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The Role of Place-Names in Olof Sirma's two Yoik Texts and their Translations

ABSTRACT This article discusses the place-names in two old Sami yoik songs. These songs, provided by Olof Sirma, a Sami student, were published in Sami and Latin in Schefferus' book *Lapponia* in 1673. They became known as the winter song and the summer song. The winter song is a kind of travel account in which a lover tells about his journey by reindeer sledge. In the summer song he dreams about his absent love. Before the end of the twentieth century both love songs were translated many times into various languages. The article takes up the place-names, the landscape described in the songs as well as the homeland of Sirma and the places mentioned in the texts. It discusses what the respective translators did with the place-names from the Latin source texts, in what way they changed the landscape in their translated versions, how, through misreading, a place-name could become the name of a girl or how a place-name was used for personal ends as proof of a questionable thesis. When, in the twentieth century, translators turned to the Sami source texts, the original landscape gradually emerges again.

KEYWORDS Kemi Lappmark, Olof Sirma, Orajärvi, Sami love songs, Schefferus, translating place-names

Introduction

In this article¹ I will look at the two oldest Sami yoik songs known today. These songs appeared in their original language, Sami, and in a Latin translation in Johannes Schefferus' classical work about the Sami *Laponia*, published in Frankfurt a.M. in 1673. The Latin translation is from Schefferus himself. However, he did not translate from Sami. Olof Sirma, a student of theology in Uppsala at the time when Schefferus was working on the manuscript for his book, provided Schefferus with a Swedish translation of the texts. These translations were discovered by Setälä in 1888 in the university library of Uppsala among papers that had belonged to Schefferus. They were published in 1890. The songs are part of the information Sirma provided about Sami customs around courting and marriage. They became known as love songs, as texts sung by a young lover when he is thinking about his beloved one, who is living somewhere else. Based on the content and the season of the year the songs were said to be sung, they soon became known as the winter song and the summer song.

Both songs contain place-names, especially the winter song. This song depicts the landscape the young lover is travelling through when he sets out to visit his betrothed in winter time. The only place-name in the summer song is the name of the place where the beloved one is living at that time of the year. The text of this song also gives an indication of the surroundings of the place.

Schefferus' book was translated into several West-European languages. An English, German, French and Dutch translation appeared before the end of the seventeenth century, whereas a Swedish and a Finnish translation appeared in 1956 and 1979, respectively. Moreover, the songs were soon discovered as lyrical love songs and translated in their own right. At the end of the twentieth century both songs had been translated more than fifty times into several European languages as well as (in the twentieth century) into Finnish and modern North Sami.²

In this article I will look at the role that the place-names played in the songs and their translations, and how the different translators dealt with these place-names and the northern landscape in their versions of the songs.

The Place-Names in the Original Summer and Winter Song as Presented by Sirma and Schefferus

Places Mentioned in the Winter Song

The original Sami text of the winter song is an account of a journey in winter time. The lover is travelling by sledge drawn by a reindeer in a northerly or easterly direction. There are a lot of large moors (Sami: *áhpi-b*, 'big

moor’). However, one should keep in mind that the moors and lakes are frozen at that time of the year.

The lover first tells that he has to travel through woods and over a lot of moors. He then mentions *Kaigevvarri*, a mountain named *Kaige*, and asks the mountain not to deter him. Thereupon he says farewell to *Kællueiaur* (modern spelling: *Gealfejávri*), a lake. He says he has many thoughts while he is travelling towards *Kaiga vvaonaide* (modern Sami: *Gáigavuonaide*, dative pl. from *Gáigavuotna*, ‘the Gáiga coves’). He then encourages his reindeer to make haste so that he may soon see his beloved one and asks his reindeer if it can already discern her eyes (face) (Schefferus 1673: 282). The song has no rhyme. Rhyme is something not found in Sami yoik songs.

In his Swedish rendering, Sirma did not give a literal translation. He tried to produce a rhymed translation, probably because he knew that Swedish song texts usually rhymed, whereby he left out the lover’s direction of travel as well as the woods. Sirma lets the lover sing that there are many moors to traverse, but in his Swedish text there is no *Kaiga* mountain that might hinder a quick progress. The mountain has become a lake, *Kaiga träsk*, which the lover reaches after having said farewell to *Kälwaträsk* (the rhyme word to *Kaiga träsk*) (Setälä 1890: 113). *Kaiga träsk* however, does not take long to traverse. The reason may be found in the next verse line, where the lover says he has many thoughts while he is travelling over that lake. There is no mention of any coves.

As a result there are only two lakes, named *Kälwa* and *Kaiga* in the Swedish translation Sirma gave Schefferus, and there are moors at the beginning of the song. The lover asks his reindeer at the end of the song whether it can already see his beloved one *washing* herself, which is also the result of Sirma’s wish to translate the Sami yoik into a rhymed Swedish poem.

