Richard Wiren. *Negotiating identity and the performance of culture: the Saami yoik*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Washington, December 13, 1993. Examination of the musical qualities of the yoik tradition, and how those elements relate to identity.

Järvinen, Jukka, Arja-Liisa Räisänen, Pirkko Siitari and Jussi Vilkuna, editors. *Pohjoinen valokuva*. (*The Northern Photograph*.) Published jointly by Pohjoinen Valokuvakeskus and Kustannus-Puntssi. A collection of five articles focusing on the modern photograph and its role as a "document of identity" in the Finnish North.

Järvinen, Minna Riikka. *Maailma äänessä: Tutkimus pohjoissaamelaisesta joikuperinteestä* (*The World in their Voices: A Study about the North Sámi Yoik Tradition*). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999. A music anthropology study of the North Sámi yoik tradition in its cultural context.

— collected and arranged by Elias Lönnrot. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1995. The national epic of Finland; Longfellow used the *Kalevala* meter in writing "Hiawatha.

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Kasten, Erich. "Sami Shamanism: Religious Variation in a Changing Ecosystem."*Culture*. VII (1) 1987. 39–45. Kasten argues that Sámi shamanism is significantly different from Siberian shamanism, in part because of its earlier dissolution and in part because of its alternative nature.

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King, J.C.H. and Henrietta Lidchi. *Imaging the Arctic*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998. Collection of papers from a conference of the same name. Very fine meditations on the purpose of photography and its unique role in developing a consciousness of the Far North.

Kivi, Aleksis. *Seitsemän veljestä, kertomus*. (A. Kiven valittujen teosten toisen painoksen mukaan. Sensuurin hyväksymä 30 maaliskuuta 1905, Helsingissä.) (*The Seven Brothers, a Story*. Second printing according to the selections of A. Kivi. Approved by the censor 30 March 1905, in Helsinki.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1905. The first "novel" in Finnish about about seven brothers who at first opt for a wild life in the hinterlands, rather than being confirmed and settling down to married, farming lives.

— *Seven Brothers, A Novel by Aleksis Kivi*. Tranlsated by Alex Matson. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1962. A trying translation of *Seven Brothers*.

— Translated by Richard Impola. W Paltz, NY: Finnish American Tranlsators Association, 1991. Significantly improved translation of the Kivi classic.

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Kremer, Jurgen. W. "dego dacca: Like a White Man (#418). *ReVision*. Summer 1998. 21: 1. A poetic examination of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, and Sámi ways of knowing, experienced as a journey in Sápmi.

Krupat, Arnold. *The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Theoretical examination of Native American literature as a dialogic expression important for the American canon.

Kuokkanen, Rauna. "The Diverse Saminess in Contemporary Sami Literature." Arctic Studies Program Research Paper AS-05. Rovaniemi, Finland: University of Lapland Arctic Centre, June 1996.

— "From the Jungle Back to the Duottar," in *Awakened Voice: The Return of Sami Knowledge*, edited by Elina Helander. Nordic Sami Institute. Dieđut 1996: 4. 54–63.

— "OverLAPPing Selves — Sami Identity Politics through Sami Literature." Paper presented at the International Conference of Arctic Social Scientists in Rovaniemi, Finland. May 1995.

— "Restory-ing the Sami Strength." *ReVision*. Summer 1998. 21: 1. 11–13. A discussion of storytelling as learning in Sámi culture, and an examination of the distortion of the academic gaze on natural culture.

— "Eámiálbmogiid máidnasat / Alkuperäiskansojen suullinen perinne / Ursprungsfolkens muntliga tradition," in *Näkökulmia saamealiskirjallisuuteen / Oaidninguogit sámi girjjalašvuhtii / Aspekter till samiska litteratur* (*Perspectives on Sámi Literature*), edited by Irene Piipola. Jyväskylä, Finland: Gummerus and Lapin maakuntakirjasto, 2000. 20–58. Couched as banter between a Sámi Stállu and a North American Trickster Raven, Kuokkanen challenges standard interpretation of native oral literature, crying aesthetic colonization.

LaChapelle, Dolores. "Ritual — the Pattern that Connects," in *Deep Ecology for the 21st Century: Readings on the Philosophy and Practice of the New Environmentalism*, edited by George Sessions. Boston: Shambhala, 1995. 57–63. Emphasizes the role of ritual in native traditions as the potential for a healing ecology.

Laestadius, Lars Levi. *Lappalaisten mytologian katkelmia*. (*Fragment of Lapp Mythology*.) Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Translated into Finnish by Risto Pulkkinen. Laestadius, the great figure in the Lutheran revivalist movement of his name, married a Sámi woman and collected Sámi materials, which are reproduced here with Pentikäinen's foreword and afterword.

Laitinen, Kai. *Suomen kirjallisuuden historia*. 2nd edition. Helsinki: Otava, 1981. A standard history of Finnish literature. The final paragraph includes two lines on Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

— *Metsästä kaupunkiin: Esseitä ja tutkielmia kirjallisuudesta*. (*From the Forest to the City: Essays and Studies about* Literature. Helsinki: Otava, 1984. Literary meditations on the urbanization of Finland, with analyses of the role of nature in early Finnish literature.

Landon, Philip. "Introduction; Interview with Nils-Aslak Valkeapää." *New Finnish Fiction*. *The Review of Contemporary Fiction*. Summer 1996. 140–4. Brief, but insightful interview with Valkeapää.

Lapland, Library of. Rovaniemi, Finland. Electronic search engine available at *http://lapponica.rovaniemi.fi*.

Lassila, Pertti. *Runoilija ja rumpali: Luonnon, ihmisen ja isänmaan suhteista suomalaisen kirjallisuuden romanttisessa perinteessä*. (*The Poet and the Drummer: Nature, People, and Nation in the Romantic Tradition of Finnish Literature*.) Helsinki: Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000. Lassila works his way through literary concepts of fatherland and nationhood in Finland, starting with Franzén, Runeberg, Stenbäck and Topelius in the early 19th century, and proceeding to Kivi and Aho in the late 19th century, and Leino and Volter Kilpi in the early 20th century. Essentially, the book negotiates the place and function of nature in the formulation of Finnish national and individual identities.

Lehtola, Jorma. *Lailasta Lailaan: Tarinoita elokuvien sitkeistä lappalaisista*. (*From One Laila to the Next: Tales of Tough Lapps in the Movies*.) Kustannus-Puntsi, 2000. An overview of films about the Sámi and a deconstruction of Sámi cinematic identity. Good companion to Fienup-Riordan's similar book about Alaskan Eskimos in the movies.

