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Varieties of Medical Treatment and Hierarchies of Resort in Johan Turi's *Sámi deavsttat*

ABSTRACT Johan Turi's *Sámi deavsttat/Lappish Texts* (1918–1919) is examined as a source of information regarding early twentieth-century Sami healing methods and hierarchies of medical resort. Turi's account of traditional and personal healing experiences in the Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi district reflects complex processes of intercultural exchange and hybridization, in which Sami families availed themselves of differing varieties of therapy depending on differing situations and personalities. Hierarchies of resort—that is, the order in which patients make use of competing healing resources—are illustrated by short histories (case studies) which Turi included in the final portion of his work. The text reveals a world in which local Sami *noaidevuohta* (shamanic healing) lingered as a largely stigmatized clandestine resource, competing variously with shamanic healing offered by more distant (Norwegian) Sami, as well as healing drawn from Finnish magic, Swedish medicine, and Læstadian faith healing. Ill health, insanity, and decimation of one's herd are depicted as attacks not only on an individual, but on the individual's entire family, and their effects can be felt ultimately by members of the family's subsequent generation(s). Non-Sami individuals play important roles both as threats and as sources of potential assistance in the struggle to maintain or regain health.

KEYWORDS Johan Turi, Emilie Demant-Hatt, Sami, Shamanism, folk healing, hybridity

Sámit leat boares áiggis juo ferten dutkat goansttaid go olbmot šaddet skibasin, ja doaktárat eai leat leamaš Sámiid oážžunsajis, eai sii leat diehtáŋge, ahte doaktárat gávdnojit, soames oassi. Ja deinna lágiin leat ferten dutkat nu olu, ahte leat ožžon sealvvi, got lea

vihke[s]lajat, ja got galgá daidda ábu oážžut. Ja leat gale ožžon sealvvi nu olu, ahte olu vigiid sáhttet buoridit, deidnai maid eai soames doaktárat ipmir buoridit. Muhto ii juohke doaktárii dat gula.

Dás vuolde gávdnokit čilgehusat, got galgá guđege vigi geahpidit ja velá buoriditnai muhtumin, ja hoahpusnai, ii sáhte doavttirge nu hoahpus buoridit. Muhto ii soaba jur visot goansttaid čállit dán girjái, dan dihte go dát girji šaddá lohkkjuvvot oba máilmmi mielde, ja olu oahppan hearrát eai soaba goasge gullat visot goansttaid. Eai sii jáhke daid, dušše bilkidit Sámi jallodaga, vaikko jos oainnále visot maid sápmi dahká, de imaštivččo dan vuoiimmi, ja gos dat boahdá (Turi 1987 [1910]: 113).

[‘The Sami in past times had to figure out what to do when people got sick and there were no doctors living in the Sami areas, and some folk didn’t even know that doctors exist. And so, they had to figure things out so much that they discovered what different ailments were like and what one needs to do to help them. And indeed they discovered so much that they could cure many diseases, even ones that many doctors cannot figure out how to cure. But this is not the case with every doctor. And here below one can find explanations for how to lessen each ailment and even cure some, and quickly too—not even a doctor could heal so quickly. But it is not right to write down all these cures in this book, because this book will be read the whole world over and many educated gentlemen do not need to hear of these cures. They won’t believe in them, and they will just poke fun at Sami craziness, although, if they were to see what the Sami do, they would wonder at the power and where it comes from.’] (My translation.)

When reading the opening of Johan Turi’s chapter on healing in his great work *Muitalus Sámiid birra* [‘A story about the Sami’] (1987 [1910]) it is easy to imagine Sami healing as a singular and self-contained system, distinct from the official medicine of the *doaktárat* [‘doctors’] and *oahppan hearrát* [‘educated gentlemen’] of Swedish society, gained over the centuries by trial and error and passed down diligently from one generation of Sami to the next. The passage reflects Turi’s self-consciousness regarding the sharing of his medical knowledge with outsiders and his doubts regarding readers’ likely evaluation of his exotic lore. The passage also reflects in unspoken ways, Turi’s working relation with Emilie Demant-Hatt, the Danish artist/ethnographer who had come to northern Sweden to experience Sami culture firsthand. For *Muitalus Sámiid birra* was a collaborative work. It was written entirely by Turi, a Sami wolf hunter and sometime herder who had been born in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, Norway, but had moved to Gárasavvon/Karesuando, Sweden, as a boy, and to Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi as a young adult. Turi’s writings were then ordered, edited, and translated by Demant-Hatt, as Kristin Kuutma (2006) has detailed. The text’s image of a seemingly pristine Sami healing system undoubtedly emerged as a product of the interests, agendas, and knowledge

of the two people involved in producing the book.

The collaboration of Johan Turi and Emilie Demant-Hatt resulted, however, in not one but two books. *Muitalus Sámiid birra* (1987 [1910]) has been hailed as the first secular book written in a Sami language and garnered considerable international attention at the time of its first appearance. Its cultural and political aims have been the subject of a number of insightful studies (e.g., Gaski 1996; Storfjell 2001; Skaltje 2005; Kuutma 2006; Cocq 2008; Morset 2009). Turi and Demant-Hatt's second book *Sámi deavsttat/Lappish Texts* (1918–1919) was created from materials Demant-Hatt received from Johan Turi during the time of the writing of *Muitalus Sámiid birra* and thereafter, along with some additional materials supplied by Turi's nephew Per Turi and another Sami man named Lars Larsson Nutti. A great deal of this material has to do with healing and magic, topics which Demant-Hatt was keen to include in the original book but, which Turi was initially reticent about sharing. According to Demant-Hatt in her Introduction to *Sámi deavsttat* (Turi & Turi 1918–1919: 3), Turi supplied her with his accounts for her personal use but did not wish them to be published, fearing that their effectiveness would diminish if they became common knowledge. In retrospect, then, Demant-Hatt described the materials originally included in *Muitalus* thus as “only a few pieces, of a less secret nature” (3). Later, however, Turi changed his mind about making his knowledge known and *Sámi deavsttat* resulted, containing the original Sami writings of the two Turis and of Nutti, as well as a facing page of English translation supplied by Emilie Demant-Hatt and her husband Gudmund Hatt, with linguistic and ethnological advice from K. B. Wiklund. Although Nutti and Per Turi also contributed to the text, it is Johan Turi who exercised the greatest control over the work's content and interpretation, particularly as related to healing and other activities of the *noaidi*. Demant-Hatt includes numerous footnotes in the text that provide Turi's commentary on the materials themselves: clarifications of ambiguous statements, explanations of key concepts, and specific examples of ideas pointed out in the text. It is with good justification, then, that we can view *Sámi deavsttat* as principally Johan Turi's work, brought to publication through the supportive efforts of the other two Sami writers, as well as Demant-Hatt, Hatt, and Wiklund.

It does not take long for one to notice, however, that *Sámi deavsttat* differs considerably from *Muitalus*. Far from presenting a pristine Sami shamanic system of the kind asserted in the earlier text, the healing and magic accounts of *Sámi deavsttat* reveal a world of considerable cultural change, where past *noaidi* traditions, now stigmatized by church and society, linger on as legendary memories or rumors of ongoing clandestine magical aggression, associated particularly with marginal figures or remote places. At the

same time, healing magic remains viable to the Sami of Turi's world, supplemented by Finnish practices, recourse to Western medicine, and Christian adaptations. It is this world of extensive and conscious intercultural exchange and synthesis that I hope to explore in this paper. I argue that whereas *Muitalus* offers us a glimpse of past Sami healing traditions as a once-discrete system of practices based upon the activities and beliefs of Sami *noaidit*, *Sámi deavsttat* offers us a more chequered view of a healing tradition in transition, one in which varying sources of healing authority vie as implements for the maintenance or recovery of bodily, mental, and social health.

Acknowledging Diversity

In *Muitalus*, Demant-Hatt took Turi's hand-written notebooks, excised passages from them, and reordered these into the work that we have today. Although she seems to have followed Turi's lead in terms of overall topics and order of accounts, it is also clear that she exercised considerable judgment in deciding what and how much of various topics would be included in the published work. *Sámi deavsttat*, in contrast, shows a much less active editorial control: the three writers' texts are presented as wholes, with no apparent excising and a minimum of reordering. Writes Demant-Hatt: "The present texts should be regarded as a collection of raw material" (4). The decision to publish the accounts in their entirety meant, of course, that readers would see the extent of intercultural exchange that was the norm in Turi's early twentieth-century Čohkkeras. Demant-Hatt not only acknowledges but emphasizes this heterogeneity in her introduction to *Sámi deavsttat*, writing:

It would be an interesting task to compare Lappish folk-lore with that of the surrounding nations and unravel the working of strong influences from Scandinavian and Finnish folk-lore—influences which are apparent not only in the borrowing of single elements, but even in the transplanting of tales and the taking over of magic formulas. The performance of such a task would, however, require an intimate and extensive knowledge not only of Scandinavian folk-lore but of Finnish folk-lore as well; and I find this to be beyond my reach. The impulses from Finnish folk-lore are very important among the northern Lapps... [and this fact] is particularly evident in the magic formulas; Johan Turi has even told me that many of these were translated from Finnish to Lappish (4).

Demant-Hatt leaves it to her readers to note and appreciate the cultural heterogeneity of Turi's writings, offering us not a reconstruction of an isolated Sami culture but a kind of snapshot of Sami culture as lived in north-

ern Sweden at the opening of the twentieth century. This paper explores the realities of Turi's materials, heeding Demant-Hatt's call for comparison with Finnish traditions and examining what I term here (drawing on Lola Romanucci-Ross 1969 and David Hufford 1988: 248) the "hierarchy of resort" which obtained among Sami people in the Čohkkeras district at the beginning of the twentieth century. How was illness defined, and what steps did people take in response to the onset or perception of it? In seeking help, where did people turn first? What alternative healing options existed, and how or when were these called into play? The accounts of *Sámi deavsttat* allow us to answer these questions to a much greater degree and with far more nuance than would be possible on the basis of *Muitalus Sámiid birra* alone. Thus, an examination of the images of healing in *Sámi deavsttat* illustrates the multicultural, historically inflected, and interculturally contested world that Johan Turi lived in, one in which he struggled to maintain and defend a distinctive Sami identity even while meeting with and adopting many cultural features from surrounding and encroaching populations.