Schefferus translated the songs in prose form, but he provides information about how the songs were sung. Schefferus mentions “*loca uliginosa*,” watery areas, at the beginning of the text, and describes both *Kaige* and *Kailva* as being a “*palus*,” a moor, and *Kaige* moreover as the moor giving the lover time to think his many thoughts. This is probably why the lover sings in this Latin version that he does not find *Kaige* “*taediosus*” (does not hold it in aversion, finds it dull, unpleasant or tedious). So in what became the source text for many European poets in the following two centuries the woods, Mount *Kaiga* and the *Kaiga* coves have disappeared from the song, leaving the translator/readers with watery areas in winter time, two moors and a girl who is expected to be washing herself (Latin: *eam se lavantem* [‘[see] her washing her’]) (Schefferus 1673: 283).³

The Place-Name in the Summer Song

In the original Sami summer song, the young lover knows that his beloved one lives near the lake of *Orra Javvra* (*Jaura/Jawre*; modern Sami *Oarre jávri*). This lake is mentioned three times in the song. The lover himself lives somewhere else. In the song he invokes the sun to send its radiant beams to the lake and he sings that he would climb to the top of the highest pine tree in the area where he lives, could he see the lake and his betrothed from there. He imagines her in a heather-grown valley (“tangast lomest,” in modern Sami: *daŋasloamis*) with bushes and trees (*muoraid*) growing around there. He also says that he would like to tear away the new branches on the trees that might hide her from his view (Schefferus 1673: 283). The readers thus understand that it is a lovely sunny scenery with a rather low spring-green vegetation around a lake he sees before his eyes.

The Swedish translation of this song is a literal, almost word for word, translation without a trace of rhyme. In his Swedish translation Sirma talks about flowers (*blomster*) instead of heather, and bushes instead of trees. The lake he calls both *Orra träsk* and *Orra sjö*, that is the lake of *Orra* (Setälä 1890: 115).

Schefferus tells the readers in his prose translation into Latin that *Orra* is a “palus.” Schefferus uses this description all three times the place-name is mentioned. *Orra* is thus a moor or morass rather than a lake, although the word *palus* can also mean lake. Still the lover invokes the sun to shine with its brightest beams, and he imagines his love residing among flowers in an area with bushes with newly sprung-out twigs.

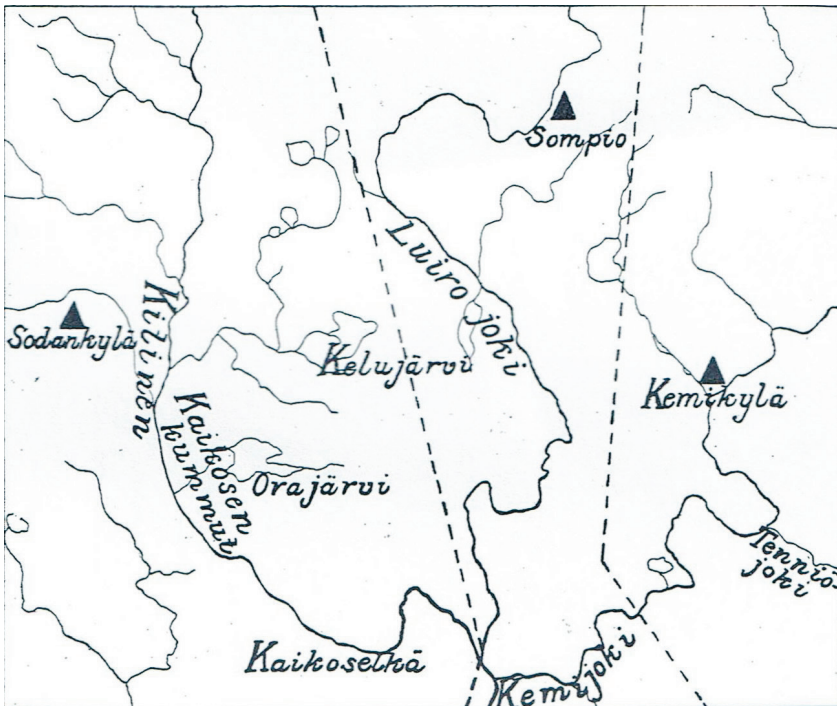
Although one might argue that summer comes before winter and that therefore the summer song precedes the lover’s winter trip, Schefferus presents the winter song before the summer song. In my discussion I will follow his example.

Locating the Lakes

Where Sirma grew up and where the songs originated, has long been an unanswered question. Schefferus (1673: 96) writes that Sirma was “in Lapponia Tornensis natus,” born in Torne Lappmark, which at that time consisted of the northern part of present-day Sweden, the western part of Northern Finland, especially the so-called *Finnish arm*, and the adjacent border areas of Norway with Kautokeino and Karasjok. When Sirma left the university, in 1674, it was noted down that he was originally from Kemi Lappmark, an area a bit further to the east in North-Finland. Based on an analysis of the language of Sirma’s Sami song texts, Just Knud Qvigstad was of the opinion in 1885 that Sirma used a Torne-Lappmark variant, whereas Karl Bernard Wiklund concluded in 1913 based on some more writings Sirma had left be-

hind, that his language indicated that he came from the Kemi area. Through the steadily advancing colonization by Finnish farmers, the Kemi Sami language became extinct during the eighteenth century, so it is no wonder that nineteenth and twentieth century linguists had difficulties recognizing it.

According to Erkki Itkonen the language of the songs is an old eastern Sami dialect. However, it is difficult to localize since many of those dialects had disappeared. Itkonen (1940: 341–344) supposes that Sirma grew up in the vicinity of the places named in the songs. He found two of them on Olof Tresk's map of Kemi Lappmark from 1642 (Tresk 1928) and on Wahlenberg's map of Kemi Lappmark from 1804. Orajärvi—Squirrel Lake—lies 10 kilometres southeast of present-day Sodankylä and Kälvejavre (Kelujärvi/Kelvijärvi) lies 12 kilometres northeast of Orajärvi (Sami *oarre*, Finnish *orava* 'squirrel'). *Kelvi*—says Itkonen—is an original Sami word and in an old written source from 1724 the name is spelled *Kelfvojerf*, but Itkonen does not give an explanation for the name. Lake Kaiga could not be located on any map, but Itkonen found a *Kaikoselkä*, a mountain ridge, and *Kaikosen kummut*, hills, on a map of the area around the Luiro River.