Lehtola, Veli-Pekka. "Kansain välit — monikulttuurisuus ja saamelaishistoria" ("Interethnic relations — multiculturalism and Sámi history"), in *Beaivvi Mánát: Saamelaisten juuret ja nykyaika* (*Children of the Sun: The Past and Present Days of Sámi*), edited by Irja Seurujärvi-Kari. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000. 185–96. Citing Nils-Aslak Valkeapää as a prime Sámi example of multiculturalism, Lehtola examines Sámi history as overlapping national identities and borders.

— *Rajamaan identiteetti: Lappilaisuuden rakentuminen 1920- ja 1930-luvun kirjallisuudessa*. (*Frontier Identity: Constructing Laplander Identity in the Literature of the 1920s and 1930s*.) Helsinki: Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997. Lehtola's dissertation examining Laplander literature of the 1920s and 1930s. While most of his material deals with "southern settler" views of the Lapland frontier, Lehtola also deals with Sámi writers, Pedar Jalvi and Hans-Aslak Guttorm, in this context.

— "Saamelainen siida ja valtiot." ("The Sámi Siida and the State.") Unpublished manuscript. November 29, 2000.

— "Saamelaisen kirjallisuuden vaiheet," in *Lappi 2, Elävä, toimiva maakunta*. Hämeenlinna, Finland: Karisto, 1984.

— "Saamelaiskirjallisuus vanhan ja uuden risteyksessä" ("Sámi Literature at the Junction of Old and New") in *Marginalia ja kirjallisuus: Ääniä suomalaisen kirjallisuuden reunoilta* (*The Margin and Literature: Voices from the Edges of Finnish Literature*), edited by Matti Savolainen. Helsinki: Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1995. 36–92. Lehtola gives a historic overview of Sámi literature placing it at the crossroad between old and new.

— "The Sami: A history of our own," translated by Kathleen Osgood Dana in *Awakened Voice: The Return of Sami Knowledge*, edited by Elina Helander. Nordic Sami Institute. Dieđut 1996: 4. 64–73. Lehtola retells the problems of a native history as it is told by outsiders, and suggests ways in which Sámi might reclaim their own history.

— *Saamelainen evakko: Rauhan kansa sodan jaloissa*. (*Sámi Evacuee: People of Peace in the Face of War*). Helsinki: City Sámit, 1994. In this factual recounting of the evacuation of the Sámi in the face of the Germans at the end of WWII, Lehtola interweaves folk belief and anecdote.

— *Saamelaiset: Historia, Yhteiskunta, Taide*. (*The Sámi: History, Society, Art*.) Finland: Kustannus-Puntsi, 1997. An excellent handbook on the Sámi; in Finnish.

Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There*. London: Oxford University Press, [1949] 1968. Like Thoreau's *Walden*, Leopold's essays and ethical stance have been fundamental references in the ecological movement. His "Land Ethic" is a standard reading for introductory philosophy and ecology courses.

Levine, Miriam. *A Guide to Writers' Homes in New England*. Illustrated by Tom Siebert. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Apple-wood Books, 1984. Includes descriptions of the domestic lives of Ralph Waldo Emerson at his home in Concord, Massachusetts and of Walden Pond, where Henry David Thoreau wrote *Walden*.

Lincoln, Kenneth. *Native Renaissance*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1983. THE handbook for understanding the range and depth of Native American literature.

Link, Eric Carl. "Nature's extra-vagrants: Frost and Thoreau in the Maine Woods." *Papers on Language and Literature*. Spring 1997 v33 n2 p182(16).

Linna, Väinö. *Täällä pohjantähden alla*. (*Here Beneath the Northern Star*.) Helsinki: Werner Söderström oy, Volume I, 1959; Volume II, 1960; Volume III, 1962. Historical trilogy about the establishment of the Finnish nation (1884–1950s), focusing particularly on the tenant farmer Koskela family in Häme Province.

— *Here Beneath the Northern Star*, manuscript translation of the original Finnish *Täällä pohjantähden alla* by Kathleen Osgood Dana.

Linnaeus, Carl. *Lachesis Lapponica or A Tour in Lapland in Two Volumes*. [I & II] Trans. James Edward Smith. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971.

Little Bear, Leroy. "Jagged Worldviews Colliding," in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, edited by Marie Battiste. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000. 77–85. Succinct review of colliding Western and native worldviews, demonstrating their political and social effects.

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. *The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Cambridge Edition. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893. Includes "A Boy's Will", citing "an old Lapland song"

Lopez, Barry. *Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986. Drawing on his extensive research in the North American arctic, Lopez uses his writerly perceptions to consider the nature of desire and imagination in shaping human understanding of the Arctic through its animals, its climate, and its light.

— "Landscape and Narrative," in *Crossing Open Ground*. New York: Scribner's, 1988. A rich speculation on the relationships between inner and outer landscapes.

Lukkari, Rauni Magga. "Gå rákkisvuođas juoigasta." *Samefolket*. 1967/5. 99–100. As quoted in Hirvonen, Vuokko. "Joikurunoa ja runojoikua. Joiku ja runo kohtaavat Rauni Magga Lukkarin *Jieŋat vulget*-kokoelmassa" [Yoikpoems and poemyoiks. Yoik and poem meet in the Rauni Magga Lukkari's *Jieŋat vulget* (*Iceout*) collection." In *Jäiset laakerit: Artikkeleita pohjoisesta naiskirjailijoista* [*Icy Laurels: Articles about Northern (Finnish) Women Writers*], edited by Sinikka Tuohimaa, Nina Työlahti, and Ilmari Leppihalme. Oulu: Pohjoinen/Oulun yliopiston Taideaineiden ja antroplogian laitokesen julkaisuja. A. Kirjallisuus 8, 1998. 143–53.

Lukkari, Toivo and Heikkiarmas Lukkari. *Šattut Sámis*. Kárášjohka, Norway: Davvi Girji, 1992. A handbook of plants in Sápmi.

Makeba, Miriam. *Makeba, My Story*. With James Hall. New York and Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library, 1987. Includes the singer's meditative metaphor on native African concepts of time.

Malaurie, Jean. *The Last Kings of Thule: With the Polar Eskimos as They Face Their Destiny*. Translated from the French by Adrienne Foulke. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985. Maulaurie visited with the Greenlandic Eskimos of Thule in the last winter before the establishment of the DEW airbase at Thule.

Manes, Christopher. "Nature and Silence," in *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, edited by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. 15–29. Asserts that the voice of nature has been silenced by anthropeocentric, humanistic Western rhetoric.

Manker, Ernst. *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. I. Die Trommel als Denkmal Materieller Kultur*. (*The Lapp Magic Drum: An Ethnographic Monograph. I. The Drum as a Relic of Material Culture*.) Stockholm: Bokförlags Akteibolaget Thule, 1938. Classification and description of 81 extant Sámi drums; the definitive catalog of Sámi drums.

