

THE MAKING OF SÁMI ETHNOGRAPHY: CONTESTED AUTHORITIES AND NEGOTIATED REPRESENTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This contribution analyzes the interplay of ethnographic and poetic agendas, the negotiation of synergetic or conflicting objectives in the production and editing of a seminal representation of the Sámi, *Muitalus sámiiid birra*. My main focus is on the collaborative effort of the publication process, to investigate the emergence and negotiation of representational authority, of cultural poetics, of social and cultural critique, in order to defy the preconception of a passive informant of a cultural experience. The Sámi narrator Johan Turi is discussed, instead, as an active agent in providing a voice to the Sámi people in the collaborative process of ethnography writing. My approach is interdisciplinary, being inspired by different inquiries in anthropology and cultural history, while adding a subjective interpretation in discerning the production of a multifaceted ethnographic representation, both by the cultural insider and the inquisitive outsider.

KEYWORDS: collaborative ethnography • ethnographic authority • Sámi studies
• representation • voice

The book celebrated today, as the first published secular book by a Sámi author in Sámi, is Johan Turi's *Muitalus sámiiid birra* (1910), a story of the Sámi people. Yet this work was not a single effort, but the result of a collaborative undertaking by a Sámi insider and a Danish outsider. Although current scholars recognize Emilie Demant Hatt's role as a translator of the book into Danish and characterize her as the initiator of the project (e.g., Gaski 1996; 1998; see also Valkeapää 1994b), I propose to rethink the context in which the book discussed here was produced in order to analyze further the collaborative effort involved. Thus my task in the following is to study the evolvement of a seminal text that has become an important milestone in the representation of culture, by briefly taking a look at the historical circumstances of the moment when it was created – what served as inspiration, what were the intentions of those helping to produce it, as much as this can be gleaned from the period documents and additional literature. By focusing on particularly the collaborative interaction, I would like to expand the general perception of the creation of representative texts in the early twentieth century, and discuss the underpinnings of textual practices in this process of ethnographic representation when pointing to the joint efforts by people involved in it. In this article, I seek to analyze the interplay of ethnographic and poetic agendas, permeated by the negotiation of synergetic or conflicting objectives¹. My investigation maintains a relatively floating interdisciplinary approach without committing to any single confirmed theoretical framework

or methodological practice, but aims instead to probe the margins of existing inquiries in anthropology and cultural history, while adding a subjective interpretation in discerning the existence of a multi-faceted ethnographic voice. I observe how the individuals involved in the project constructed themselves with respect to the Sámi and to the reading audience, and what kind of authority and agenda the resulting ethnography contested or advanced.

During the late twentieth century, particularly the American anthropologist discourse became intensely interested in the practice of ethnography writing, and provided extensive reflexive studies on classical ethnographies. Scholars confirmed the shift from interpretive anthropology to textualist meta-anthropology by investigating and reflecting not on cultural encounters, or symbolic patterns of social practice, but on discursive aspects of cultural representation. With ethnographies no longer perceived as Foucauldian “regimes (or systems) of truth”, Clifford Geertz analyzed and evaluated the anthropologist as an author and an institutional being in a concrete historical context (Geertz 1988). James Clifford, on the other hand, questioned the validation of the established ethnographic authority of a textual representation of the other (Clifford 1988a). In his critical investigation into the history of anthropology, George Stocking questioned the practice of “the ethnographer's magic” to supplement experience-gaps in constructing the assumed holistic picture of a culture (Stocking 1992). In their examination of the practices of ethnographic studies, George Marcus and Michael Fischer argued for the interrelation of the poetic and political in ethnography writing, and sought for explicit cultural critique in any textual representation (Marcus, Fischer 1986).

This historical investigation into the practice of writing textual representations of cultures was initiated by the post-structuralist analysis of textual practices and the questioning of the Western privileged position (and preoccupation) to represent the claimed ‘Other’ (cf., for example, Said 1978; Clifford 1988b). Those critiques focused, in general, on the ethnographer as an individual, though bound by institutional and contextual constraints, yet relatively free in ethic and aesthetic choices in the ultimate production of a written record about the cultural ‘Other’. The represented ‘Other’, however, has been perceived as faceless and nameless collective body of a ‘culture’, marginalized, victimized, and listless.

In the vogue of deconstructing seminal ethnographies, particularly those of classical weight, reflexive investigators have worked on dissecting the established ethnographic authority and the over-arching validity of representation; they have questioned the alleged ethnographic allegory and depreciated the rigor or veracity of the proposed cultural critique. In this contribution, which aligns with such reflexive analysis, I want to discuss one rather neglected and less-known historical case, although the representative text produced is a celebrated achievement. The case studied, however, entails an impressively modern implementation of ethnographic gaze in Scandinavian anthropological practice well before informants were established or recognized as co-authors, capable of negotiating representational issues or providing a voice to their people. In the following, I propose to investigate the collaborative ethnography produced by Johan Turi and Emilie Demant Hatt from three aspects:

- 1) what kind of representations *Muitalus sámiid birra* presents;
- 2) whose authority and what kind of cultural poetics it reflects;
- 3) what implicit critical agendas it advances.