Core Concepts

In describing the particularities of the onset and development of various diseases, Turi presents certain fundamental concepts that he seems to regard as underlying much, if not most, common disease. Within this generalized explanatory framework, contagion plays a prominent role. The smell or physical touch of death, contact with bodily excretions or odors, and proximity to other contaminants could cause illnesses of various kinds. Turi describes contamination stemming from contact with the unclean smell of old maids (xix, 31 f.), the clothing or smell of the dead (xx, 33; xlvii, 55), secretions or body parts taken from the dead (xlv, 51; xlvii, 54), or sharing space or food with an ill or otherwise contaminated person (xl, 43; xlv, 51). Even pregnancy cravings could be contracted by a man if he unknowingly shared food from a pot from which a pregnant woman was eating (xxxvii, 40). Such pollution invades the body through all its surfaces, not only the skin and nostrils. Turi notes the importance of protecting one's eyes when dealing with a sick person: the healer should wear glasses during healing procedures and shield the eyes further through a special incantation (fn 35, 176). The pollution could also affect one's outward bodily appearance (xl, 43) and even voice (fn 46, 177), showing an essential unity in Turi's view regarding outward appearance and inward identity or overall bodily sovereignty. In Turi's depiction of contagion, a person must struggle to maintain and defend the body as a whole from polluting forces that threaten to overtake it at every turn.

As various parts of Turi's accounts illustrate, this fear of contagion led

Sami to avoid the nursing of the sick (xliv, 46; xlv, 51; see also fn 46, 177). Peter Sköld (1996) points out that this tendency is close to modern Western ideas of quarantine and may have helped limit the spread of infectious diseases like smallpox among Sami in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Sköld details, Swedish peasants tended to meet the onset of smallpox with comparative indifference, continuing to share common spaces and even beds with persons who had already contracted the disease. In marked contrast, Sami viewed smallpox as a dangerous form of possession or pollution that needed to be avoided in every possible manner. This tendency reduced the spread of the disease among Sami, while also creating a moral dilemma for families regarding how to care for ill relatives. Turi includes a number of accounts where families experience great frustration or anxiety in trying to locate care-givers for their sick relatives (see the case studies section below), and the persons who agree to undertake such work in the end are often non-Sami neighbors or devout Christians. As an illustration, Demant-Hatt recounts in a note an instance of such an outside care-giver: a Christian Sami who agreed to nurse a spirit-plagued man during his final days. Writes Demant-Hatt:

the old, religious Lapp told me that when he came home to his own *goahti* [Sami dwelling], then he had lost the power of speech. "But then I took off my clothes and gave them a thorough dusting," and that helped (fn 46, 177).

While demonstrating an essential element of Sami notions of health, this tendency to make use of outsiders at a crucial moment of the life cycle reflects a Sami culture well accustomed to the presence and close interaction of non-Sami in the region.

Contagion was particularly deleterious when the source was an object or entity with great significance to life. Turi draws attention to *bostta* or *guosta*—inherent power—stemming from a variety of sources, including earth, the dead, wind, water, fire, heat, and cold as well as humbler contaminants such as sweat and fecal matter. Wounds were regarded not only as ailments in themselves but also as portals through which these greater ills could penetrate and infect the body. Writing of swollen (i.e., infected) wounds, Turi states:

Jos manná hávvái čoaskkis dahje liekkas dahje čáhci dahje olbmo bivastat ja dat álgá siedjut ja bohtanit, de dasa maiddá lohkkojit dakkár sániid:
 "Dat mii lea *raju ilmmis* ja biekkas bohtán,
 ii galgga das oktage sadji;

dan gohčun Hearra Kristusa nammii eret das”
 Ja dat, mii mánnjelis lea, daid galgá visot lohkat golmma geardde ná:
 “Dat mii lea olbmo jápmivaš rupmašis boahtán,
 Bivastagas ja hájas ja *mirsko*-biekkas ja ilmmis ja čázis ja čoaskimis ja
 lieggasis,
 ii galgga leat dás sadji, daid mun gohčun Hearra Kristusa vuimmiin eret.
Laulelen sinun yhtä dearvvasin,
 nu got lea Ibmel sivdnidan”
 (dan rádjái golmma geardde:)
 “ráfi ja dearvvasvuohta lehkos dán nuorohažžii!” (xxi, 33).

[‘If a wound is invaded by cold or heat or water or human sweat and begins to develop pus and swell, then for this also words such as these are recited:

“That which has come from *stormy weather* and from the wind, has no place here; I command it in the name of Jesus Christ to leave.” And that which follows, one should recite three times thus: “That which has come from a person’s mortal body, from sweat and odor and *storm*-wind and weather and water and cold and hot, has no place here. These I command by the power of the Lord Christ to leave. *I sing you healthy*, as God created [you]” and then three times: “peace and health be to this youth!”]

Turi’s incantation is emphatically Christian in content and form, and is drawn directly from Finnish tradition, with some terms (italicized above) remaining in fact in Finnish. The content of this incantation is closely paralleled by another Turi furnishes for dealing with various skin eruptions, rashes, or dermatitis:

Dat mii lea eatnamis boahtán
 Dat galgá eatnamii mannat;
 Eatnan galgá oamis oamastit.
 Ja dat mii lea čázis boahtán,
 Dat galgá mannat jur čáhcái.
 Ja dat mii lea geađggis ja *myrskobávttis* boahtán,
 Dat galgá mannat jur báktái.
 Ja dat mii lea biekkas boahtán
 Visot njeallje guovllus
 Nuortan ja oarján ja davvin ja lulil
 Dat galgá mannat ruoktot.
 Biegga galgá oames oamastit.
Laulelen sinun yhtä terveeksi,
Mitä Jumala on luonut
 (Maid Ipmil lea sivdnidan.) (xviii, 30).

[‘That which has come from the earth
 Must go into the earth.

The earth must take ownership of its own.
 And that which has come from the water
 Must go into the water.
 And that which has come from the stone or *storm*-rocks
 Must go back into the rock.
 And that which has come from the wind
 From all four directions—
 East, west, north and south—
 Must go back.
 The wind must take ownership of its own.
I sing you to health
As God created
 As God created.’]

Here again, we find terms and lines (italicized above) performed in Finnish, while the bulk of the incantation is presented in northern Sami. We shall compare these incantations to Finnish counterparts below. Here, however, it is important simply to note the concept of dangerous pollution associated with things like earth, wind, and water, and the threat it represents to the maintenance of health. This fundamental concept in Turi’s understandings finds clear parallels in Finnish healing traditions, where such underlying and potentially disruptive power generally went by the name of *väki* (Hästesko 1918: 8 f.; Apo 1995; Stark-Arola 1998; Stark 2006).

Also closely linked to the idea of contagion is the notion of transference, a central element of Turi’s healing practices and a detail shared more generally with Finnish and Scandinavian folk healing of the time (Georges & Jones 1995: 50). If one can contract a disease through unconscious or unavoidable contact, as discussed above, it should be possible to evade illness through consciously renewing contact and transferring the evil to something or somewhere else. This reversal could be accomplished nearly immediately, if the person showed the proper attentiveness and presence of mind, and the offending source of pollution were made aware of the intended reversal through recitation of a short incantation, often performed in or translated from Finnish. Pressing a place of contamination with a knife or finger tip could prove effective in removing any potential ills (fn 41, 176), but Turi warns not to touch such areas with one’s bare hands, because then the ill would transfer to the hand itself (xxx, 37). If one touched the clothes of a dead person, the ill effects could be staved off by pressing the polluted area once again to the dead person’s clothes and commanding the evils within to restore the living person’s health (xx, 32). Alternatively, one could run the finger of one’s hand along the bare foot of the cadaver while reciting the command to restore health (xx, 33). One’s breath could also be used to effect the transference: when a person fell and received a scratch or contu-

sion, it was advisable to remove one's hat, blow on a spot of it, and press it to the hurt area in order to relieve the pain and remove the ill (xxx, 37).

Sometimes such transference required more elaborate procedures to take effect. In the case of a boil that does not have a head, Turi recommends the following procedure: the healer should find and retrieve three blue stones from a river, pressing these onto the boil and reciting the incantation:

Mana geađggi *lomaan*
Ja mana bávtiid *luolat*
Dahje mana dohkko
Gos leat boahtán (xxix, 36).

['Go into the stone
and go [to] the great rock's caves
or go there
where you came from.']

Once the stones had been used in this way, they were to be returned to the place they had originally been found, allowing the disease to be transferred and disposed of. In the case of a man who has contracted pregnancy cravings by unknowingly sharing a bowl with a pregnant woman, he could rid himself of the ailment by giving some chewed food from his own mouth to a female dog, or by eating from the same bowl as a female dog or cat (xxxvii, 39). The cravings then pass to the female animal and the man is cured. Turi recounts the use of a dog as a kind of sponge for disease: absorbing the contagion through physical contact with the human and then dissipating it by walking elsewhere or by being thrown into a fire. This concept was broadly shared by various ethnic communities in the region, and indeed, the passage itself attributes the dog cure to a Finn:

De neavvui okta Suoma olmmái ahte, "oahpat beanavielpá goarjudit julggiidat nalde! Ja go son oahppá, de son goarjuda álo du julggiid nalde. Ja beatnagis lea seahkku [<F *sähkö*, 'electricity']: dat geassá olbmoss vigi eret olmmo rupmašis. Ja go son geassá ollásii, de son gal jappmá ieš, dat beana" (li, 61).