— *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie. I. Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens*. (*The Lapp Magic Drum: An Ethnographic Monograph. II. The Drum as a Record of Spiritual Life*.) Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1950. Analysis and description of the imagic contents of Sámi drums. Áillohaš uses Drum 65 as the source for the cover illustration of *Beaivi, Áhčážan*.

— *The Nomadism of the Swedish Mountain Lapps: The Siidas & Their Migratory Routes in 1945*, translated by Robert N. Pehrson. Nordiska Museet: Acta Lapponica. VII. Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1953. Based on Manker's work during the War, this is an exhaustive description and mapping of the Sámi siidas in Sweden. Excellent maps.

— *People of the Eight Seasons*. New York: Crescent Books, 1972 by arrangement with Tre Tryckare Ab, Gothenburg. Richly illustrated, authoritative book on Sámi culture.

Marsh, George Perkins. *Man and Nature, Or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action, edited by David Lowenthal*. Originally published in 1864. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965, 1995. Pioneering work by the Vermont diplomat, exploring the impact human behavior has on the environment.

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Mauss, Marcel, in collaboration with Henri Beuchat. *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo: A Study in Social Morphology*. Translated, with a foreword by James J. Fox. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, translation published 1979 (original essay, 1950). Mauss's definition of seasonal morphology, based on extensive academic research on Eskimo delineation into summer and winter cultures.

McGrath, Robin. *Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition*. *A Diamond Jenness Memorial Volume*. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 94. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museums of Canada, 1984. Overview of traditional and contemporary Inuit literature in Canada, with a full chapter on "themes and structures in the contemporary Inuit literary tradition."

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# Appendix 1

# Nils-Aslak Valkeapää — Áillohaš

**23.03.1943 – 26.11.2001**

**E-mail notice of Áillohaš's death**

**to the International Arctic Social Sciences Association**

**By Ludger Müller-Wille, McGill University, Montreal, Canada**

**November 28, 2001**

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Áilu, renowned Sámi writer, artist and yoik performer, died in Espoo (Helsinki) on November 26, 2001 after having returned from a cultural sojourn in Japan. He was 58. Since the 1960s, when he began to revive and promote the performance of yoik, Áilu had become the cultural representative of Sámi within Sápmi in northernmost Europe and internationally throughout the Arctic and other continents. He was present, among other international indigenous events, at the founding meeting of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference in Barrow in 1977. He was the voice of indigenous peoples globally. He was honored with many awards for his artistic works, among them the Nordic Council Literature Prize in 1991, and he designed and performed the opening ceremony at the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer in 1994, an impressive display of integrity and identity which was carried world-wide. In his humbleness, overcoming in his last few years a life-threatening car accident in 1996, he touched many people and peoples through his multifaceted artistic interpretations of human-environmental relations. His spirit and voice will be with us in the future.

**The Son of the Sun is Dead:**

**A Commemoration of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää**

**by Harald Gaski**

**Translated by Roland and Edi Thorstensson**

I gazed up at the starry heavens last night to see whether a new star was shining there. I was almost certain that this was where Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had gone, that the Sun — a father figure in Sámi tradition — would want to have his son nearer to himself. In the myths, Gállábártnit, the Sámi ancestors, were elevated to the heavens after death because they had established such a positive reputation for themselves on earth. They were highly accomplished moose hunters and the inventors of skis, and therefore, instead of being buried in the traditional Sámi fashion — wrapped in birch bark and laid in flagstone graves — they were taken up to the night sky, where they are found today in the constellation Orion's Belt. The Gállábártnit are the direct descendents of the Son of the Sun and the Giant's Daughter, and the Sámi can therefore trace their ancestry directly back to the most powerful force in the universe: the sun!

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää used these myths in his writing, allowing the authorial voice to say, towards the end of *The Sun, My Father*, the book for which he received the Nordic Council's Prize for Literature in 1991: "The heavens glow/ I'm coming,/ The Sun, my father/ I'm coming soon, coming." And this is what he has done now, he has stepped over to the other side of life, the Sun has called him back. That is why I scanned the night sky to see if a new star had appeared in Orion's Belt. Nils-Aslak's accomplishments for his people were so great that he will come to be regarded by all posterity as a modern-day mythical being among the Sámi. He spoke directly to the heart, transmitting a message that an indigenous people must never forget, namely that it is our obligation to care for the Earth, our mother. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää tied the past and the future together. He wanted us to derive knowledge from our traditions, to know the past in order to be able to create a secure future. But he was also, nevertheless, uncertain about that which lies ahead: "Tomorrow/ another language also around the fire/ new migratory routes for tomorrow's reindeer, the stones have other habits/ a distant time in time/ distant".

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää was first and foremost the poet of the Sámi — a poet in the broadest sense of the term, since his art must be regarded in its totality; from the association of words emerged music that created pictures, which again informed the words — not merely the choice of words, but also their placement on the page. Typography is also esthetics, and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää — Áillohaš — could never praise enough the musicality of the Sámi language. He loved to express himself in such a way that the words appeared with the greatest possible polyvalence of content. His poems will come to be interpreted and translated in various ways for generations. But Áillohaš was more than merely the poet of the Sámi, his concern embraced all the indigenous people of the earth, something that is clearly expressed in what was to become his last book, *Eanni, Eannazan* (*The Earth, Our Mother*), published this spring. Here both photographs and poems connect the rainforest and the *vidde*, the desert and the tundra, together. The book is primarily intended as the feminine

counterpart to *The Sun, My Father*, and underscores women's important position in indigenous societies.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's art, like all great art goes beyond all ethnic borders, as evidenced by the reception he received wherever he appeared — his radiance and presence on the stage were powerful, he drew the audience to himself in such a way that they joined him on his journeys. His music was world music before the term had even been coined. "The Bird Symphony," for which he received the Prix Italia in 1993, fully expresses his great affection for birds. The migratory birds were his nearest friends; perhaps he saw in them a parallel to his own journeys around the world with his art. His new home in Skibotn was, then, a home for both him and for the birds he loved. The house was furnished with various sculptures that had nearly become his family and that had taken their names from his book titles and poems.

Valkeapää was a world name, but he never basked in his own glory. On the contrary, he was a humble man with respect to the calling he felt had been given to him. His greatest joy was to help others along, to find talented new joikers, authors, and artists, and to give them the possibility of reaching out with their art. The traditional joik was especially close to his heart, and surely one of his great services is his contribution to the revitalization of the joik at a time when it was on the verge of dying out. His "Sámiid eatnan duoddariid" ("Sámiland's *Vidder*") will remain as the second Sámi national anthem, alongside the official one. When Áillohaš performed it for what was to be his last time at the Easter Festival in Kautokeino this year, everyone in the hall was deeply moved, and the standing ovation he received was the clearest expression of the place Áillohaš always will have in the hearts of the Sámi.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää will be deeply missed; his warm smile, his lively eyes. Even though his art will endure, the void he leaves cannot be filled! Peace be with your memory, my dear friend!