CREATING AN ETHNOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

The book *Muitalus sámiiid birra*², a compendium of descriptions of the Mountain Sámi³, their ways of life, their customs and beliefs, their natural surroundings, their lore and legends, their cultural expression, was first published in 1910⁴. Johan Turi's name was in the position of the author, while in the English translation from two decades later the whole title was named after him: *Turi's Book of Lappland* (Turi 1931). The first paragraph of the book reads as follows:

I am a Sámi who, throughout my life, have busied myself with all manner of Sámi work, and I know a l l a b o u t Sámi life. [...] Now I've thought that it would be a good thing if there was a b o o k which told everything about Sámi life and circumstances [...] so that folk shouldn't come to twist everything round till the Sámi are always slandered, and always made out to be in wrong when there's trouble between the Sámi and the settlers up in Norway and Sweden. In that book every event must be written down and explained so that it is quite clear to everyone. And it will be good for other Sámi to hear of Sámi circumstances (Turi 1931: 19)⁵

Regardless of the authorial empowerment claimed in this introduction, the title page of the English edition displayed yet another name besides Johan Turi – that of an editor and translator, Emilie Demant Hatt. This work was a salient result of an industrious collaboration between a well-meaning foreign anthropologist and a native informant turned writer, whose joint effort created a pivotal work based on mutual respect and reciprocal reliance. The Sámi wolf-hunter Johan Turi might have never written that book without the assistance of Demant Hatt. On the other hand, without his collaboration, support and friendship, the Danish artist Emilie Demant Hatt might have never evolved into an anthropologist⁶.

Muitalus sámiiid birra presents a Sámi ethnography as recorded by Turi, to reflect his life experience, his profound knowledge of Sámi everyday practices, cultural heritage and oral tradition. His narrative extends from telling how the Sámi first lived, what were their circumstances, what they lived on, and from whence they came, to carefully detailed descriptions of reindeer husbandry and hunting practices; he tells about child-birth, about customary care for children, about attending to the dead, as well as about cures for ailments and the usage of traditional medicine. Throughout the whole book, his practical and matter-of-fact information is continuously interlaced with personal memories and historical recollections, with aetiological legends and folktales, with longer chapters on *Stallo*, *Ruoša-čuđi* and *Ulda*, and joiking. The original manuscript that *Muitalus sámiiid birra* was based on, was written by Turi in Sámi, in a mixture of Kautokeino and Jukkasjärvi dialects (Hansegård 1988: 11). Turi provided also a set of maps and drawings, to illustrate the topics discussed and to add a visual representation to the written interpretation of an oral experience. However, the final published version of the text is not Turi's arrangement, but a product of a thorough and long-lasting editing effort by Emilie Demant Hatt (see Demant Hatt 1931a; 1931b). She translated the text also into Danish, so that the first edition of the book combined two languages. She also helped to recruit a financier for the publication, who was no less than the managing director of the mining company in Kiruna, Hjalmar Lundbohm – the “uncrowned king of Lapland”, as he was called among his contemporaries (cf. Åström 1965). *Muitalus sámiiid*

birra was quickly translated also into German, and later to several other languages. It is recognized as the first book written in the Sámi language by a Sámi that is based on material from Sámi everyday life. In current scholarly editions on Sámi culture, it is celebrated as the beginning of Sámi written literature (see Gaski 1996: 19)⁷.

Johan Turi (1854–1936) was born in Kautokeino in Norway, but he spent the majority of his adult life in Jukkasjärvi parish in Sweden, where to his family had to relocate and consequently become Swedish citizens due to border regulations between Norway and Russia-Finland that restricted access to the Sámi migration and grazing areas (Valkeapää 1994a: 32–33; Kvenangen 1996: 88–9). Though Turi practised some reindeer herding for subsistence as well, his main occupation was hunting and fishing, while his excellent observational skills resulted in knowledge and competence in various aspects of Sámi lifestyle. Turi's aspiration for creative expression resulted in three books during his lifetime: besides *Muitalus sámiid birra* there appeared *Lappish Texts* in 1920, and *Från fjället* in 1931 (cf. Turi & Turi 1920, and the recent vernacular edition of Turi 1988)⁸.