['A Finnish man advised that "Teach a puppy to lie down at your feet! And when he learns that, he will always lie down at your feet. And there is electricity in the dog that pulls out of a person's body any problem. And when it has drawn all of it entirely, then it dies, that dog."']

In the narrative that accompanies this reported advice, the Sami narrator witnesses the salutary effect of one such sop-dog and its effectiveness in removing disease from its human master.

Incantations

As the above examples illustrate, a key element in many such healing methods is the performance of incantations. In Turi's repertoire, these words are often originally Finnish, and it is not entirely clear from his accounts whether he is providing them in North Sami as a reflection of their adaptation to Sami use or merely as an aid to his collaborator Emilie Demant-Hatt, who did not know any Finnish. The intercultural dimensions of this lore are evident in Turi's discussion of skin diseases arising from various forms of contagion, noted above. Turi's extended incantation can be compared with a Finnish incantation for treating an itchy rash, collected from an informant in Eurajoki in 1889 and later published in the massive anthology of Finnish Kalevalametric poetry *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (SKVR):

Jos olet ilmasta, niin mene ilmaan.
 Jos olet maasta, niin mene maahan.
 Jos olet vedestä, niin mene veteen takaisin! (SKVR 10(2): 3786).

['If you are from the air, then go to the air.
 If you are from the earth, then go into the earth.
 If you are from the water, then go back into the water!']

Also noteworthy is an incantation from Noormarkku from 1904 that calls upon the winds from all four directions to cure an ailment (SKVR 10(2): 3790), much like in Turi's translated incantation. The fact that the latter part of Turi's incantation is provided in Finnish, of course, reflects its currency among Finnish speakers of his locale and its apparent origin within Finnish tradition.

As with Finnish healing, Turi's Sami incantations sometimes recount the ailment's mythic etiology, thereby asserting the healer's knowledge and power over it. Turi's incantation for healing wounds caused by iron illustrates the tendency:

Go lea ávjostálli dahje ruovdi, de lea Sámiin dasa goansttat dan várás,
 ahte ii galgga hávvái mannat miige, go lea čuohppan dahje čuolastan.
 Dat lea ná:
 "Don ruovdiráiski
 Gii leat dolin áigge čáhcin golgan
 Ja dál čuohpadat suddugasa náhki ja bierggu
 Muhto mon gohčun
 Ahte váldde vašiid ruoktot!" (xxxi, 37).

['When it is steel or iron, the Sami have tricks for this situation, so that nothing will need to enter a wound where one has been cut or slashed. It is thus:

“You wretched iron/You iron water plant
 Who in former times have floated on/as water
 And now cut a sinner’s hide and flesh!
 But I command
 Thus: Take your evils back!”]

In his linguistic annotations to the text, K.B. Wiklund notes that Turi’s term *gun/starat* (*goansttat*) derives from the Norwegian *kunster* [‘tricks, arts’], a term Turi repeatedly uses for healing magic (fn 1, 31). The incantation’s term *räiski* on the other hand, may derive from the Finnish *raiska* [‘wretch’] or the northern Sami *räiski* (a water plant). Typically, Finnish iron incantations use *raukka* when referring to iron, as, for example, Ondrei Borissanpoika Vanninen’s incantation from Rautalahti, Sortavala, collected in 1884:

Voi sinua rauta raukka
 Rauta raukka, kun oot kuono
 Kun sie suureksi rupesti
 Kasvot aivan kauhiaksi!
 Et sie sillon suuri ollut
 Et suuri, et pieni
 Et kovan koreakahan,
 Makasit maitona herana
 Läikyt lämmänä vetenä.
 Akat suossa sorkettihin
 Vetelästä vellottihin.
 Tuosta tuli malto rauta
 Sekä tiettävä teräs.
 Heitä sitte veri vuotamasta
 Maito moahan lähtemästä
 Veri tilkkaset tippumasta
 Veri seiso, niinkuin seinä
 Hurmaus kuin aita seiso
 Poasi pellon pientaressa
 Maksasa sinun kotisi
 Alla keuhkon kellervöisen
 Älä pintoa pysyile
 Älä hoavoa hajuile
 Sule suus, peitä peäs,
 Käske kieleä käpyyn! (SKVR 7(3): 330).

[‘Oh you wretched iron,
 wretched iron, as you are slag
 as you begin to grow great
 your face growing quite terrible
 you were not great then
 not great, not little

nor particularly handsome either
 as you lay as whey milk
 splash as warm water.
 The old women were struck in the swamp
 Beset in the watery place.
 From that came iron ore
 And sharp steel.
 Stop then, blood, from bleeding,
 Milk, from flowing onto the ground,
 Blood droplets from trickling.
 Stand, blood, like a wall,
 Enchanted like a fence stand,
 A boulder on the field's edge.
 Your home's in the liver
 Beneath the yellowish lung.
 Do not remain at the surface.
 Do not scatter about the wound.
 Close your mouth, cover your head,
 Order your tongue into a pinecone.']

Both Turi's relatively short incantation and Vanninen's long one make reference to an etiology of iron as a former liquid, that is, bog iron, which could be smelted through technology known in the Nordic region since the Viking Age. The Finnish incantation provides a much more detailed account of the origin, however, characterizing bog iron as milk dropped on the swamp by mythic women (*akat*), in many incantations described as the offspring of Ukko, the deity of thunder. Both incantations command the addressee to behave properly, although with some differences. The Finnish incantation is aimed at stanching blood and has described the origins of iron as a preface to actually addressing the blood flow caused by being injured by an iron tool. The blood is told where it belongs and that it should stop flowing out into the world outside of the body. Turi's incantation, in contrast, remains focused on the iron itself and the injurious effects it could impose on a wound, apparently even after the slashing has occurred. Turi states that his incantation is meant to prevent objects from going into the wound: presumably, reciting the incantation three times, as recommended, will cause the gash to close, protecting the flesh within while also, of course, putting an end to any bleeding. The performance seems to relate to his concept of contamination (see above), in which cold, sweat, dirt, or other foreign substances constantly threaten to enter and corrupt a wound.

Another Finnish incantation, collected in Teronvaara from Pääntti Jelkänen in 1897 shows other similarities with Turi's Sami version. Jelkänen described the incantation as controlling "raudan vihoja" ['the hatreds of

iron’], where *vihoja* can be seen as parallel to the *vášiid* [‘hatreds’] of Turi’s incantation. Jekänen’s spell opens thus:

Oi sinä rauta raukka,
Koito kuonto,
Miks’ sinä pahoja teit
Ilman Luojan luvatta? (SKVR 7(3): 361).

[‘Oh you wretched iron
hapless slag,
Why did you do bad things
Without the Lord’s permission?’]

Interestingly, at least one notable singer of the same era, the Finnish Pessi Shemeikka, reported having learned his version of the iron incantation from a Sami healer (SKVR 7(3): 368). Such lore must have circulated widely between healers of both language groups throughout northern Scandinavia.

Another aspect of such incantations in Turi’s repertoire is their tendency to address, command or cajole the offending disease. For boils that have heads, Turi recommends the following treatment: one should place a skeleton key with a cross shape in its bit on the head of the boil, turning it counterclockwise and reciting the following incantation:

Šadda hal vaikko Nagervári meare
Šadda hal vaikko Aldasduoddara meare
Dahje ále šatta ollenge (xxix, 36).

[‘Grow indeed to the size of Nagervári
grow indeed to the size of Aldasduottar
or do not grow at all.’]

Turi notes that any mountain names will do, so long as they are the largest ones in the locale. The idea is to challenge the boil to grow to an impossible size, and if it cannot do so, to leave altogether. The cross shape of the key appears a means of tangibly invoking the Christian deity, a detail which parallels the various appeals to Christ or the saints in various of Turi’s incantations. Such features are common to charm traditions throughout the Nordic region (Klintberg 1965; Kvideland & Sehmsdorf (eds.) 1991; DuBois 1999) and can be seen already in such early texts as the Korsholm Finnish incantation of 1564 (Virtanen & DuBois 2000: 180) or the various charms contained in the Norwegian *Vinja* book (Ommundsen 2009). They are clearly part of European religious folk healing as it diffused into the north of Europe and merged with preexisting healing traditions and concepts of disease.

Also central to Turi’s healing were methods that had passed into Sami

healing from earlier official medicine. These included the practices of moxibustion (specifically tinder burning) and bleeding. Turi describes the use of tinder to cure toothaches, headaches, fractures, rheumatism and pneumonia (xxxv, 39). The fact that Turi practiced bleeding is mentioned in passing as he relates his efforts to treat Stuora-Biehtár's daughter (see case study below). Significantly, the act is linked with the performance of an incantation—commanding spirits to drink the shed blood and then depart—reflecting the assimilation of the technique into the curative practices of the culture as a whole (xlv, 51–53).

Whereas the concepts of contagion, transference, and word magic underlie much of Turi's healing methods, certain ailments are explicitly described as liable to be the products of magic aggression, *noaidegoanstatt*. In a particularly telling passage (xiii, 26), Turi writes of “*makkár sivaiguin noaidit noaidut sáhttet*” [‘for what sort of reasons *noaidit* practice *noaidi* magic’]. Turi writes: “*Boazo-suolávuodain ii leat álki bastit noaidut, muhto noaidut lea álkimus ráhkisvuoda rihkkumis ja ain jápmá gálvvu suoládeames ja bilkideames*” [‘reindeer theft is not easy to accomplish by magic, but it is easiest to work magic in cases of broken love and also to steal things from the dead or level curses’] (26). Each of these broad categories of underhanded activity receives more detailed discussion in Turi's various short passages of the text, and finds illustration in the more extended “case studies” that make up the latter half of the work (see below). These sorts of ailments require strong counter-magic or the overriding force of fervent Christian belief to undo, and Turi dutifully describes each of them in the pages of his work. We shall examine each of these below, in reverse order.