**Nils-Aslak Valkeapää**

Musician, Composer, Writer and Activist

Born Enontekiö, Finland 24 March 1943

Died Espoo, Finland 26 November 2001

By Helena Drysdale from *The Independent*, London, 3 December 2001

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää was a hugely talented polymath: artist, composer, musician, poet, photographer, and activist. Born in Enontekiö in Finnish Sámiland in 1943, he was the son and brother of nomadic Sámi (Lapp) reindeer-herders. Although he left the traditional family occupation to train as a primary-school teacher, the variety and continuously inventive nature of his art suggests the restlessness of the nomad that was in his blood.

Sámiland is the local, and now more favored, name for Lapland. It covers 400,000 sq. km. of northern Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia, and is inhabited by some 70,000 Sámi. Historically the Sámi have always been oppressed by the majority, in the early days by the loathed tax collectors, then by the deliberately assimilatory policies of governments that discouraged their language and culture, and destroyed their shamanistic religion. Today North Sámi, the most widespread of the many Sámi languages, is spoken in a "society" context by a mere 5,000 people. Some Sámi experts fear it will be extinct within our own lifetimes.

Until very recently, the Sámi were despised by their fellow Finns or Norwegians for being "primitive" or "quaint". Valkeapää was the first Sámi to break down this prejudice, and became the first Sámi writer to be recognized internationally. By writing in Sámi, and with such success, he dramatically raised the status of the language, encouraging the younger generation to cast off their furtive shame and openly embrace it as an essential part of their culture. In all he wore more than 20 books, which were translated into Finnish, Norwegian, Icelandic, German, Spanish, English, Japanese and French.

His first book, *Terveisiä Lapista*, translated by Beverley Wahl as *Greetings from Lappland: the Sámi - Europe's Forgotten People* in 1983, was the second book by a Sámi every to be translated into English. This is a passionate, angry study of the plight of the Sámi, written back in 1971 but addressing issues that are today more pressing than ever: loss of language, loss of land, loss of culture.

His best-selling book *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (translated as *The Sun, My Father* by Lars Nordstrom and Harald Gaski in 1998) was awarded the Nordic Council's Literature Prize in 1991. This collection of short poems, accompanied by photographs of the Sámi taken between the 1860s and 1930s, was lauded for uniting past and present, fact and fiction, to reveal the richness of Sámi culture, history and language.

Not content with being merely a writer, Valkeapää was also a photographer and naïve painter, often accompanying his texts with his own illustrations, inspired by the Stone

Age rock carvings that pepper the granite rocks of Sámiland, and the hieroglyphics painted onto the drums of Sámi shamans.

He was a celebrated composer and musician, revitalizing the traditional Sámi joik with its grumbly, often wordless chanting, by adding symphony orchestras, synthesizers, playing around with jazz or traditional Sámi instruments. When he began recording in the early 1970s, he faced some criticism in Finland for corrupting Sámi music, but he argued that to stick blindly to the past was to fossilize a culture, and ultimately to kill it. His marvelous composition "Eanan, eallima eadni" unites traditional joik with modern instruments and sound effects to create a moving evocation of the looming grandeur of Sámiland's mountains, the loneliness, the rhythm of reindeer moving over the fell, the mournful emptiness, the cry of a gull, the awareness of perpetual darkness even during the days of perpetual light.

Valkeapää's name reached millions around the world when he performed the opening ceremony at the Lillehammer Winter Olympics in 1994. He was also given honorary doctorates at the universities of Oulu and Lapland. His career was almost ended by a horrific car accident in 1996. He bravely resumed his work, but he confessed to having no memory whatsoever of writing his last book, *Eanni, eannažan* (*Mother, Little Mother*), published earlier this year.

Valkeapää was also involved with UNESCO and was a founder of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and was a pioneer activist fighting for Sámi rights against the deliberate assimilation policies of the Finnish and Scandinavian governments. He railed against the sneering condescension of outsiders who looked down on the Sámi. Instead he described himself as not only well-educated, but sexy. At the world-wide conferences and festivals that he attended, women (he claimed) were always keen to know him better. He was certainly very handsome, and charming.

Lately he withdrew from politics, tired of bureaucracy, but he remained an inspiration to Sámi militants, who came of age during the celebrated Sámi hunger strike of 1981in protest against the damming of the beautiful Alta river. This was the first time the Sámi had fought for their rights so effectively, and although the dam was built, it was on a smaller scale, while the uproar led in 1992 to Sámi being made an official language in Norway and Finland — and later in Sweden.

## *Books*

Works in chronological order of publication and in Sámi, unless otherwise indicated or apparent. Translations and associated work listed with the Sámi original. Problematic in his poetry collections is the absence of pagination.

Most of Nils-Aslak Valkepää's work is available from his publisher:

DAT O.S
Sami Publisher & Record Company
Pb 31
N-9520 Guovdageaidnu, NORWAY
Phone: +47 78486772, Fax: +47 78486788
E-mail: dat@dat.net

*Terveisiä Lapista* (*Greetings from Lapland*, in Finnish). Helsinki: Otava, 1971. Pamphlet exploring Sámi identity in the 1970s.

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*Greetings from Lappland: The Sami — Europe's Forgotten People*. Translated from the Norwegian by Beverley Wahl. London: Zed Press, 1983. Updated version of *Terveisiä Lapista*, intended for a world audience.

*Giđa ijat čuovgadat* (*Such light, spring nights*). Poems. Illustrated by the author. Oulu, Finland: Áillohaš, 1974. Later collected with two other volumes in *Ruoktu váimmus*.

— *Kevään yön niin valoisat*. Finnish translation of *Giđa ijat čuovgadat* by A. Rosell. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1980.

*Lávllo vizar biellocižáš*. Poems. Helsinki, Finland: Sabemelaš-doaimahus & Áillohaš, 1976. Later collected with two other volumes in *Ruoktu váimmus*.

*Ádjaga silbasuonat*. Karesuando, Sweden; Kemi: Vuovjjjuš, 1981. Poems, later collected with two other volumes in *Ruoktu váimmus*.

*Ruoktu váimmus* (*A Home in the Heart*). Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1985. Trilogy consisting of *Giđa ijat čuovgadat* (1974); *Lávllo vizar biellocižáš* (1976); and *Ádjaga silbasuonat* (1981). A carefully designed volume, with music melding to drawings, covered with the flair of a man's bright *gakti*-tunic. The poems are largely autobiographical and quite personal.