Map 1. Map of Olof Sirma's home region (from Itkonen 1940: 341).

The area Sirma came from was thus localized by means of two of the place-names in the songs. It is an area between two big rivers, Kilinen and Luiro, which today is part of the Finnish municipality of Sodankylä. Wahlberg, who travelled in this area in the summer of 1802, gives the following description of the landscape:

Brushwood and moors cover most of the land; probably even as much as three quarters of it. The larger moors are often more than 10 km wide, deep and with much water [...]. The other moors are sparsely covered with trees and give good grazing. (Wahlenberg 1804: 62)

The Translation History of the Place-Names in the Winter Song

As stated above, Schefferus presented a source text in Latin where the lover starts his journey across a marshy area. Along his route he passes Kailvva and Kaige, which Schefferus describes as moors. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, all translators used Schefferus' Latin text for their versions of the song.

The Place-Names in the Winter Song in Translations from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century

The first translation from Latin was published in English in 1674 as part of the English translation of Schefferus' book. The translator was Acton Cremer, a student of theology who was himself madly in love, a love affair that was considered to hamper his studies. He was asked to translate the book so that his thoughts would be occupied with something other than the lady he was in love with. Of all the translators of Schefferus' book, Cremer produced the most poetical translation of the songs, translating Schefferus' prose text in a rhymed strophic poem and making choices about meter and rhyme. But his use of rhyme did not affect the place-names. In the first strophe the lover tells: "[T]he moors are vast," indicating that he has to cross many large ones. Kaigè then is said to be "the watery Moor." The reader may think that it is one of the vast moors mentioned earlier. This watery moor, says the lover

Is pleasant unto me,
Though long it be;
Since it doth to my Mistriss lead,
Whom I adore;
The *Kilwa* Moor,
I nere again will tread.

While passing Kaigè his mind is full of thoughts, thoughts about seeing his love, who he imagines yonder where

She washes in the Lake.
 See while she swims,
 The water from her purer limbs
 New cleerness take.
 (Scheffer 1674: 112–113)

Cremer introduces a lake at the end of the poem that does not freeze over in winter (!), a lake the lover is heading to since it is the place where his love lives.

Cremer's text in Schefferus' book was the source text for Richard Steele's translation which appeared in England in *The Spectator* in June 1712. *The Spectator* was a daily publication founded by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. It appeared in 1711 and 1712 and again for six months in 1714 (then published three times a week). Addison estimated that each issue was read by approximately 60,000 Londoners, many of them reading the paper in one of the subscribing coffee houses.⁴

Steele's translation of the winter song contains no place-names at all, but describes the landscape the lover is travelling through. He travels through a "dreery Waste," with "Rushy Moors" all around. Tired, the lover traverses the marshes in the dark, making his way through "the watry Length of these unjoyous Moors." The trip is said to be a "tedious Way" (Smith [ed.]: 1963–1964, Vol. 3: 264). In the end, however, he and his reindeer will see his beloved one, who swims among the waves in a fast-flowing stream. This poem gives the impression that the land of the Sami is a monotonous landscape in winter, consisting only of moors and marshes, wet and watery and depressing to the mind. The lover can endure this landscape only because of the enchanting image of his love swimming in a river, which he expects to see when reaching the place where she lives.

The readers of Schefferus' book in German (published 1675) are presented with a picture that is very similar to that which Sirma presented to Schefferus: the journey starts through a large moor area, and there are two lakes (not moors), Kaige and Kailwi. Kaige does not make the lover sad and gives him much to think about while travelling there and he asks Kailwi to be kind to him. No lake is mentioned at the end (clearly an English addition), but the translation includes the expectation of seeing the girl while she is bathing.

The same holds for the French translation of Schefferus' book (Scheffer 1678), only here both Kaige and Kailvva are said to be moors ("marais") and

not lakes, so the French translator, Père Augustin Lubin, like Cremer in England chose to translate Schefferus' *palus* as being a marshy area. Since the Dutch translation of Schefferus had the French text as the source text, it is somewhat surprising that the translator at first speaks of "you Sea or moor Kaige will not be sad to me" (Scheffer 1682: II 120). But in the next two sentences both Kaige and Kailwa are described as moors. The French and Dutch translations have not been used as source texts for other versions of the songs in those countries, but in Germany both the Latin versions of Schefferus and the German translation of them inspired German poets/writers to write their own versions.

The next German translation of the winter song both in prose and rhyme (Öhrs [Örn] 1704) is from the hand of the Swedish traveller and globetrotter Nicolaus Örn. The landscape in his songs is very similar to that described by Schefferus, but differs greatly from that described in the German translation of the winter song by Johann Christoph Gottsched. This text appeared in *Der Zuschauer*, a German translation in book form (1739–1743, 8 volumes) of *The Spectator* by Johann and Luise Gottsched. The landscape sketched by Johann Gottsched in *Der Zuschauer* in 1742 (Vol. 6), is the landscape from Steele's English Spectator-version. Place-names are not mentioned, since they did not appear in Gottsched's source text.