Emilie Demant (1873–1958) studied art in Copenhagen in Denmark, and took her first trip to the Swedish Sápmi in 1904. During 1907–1908 she spent nearly a year and a half traveling in Sápmi with Sámi reindeer herders. Between 1912 and 1914 she visited and carried out research in Sápmi together with her husband, anthropologist and archaeologist Gudmund Hatt. Besides editing books authored by Turi, Emilie Demant Hatt published her own ethnography *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet* in 1913, and a collection of Sámi folklore *Ved Ilden* in 1922 (cf. Demant Hatt 1913; 1922). The latter publication and several of her art exhibits featured her creative work, inspired by the Sámi, their nature and culture. In 1940, the Nordic Museum in Stockholm recognized her anthropological and artistic efforts by awarding her the Artur Hazelius Silver Medal (Demant Hatt 1942; Åström 1965: 192; Emilie 1983).

When Turi and Demant⁹ met for the first time as fellow railway passengers in northern Sweden in 1904 (Demant Hatt 1942), Turi was already actively searching for a way to disseminate his knowledge of the Sámi experience, based on his letters to Demant and her recollections of the encounter. Thus one comes to the conclusion that it is questionable to limit his participation in the following interaction to that of a passive informant or manipulated cultural representative whom an outsider sought out for an external purpose of gaining access to particular cultural knowledge, which is usually the claim by studies that seek to deconstruct the ethnographic endeavor of the past and pinpoint the deprived agency of native informants. Though four years passed before Turi outlined the actual manuscript, the idea of sharing his thoughts and observations on his people's everyday practices and cultural engagements had become a definite plan of action much earlier. In his first letters to Emilie Demant Hatt, he expressed his intentions in a determined way when he stated that he would one day write a book on Sámi life (Demant Hatt 1942: 100)¹⁰. Even several decades later Demant Hatt described their mutual “friendship and collaboration” with most telling metaphors of close concurrence of intentions: For her, Turi came to be the *key* [my italics – K.K.] to Sápmi and its people, whereas she came to be for him the *door* out to the world, a door, which she openly admitted he had been seeking for years (ibid.: 97). Demant Hatt similarly described her pursuit to migrate with nomadic Sámi reindeer herders to have been a childhood wish that she could finally fulfill with Turi's help. When she eventually started her journey with the family of Turi's older brother Aslak, she was not embark-

ing on a rigorous scholarly fieldwork trip, though, because she lacked formal training in anthropological research or Sámi studies. Her purposed objective might have been more so linked to artistic curiosity in search of unique visual experience. On the other hand, that particular institutional disengagement granted her freedom for a most positive and sympathetic ethnographic gaze. Demant Hatt's support for their collaborative efforts with Turi became particularly manifest in the fact that she withheld publishing her own ethnographic descriptions based on her travelogue for three years, in order to help Turi bring out his ethnography first (Valkeapää 1994b: 255).

NEGOTIATED AUTHORITIES AND CULTURAL POETICS

In the process of writing and editing *Muitalus sámiiid birra*, Turi and Demant Hatt negotiated concurrently different and similar agendas of representation and authority. Demant Hatt set her ethnographic authority in the preface to the publication, by calling Turi a “naive and primitive” child of Nature, by describing her own editing capacity of the original manuscript, and Turi's clumsiness in the technical skills of writing, or in rendering a coherent subject (Demant Hatt 1931a: 10). Therefore, even the general setup of the book would be a result of Demant Hatt's editing expertise, and her authority in mastering the superior language, because her provision of the Danish translation eventually made Turi's work accessible to outside readers.

Yet while reading the book, it becomes quite clear that the ultimate authority of the author was actually acquired by Turi, while the major agency for obtaining it nevertheless appeared to be the Sámi language of his original text. Turi had initially attempted to write his ethnography in Finnish – in this undertaking his goal was to promote his work in an official written language in the region¹¹. Besides, his writing aspirations were not taken too seriously, or accepted wholeheartedly by the native Sámi community, who could not see the practical value of writing in their vernacular about their livelihood practices, i.e. an engagement in writing that would not serve spiritual edifying purposes (cf. Demant Hatt 1942; Lundmark 1972; Valkeapää 1994a). But Demant Hatt's insistence on the Sámi language equipped Turi with a tangible authority of competence, integrity and immediacy, as he eventually wrote in his mother tongue with all the obvious advantages of it¹², which made him the genuine master of the text and its content. Even if Demant Hatt suggested topics or amended chapter sequence or segments, *Muitalus sámiiid birra* clearly narrated and reflected Turi's authentic knowledge of his people.