— *Trekways of the Winds*. Translation of *Ruoktu váimmus* by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström, Harald Gaski. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1985. Distributed in North America by the University of Arizona Press. Lyrical, autobiographical poems, including Aillohaš's meditations on his work with the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. No pagination, but I have numbered pages sequentially in my study copy of the book.

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— *Vidderna inom mig*. Göteborg, Sweden: DAT & Café Existens, 1987.

— *Vindens veier*. Oslo, Norway: Tiden, 1990.

*Beáivi, áhčážan* (*The Sun, My Father*). Guovdageaidnu, Norway; Vaasa: DAT, 1988.

— *Solen, min far*. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1990.

— *Aurinko, isäni*. Finnish translation and introduction by Pekka Sammallahti. Guovdageaidnu, Norway; Vaasa: DAT, 1992. Poems only, no photographs.

— *Faðir min, solin* (selected poems), The Nordic House in the Faeroe Islands, 1992.

— *Nap, Edesapam*. Budapest, Hungary: Domokos Johanna, 1997.

— *The Sun, My Father*. Translated by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström, Harald Gaski. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1997. Distributed in North America by the University of Washington Press.

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*jus gazzebiehtar bohkosivcci*. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1996.

*girddán, seivvodan*. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1999. Transcriptions of the author's journals, especially from his period as cultural coordinator for the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, preparatory work for *Eanni, Eannážan*.

*Eanni, Eannážan* (*The Earth, My Mother*). Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 2001. The companion work to *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, embracing indigenous peoples worldwide, and speaking in painted and photographic images, as well as in poems.

## *Essays, articles*

"Kotini on tunturissa" ("My Home is in the Fells"), in *Luonnonkaunis Suomi* (*Naturally Beautiful Finland*). Helsinki: Oy Valitut Palat, 1977. 258–9. Lyrical essay in a nature book about Finland, where Aillohaš identifies closely with his homescape in the high fells.

"A Way of Calming Reindeer." *Scandinavian Review*. 71: 2 (June 1983), 43–8.

"Saamelaistaiteesta" ("About Sámi Art"). *Bálggis / polku* (*The Path*). Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1984. Publication 44 of the Sámi Society in celebration of fifty years, with a variety of articles by Sámi authors.

"Poem 558" from *The Sun, My Father*. Translated by Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström, Harald Gaski. In *New Finnish Fiction: The Review of Contemporary Fiction*. Summer 1996. 140–52.

"The Sun, the Thunder, the Fires of Heaven." *ReVision*. Summer 1998. 21: 1. 4–10. Translated into Finnish from the original Sámi, "Beáivi, terbmes ja almmidolat" by the author, translated from the Finnish, "Aurinko, ukkonen, taivaantulet," by Ernest H. Kanning III, 1995. Theoretical and critical essay examining the key differences in worldview between native or northern peoples and Westerners; establishes a critical foundation for understanding Sámi literature.

## *Editor, author*

*Paulus Utsi: Don čanat mu alccesat*. Biography of the Sámi poet, Paulus Utsi. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1992.

*Boares nauti Johan Thuri*. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1994. Biography of Johan Turi.

*Illu! Joy! Radost!* Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1995. Children's drawings about reindeer husbandry from around the Arctic.

## *Music*

Music on LP/CD/MC, composed or performed mainly by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, in chronological order.

"Hellkarinmoinen hellonkalle." (Single later included in *Joikuja*). OT 155. Helsinki: Otava, 1968. (out of print)

*Joikuja/ Joik från finska Lappland*. (*Yoik*, titled in Finnish, LP recording). OT-LP 50. Helsinki: Otava, 1969. (out of print)

*Juoigamat* (*Name Yoiks*). Nineteen name yoiks, recorded in Lapland. Recording, engineering and producing by Paroni Paakkunainen and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. SRLP 8531. Helsinki, Finland: Finnlevy, 1973. (out of print)

*Daednugádde nuorat*, 1973.

*Vuoi Biret-Maaret, vuoi!* (*Ah, Biret-Maaret, ah!*) Jår'galaed'dji JLP 101/ Beattet, Suomanjárga, Finland: Áillohaš, AILP 1, 1975. (out of print)

*De čábba niegut runiidit*. Songs. With Åsa Blind and Jaakko Gauriloff. HILP 111 Helsinki, Finland, Hi-Hat, 1976/ Áillohaš AILP 2. (out of print)

*Duvva, Áilen Niga Elle ja Áillohaš*. Seventeen name yoiks, recorded at Culture Hall, Studio 1, Helsinki, and Microvox Studio. Recording engineers: Jukka Teittinen and Pekka Nurmikallio. Recording producer: Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. HILP-112/ Áillohaš AILP 3. Helsinki, Finland, Hi-Hat, 1976. (out of print)

*Sámi eatnan duoddariid*. With Esa Kotilainen and Seppo Paakkunainen. IRLP 1. Helsinki, Finland: Indigenous Records, 1978. Reissued, DATCD-13, 1992.

*Sápmi, vuoi Sápmi!* (*Sapmi, ah, Sapmi!*) With Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup. IRLP 6. Helsinki, Finland: Indigenous Records, 1982. Reissued DATCD-13, I & II, 1992.

*Dávas ja geassái*. With Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup. IRLP 7. Helsinki: Finland, Indigenous Records, 1982. Reissued, DATCD-13, I & II, 1992.

*Beáivi, áhčážan*. (Jietnagovadas — A Voice Drum) With Esa Kotilainen. DATMC-10, DATCD 4. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1988, 1991. Poems and yoiks to accompany the Sámi original.

*Eanan, Eallima Eadni* (*The Earth, Mother of Life*)/Music for the book *Beáivi, áhčážan*. With Esa Kotilainen. DATCD/MC-5. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1989. Music for the book, with two parts: *1. Eanan, eallima eadni, and 2. Beaivái, beaivvi guvlui.*

*Beáivi, áhčážan*. With Esa Kotilainen. DATMC-10. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1991. With music and poems drawn from the *govadas*-book of the same name, this is the music and words for a play, performed by Dálvadis Theater. In two parts: *1. Govadas* and *2. Biellobalva.*

*Sápmi, lottažan* (*Sápmi, My Little Bird*). With Ingor Antte Áilu Gaup and Mage, Markku Lievvonen. DATCD-13, I, II. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1991.

*Sámi luondu, gollerisku*. With Johan Anders Bær and members of the Studio Orchestra of Tallinn. Music composed by Seppot Paakkunainen. DATCD-11. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1992.