Matthias Claudius' prose text ([Claudius] 1769) contains again the same information as the German Schefferus-edition. Johann Gottfried Herder even made two different translations of the winter song (1774 and 1778/1779). Herder was highly interested in folk songs. He not only tried to make his German readers familiar with the content of the song, but also with the tone of it, with the form in which the content was presented, by looking at the Sami original. The Sami original may seem to have end rhyme in some places, which is caused by the feature of parallelism (word-declensions with the same case endings). In Herder's first version from 1774 the lover starts by singing that there are many lakes to cross, whereas in the later version these have become moors. But both Kaige and Kailva are lakes in Herder's two versions. Kaige is called "lieber Kaigesee" (1774). This is repeated in the second version where the lover moreover sings: "dich mag ich leiden, Kaiga-See" (1778/1779) (Herder 1877–1913, Bd. 25 [1885]: 92, 271). Herder thus chose to present in a positive manner the fact that the lover does not find the lake area dreary. The names of the lakes have a central position in Herder's two versions, since they are the main subject of the second strophe (out of four) in both versions. In the German texts of Örn, Claudius and Herder, the beloved one is expected to be bathing when the lover arrives at the place where she lives, but there is no mention of her swimming in a lake or stream.

In the last German translation of the eighteenth century, however, the girl is depicted again as swimming through rolling waves. Gerhard Anton von Halem (1786) says that the songs in Schefferus' book were his source texts, but the poem clearly shows that his source was not Schefferus but the two texts published in the English *Spectator*. Von Halem was inspired by both texts and also wove elements of the summer song into his *Lied eines Lappländers*. As in the *Spectator*-version, the names of the lakes the lover has to cross on his winter journey are not mentioned in the text.

The Place-Names in the Winter Song in Translations from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

New versions of the winter song with place-names published in the nineteenth century only appeared in Scandinavia. The first one, *Till rendjuret* ['To my reindeer'] is by the Swedish-speaking Finnish poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg and appeared in 1847. Runeberg admired folk poems and folk songs and voiced the same ideas about translation as Herder had done after the 1770s. For his translations of folk songs he often turned to Herder for source texts. This is the case also with *Till rendjuret*, which is a true translation in both content and form of Herder's second version. I suppose therefore that the fact that the poem only mentions one lake, Lake Kaiga, must be due to a printing error. Runeberg's lover says he likes Lake Kaiga and then calls it "dear Kaiga," as Herder's lover did. The lover's farewell words to Lake Kailwa however, are here replaced by a farewell to Lake Kaiga (Kellgren, Tengström & Tigerstedt [eds.] 1847: 64). Otto Donner's Finnish version of the winter song *Porolle* ['To the reindeer'] published in 1876, is a translation of Runeberg's text and also mentions only Lake Kaiga. Donner's Finnish text was again translated into Swedish by the Finn Rafaël Hertzberg in 1881. Hertzberg mentions Lake Kaiga only once, when he lets the lover say farewell to this beautiful lake.

Richard Bergström discusses in an article published in 1885 the different versions of the song. His Swedish translation is based on the Latin original. We have thus two names again, Kaige and Kailwa. The reindeer is asked if it can see the beloved one washing herself. Bergström asked Just Knud Qvigstad to look at the Sami text. Qvigstad gave a literal translation into Norwegian. Thus we read for the first time that the lover is travelling in a northerly direction over many marshes (but no woods), that he is travelling over Kaigevarre, which Qvigstad says is a mountain. The lover asks the mountain not to deter him and then says farewell to Lake Kælve before traversing the coves of Lake Kaige. For the first time in more than 200 years, the reader is given an impression of what the landscape really looked like! At the end of the song the reindeer is asked if it can already see the eyes of the beloved one.

The most interesting version of the nineteenth century is the Swedish translation and text interpretation by the Swedish writer Olof Högberg, published in the newspaper *Hernösands-Posten* in 1898. Högberg mentions Bergström's article as his source. This means that we are back again in a landscape with only two place-names. In Högberg's description they are wide streams of water, but he also calls Kajge a sea. In between the verse lines, Högberg refers to the way of thinking of the seventeenth century Sami and the young Sami lover as he is travelling through the landscape. Högberg sees the winter song as a kind of incantation song. The Sami, he says, believed that nature consisted of animated things and beings and that it was full of evil powers. In his article he criticizes many of the earlier translations because the translators took no notice of the nature worship of the Sami or their fear of mysterious powers, nor had these translators recognized the artistic form of the songs. The blame for this last failure is laid on Schefferus' Latin translation.

According to Högberg the Sami custom was to yoik in verses of two lines, where each couplet contained a certain thought. His translation consists of eight couplets of two lines. According to Högberg the lover is coaxing his reindeer to make haste in the first two lines, and goes on to say: "[W]ide is the way, the river ghastly long,/ and the evil one out there is not afraid of incantation songs." The young lover, says Högberg, is careful not to mention the devil by name. He needs an ally that is bigger and more powerful than the devil himself. And the lake now lies before him in all its grandeur and he has just left behind another equally impressive lake. And who or what can be bigger than these lakes? Who would dare to injure the lakes or the person they protect? It is therefore of great importance to tell the lakes at once that the traveller does not place them on a par with the ugly and wicked devil. In the next pair of verse lines, the young lover sings, according to Högberg: "Nasty you are not to me, Kajge stream!/ You Kælva stream, I wish you really well!" Since it is important to make the large stretch of ice the young man now has to cross with his reindeer favourably disposed towards them, he then sings: "The big Kajge gave many a deep thought,/ yes many thoughts came up from Kajge sea." To this Högberg comments that the lake has now been promoted to the rank of a sea! The young lover must be careful not to flatter any other winter marshy areas in the same manner, for these moors and waters can be highly jealous of each other. But now, Kajge is obliged to protect him and his reindeer against the devil, who through these tactics has been side-lined. Only after all this is done, can the lover focus his thoughts and think of his beloved one only. These thoughts make up the rest of the poem. The places, frozen streams and lakes, and the mentioning of their names are thus of great importance

for a successful journey in Högberg's interpretation of this seventeenth century winter song. A song that does not name these lakes would probably not bring the young lover to his beloved one at all.