The theft of the dead's belongings and the leveling of curses are closely related in Turi's presentation of Sami magic. The dead figure as a major source of supernatural help for those wishing to work magic in Turi's world, particularly if they want to bring about the sickness or misfortune of others. As we shall see in the case studies, such ill will could often develop out of failed romantic relationships, especially if one person jilted another, or a suitor's advances were turned down for purely economic reasons. The wrath of a spurned lover could easily lead to attempts at cursing another, attempts that tended to involve the acquisition of spirits of the dead (ghosts) who could plague the perpetrator's victims. Turi notes methods for acquiring supernatural help from among the dead:

Go lea easka jápmán dakkár olmmoš, gii lea sohka dahje hui ustit leamaš eallinaga, de dat lea ustit velnai. Ja de galgá oastit vuohččan silkibátti golmma goartila guhku. Ja go boahtá jámeha lusa, de galgá rahpat, ja de galgá jodaldahttit dan silkibátti guovtte guvlui njálmmi badjel ja de gal-

gá váldit sallii ja jorgalit golmma geardde birralis vuostebeaivái ja dadjat: “Don galggat veahkehit mu álo, go mun čurven du nama.” Ja de galgá fas bidjat jur seammalágáš go lea leamaš. Ja de lea dat ožžon dan virggi. Muhto dat galgá dahkot dan bargu jur gaskaija áigge (v, 22).

[‘If someone has newly died who was a relative or a very good friend while alive, that one will still be a good friend. And first one must buy a silk band three half-feet long. And when one comes to the place of the dead person, one must open [the casket] and run the silken band through the lips in both directions and take him in your arms and turn him three times in the direction counter to the sun and say: “You must help me whenever I call your name.” And then you must place it back exactly as it was. And then it has gotten that duty. But this one must do right at midnight.’]

If a close friend or relative had not died recently, the vindictive person seeking ghostly assistance could go to the cemetery and gather spirits of the dead there (vi, 22 f.). Such assistants seem to be available to any who wish to indulge in ill will toward others, and in Turi’s case studies, we read of a number of seemingly ordinary Sami who nonetheless choose to dispatch spirits against one another, usually after romantic or economic conflicts.

More powerful and dangerous, however, were the spirits sent by an accomplished *olles noaidi* [‘fullblown *noaidi*’]. Such an individual was no temporary dabbler in ill will; rather, he or she had undergone an elaborate clandestine ceremony to gain demonic assistants in life, agreeing to eternal damnation in return. Turi describes the initiation ritual of the *olles noaidi* as follows:

Dat ollesnoaidegoansta lea dakkár, ahte son dahká ná: son bidjá rámmáha gopmut čippiid vuollái ja de vuordnu iežas eret Ipmilis ja birui lohpidá iežas sielu maŋŋil jápmima, go biru dahká visot, maid son sihtá. Ja de dat šaddá dat rievttis noaidi, ja dat ii galle beasa šat goasge rist-tahassan... (ix, 24).

[‘The fullblown *noaidi* art is such that he/she does thus: he/she puts the Bible face down beneath his/her knees and swears him/herself away from God and promises his/her own soul to the devil after death, if the devil will do all that he/she desires. And then he/she becomes a true *noaidi* and can never again become a baptized person...’]

Crucially, such *noaidit* employ the aid of demons—*birot*—who follow the *noaidi*’s commands. In passage xii (25 f.), Turi describes these beings as *biro engelat* [‘angels of the demon’] and notes that they can either travel in the company of birds, particularly ravens, or move across the landscape alone

in human form. When they reach the person against whom they have been set, they cling to their victim fiercely. Only the victim's lack of fear or ritual acts of expulsion can drive the spirits away once they have located their unlucky quarry. Such expulsion, is, however, as Turi notes, fairly easy to effect: "muhto daid lea geahppat jorgilit eret" ['but these are easy to turn away']. Alternatively, an *oahppan noaidi* ['learned *noaidi*'] can go to a churchyard at night and summon spirits from their graves to direct at a victim (vii, 23). The spirits are brought forth by a formula that mentions both Adam and the *noaidi*'s own mother and can rise like a fog from their graves. These spirits can either torment or kill the victim, depending on the *noaidi*'s directions. Turi notes that such *noaiddit* needed to have all their teeth to be in full control of their spirits. Such was typical of Sami belief and finds parallel in Finnish tradition regarding the *tietäjä* ['knower; shaman'] as well. In the case studies presented at the end of this paper, we will see the effects of such supernatural assault in the form of sickness, insanity, or lack of calm. Thus, unexplained serious disease as well as various mental or emotional breakdowns could easily be attributed to shamanic aggression, either by an experienced *noaidi* (possibly hired by someone else) or by an ill-willed non-*noaidi* who desired revenge enough to undertake some variety of ghost sending.

Once one suspected such underhanded aggression, the afflicted person or his/her family could respond in a variety of ways. The most usual solution was to consult someone with *noaidi* skills—either a fullblown *olles noaidi* or someone with a smattering of *noaidi* learning—and ask that third party to diagnose and handle the problem. Turi describes the *noaidi*'s diagnostic process. The *noaidi* required a bottle of liquor, in which to see the hidden elements of the victim's life (xi, 25). If the *noaidi* determined that the person was suffering from spirit assaults, he could take action to drive the spirits away (xi, 25). In the case study of Ingá of Čohkkeras (Case 2 below), we read of an old maid who is able to see and pursue such spirits, and Turi writes of another acquaintance of his, Bávllos-Ingá, who is also able to see and dispatch encroaching entities (xl, 43 f.).

Such *noaiddit* and other individuals with some degree of *noaidi* skills were not the only possible sources of assistance, however. Turi notes that help could be sought from *Ipmilis noaiddit* ['God's *noaiddit*']—healers with strong faith in God and the ability to banish or control ghosts as a result. Such individuals easily trump the working of ordinary *noaiddit* as well as the ill-willed curses of mean-spirited individuals. Writes Turi:

Dat galgá dakkár, gii lea Ibmilis noaidi dahje dahká Ipmila vuimmiin. Ja dat hupmá dalle amas gielain, ja son lea maid dalle dego juhkan: son lea

likkuhusain ja son oaidná dalle visot noaidebijagiid, ja son galle bihtá, vaikko livččii man gievrras noaidit bidjan, dat mat leat biro vuimmiin bidjan (xi, 25).

[‘It must be one who is a *noaidi* of God, or by God’s power. And that one speaks in a strange language and acts as if drunk, being moved by the spirit, and he/she sees all the spells of the *noaidi*, and prevails over them, no matter how powerful the *noaidit* who sent them, those who cast the demon spells.’]

So too, truly faithful and fervent Christians are largely immune to such aggression, which could only work upon people of weaker faith and more compromised morals (xiii, 26). And Christian healers that employ more traditional *noaidi* techniques in order to cure diseases run the risk of their efforts failing if they are even reminded of their Christian identity (lv, 67). Turi’s description of the Christian *noaidi* séance above apparently refers to the dramatic speaking in tongues and other spiritual experiences characteristic of Læstadian Christianity of his time and locale. In his confidence in the Christian healer’s superiority over the pre-Christian (read as demonic) workings of the traditional *noaidi*, Turi displays a viewpoint similar to that described by Robert Paine of coastal Sami during the early 1950s (Paine 1994). As in Paine’s accounts, Turi depicts a world in which Christian healing is locked in competition with a more widespread but ultimately inferior non-Christian healing, exemplified by the traditional *noaidi* and various lax Christians who dabble in *noaidi* arts.

Two final sources of help in cases of supernatural aggression lay in consulting Finnish healers or Swedish doctors. Turi describes occasions during which Sami of his locale availed themselves of these practitioners, sometimes with considerable success. The frequency and extensiveness of Finnish materials in Turi’s own healing repertoire attest to the popularity of Finnish healers in particular. In some of the case studies presented below, these figures do indeed prove effective, but it is clear that—especially in the case of Finnish *tietäjät*—there are many charlatans as well, and such assistance can sometimes worsen rather than improve a situation.

Love Spells

In discussing curses related to romantic conflicts, Turi not only describes a number of specific cases of jiltings or snubs that result in diminished health or welfare for a family, but also describes some of the magic that individuals could use to attempt to secure the love of another. These love spells were generally performed by the would-be lover and were shared widely between the Finnish and Sami communities. Turi refers to the use of such spells as

beallenoaidegoansta, that is, a matter of “half-noaidi magic.” These procedures do not involve calling on helping spirits or using any drumming or trance induction, but instead primarily hinge on manipulation of bodily excretions performed in conjunction with magic formulas, incantations. This arsenal of magic is closely linked in Turi’s experience with Finnish practitioners, as the examples below illustrate.

The methods Turi outlines for romantic compulsion all involve the person (the perpetrator) who desires the love of another mixing elements or secretions from his or her own body with food or drink to be served to the object of affection (i.e., the victim). A perpetrator could place some personal blood (specifically three drops) in red wine, bread or other food or drink, and then serve it to the victim. Alternatively, the perpetrator could place a rusk (Turi uses the Finnish term for such rusks, *korppuleipä*, rendered in North Sami as *gorpuláibi*) or sugar cube in an armpit to soak up sweat and then give that to the victim to consume. A third method consisted of scraping skin cells from the bottom of one’s foot into food served to the victim. With this last method—and apparently with all three procedures—an incantation was to be recited:

Don galggat leat munnje nu buorre,
Dego Márjá lei Jesusii
Eallima loahpa rádjái (xvi, 28).

[‘You must be as good to me
as Mary was to Jesus
unto the end of life.’]

Turi informed Demant-Hatt that these words were translated from Finnish (fn 21, 175).