*Goase dušše* (*A Bird Symphony*), DATCD-15, DAT & Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, 1994.

*Dálveleaikkat/Wintergames*. With Johan Anders Baer, Seppo Paakkunainen, Esa Kotilainen. DATCD-17. Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT, 1994. Music composed for the XVII Olympic Winter Games in Norway, featuring Aillohaš's Welcome Yoik; very large, expansive yoiks, big drums.

*The Magic of Sámi Yoik*. Thirty-seven name yoiks previously released on *Juoigamat* (1973) and *Duvva, Áilen Nigga Elle ja Áillohaš* (1976). Introduction by Ursula Länsman, English translation by Jaakko Mäntyjärvi. Mastering: Finnvox/Pauli Saastamoinen. Landscape photo (inlay inside): Ritva Reinilä, ARPS. Artist photos & illustration: Erik Uddström, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Unto Järvinen and Rauni Pentha. Finlandia Innovator Series 3984-22112-2. 1998.

## *Music based on poems*

Paakkunainen , Seppo. *Tulia taivaalla* (*Fires in the heavens*). Flute. 1983. Songs based on poems by Herman Hesse and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

Nordgren, Pehr Henrik. Op. 45. Baritone, cello, and piano. 1985. Songs based on Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poems.

Paakkunainen , Seppo. *Ádjajohka, silbačuojan*. 1986. Songs based on the poems of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

Chydenius , Kaj. *Pohjoiset vuodenajat* (*Northern seasons*). Song cycle for mezzosoprano and string quartet. 1986.

Nordgren , Pehr Henrik. Op. 70. *Beaivi, Áhčážan*. 1990. Setting of poems by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää for vocal soloists, mixed choir and orchestra.

## *Fine art exhbitions*

Drawings, acrylic paintings, photographs, installations of wood and stones.

1973 Oulu, Finland
1975 Rovaniemi, Finland
1991 Harstad, Norway
1992 Torshavn, Faroe Islands
1992 Tromsø, Norway
1992 Copenhagen, Denmark
1993 Atlanta, USA (as XVII Olympic artist)
1993 Tokyo, Japan (as XVII Olympic artist)
1993 Barcelona, Spain (as XVII Olympic artist)
1993 München, Germany (as XVII Olympic artist)
1994 Lillehammer OL'94, Norway (as XVII Olympic artist)
1994 Kirkenes, Norway
1995 Kárášjohka, Norway
1995 Streamer for Reindeerherders Region of Suomanjárga
1998 Harbin, China; Beijing, China

## *Films, theater, and other media*

Saamelaispaneeli. Vähemmistökansa taistelee oikeuksiensa puolesta.

Saamelaisnuoret keskustelevat. (Sámi Panel. Young Sámi Discuss a Minority People's Struggles for its Rights.) Script by Juhani Lihtonen. Direction by Heikki Roivas. Yleisradio, Finland. Easter 1967. Finland program about Sámi spiritual heritage.

*Joikaava länsituuli* (*The Yoiking West Wind*). MTV, Finland. June 12, 1969. TV program about Sámi music; ten yoiks with Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, accompanying himself on guitar.

*Joigamat* (*Yoikings*). TV1, Finland. September 3, 1971. Yoik program, which received the Bronze Harp at the Golden Harp Festival in Dublin, 1972. Directed by Juhani Valasvaara.

*Ailluhas*. TV2, Finland. April 7, 1972. Produced by Jarmo Porola. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in a restaurant in Turku, Finland.

*Áillohaš - Lapin lumooja: Nils-Aslak Valkeapää laulaa ja joikaa* (*Áillohaš - Enchanter of Lapland: Nils-Aslak Valkeapää Sings and Yoiks*). TV2, Finland. September 28, 1973. Script by Jarmo Porola ja Juhani Valasvaara.

TV2, Finland. April 19, 1970. Directed by Juhani Lihtonen. Sunday morning program, Sámi young people discussing Sámi problems, moderated by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. First ever Finnish TV program in Sámi.

*Luillaako: Kalotin lapset joikaavat* (*Children of the North Calotte Yoik)*. TV1, Finland. January 8, 1977. Directed by Antero Ikonen. Script by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. Children's yoik program.

*Johtima jienat* (*Voices of Migration*). Stockholm: Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, 1978.

*Ruoktu váimmus* (*A Home in the Heart*). (Who produced this?) 1980. A multimedia concert (with yoiks, music, pictures/photos) performed by Aillohaš, Seppo Paakkunainen and Esa Kotilainen. Ruoktu váimmus also is the title of his book translated as Trekways of the Wind.

*Beaivvi basuhus* (*Sunshine*). Stockholm: Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, 1980. Celebration of the sun.

*Mo Sámi valdet* (*The Taking of Sápmi*). 1980-83. Directed by Skule Eriksen and Kåre Tannvik. Prize winning documentary at film festivals in Trondheim, Cracow, and Oberhausen about the Norwegianization of the Sámi and the subjugation of their culture, as well as Sámi rights to land and resources. Background music by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

Ofelaš (Pathfinder; Norwegian, 1988). Nils Gaup, writer and director. Copyright 1988 International Film ExchangeLtd. U.S. distribution by New Video Group, New York. In Sámi, with English subtitles. Oscar nomination for best foreign film. Excellent rendition of an ancient Sámi tale, with Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in the role of the siida chief. Some of the film score also by Valkeapää.

*Eanan eallima eadni* (*Earth's Life's Mother*). Guovdageaidnu: DAT, 1989. DATCD-5 Vocals, photographs, design, composition, recording, and producing by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. All instruments, recording and mixing, and composition by Esa Kotilainen. Music for the book *Beaivi, Áhčážan*, but also performed once as a concert. Recorded at Musapaja, Helsinki and Beattet, 1989.

*Dola fámuin* (*With Ancient Strength*), radio play by John E. Utsi. Stockholm: Swedish Broadcasting Corporation/Sami Radio, 1992. Valkeapää performed the role of Lásse (Lars Nilsson).

*Solens sønn og månens datter* (*Son of the Sun and Daughter of the Moon*; 1993). Script and direction by Sølve Skagen. Valkeapää plays the role of "Agimielailu," the noaidi-shaman, and composed the yoiks.

Bohten fal niegadit nieguid (I Came to Dream Dreams). Olympic Games, 1994. Multimedia concert performed as part of the Olympic cultural program by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Seppo "Baron" Paakkunainen, Esa Kotilainen and Johan Anders Baer.

*Vuolggán lean boahtime* (*I Leave to Arrive*). Olympic Games, 1994.A multimedia concert in the Olympic cultural program with Valkeapää, Paakkunainen, Kotilainen and four yoikers.