The first text published in the twentieth century was a Sami one. It is a text from the hand of the Sami teacher and politician Isak Saba which appeared in the Sami newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje* in 1905. This text is based on Schefferus, the Sami version. However, Saba does not mention Mount Gaige but only the lake with that name, *Gaigejavrre*, whereas the other lake is called *Guollejavrre*, 'Fish Lake,' instead of *Gælvejavre*. This is not so strange, as Schefferus wrote the name as *kællueiaur*. Surprisingly, Saba also changed the landscape by letting the young lover travel through the Gaigewood (from Sami: *Gaigevuopmi*) instead of along the coves of Lake Gaige (sg. *Gaigevuotna*). Since *-pm* and *-tn* in some inflected forms in Sami changes to *-m* and *-n*, a small change in the spelling and reading of a text can also change the landscape. It is highly improbable that Saba had succeeded in locating the actual places. In that case he would surely have mentioned it in his article.

From the time Erkki Itkonen studied Sirma's Sami texts in the 1940s, the Sami texts or an interlinear Finnish or Swedish translation of the Sami texts became the source texts for new translations. We have Itkonen's translation of the winter song (Itkonen 1940, Finnish), and translations by Collinder (1953, Swedish), Blair (in Ruong 1967, English after Collinder), Aikio and Itkonen (in Aikio, Itkonen & Sammallahti 1974, Finnish), Moreau (in Domokos [ed.] 1980, French), Hein (in Kelletat 1982, German), Todal (in Gaski [ed.] 1991, Norwegian [*nynorsk*]), Schwaar (1991, German), Bosley (in Honko *et al.* [eds.] 1993, English) and Winkler (1996, German). Sami writers and poets also wrote new versions of this song: Lars Simma in 1985, Harald Gaski in 1987 and 1991 and Pekka Sammallahti in 1992 and 1998. Qvigstad (1885), Itkonen (1940), Collinder (1953), Aikio (1974), Todal (1991) and Winkler (1996) translated directly from a Sami source text. Collinder, Hein and Todal were known for translating poetry, the others were first and foremost linguists and/or folklorists interested in the literature of Finno-Ugrian peoples.

Itkonen mentions in 1940 both Kaika mountain and the coves of Kaika and writes the name of the second lake as *Kelujärvi*, 'Lake Kelu.' Moreau, Hein, Schwaar and Bosley translated from Finnish. Only Moreau kept the Sami words for mountain, lake and cove (*varri, jávri, vuotna*) (Domokos [ed.] 1980: 121). Winkler translated from a Sami source text, but he also knew Itkonen's and Hein's translations. In all these translations the lover is said to travel eastwards over the moors at the beginning of the song. In Winkler's text there are both moors and woods to the east and Lake Kaiga has several coves. In all the other texts Kaige has one cove only.

In the translations into or via a Scandinavian language, however, the lover travels northwards (Qvigstad, Collinder, Blair and Todal). This is because the Sami words for the different wind directions have different meanings depending on where in Sápmi ['the Sami land'] the speaker is (which Sami language he speaks). The directions follow the flow of the rivers, so what in one area should be translated as 'east' might be 'north' in another area. Qvigstad is the only one who does not mention that there were woods in the area. Collinder, Blair and Todal mention that the lover has to travel through woods and swamplands. The spelling of the (loan)words from Sami for mountain and lake depends on the target language and the spelling of these words on topographical maps in Norway and Sweden. With the exception of Todal, all chose to translate the Sami word *vuotna* as 'cove.' Collinder (and thus Blair) gives Lake Kaiga only one cove that the lover has to traverse. Todal chooses to give all three place-names in their Sami form in the nominative case and writes *Gáigavárri*, *Gealfejávre* and *Gáigavuonat* (pl.) (Gaski [ed.] 1991: 31).

In the literature on Sami yoiking, very little attention is paid to the content of Sirma's yoik texts. Only two of the scholars who in the twentieth century were interested in Sirma's texts in particular, analysed the content as well. One of them is Harald Gaski, professor of Sami literature. In the summer song the lover is daydreaming about how to get to his love. At the same time, however, he seems to be uncertain about his own feelings, as well as of hers, but at the end of the song he decides to travel to her. In the winter song, the travel account, he is sure of himself and his feelings. Gaski:

Now it is more important that his reindeer is going full speed and that nature does not disturb his journey. For in those times, people thought that nature was animated, and that the will of the gods, as well as the will of people, could influence nature in a positive or negative way. It was therefore important to yoik difficult mountain passages, the ice on the lakes and the snow masses on the moors to be pleasant and friendly towards the traveller. (Gaski 1987: 22)

Thus, like Högberg a hundred years earlier, Gaski saw the Sami place-names of the winter song and the way the lover sings about them as being of vital importance for a happy and safe journey.

The Translation History of the Place-Name in the Summer Song

In the summer song there is only one place-name, *Orre* or *Orra*. It is the name of the lake or moor where the beloved one lives. The young lover, who lives elsewhere, is dreaming about her and wonders whether he might

see her at the lake surrounded by heather and shrubbery with fresh green leaves, should he climb high up in a pine tree. He would like to ride to that lake on the clouds, to fly to it with the wings of a bird, or to use the webbed feet of a goose, or the swift legs of four-legged animals. According to Gaski's analysis he is, however, unsure whether she really wants him and unsure about what he really wishes himself.

As stated above, Schefferus presented this text in a Latin rendering together with the Sami original in 1673. In both texts the name *Orra* is mentioned three times.