These methods have clear parallels in Finnish magic traditions. An informant from Siikainen reported in 1889 that one could extract blood from one’s ring finger for such magic uses: the right hand if the victim is a man, the left if the victim is a woman. The blood is to be added to alcohol or allowed to soak into a sugar cube, which would then be served to the victim along with the incantation “Seuraa mua, niinkuin piru kahtatoista lautamiestä” [‘Follow me, just like a demon after twelve jurymen’] (SKVR 10(2): 4944). The informant’s simile is decidedly less pious than the one Turi cites, but nonetheless conveys the same message: the victim is to become fervently attentive toward the perpetrator ever after. The Siikainen informant describes such a process of awakening attraction as “being fed” (*syötetään*), reflecting the centrality of ingestion in this method of bewitchment. Other informants from the region, however, used the verbs *suostua* and *suostutella*

with the meanings ‘to convince, to entice’ (e.g., SKVR 10(2): 4946, 4945a). These words appear close to the North Sami verb *sustuhit* which Turi uses, and its passive form *sustahuvvun*. Konrad Nielsen and Asbjørn Nesheim (1932–1962) relate these in their dictionary to the more common *suostotit*, ‘to cause someone to love or follow one through magic.’ In a Finnish account which uses the form *suostutella*, collected in Tyrvää in 1903, a girl wishing to entice a suitor is advised to prick her finger and deposit droplets of blood into a mug of beer which she is then to serve to the victim, again closely paralleling Turi’s advice (SKVR 10(2): 4945a). Blood for such procedures could also sometimes come from menstrual flow (SKVR 10(2): 4953) or blood drawn before the cuckoo has had a chance to call (SKVR 10(2): 4952). It could also be deposited surreptitiously on the victim’s clothing to achieve the same effect (SKVR 10(2): 4951).

An informant from Hämeenkyrö named Kustaa, aged eighty at the time of interview in 1906, described a strategy for love inducement similar to Turi’s second method. The perpetrator should place three sugar cubes in her armpit, twisting these nine times while reciting: “Sinun pitää rakastaman [sic] niin kuin minä rakastan sinua” [‘You must fall in love just as I love you’] (SKVR 10(2): 4949). The sugar cubes could then be served to the victim in coffee or tea.

And although the Finnish anthology contains no examples exactly parallel to Turi’s advice regarding foot skin cells, this same Kustaa recommended that a girl wishing to bewitch a boy pick up shavings from where the boy had walked and recite an incantation over them to compel the boy to follow her in the future (SKVR 10(2): 4950). It is evident from these parallels, then, that Turi’s love magic was derived to a considerable degree from that of his Finnish neighbors. It had arrived in North Sami practice either having displaced earlier Sami magical procedures for the same tasks or as a novel import for a need not previously met with or addressed in Sami magic. Turi notes that the methods he describes can be used by both men and women, and that, although they can be effective, they seldom truly work unless the victim already has some romantic interest in the perpetrator. And indeed, Turi warns, a marriage resulting from magically-induced romance seldom proves happy in the long run: “Muhto de lea fas nu, ahte dat bárat, mat leat sustuhuvvun, de dat šaddet riidát, sis nohká ráhkisvuohta” [‘But it is so that these pairs which were magically enticed begin to quarrel, their love comes to an end’] (xvi, 28). It is possible that such magic arrived in Sami culture of the area in response to changes in Sami courtship practices. Where previous Sami matches might be made between a family and established trading partners or well-known counterparts in the local or regional economy, the romantic world that Turi depicts in his various stories in *Sámi deavsttat*

is one in which individuals seem to enjoy wide sanction to play the field, courting more than one person before finally settling on a marriage partner. These marriages occasionally crossed national and ethnic lines, and they involved reindeer Sami with many potential partners of different livelihoods. In a context in which Sami and agrarian Finns in particular were intermarrying with some frequency, such lore must have held particular resonance as an explanation of why certain couples formed or as a stratagem in actual courtship. This sense of suspicion concerning inter-ethnic marriage accords well with what Copp  lie Cocq (2008) has shown regarding images of exogamy in North Sami legends from this same period. Anxieties concerning the difficulties of maintaining a Sami community in a context of widespread out-marriage must have been a prevalent concern of the day, Cocq posits. Further, regardless of the ethnic make-up of the resulting couples, marriages could always be suspected to have been instigated by clandestine magic if they eventually ended in hostility. Hindsight always could reveal what the blind romance of the moment—or the deceptive magic of the imposed spell—tended to obscure. Turi provides an example in his account of a couple in Finland who had become married after the woman’s love magic (xlvi, 70). The marriage soured, and the woman traveled to Norway to procure a *noaidi*’s help to send spirits to beset her husband. The husband was dogged for some time by a raven dressed in boots, but the spirits were eventually driven away by Turi’s *noaidi* colleague, B  vll  s-Ing  . The couple separated thereafter, and the man—aided by B  vll  s-Ing  —grew healthy and rich, while his wife became so poor that she was reduced to begging.

Of the methods of magically stealing the reindeer of others Turi gives no further details apart from noting that it is very difficult (xiii, 26). Nonetheless, in the case studies below, we will see that such magical aggression was purportedly widespread in Turi’s time and could also lead to other forms of hardship for an individual or family, such as wider misfortune, untimely death, or sicknesses of various kinds. Where love magic could be described as *beallenoaidigoansta* [‘half-noaidi magic’] and was apparently regarded as regrettable but expectable among love-struck youths, magical reindeer theft is granted no such leniency in Turi’s text. Indeed, for Turi—as we shall see in the case studies—few crimes seem as heinous. For whereas aggressive magic aimed at an individual could destroy that individual’s life or welfare, reindeer theft threatened the entire family, jeopardizing their survival in the future.

Case Studies

Although most of what we have examined so far is presented in *S  mi deavsttat* through short, itemized notes, Demant-Hatt printed longer accounts

of individuals' experiences as case studies in the second part of the book. These accounts often illustrate the concepts described above, while also depicting the process of diagnosis and hierarchy of resort engaged in by Sami of Turi's locale. Turi is often explicit about whether his neighbors acted with prudence or not in their handling of health issues, offering us valuable evidence regarding Turi's understandings of the proper ways to maintain health and prosperity in his world. Below I detail four such case studies from *Sámi deavsttat*.

Case 1. Raži-Girsti

The first case study we shall examine here is Turi's account of Raži-Girsti. Whereas most of Turi's longer accounts of *noaidi* magic follow a victim and family over the course of their misfortunes, Turi presents Raži-Girsti as herself a perpetrator of supernatural aggression toward others. His narrative recounts the process by which the community became aware of the mechanism of Raži-Girsti's evil acts and the precautions people have taken against her since then. He begins his account thus:

Das lea gullon, ahte lea adnán dakkár noaidegoansttaid, maid eai jur riehta olbmot dieđe, muhto dan gal dihtet olus, ahte son lea goddán ollu olbmuid, muhto in dieđe jur vissásit, got dat lea álgu dan ásijis ja manne dat lea dan dahkan, muhto dat goit dihtto, ahte dat lea goddinvašši olbmuid dan olbmus, gii dahká olmoš-goddin-goansttaid dahje adná. Ja vuohččan lea gullon, ahte son lea váldán boares jámet-báikkis dahje girku-gárddis muolddu dahje sáddo, ja dat lea de gullon, ahte dat lea dakkár, ahte galgá juohke guovtte jagi sisa mañimustá goddit olbmo. Ja dat lea gal lea gullon, ahte son lea goddán dávjá olbmuid (xlvi, 54).

[‘Of her one hears tell that she has made use of that kind of *noaidi* arts that people don’t know many details about, but they know rightly enough that she has killed many people. But I do not know exactly how this all began and why she has done this, but it is known that there is murderous hatred towards other people in a person who uses or causes to be used such lethal arts. And often one has heard tell that she has taken soil or sand from an old place of death or churchyard, and one has heard tell that she is that kind [of *noaidi*] who must kill a person at least every two years. And indeed one has heard tell that she has often killed people.’]

From this vague and ominous beginning, full of impersonal constructions such as *dat lea gullon* [‘one has heard tell’] and leaving much of the background of the woman’s situation unexplained, Turi proceeds to concrete detail. He recalls people’s discovery of a strange bottle in the vicinity of a mi-

grating community of reindeer Sami. The bottle was filled with something that seemed to be alive and which gave off a terrible odor. The young girl who discovered it grew immediately ill when she breathed in its vapors, and the community had to give her strong *dálkkasat* ['medicine'] to bring her back to health. They took the bottle and burned it, witnessing the strange sounds that proceeded from it in the fire. After that, the pattern of murder seems to have subsided, until one of the community noticed Raži-Girsti engaged in a further clandestine activity:

Ja dat lea okta oidnon [dahje] gávdnan, go ovttá jámeheis lei njálmmis váldime váiga-čázi lássii. Ja dan rájes lea ožžojuvvon diehtu, ahte váiga-čáziin son goddá. Ii son dárbbas ieža go goaikalii dan lásis sohkar-binná nala, de lei válmmas; jos dat olmmoš dan sohkkara borrá gáffiin, de gal jápmá. Ja dat lei hui árvvas; son attii gaffe olbmuide, go bohte gohtái. Ja in dal muitté nammalássii olbmuid, geaid dat lea goddán, muhto dan mon muittán, ahte guokte boatnji son lea alldes sorbmen ja ovttá bártnei. Ja maŋit boatnji son gottii nu fastit, ahte čalbmi bulljihii olggos jámidettiin (xlvi, 55).

[‘And it was seen or discovered once that she was removing corpse fluid from a dead person’s mouth into a glass. And from that time on, it has been known that she kills by corpse fluid. She need only pour a little out of this glass onto a sugar cube and she is ready. If a person eats that sugar with coffee, he/she will definitely die. And she was very generous: she gave coffee to people when they came into her *goahti*. And I don’t remember the names of the people she killed, but I do remember that she has murdered two husbands and one son. And the latter husband she killed so horribly that one of his eyes popped out as he died.’]