*Nu guhkkin dat mii lahka/ Så fjernt det nære* (*So Far, That Which is Near*). Olympic Games, 1994. A multimedia concert and book in the Olympic cultural program. But it is also a book published as a part of the Olympic cultural program.

*Ráidn'oaivi ja nieguidoaidni* (*Whitehead and the Dreamteller*). Noh-Theater Production by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. Sapporo, Japan, 1995. Valkeapää played the role of Ráidn'oaivi, Áillohaš's Sámi family name.

## *Awards and honorary degrees*

Lapin läänintaiteilija (Lapland Provincial Artist, Finland). 1978–1983.

WCIP Cultural Coordinator (World Council of Indigenous Peoples). 1978–1981.

Lapin Sivistysseuran kultainen ansiomerkki (The Golden Award of the Lapp Culture Society). Helsinki, Finland, 1978.

Davviriikkaid Sámiráði gudnebálkkášupmi (Nordic Sami Council Honorary Prize). Sápmi, 1985.
Vi Magazine's Literature Prize. Stockholm, Sweden, 1987.
Lapin läänin taidepalkinto (Art Prize for Lapland Province). Rovaniemi, Finland, 1988.
Nordic Council Literature Prize for the book *Beaivi, Áhčážan,* Copenhagen, Nordic Countries, 1991.
Prix Italia, Radio: Music Special Prize. Rome, Italy, 1993.
Honorary Doctor of Humanities. Oulun Yliopiston/The University of Oulu, Finland, 1994.
Sámi Parlameantta kulturbálkkášupmi (Cultural award of the Sámi Parliament). Anár, Sápmi, Finland, 1994.
Eanodaga gieldda kulturbálkkášupmi (Cultural award of Enontekiö Township). Enontekiö, Finland, 1994.
Eesti Vabariigi (Order of the White Star of Estonia). 1995.
Taiteen Suomi-palkinto (The Suomi Prize for Art from the Ministry of Education). Opetusministeriö, Helsinki, Finland, 1996.
Honorary Doctor of Education. Lapin Yliopisto/The University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland, 1999.

## *Prizes established in honor of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää*

Áillohaš musihkkabálkkášupmi for work with music; Guovdageaidnu Sámiid Searvi, every year, starting in 1993.
Áillohaš prize for work with Sámi culture, University of Tromsø, every second year, starting in 1993.

## *Articles about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää*

The following is a bibliography of articles by and about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. Major resources in Sámi literature are available at the Lapland Library in Rovaniemi, Finland (http://lapponica.rovaniemi.fi ), at the Rana Division of the National Library of Norway (http://www.nb.no/baser/samisk/english.html), and the library of the the Sámediggi (Sámi Parliament) in Kárášjohka, Norway.

Other articles about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää may possibly found in the archives of the American-Sámi publications *Árran* (arran@bitrstream.net) or *Báiki* (The Saami Báiki Foundation, 1714 Franklin St., #100-311, Oakland, CA 94612-3408.

The following biblibiography is primarily from the Sámi Parliament Library, from an archive of articles, organized by librarians Eldbjørg Gjelsvik and Reidun Riisehaugen. The articles were in two files, one labeled "1970–1990"and the other labeled "1990 →". The first file included library cards for all the articles.

Most interesting about this archive (which I am listing here in chronological order) is the increase in Sámi language titles and articles by Sámi authors over the thirty years of collecting. Unless otherwise indicated, the articles are by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

Brunila, Kaisu-Leena. "Joikaava länsituuli" ("A yoiking west wind"). *Hopeapeili* [?]. 1967:34. 22-24.

Korhonen, Jorma. "Aillohas läänintaiteilijana: Saamelaiskulttuuri noususuhdanteissa" ("Áillohaš as the new provincial artist: Sámi culture on the upswing"). 25/11/1972. [n.p.]

Korhonen, Jorma. "Joiun renessanssi" ("The renaissance of yoik"). *Helsingin sanomat*. 26.5.73. [n.p.]

[No author given.] "Kevään illat valoisat / Uutta runoa saameksi" ("Bright spring nights / New poetry in Sámi"). *Helsingin sanomat*. 16/4–74. [n.p.]

Laine, Riitta-Liisa. "Áilu ehti etelään" ("Ailu comes South"). *Helsingin sanomat*. 19/2/ 1975. [n.p.]

Aitamurto, Veikko. "Áilu joikaa Lapin vapautta" ("'Áilu yoiks about Lapland's freedom"). *Seura*. 14/3/1975. No. 11. 3–5

Suominen, Raili. "Áilluhas, joikaaja Lapista" ("Áilluhas, a yoiker of Lapland") *TS (Turun Sanomat) extra*. 30/3/1976 [70?]. 3.

[No author given.] "Rajat pilkkovat saamelaistaidetta." ("Borders divide Sámi art"). *Lapin kansa*. [n.d.] 2, 14.

Holmberg, Veikko. "Ái'lohaš læ rakkadan åđđa skærro ja dik'tagirji." *Nordkalotten*. 11 (1976). 3.

"Jojk." ("Yoik.") *Sámi ál' bmut*. 1977. 8.

Olsen, Kurt. "Jeg vil tjene det samiske folk" (Ï will serve the Sámi people")". *Nordnorsk magasin*. 2 (1979): 2.

Lægdsnes, Karsten. "Jeg har fuglen i mit hjerte / Minulla on lintu sydämessäni" ("I have a bird in my heart"). Audhumla 2/81: 5–6. Interview with the poet.

Eriksen, Hans Kr. "Så flytter jag då till tidernas hav —." *Nordnorsk magasin*. Vol. 10 (1984):6. 4–6.

"Siperialainen päiväkirja" ("Siberian journal"). *Kulttuurivihkot*. 1/1985. 23–27.

Heikká-Gustu. "Mu Ruoktu lea mu váimmus" ("My home is in my heart"). *Samefolket*. 1986:5. 24.

Lukkari, Rauni Magga. "Eller hva, Áilluhaš!" *Café Existens / Tidskrift för nordisk litteratur*. No. 36, (1987: 4). 34–36.

Sammallahti, Pekka. "Drag i Nils-Aslak Valkeapääs konstnärskap." ("Discussion of NAV's artistry.") . *Café Existens / Tidskrift för nordisk litteratur*. No. 36, (1987: 4). 47–50.

to the title.

Utsi, John E. "Förut kunde jag tala med renarna — och de förstod mig: Samtal med Áillohaš" ("I could talk with reindeer — and they understood me: A conversation with Áillohaš"). *Café Existens / Tidskrift för nordisk litteratur*. No. 36, (1987: 4). 38–42.

Arntzen, Arthur. "Veiviseren Valkeapää" ("Pathfinder Valkeapää"). *Bok-ekstra / Dagbladet*. 27 november 1987. 2–3.