The Place-Name *Orra* in the Summer Song in Translations of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century

From Sirma's Sami text we know that the girl lives at *Orre javre*, a lake which Schefferus translated as *palus Orra*.

Although the first translation of Schefferus' book appeared in England, I will first discuss the German translation of 1675. As is the case with the winter song, the German rendering of the summer song speaks of *der See-Orra* (Scheffer 1675: 321). *Orra* is thus a lake and not a moor.

The first translation in its own right is from Daniel Georg Morhof, professor of poetry and history of literature. Morhof states in his *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (1682) that rhyme is necessary in German poetry. He repudiates the use of foreign words (Latin or French), but it is not clear whether this rule also applies to place-names. His translation of the summer song has the form of a classical alexandrine. He mentions the place where the lover's betrothed resides but does not specify it as a lake or a moor:

Lass/ Sonne/ deinen Schein vorhin nach Orra gehen/
O könt ich diesen Ort von ferne nur ersehen. (Morhof 1969: 209)

Orra is an "Ort," a place or locality not further specified.

In 1689 the Swedish scientist Olaus Rudbeck uses the place-name in the Sami summer song as proof of his ideas that the area of Fennoscandia was Plato's Atlantis. In volume 2 of his monumental work *Atlantica* he states that the worshipping of the sun found its origin north of the Gulf of Bothnia, from where it had spread to the area around the Mediterranean. Proof of this, he says, is the sea *Oridanus*, also called *Glysis Sea*. This sea is mentioned in a myth by a Greek historian who lived in the first century before Christ. This sea, then, must be the Baltic Sea, according to Rudbeck, as only people to the north of the Baltic Sea, living in the Kemi area, can see the sun go down into the sea in winter time, not to appear again for several weeks.

Even in the seventeenth century, the Sami living there knew about this sun worshipping. As proof of this, Rudbeck presents his Swedish translation of a Sami love song. The first lines, translated into English, run like this:

O rise, thou splendid sun,
and let thy beams shine over Oridan.
If I should climb high up in the pine trees
and knew that I would see the sun over Oridan
then I would climb up to the top. (Rudbeck 1689: 234)

The sea Oridan is mentioned a third time in the poem when the young lover says that he would follow the clouds on their way to Oridan. According to Rudbeck this song is “uestan [nestan] lijka medh dhen som läses uti *Schefferi Lapp*: c. 25. p. 284” [‘almost identical to the one that can be read in *Schefferus’ Lapp*: chap. 25. p. 284’]. There is, however, no doubt that Schefferus was his source and that the statement that the Sami, as he writes, “kalla vår Orridan Orri Tresket” [‘call our Orridan for Lake Orri’] (Rudbeck 1689: 234, 235) is something sprung from his own fertile imagination in an attempt to find support for his ideas. It is highly improbable that Rudbeck met Olof Sirma or that he saw Sirma’s Swedish handwritten translation, so it seems to be a mere coincidence that he translated the Sami word *javre* (or Schefferus’ *palus*) with the Swedish term *tresk*, as Sirma did in his Swedish translation that he gave to Schefferus in 1672.

The first English translation of the summer song from Latin was published in 1674, one year before the German text. Like the text of the winter song, it was written by Acton Cremer and published as part of the English translation of Schefferus’ book. Like the winter song, the English summer song is also a poetical text. In six strophes the lover sings about what he would do to be able to see or to travel to his beloved one: he would climb the highest tree, would tear up bushes from their roots to see her, ride the clouds to her or fly to her with wings borrowed from birds. The following is the first strophe of Cremer’s translation:

With brightest beams let the Sun shine
On *Orra Moor*
Could I be sure,
That from the top o’th lofty Pine,
I *Orra Moor* might see,
I to his highest bow would climb,
And with industrious labor try,
Thence to descry
My Mistreß, if that there she be.
(Scheffer 1674: 114)

Orra is thus the name of a moor and not a lake in Cremer's text. Cremer uses the name *Orra* two more times, without adding that it is a moor. He lets the young man say: "Upon the raft of clouds I'de ride/ Which unto *Orra* fly," and then, when the young man realizes that no bird will lend him its wings: "There's none who unto *Orra* brings, [...]" (Scheffer 1674: 115).

Cremer's text in Schefferus' book was the source text for the summer song published in *The Spectator* in April 1712 (No. 366, 30 April). The writer of the song was later said to be Ambrose Philips, though the poet remains anonymous in the first *Spectator*-edition.

The rendering of the summer song published in *The Spectator* resulted in a remarkable change in the perspective of the young lover when he is considering his situation. The translator has misunderstood Cremer's first lines, where the moor or Lake *Orra* is the place where, as the lover knows, his beloved one lives. In Philips' first strophe the lover sings:

Thou rising Sun, whose gladsome Ray
Invites my Fair to rural Play,
Dispel the Mist, and clear the Skies,
and bring my *Orra* to my Eyes.

And in the last one:

No longer then perplex thy Breast,
When Thoughts torment the first are best;
'Tis mad to go, 'tis Death to stay,
Away to *Orra*, hast away. (Smith [ed.] 1963–1964, Vol. 3: 150–151)

Orra Moor is no longer the name of the place where the girl lives, it has become the girl's name! The young lover does no longer know where she is. He no longer wishes he were at a specific place, but wants to search everywhere in hopes of finding her.