Turi notes that some folk have survived her poison when they have been given medicine that causes them to vomit right away: medicine prepared by a Sami who was *veaháš diehtti* [‘somewhat a *diehtti* healer’]. Although produced and administered by a traditional healer, Turi uses the same word (*dálkkasat*) that he uses for remedies prescribed by official doctors. Turi notes in closing that Raži-Girsti has taught her art to her daughter, but is estranged from her remaining son, who refuses to live with her out of fear of being killed himself. Turi adds ominously: “Ja dál in dieđe, velgo son eallá vai ii” [‘And now I don’t know if she is still alive or not’] (55). Like many another member of the local community, he seems to have wanted to keep his distance from this apparently dangerous and much feared woman.

It is noteworthy that under other circumstances, one might easily imagine Raži-Girsti as the victim of someone else’s supernatural aggression. She loses two husbands and a son to a mysterious death, and she seems supremely unlucky in her familial relations. She does not appear to be partic-

ularly difficult toward her neighbors; in fact, Turi notes that she is notably generous when folk come to her *gohti*. Yet, rather than garnering sympathy, Raži-Girsti seems to attract suspicion. Perhaps because of the very magnitude of her misfortune, she is suspected of having attacked and murdered her family members herself. The local community's description of her arsenal of malevolent devices—a bottle apparently containing evil spirits, life essence drained from a corpse—reflects local understandings of clandestine shamanic substances. That these are counteracted by other “medicines” produced by local healers indicates an ongoing and productive tradition of shamanic medicinal healing in early twentieth-century Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi, a tradition that folk seem to have accessed more immediately and more readily than anything associated with the official doctoring offered in nearby settlements.

Case 2. Inggá of Čohkkeras/Jukkasjärvi

In passage xlv (46–50), Turi presents a different case study: one following the health challenges and history of a wealthy local woman and her family. At the outset of the narrative, Turi outlines the basic sociological background of the situation: migrating reindeer Sami from Čohkkeras regularly cross the border with their herds to spend part of the year in Norway, where they may well meet and become romantically involved with non-migrating (settled) Norwegian Sami. Such is the case with the wealthy young woman Inggá. Inggá falls in love with an unnamed Norwegian Sami man and remains in Norway with him after her family returns to Sweden with their herds at the end of summer. As Turi writes: “soai dagaiga náittoslihtuid, ja nieida orui dálvvi dan irggis luhtte” [‘the two of them became engaged to be married and the girl spent the winter at her bridegroom’s home’] (47). The seriousness of this commitment, however, appears completely undone a few lines later, when the girl abandons the bridegroom the following spring, spending the summer in her family’s company and returning to Sweden with them in the fall. The grounds for this separation are not specified in the account, but it may be that the girl changed her mind about her beau or his settled lifestyle after the experience of living in Norway with him for the winter. Alternatively, the girl’s parents may have found the suitor unworthy of their daughter, whose wealth and status are emphasized at the outset of the tale. Whatever the case, during the very winter of her return to Sweden, Inggá marries a local Sami from Čohkkeras in a wedding nearly prevented by an abnormally powerful torrential rainstorm, a hint of the supernatural repercussions that are to follow.

In this story, as in other accounts in Turi’s text, particular significance is attached to the image of Norway. One needs to be careful when dealing

with Norwegian Sami, and jilting such a beau is likely to have supernatural ramifications. As we shall see, Norway is often the place Čohkkeras Sami go to when they need the assistance of a substantial *noaidi*; the knowledge and competence of local Čohkkeras Sami appear far less in comparison with these impressive healers or cursers to the north. At the same time, the very efficacy of Norwegian *noaidit* makes them figures to fear in the Čohkkeras community, and local Sami seem to attribute many downturns in personal fortune to association with Sami from the Norwegian side. It is noteworthy that Turi himself had come from Norway as a child: he never quite identifies totally with the Čohkkeras community, whom he describes to one extent or another from an outsider's perspective. Given that Turi's grandfather was a noted healer and his father also respected as a Christian healer (see below), this image of the Norwegian *noaidi* must have held particular significance, and potentially some poignancy, for Turi.

In the account that Turi writes about this apparently fickle Čohkkeras bride, the ambiguities of the girl's winter sojourn in Norway soon become the basis of an open conflict. The newly married couple arrives in Norway in the spring and are confronted by the angry former suitor who accuses his Swedish counterpart of having stolen his wife. The Swedish Sami husband states that he had not known about the situation before, and the two men come to terms through the payment of compensation. When the Norwegian suitor requests one further reindeer hide as part of the settlement, however, Inggá intervenes, slapping him with the skin and preventing her husband from completing the compensation. Her aggression toward her former lover seems to indicate that their relation had not ended peaceably, and the former suitor, humiliated and dissatisfied, returns to Norway empty-handed. The Swedish Sami husband, on the other hand, can be seen to face issues of his own, as his wife and in-laws neglected to tell him of Inggá's prior marital alliance and intentions, a grievous impropriety at the opening of the twentieth century.

That next winter, the Swedish husband begins to experience supernatural assault by spirits. People can see that he is choking, but only an old maid with some knowledge of *noaidi* arts (*noaiddes-lágáš*, 'nearly noaidi') can actually see the spirits that are attacking. Lifting up her skirts over her back end and making use of the inherent power of her old maid odor, she chases the unseen spirits away, pursuing them all over the tent until they flee in the form of a reindeer herd and flock of birds. She pursues them even further until they are chased beyond a watershed, from which they cannot easily return, as Turi notes in his discussion of demonic angels (xii, 25 f.). The process takes the woman a full night and a day, and although she is successful in her efforts, she does not seem to garner much gratitude or notice from

the family. Turi writes:

Muhto de eai goitge lean guhká ovdalgo fas bohte. Ja gal dat lei ain jor-galit, jos dat livčče sihtan—de lei oažžut buorit vuoiimme; muhto olbmot eai dádjadan sihtat. Ja de fas bohte ja godde eret (xliv, 48).

[‘It did not last long, however, until [the spirits] came back. And she would have driven them out again, if they had asked—she would get better powers; but they did not know to ask. And at length they [the spirits] came back and killed him.’]

At this point, it is clear that the complexities of the changing world of Turi’s day have had their hand in creating this problem. The sociological issue of settled vs. migratory life seems to have contributed to the romantic quarrel, while the bride and her family evince an arrogance born of ignorance of the potential dangers of humiliating or otherwise injuring the feelings of other people. *Noaidi* defensive magic when offered goes hardly noticed, even when it is effective (as in the case of the helpful old maid), and spirits are permitted to return and murder as a result. Supernatural techniques that could have resulted in a strengthened local defense against magical assault are allowed to fail: the intended victim is killed while the family neglects to safeguard his health, and a further decline in the family’s fortunes is made inevitable. The immediate cause of the family’s misfortune is almost certainly a curse performed or paid for by the jilted lover, one which is successful because of the foolishness and arrogance of the wealthy family itself.

From here, the negative effects of these events begin to take their toll directly on Iŋgá. After the birth of a child—a son—she becomes insane, and travels to Norway where she finds some *noaidit* who are successful in clearing her mind, at least part of the time. She marries a second (third) husband named Nihkaš-Ándaras, whose origins remain unclear although he is described as an inveterate reindeer thief who marks the reindeer of his stepchildren with his own mark in order to swindle them out of their inheritance. Iŋgá’s insanity seems to leave her altogether at the time that her son reaches adulthood. But, just at that moment, her son falls ill and dies of mysterious causes, his body showing signs of strangulation. Here, as noted above, the Sami fear of contagion comes into play, as the family struggles to find someone willing to nurse the young man in his final days. Writes Turi: “Ja de dat gal lei surgat maid oaidnit, ja eai olbmot duostan guoskkahit go jur roahkkadeamus vehá. Ja ii son eallán go vahkku, de jámii” [‘It was pathetic to see him so, and people did not dare to touch him, except for the bravest who did so a little. And he didn’t live more than a week before he died’] (xliv, 48).

With his stepson dead, Nihkaš-Ándaras now invites his brother’s son

Unna Jounaš to come work with him, schooling his nephew in the underhanded practice of falsifying ear marks so as to steal others' reindeer. Unna Jounaš soon turns the table on his uncle, stealing reindeer from him, although, Turi notes, Nihkaš-Ándaras never seemed to grow less wealthy, a sign either of his sustained reindeer theft or the supernatural assistance he is receiving from a clandestine relationship with spirit helpers. Given that reindeer theft was a major motive for shamanic activities, as Turi notes, these two possible explanations may be related.

Now Nihkaš-Ándaras's daughter Ristina comes of age, and Unna Jounaš begins to court her. The cousins are clearly interested in each other, and the marriage deal is brokered by a well-known settled farmer named Liddu-Jussa who is said to often fill this role for migrating Sami. Despite these efforts, however, Ingá and Nihkaš-Ándaras refuse their nephew's offer, regarding him as not wealthy enough for their daughter. Turi notes that the parents regarded Ristina as so valuable a catch that scarcely any suitor would prove adequate. As if in retaliation for this act of pride, the parents soon witness their daughter's rapid slide into insanity, Turi noting wryly "ja de gal veaháš hálbui dat divrras nieida" ['and then the price of that valuable girl certainly fell'] (49). Nihkaš-Ándaras is compelled to seek (expensive) help from *noaidit* in Norway and faces difficulty in finding anyone willing to accompany his daughter there, except for one (presumably Unna Jounaš) whose intentions he distrusts, and another, whose unreliability regarding money makes him an equally unsuitable candidate. At last Nihkaš-Ándaras takes Ristina to Norway himself.