Tuoriniemi, Heljä. "Unohdettu runoilija Áilu Valkeapää: Meijän filmi voipi voittaa" ("Forgotten poet Áilu Valkeapää: Our film just might win"). *Seura*. 1988: 12. 48–51.

"Om den samiska kulturen." ("About Sámi culture.") *Nya Argus*. 1988: 9–10.

Linneberg, Arild. "Áillohaš." *Norsk litterær årbok* (*Yearbook for Norwegian Literature*).Oslo, Samlaget, 1988.

Hanssen, Hermod. "Same hav i oss alle: Den estiske dikaren Jaan Kaplinski sett i samanheng med Nils Aslak Valkeapää " *Nordnorsk magasin*. Vol. 12 (1989): 3 / 4. 16.

Söderblom, Staffan. "Jojken som sprängde natten." *Turist*. 1989:4. 26–27, 49.

Ersson, Boris. "En stor teater-upplevelse." *Samefolket*. Arg 70 (1989): 5. 7.

Laine, Riitta-Eliisa. "Áilun joukko valloitti" ("Áilu's group takes over"). *Helsingin Sanomat*. n.d.

Kendzior, Nøste. "Solen, min far" ("The Sun, My Father"). *KulturKontakt*. No. 1. Aug 27 (1991). 34–35.

Johansen, Harry. "'Beaivi, Áhčážan' lea buoremus" ("'Beaivi, Áhčážan' is the best"). *Sámi Áigi*. 1/2/1991. 7.

Pollestad, Ellen. "Rekord salg av kunst" ("Record art sale"). *Nordlys*. 1/7/1991. 16.

"Áilui davviriikkalaš girjjálašvuođabálkkašupmi." *Sapmelaš*. No. 1–3 (1991). 2–3.

"Nils-Aslak Valkeapää." *Invandrare & Minoriteter*. No. 1 (1991). 36–37.

"Nils Aslak Valkeapää." *Writ*. No. 23/24. (1991/92). 6–7.

von Born, Heidi. "Pristal för Nils-Aslak Valkeapää." *Norsk litterær årbok* (*Yearbook for Norwegian Literature*.) [No publication information.] 1991. 9–11.

Jarlsbo, Øystein. "Dømt til helvete for 30 år siden." *Dagbladet*. 24/2/1993. [n.p.]

Tonstad, Per Lars. "50-årsfest for naturens sønn" ("50th birthday party for nature's son"). *Dagbladet*. 21/3/1993. 4.

Heikka, Gustaw. "Áillohaš 50 år" ("Áillohaš turns 50"). *Samefolket*. No. 4 (1993). 52.

"Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: *Nu guhkkin dat mii lahka*." Press release from Dat. 1994.

Oskal, Sara Margrethe ." Áillohaš ii bala nuoladeames." *Š*. No. 4 (1994) 22–25.

Gustavsen, John. "Ulven, reven og Valkeapää." *Dagbladet*. 18/6/1995. [n.p.]

Skals, Eva. "'Aillohačča dáiddačájáhus." *Áššu*. No. 33 (1995). [n.p.]

Haetta, Issát Sámmol. "Japanii poesikonsearttain." *Áššu*. No. 35. 31/8/1995. [n.p.]

[No author given.] "'Áilohaš roasmmahuvai biilain." *Áššu*. No. 9 (1996) 25/2/1996 [n.p.]

Anti, Anne Berit. "Eatni-rohke ságumat ođđa girjjis." No. 39. *Min Áigi*. 5/6/1996. 8.

Heikká-Gustu. "Guokte diktagirjji: Silkeguobbara lákca ja jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivččii" ("Two books of poetry: Silkeguobbara lákca and jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivččii"). *Samefolket*. No. 9 (1996). 42.

Vars, Elle Márjá. "—go vulgen gatnjalat čalmmiin." *Áššu*. No. 42 (1996). 11.

[No author given.] "Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: *Jus gazzebiehtár bohkosivvčči.*" Press release from the Sámirađđi (Sámi Parliament). 1997.

Gaski, Harald. "Nils-Aslak Valkeapääs nyeste diktsamling: 'Hvert steg et steg nærmere døden' ("Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's newest collection of poetry: 'Every step is a step closer to death'"). *Nordisk litteratur*. 1997. 58–59.

Issát, Simit-Ristena Håkon. "Áillohačča 'Dálveleaika' suoláduvvon." *Áššu*. No. 69 (1998) 9/9/1998. [n.p.]

Gustavsen, John. "Två samiska konstnärer i en bok" ("Two Sámi artists in one book"). *Samefolket*. No. 12 (1998). 33.

Rasmussen, Torkel. "Villa Vissu ii šatta." *Min Áigi*. 13/2/1998. 2.

Sara, Klemet Anders. "Nils Aslak Välkeäpää (sic) — Áilluhaš — Ođđa girjiin" ("Nils Aslak Välkeäpää (sic) — Áilluhaš — New book"). *Áššu*. No. 27 (1999) 9/4/1999. [n.p.]

Linneberg, Arild. "samisk tradisjon — og estetisk avantgarde?" ("Sámi tradition — and aesthetic avant-garde?") *V A G A N T*. [1991]

Gaski, Harald. "Fuglene, joiken og lyrikken" ("Birds, yoiks and lyrics") . In: "Presentasjoner og anmeldelser." [A reader for students at Tromsø University.] Institutt for språk og litteratur. Universitet i Tromsø, 1996. 9–17.

[No author given] "Valkeapää for aller siste gang." Finnmark dagblad. 6/4/2001. 16.

Buljo, Ann-Irene. "Mun ráhkistan din!" ("I love you!"). *Min Áigi*. 18/4/2001. 6.

Valkeapää, Nils-Aslak. "Tack ska ni ha!" ("My thanks to you!") . Norsk litterær årbok. Årg. 26, (1991). 2–15.

Gjerald, Frode M. "Instrument for kunsten" ("A tool for art"). *Finnmark dagblad*. 21/4/2001. 14.

[No author given.] "Vuoi Áilu, Áillohaš" ("Oh, Áilu, Áillohaš"). *Áššu*. No. 48. 11/6/2002. 12–13.

Gaski, Harald. "Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: Solens sønn er død" ("Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: The Son of the Sun is dead"). Ságat. 4/12/2001. 12.

Hætta, Bente, Anna Lajla Utsi and Sara Margrethe Oskal. "Mana dearvan Áillohaš" ("Go in peace, Áillohaš"). *Š*. No. 18 (2001).

Gustavsen, John. "Valkeapääs siste testamente" ("Valkeapää's last testament"). *Nordlys*.

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