The Spectator was widely read and it is not surprising that the authors of later English versions of the song, even though they might also have known about Cremer's English version, followed *The Spectator* without realizing what had happened. In the summer songs of Elisabeth Rowe (1739, published in Farley 1906: 10) and Lord Chesterfield (published in Middleton 1777–1779, Vol. 2: 31–32) the girl is called *Orramoore* resp. *Orra Moor/Orra*. Rowe's lover, looking for his love, sings: "In mountain, vale, or gloomy grove, I'd climb the tallest tree." His *Orramoore* might hide among the branches "in some sequester'd bow'r." Chesterfield's lover would "climb the summit of the lofty pine,/ Could I my *Orra Moor* at distance view." He pictures her in the pleasant shade of "terrestrial bow'rs" or in

“enamell'd fields of sweetest flow'rs,” charmed by the birds that “warble[d] on each spray.”

The name *Orra* or *Orramoor* soon became associated with Sápmi and a lovely Sami girl. It was also used by other poets writing about the area. In William Thomson's poem *Sickness* from 1746 we read about “Young Orra Moor, in furry spoils enroll'd” (Moyne 1981: 90). Even as late as in 1822/1823 *Orra* was still known in England as a Sami girl's name. On the occasion of a major exhibition on the Sami and their culture in the Egyptian Hall in London Piccadilly, the weekly magazine *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* published a *Lapland Ode* where a lover sings:

Five years I've woo'd my Orra fair,
Five years my sighs have fill'd the air,
But woo'd and sigh'd in vain. (“The Laplanders” 1823: 148)

In Germany no such spectacular things happened, although even here *Orra* figured in some songs as the name of the beloved one. As was to be expected, this is the case in the German rendering of the summer song that Luise Gottsched translated for *Der Zuschauer* (Gottsched und den seinigen 1741, Vol. 5: 267):

Was halt dich, *Orra* für ein Ort?
Wo schläfst du? hinter welchen Hecken?
Von Bäumen, die dich mir verstecken,
Reiß ich erzürnt die Stämme fort.

A second edition of *Der Zuschauer* was published in 1751. In the meantime Luise had apparently found out, probably from the German edition of Schefferus' book, that *Orra* was not originally a girl's name. In the 1751 edition the text is changed to:

Mein *Orra*-see, wo liegt der Ort?
Wo schläft mein Kind? bey welchem Hecken? (after Kelletat 1982: 121)

The girl *Orra* also figures in Gerard von Halem's song, a winter song, but with elements from the summer song. Von Halem lets his lover sing about his love of the surrounding waste land: “Denn sie leitet mich – Ha! wie klopft der Busen! – / Meiner *Orra* zu!” (von Halem 1786: 14). And at the end of the song he really sees *Orra* who “plätschernd badet,” swimming among the waves. von Halem was clearly inspired by *The Spectator*, but other versions of the summer song attracted greater attention in Germany. The girl *Orra* was here not associated with the Sami and Sápmi to the same degree as in England.

Between 1771 and 1778/1779 Herder wrote four versions of the summer song (and probably even more). In the four versions that were eventually published, the lover wishes to see or reach *Orra-See*. Herder experimented with the form of this song, trying to catch the form elements of the Sami original in his translations. As for the content, he follows Schefferus' Latin version. The young lover talks about "Fichten" he would climb and envisages his beloved one amidst a natural surrounding full of flowers and fresh green trees (Herder 1877–1913, Bd. 25 [1885]: 93, 405–407; Herder 1877–1913, Bd. 5 [1891]: 171–172).

The Place-Name *Orra* In The Summer Song in Translations of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

Herder's translations were published in many editions of his works in the nineteenth century. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the first new translation in the nineteenth century is based on one of his texts. In 1832 Runeberg published in *Helsingfors' Morgonblad* his version of Herder's *Die Fahrt zur Geliebten*, Herder's fourth version of the summer song. We have, as expected, Lake Orra, where the lover, could he view the lake from the top of a pine tree, thinks he would be able to see the girl amidst flowers.

In Germany, Theodor Mügge's book *Afraja. Ein nordischer Roman* appeared in 1854. Afraja's nephew, being in love with Afraja's daughter, sings a love song in this book in which one recognizes Sirma's summer song. Mügge found the original that inspired him to write this song in the German translation of Schefferus' book. Mügge does not, however, use the name *Orra-See*. Instead, he translated the German *See* using the Norwegian word *vand*, and adapted the German spelling of the name of the lake to the pronunciation of German speakers. He talks about *Urevand*, 'den blauen wellenschlagenden See' so that the readers will understand that the song is about a lake. The landscape is described in accordance with Schefferus' text.

Wenn ich von dem hohen Gipfel der Fichte in das verborgene Thal sehen könnte, wollte ich hinaufsteigen, um zu lauschen, unter welchen Blumen mein Liebchen schläft. Ich wollte alle Sträucher, die dort wachsen, ausreißen, wollte alle Zweige, diese grünen Zweige, abhauen, wenn sie mich hinderten. (Mügge 1854a: 423)

Mügge's book was a success. It was translated into English (1854), Swedish (1856), Danish (1857), French (1857) and Dutch (1861), and saw many editions in Germany well into the twentieth century. The lover in the English translation would climb a fir tree to see "under what flowers my loved one is sleeping. I would tear up all the *brambles* [my italics] and all the branches [...] that opposed me" (Mügge 1854b: 437). The name of the lake remains the

same in all translations, *Urevand*, and in all translations except the Danish one, *Urevand* is a lake. The Danish translator, however, changed it into (a part of) a sea (Mügge 1857a: II 492).

All other nineteenth century translators of the summer song (Donner, Lönnrot, Bergström, Qvigstad) indicate that Orra is a lake. Qvigstad (1885: 19) even tells the Norwegian/Swedish readers that the name of the lake, *Oarre-javre*, means 'Ekornsjöen' ['Squirrel-lake'].