In Norway, Nihkaš-Ándaras brings his daughter to a Sami *noaidi*, whose initial help he pays for. The *noaidi* warns him that the girl will have to come to see him again for further treatment. Once they have left this *noaidi*'s home, however, Nihkaš-Ándaras and his daughter come upon a Finnish healer who offers to heal her, presumably for a better price. The men agree and Nihkaš-Ándaras pays the Finn, whose treatments, however, prove completely ineffectual. In the meantime, the Sami *noaidi* has become aware of Nihkaš-Ándaras's outside consultation, and angered at his client's attempted evasion of paying him any further, prophecies that Nihkaš-Ándaras will have to consult other doctors since he seems to have plenty of money to do so.

A year later, after fruitlessly searching for another *noaidi* who can help, Nihkaš-Ándaras returns to the original *noaidi* with his daughter. He pays him somewhat more and she improves somewhat as well. Turi notes that the *noaidi* did not need the money but was in the custom of receiving the money that patients offered: the willing payment is pre-

sumably a sign of both respect and belief in the efficacy of the treatment, important elements for the success of the procedure.

Since none will marry the insane Ristina, Nihkaš-Ándaras is forced to try to hire men to impregnate her, hoping that pregnancy will clear her mind. Due to the Sami aversion to contagion, however, he finds no takers. As the girl's younger sister dies unexpectedly, the family is left with an unmarriageable insane daughter and few prospects for a worthy son-in-law. Finally, Turi ends his tale with the family's most recent attempts at salvaging the situation:

Ja de fas Vazáš doaktára luhtte lei ovttá dálvvi dat boarráset nieida, ja de gulustuvai nu, ahte doavttir lei gohččon náitalit. Ja de soamis geafes nuorra bárdni válddii ja náitalii. Ja de lei veaháš áigge čielggas, ja de fas bieđđalii. Ja de fas manai Norggas ohcame ábu. Ja de lea jur boahtán dobbe ruoktot dál, ja de in dál dieđe, čielgágo vai ii (50).

[‘The older daughter spent one winter in Vittangi at the home of the doctor there, and it has been said that the doctor told her to marry. And then some poor young boy took her and married her. And for a little while she was clear-headed, and then she became mixed up again. And then she went to Norway searching for help. And now she has just recently come back home, and I don’t know whether she’s clear-headed or not.’]

In Turi's account, two major symptoms repeatedly plague the family in question. Men of the family seem to experience invisible strangulation, while women grow insane. The causes of the problem appear to originate with Ingá's overbearing pride at her family's considerable wealth. It is noteworthy here that a Čohkkeras herding family appears markedly higher in terms of both status and property than a settled Sami in Norway and this situation passes without any comment from Turi. Turi himself grew up in Gárasavvon/Karesuando, but his family had migrated there from Norway and he often describes a marked cultural rift and ill will lingering between Swedish Sami herding communities and the newcomer Norwegians. In Turi's rendering, Norway is the home of real *noaidi* expertise, while Čohkkeras—his home from his twenties on—possesses only people with smatterings of *noaidi* skills, such as the old maid who attempts to drive the ghosts away from Ingá's first husband. Crucially, the Čohkkeras Sami do not seem as familiar with *noaidi* protocol, as they repeatedly insult or disregard Norwegians with *noaidi* skills, aggravating their already difficult family crises. Reindeer theft appears rampant among these wealthy families, and Nihkaš-Ándaras manages to gain entry into the family and maintain status in the community despite his obvious misdeeds in this arena. An official healer, the Vittangi

doctor, is also consulted somewhat late in the game, but the family seems to flit back and forth between this source of healing and the *noaidi* arts they so poorly understand in Norway. The family makes no reported use of religious healing in any way.

Case 3. *Stuora Biehtár*

Turi presents a very different tale about *Stuora Biehtár* ['Big Peter'] (xlv, 51–53). Here again, we find a family that tries a variety of means in order to attempt to heal their leader. Although they too are unsuccessful, their experiences help map further avenues of resort open to the sick and the desperate of Turi's day. At the beginning of the tale, *Stuora Biehtár* is a wealthy man with a large herd, three sons, and three daughters. He faces, however, constant depredation of his herd by thieves and wolves. Such misfortunes, as we have seen, could be often attributed to *noaidi* magic, but Turi notes that *Stuora Biehtár* was so stingy that he didn't know what to do when so oppressed. Presumably, *Stuora Biehtár* should have obtained competent help from a Sami *noaidi*, perhaps one in Norway; instead, he heeds the offer of a Finnish itinerant (*golgi*, 'tramp') who offers him help at a lower price: "ja de vuvddii oktii *Stuora Biehtárr*i olles noaide-vuoimmi, nu ahte ii galgan dan bohccu heavahit ii suola iige návdi. Dat lei gullon, ahte son vuvdii girkomuolddu ja jámeha bániid" ['he sold *Stuora Biehtár* some fullblown *noaidi* power so that neither thieves nor wolves should be able to destroy his reindeer. It is said that he sold him churchyard soil and the teeth of some dead people'] (51). As with the Finn of the previous tale, this tramp proves less than satisfactory, and his assistance soon begins to destroy *Stuora Biehtár*'s family. In a note supplied by Demant-Hatt but clearly informed by Turi's own explanations, the situation is glossed for us: *Stuora Biehtár* has purchased powerful spirit helpers, but lacks the incantations and knowledge necessary to control them. Since such spirits are prone to act once summoned, *Stuora Biehtár*'s lack of competence in this area proves his downfall (fn 62, 178). The spirits soon begin to cause illness to *Stuora Biehtár*'s sons, and two of them die of unknown causes. *Stuora Biehtár* himself then dies and becomes a haunting presence that further worsens the family's situation. After his death, the family finds the small bag of churchyard soil and teeth that *Stuora Biehtár* had secretly purchased, a bag similar in form and content to that which Finnish *tietäjät* sometimes used in their magic (Sihvo 1986: 6–11). Before they have decided what to do with this occult paraphernalia, however, another family member, *Anni-Biehtár*, takes the bag and hides it again, apparently for his own use.

Next, *Stuora Biehtár*'s oldest daughter grows insane, a fact that little helps her ugly appearance, dirty ways, and talkative manner. The family

looks for people to heal the sister, and soon they approach the former girlfriend of one of the deceased sons: a woman who Turi describes as *noaiddes-lágáš* ['nearly *noaidi*']. They also approach Turi as well, who had once courted one of the family's younger daughters but been rejected by her. Both the woman and Turi were known as possible *noaidit*, and although both had reasons to dislike the family, the family nonetheless prevailed upon them to attempt a healing. Turi bleeds the woman and has to sleep next to her in the tent, blocking the spirits from coming through the tent wall and entering the woman in her sleep. The next day the family tries to convince Turi to carry the bag with soil and teeth back to Vittangi churchyard, but the insane sister says that Anni-Biehtár should do the job. Anni-Biehtár does so, and receives help in Vittangi from a Finnish healer named Huru, who prevents the spirits from bearing Anni-Biehtár away in their fury. After Anni-Biehtár returns home safely, the sister's condition begins to improve, and Turi receives what he regards as a rather ungenerous payment for his role in the healing. Turi recounts a number of prophecies that the older sister made during her insanity, all of which came true, including Turi's own estrangement from the family and her sister Sanna's eventual impoverishment. Since Sanna concealed part of her father's inheritance at the time of his death, she was fated to grow poor and to die without marrying.

In this account, we see similar problems and similar solutions for the family in question. They too suffer a combined assault of reindeer depredation, fatal male illness, and protracted female insanity. As in the previous case, Stuora Biehtár's initial situation is aggravated by foolish and poorly-informed actions on the part of Stuora Biehtár himself. Rather than paying for a worthy *noaidi* to put a halt to the clandestine reindeer theft, he asks for help from an itinerant Finnish healer. The Finn's magic proves powerful, as does that of the tale's later Finn Huru, who is successful in banishing the helping spirits once they are no longer wanted. But Stuora Biehtár has not learned the incantations and gained the supernatural *gravitas* necessary to subdue and direct the spirits as he wills. Without proper leadership, the spirits begin to plague Stuora Biehtár's own family, destroying the lives of his sons and driving one of the daughters insane. After the spirits succeed in killing Stuora Biehtár as well, the family realizes that they need *noaidi* assistance, and they turn to two local people whom they believe possess the requisite skills to accomplish the task. The former girlfriend and Turi do indeed manage to improve the oldest sister's condition, but it is the disposal of the purchased bag of power and the successful banishment of the spirits it contained that allow the family to regain some measure of normalcy. These events occur at the Christian churchyard of Vittangi, the same place where the insane daughter of the last account—Ristina—went to consult a doctor.

It is, in other words, a center of official power, a place of seeming finality, where a family can make a last-ditch effort at regaining health for the ill family member. In the case of Ristina, of course, the outcome of the therapy at Vittangi remains unclear at the time of Turi's writing, and Ristina does not seem to put her hope only in the Western doctor's treatment and her new husband. In the case of Stuora Biehtár's children, they do seem to have gained permanent respite from their journey to Vittangi, but only thanks to the helpful intervention of the Finn Huru, whose powers over the spirits mirrors and undoes the powers of the earlier Finn who had provided Stuora Biehtár with the bag. In both cases, considerable reindeer wealth goes unclaimed in the next generation due to each family's inability to recruit and sustain viable marriage partners for the next generation. Worthy suitors are squandered, like the original settled Norwegian of the first tale or, in the second, like Turi himself and the jilted girlfriend—who had, in fact, become pregnant with her boyfriend's child before being rejected. On the other hand, completely unsuitable matches are accepted: Inggá marries a known reindeer thief, and the family tries to pay men to impregnate their insane daughter. The foolishness of these families in terms of wise and constructive social acts is mirrored by their incompetence in reading and negotiating with the supernatural world. And in both cases, the results are devastating to the family's well-being.