In the twentieth century, there appeared 21 translations of the summer song, again with *Ora*, *Orra* or *Orre* as name of the lake, but in nine of these versions the lake is now called *Oarre*, not just in the seven Sami versions. Collinder (1949: 185) speaks in his English translation of *Lake Oarrejaure*, and Todal in his Norwegian translation (Gaski [ed.] 1991: 30) about "sjøen, *Oarrejávri*" ['the lake, *Oarrejávri*']. Moreau, too, kept in his French translation (Domokos [ed.] 1980: 121) the Sami word for lake and writes about *le lac—l'Orrajavri*. All others translated the Sami word for lake into their own language. Collinder, who in 1941 published a Swedish version using Sirma's rendering in Swedish in a grammatically more correct way, does not repeat Sirma's *träsket Orra träsk*, or *Siöön Orra siöön* ['the lake Orra lake'] but writes, surprisingly enough, *Ekorrsjö[n]* ['Squirrel lake'] (Collinder 1941: 296). In his 1953 Swedish rendering in his own words, he also speaks of *Ekorrvattnet* ['Squirrel lake'] (Collinder 1953: 215–216). Qvigstad and Collinder (who both could read Sami) are thus the only ones who translated the name of the lake, a lead followed by Blair who in 1967 made a translation ("Squirrel Water") of Collinder's latest Swedish version into English (in Ruong 1967: 56). Finnish readers might, of course, understand the meaning of the name, and Sami readers will definitely do so when the name is given in the correct spelling.

Conclusion

Looking back at the translation history of these place-names, we can conclude that Sirma, by leaving out the woods, Mt Kaige and the Kaige coves in his Swedish translation, flattened the landscape the lover had to traverse on his journey to his beloved one in winter time and made it more monotonous. The two lakes in Sirma's text, called *palus* in Latin by Schefferus, became moors in the translations of Schefferus' book into English (Cremer, where Kaigè is even called "the watery moor"), French and Dutch. Although the original text also spoke of vast stretches of moorland in addition to the lakes, the woods and the mountain, the English, French and Dutch readers were left with moors, and moors only, as early as in the 1670s and 1680s. The picture of a wintry landscape in *The Spectator*, even though the song does not contain any place-names, reinforces the impression that Sápmi in win-

ter time is a dreary and depressing landscape with lots of unfriendly, tedious and watery marshes. This picture reached the German readers through the translation of the Spectator-version into German by Johann Gottsched published in 1741 and reprinted in 1751, but was made more positive by von Halem. Moreover, in the German translation of Schefferus' book and the translations by Örn, Claudius and, last but not least, Herder, Kaige and Kælwa are lakes and Herder's young lover sings about how he likes these lakes. Thus, compared to the English readers, the German readers got a more positive impression of the landscape. Herder's songs inspired Finnish poets in the nineteenth century. In the English, German, French, Swedish and Norwegian twentieth-century translations, the landscape is depicted in accordance with the Sami original, since by then the original text or an interlinear Finnish translation was used as source text.

Both lakes play a most remarkable and central role in Högberg's winter song (1898). To Högberg, the mentioning of their names and flattering them was essential for a safe journey in the world view of seventeenth-century Sami, because the lakes would then protect the young lover against mishaps caused by natural circumstances. The same view is voiced by Gaski in 1987. Naming the names of features in the landscape was thus really important.

The translation history of the place-name *Orra* in the summer song is remarkable too. Rudbeck (1689) states that the Sami name of the lake (*Orri javre* or in Swedish *Orri tresk*) is taken from the Swedish name *Oridan* (from *Oridanus*), i.e. the Baltic Sea. In his Swedish rendering of the Sami summer song he therefore mentions the sea by its "correct" Swedish name and uses this name as proof of his thesis that Fennoscandia is actually Plato's Atlantis!

As in the winter song, the lake became a moor in the English translation of Schefferus' book and then its name, through a misreading of the text, changed into a girl's name which became a well-known Sami name in England and remained so until well into the nineteenth century. In the landscape as it was depicted in England, pine trees grow on the locality where the lover lives in all texts. But the landscape around the moor, which in the Sami original consists of (low growing) green trees, bushes and heather, became a landscape with flowers through Sirma's Swedish translation, Schefferus' Latin rendering and Cremer, who added blossoms and green tree branches that provided shade. The branches were embellished with warbling birds by Lord Chesterfield. In the English translation of Mügge there are even brambles growing near the lake, hiding the loved one.

In the twentieth century, Collinder describes the landscape around the lake as a heather dale and so does Blair. Blair also mentions a forest and since the readers are now aware that the lake is called 'Squirrel Water' they understand that there might be pine trees there, too.

The English texts of the summer song depict a much more imaginary landscape than the German, the Dutch, the Scandinavian texts, or even the French rendering of Mügge, where the translators keep to flowers and bushes. Finally, when the Sami text became the source text, the flowers disappeared. The landscape around the lake then consists of heather, bushes and pine trees. We can conclude that the landscape depicted in Sirma's original Sami songs is in accordance with Wahlenberg's description of the area around Lake Orajärvi and Lake Kelujärvi where Sirma grew up in the seventeenth century.

NOTES

- ¹ This article is based on my unpublished Master's thesis in translation science (Zorgdrager 1999).
- ² In some translations the place-names have been left out. These translations are not discussed here, with the exception of the English text of the winter song that was published in *The Spectator* in June 1712.
- ³ The spelling of the place-names in the songs is not unanimous, not even always within one and the same song. In this article I have chosen to follow the spelling of the respective translations under discussion.
- ⁴ The article "The Spectator (1711)" in Wikipedia; www.en.wikipedia.org; access date 9 March 2017.

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