Case 4. Unna Dommusas

A final story illustrates a further set of healing options for people of Turi's era and area: recourse to Christian healing (xlvi, 55–58). Although Turi figures personally in this tale as well, the healing does not prove successful in the end and indeed, the events related have grievous repercussions for Turi personally. Unna Dommusas ['Little Tom'] is a rich but guileless Sami, who, like Turi's family, had relocated to Čohkkeras after originally living near Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, Norway. His lands lie along a major herd migration route, which means that his animals often get swept away when another herder passes through the area on an annual migration. Such happens once with the herd of Njállá-Mihkkal ['Arctic Fox Michael'], a wealthy and unscrupulous herder of the area. When a large number of reindeer belonging to Unna Dommusas join into Njállá-Mihkkal's herd as it passes by, Unna Dommusas requests a *rátikka*: a round-up and division of the herd in which each owner will recognize his animals by means of their ear marks and divide them into separate corrals. Such work was labor intensive and irksome for migrating Sami, yet it was the only fair way to reverse the reindeer's own natural tendency to form aggregate herds when brought into proximity with each other. Njállá-Mihkkal refuses to undertake the *rátikka*,

essentially stealing the reindeer belonging to Unna Dommusaš that had joined his herd. Later, when Unna Dommusaš and neighbors seek to recover the missing reindeer at Njálla-Mihkkal's corrals, they find that the latter has changed the earmarks of the reindeer so that they appear to be his own. A slow legal battle is undertaken in Norway with the help of Turi's father Ovlla, who is proficient in Norwegian and Swedish and can thus represent the monolingual Unna Dommusaš in court. Eventually, Njálla-Mihkkal and Unna Dommusaš become reconciled at the annual coming together of Sami, held, again, at Vittangi. As Turi writes, however: "muhto Njálás lei goit suoli vašši" ['but Arctic Fox bore secret hatred'] (56). The term *vašši* here has, of course, shamanic overtones, suggesting the same sorts of "evils" that the various incantations we have looked at were intended to control, or the kind of hatred that motivates a woman like Raži-Girsti. This implication is confirmed when Turi notes: "ja son olbmuid jáhku mielde lei bijahan maŋi-lažžaid sutnje" ['and it was people's belief that he had set followers [spirits] after him'] (56).

In the aftermath of this secret curse, Unna Dommusaš's sister Unna Inggáš ['Little Inga'] becomes pregnant out of wedlock, a situation that is likely to cause her a very painful labor and delivery according to Sami belief of the time. Her pregnancy seems to be a hard one, and she must remain home at the *goahti* while others travel to the hills to participate in the fall roundup. Unna Dommusaš, for his part, becomes lost at round-up time and does not arrive at the corrals as expected. Turi and a companion join in the search for the older man, and stop by the *goahti* of Unna Inggáš to borrow a hymnbook, apparently to use in Christian *noaidi* countermagic. Unna Inggáš grows panicked when hearing that they want the hymnal and becomes even more ill than she had been. As a result, the family opts for a more serious form of aid: they send to Norway for the *noaidi* Rungu-Nihkke, who comes to the area and is successful in treating Unna Inggáš.

After nine days, when Unna Dommusaš has still not turned up, the family desperately asks Rungu-Nihkke to join in the search. He refuses, but consents to call out for Unna Dommusaš from the edge of camp, and the next day the latter returns at daybreak, confused and disoriented. People assume he had been kidnapped by the *ulddat*, the Sami equivalent of the broader Scandinavian *huldra* ['hidden people']. Dommusaš joins the Læstadian movement, and is alternately delighted by small singing birds or beset by raucous ravens, apparently curse-bearing messengers of the type Turi describes when detailing the methods of *noaidi* supernatural aggression. Unna Inggáš eventually recovers, but Unna Dommusaš never regains his health, dying nine days after his rediscovery. Turi ends his account with a poignant personal note:

Ja go lei jápmán, de vižže Ovllaš-vuorrassa, dahje čálli áhči. Ja go álge gárvvuhit, de dat áhččán oaččui galmma-hája ja álggii skihppát. Ja Dommus hávdáduvvui Lenesjávri lulle-geahčái dan guhkes njárgii. Ja dat njárga oaččui nama Dommus-njárga, ja das lea vel dálnai dat namma. Ja mu áhčči jámii deina vigiin, ja Iggá dearvvasnuvai goit dálvet easka riehta (58).

[‘And when he had died they sought out old Ovllaš, the writer’s father. And when he started to dress the corpse, my father caught wind of the corpse odor and grew ill. And Dommus was buried on the long headland at the south end of the lake Lenesjávri. And that headland became known as Dommus Headland and that is the name it goes by even today. And my father died of that ailment, and Iggá recovered fully only that winter.’]

Here, the corrosive effects of secret curses is again illustrated, this time attributed to an economic rival who had eventually reconciled with Unna Dommusaš, but who remained a suspect when ill fortune struck the family thereafter. Unna Dommusaš is not particularly observant as a Christian before the events, and indeed, his sister’s pregnancy is a sign of overall laxity regarding moral proprieties in the family. Nonetheless, Unna Dommusaš is portrayed as a kind and generous man, who asks only for fairness from the rapacious and self-centered Njállá-Mihkkal. In this tale, as in others in Turi’s repertoire, niceness does not necessarily translate into an unproblematic or blessed life. Instead, the gullible and the trusting can expose themselves to depredation, which in turn worsens as the aggressors and evil-doers press their advantage. In Turi’s world, a canny householder knows how to recognize and turn away antisocial acts at their very outset, regardless of whether they occur on the social or supernatural plane. To fail to do so opens the individual and the individual’s broader family to dangers of a greater kind.

In the case of Unna Dommusaš, the curse of the disgruntled rival manifests itself in a different manner than in the previous two cases: here, it is the man who seems to grow insane: losing his way for a total of ten days before reappearing, and displaying much nervous agitation ever after. Correspondingly, it is the female family member Unna Igggáš who experiences the life-threatening disease. The Turi family is depicted engaged in Christian aid, attempting to locate the missing Unna Dommusaš through use of the hymnbook and eventually agreeing to care for the deceased man’s corpse as an act of Christian charity. In accord with Sami fears of contagion, Ovlla dies as a result of his contact with Unna Dommusaš’s body and its deleterious smell. Thus, in this case, the power of the Christian *noaidi*—if either Johan or Ovlla can be regarded as exemplars—does not seem a match for the evils of a truly powerful curse or the dangers of a polluting cadaver.

Turi does not comment further on these failures, but they contrast with the evident success of the Norwegian *noaidi* Rungu-Nihkke or even Turi's own non-Christian healing of Stuurra Biehtár's daughter. In the world in which Turi lives, the real assistance comes from canny use of magic, combined with constant vigilance regarding the actions, resentments, and potential contaminations of one's surrounding populace and environment.

In the world sketched in Turi's *Sámi deavsttat*, Sami *noaidevuohhta* is anything but a singular healing system. It is made up of ideas drawn from different sources: from old Sami traditions, as well as Finnish and probably other Nordic healing lore. Although people in Turi's locale had knowledge of past *noaidi* practices and attributed certain ailments or misfortunes to the supernatural aggression of *noaidit*, they also recognized gradations of skill in the workings of magic practitioners. *Noaidi* magic varied from the most powerful—capable of causing death or insanity and barely reversible, except by the actions of another, equally powerful, *noaidi*—to more mundane or partial magic (e.g., creating love charms or chasing away spirits), undertaken by persons with more limited skills or training. Although many people in Turi's locale seem to know and recognize *noaidi* aggression when it occurs, many of the greatest victims in Turi's accounts are wholly unaware of such dangers until it is too late. In most cases, their ignorance makes them easy victims. Complete obliviousness to such magic could prove advantageous, however, if accompanied with great faith in Christ—something fairly rare in Turi's portrayal. Along with Sami and Finnish healing, Western medicine is also an option for the desperate, although it does not seem to hold much more potential for success than any other mode of healing. Most crucially, challenges to health are understood as attacks not on an individual but on an entire family, and their effects can be felt ultimately on the members of the family's next generation. Cursed individuals watch their herds shrink and their family members die or grow insane. Over the course of years, they find themselves bereft of descendents and become impoverished and displaced. Fortunate families maintain their luck in herd size, health, and marital success. They grow prosperous but do not grow overly wealthy, a development which would be taken as the possible result of clandestine magic. They make good matches in marriage, respect the feelings and dignity of others, and keep attentive to the possibility of supernatural aggression in their dealings with their neighbors. If in so doing, they seemed similar to other Nordic communities of the far north at the outset of the twentieth century, they remained nonetheless distinctively Sami as well: incorporating a wide array of different cultural influences into a single, variegated but nonetheless characteristic Sami way of life. Appreciating the Sami dimen-

sion of Johan Turi's *Sámi deavsttat* entails accepting the complex realities of the North at the turn of the twentieth century: a world of overlapping and interacting ethnicities, in which one's neighbors figured as both potential sources of danger and as possible resources for healing and prosperity. This was the "Sami" world that Johan Turi described in his texts for Emilie Demant-Hatt and which we can glimpse in all its nuances and contradictions in the pages of *Sámi deavsttat*.

NOTES

- ¹ I have used the modern North Sami orthography of Turi's *Muitalus Sámiid birra* as it appears in the 1987 re-issue of his work edited by Samuli Aikio and Mikael Svonni (Turi 1987). I have also used the modernized orthography of *Sámi deavsttat* as it appears in the edition of Nils Erik Hansegård (Turi 1988), although I cite Demant-Hatt's original English introduction and footnotes as they appear in the 1918–1919 edition. My thanks to one of the anonymous readers for this article who suggested further modernizations of Hansegård's orthography, which I have incorporated in various places here.

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