Johan Turi wrote the ethnography of the Mountain Sámi reindeer herders as a traditional storyteller who performs his repertoire of tales, of aetiological legends and memorates (or reviews), while the general discourse in which the repertoire is embedded represents the history of the community, both the immediate one as well as the Sámi people as a whole. *Muitalus sámiiid birra* reflected Turi's life experience, evolving into an ethnography of Sámi everyday practices, cultural heritage and oral tradition. The earliest knowledge about the Sámi and their livelihood were complemented by descriptions of reindeer husbandry and hunting practices of Turi's contemporaries. His narrative on the Sámi life cycle extended over the lifespan of a human being, and recounted also cures for ailments and practices of traditional medicine. This was the traditional knowledge Turi wanted to share, a knowledge he obviously considered threatened by

the advancing colonization of non-Sámi settlers and by the inevitable modernization sweeping his customary environment. But furthermore, he wanted the Sámi community to hear his voice, so that he might share the knowledge of Sámi everyday practices with the younger generation, and thus extend to them a vital connection to their heritage and ways of life. His vernacular knowledge on Sámi “doctoring” – as his descriptions of medical or healing practices and the ancient *noaidi* institution and *noaidi* arts were called in the English edition – found parallel extension in his recounts about the folkloric figures called *Stallo*, *Ruoša-čuđi* and *Ulda*, the musical expression of joiking as well as about the Kautokeino events¹³ that had happened before his birth. In this narrative he presented a combination of practical survival knowledge that was intricately interwoven with or into folklore, while it also reflected the general religious worldview and experience of the author. In his worldview, one cannot exclude the other, Christianity and folk belief merge in Turi’s over-arching depiction of Sámi mental experiences.

The cultural poetics observable in *Muitalus sámiiid birra*, the implicit textual reconstitution of self and society in the historical context mediate Turi and Demant Hatt as exceptional in their time¹⁴. Demant Hatt must have appeared unconventional not only to the Sámi: she was an inexperienced foreigner, a middle-class single woman, which made her an outsider also in the eyes of professionals in Sámi studies (cf. Demant Hatt 1913; 1942; Åström 1965: 201). On the other hand, the literate, independent and mobile Turi was radically different from the epitomized ignorant native informant who prevailed in the imaginary of the dominant cultural research. Turi defied the romantic image of the “noble savage”, which even Emilie Demant Hatt seemed to share in her introduction to *Muitalus sámiiid birra* (see Demant Hatt 1931a). However, one may also resort in this context to the conclusion that she may have tried to meet the expectations of the contemporary reading audience¹⁵. According to the general conventional idea of the time, the Sámi were considered intellectually inferior, incapable of rigorous abstract analysis, as someone dependent and immature, who had to be protected by those feeling compassion. These were people who could be studied anthropologically, one could investigate their subsistence system – preferably reindeer herding – or analyze remnants of the past and presumably lost pagan religion. The Sámi were acceptably of interest as an *object* of investigation, but Turi defied those conceptions by making the Sámi the *subject* of his ethnography. He conveyed a wonderfully holistic and authentic experience, encompassing a vast range of Sámi life. Moreover, Turi’s work was proudly promoting an indigenous educational agenda: He told his story to document and to inform the Sámi community about their history, traditional practices and folklore.

Thus, Johan Turi was not a passive informant or a relatively unengaged and indifferent cultural representative sought out for an external purpose of gaining access to particular cultural knowledge. In his writing, he actively negotiated his authority of indigenous experience working towards his agenda to rewrite Sámi history from the indigenous point of view, and eventually, also to share this historical experience with his own people, keeping simultaneously in mind the territorial expanse of Sámi settlement and variety of socio-cultural or linguistic differences. At the same time Turi set his book a goal of communicating with the dominant culture on an equal basis by using their medium of authoritative interaction – the written text, a document of historical merit. He wanted to present both to the insiders and the outsiders a portrayal of the self-sufficiency of the Sámi way of life as a workable alternative in modern context and under the ongoing socio-political changes.

The cultural poetics of *Muitalus sámiid birra* becomes poignantly expressive in the visual aspects of Turi's and Demant Hatt's collaboration. Perhaps influenced by the artistic endeavors of the Danish painter during her fieldtrip, Turi supplemented his manuscript with descriptive and narrative drawings about Sámi life. He used the printed medium to the full in attaining his objective of creating a representation of the Sámi experience when he applied not only folkloric narrative or descriptions of Sámi practices but also supplemented his prose with powerful visual imagery in the fourteen large-scale drawings included in the book. These drawings depict scenes from Sámi everyday life and provide a visual commentary to the general representation of social conditions.

Turi's *Muitalus sámiid birra* is in essence a conscious enlightening and didactic project, an attempt to provide his people with a history, a printed document that verified their lifestyle and affiliation to ancestral beliefs, lore and legends, that would demonstrate their right to contested territory through historical connection and subsistence practices. On the other hand, Turi wrote his work to promote an indigenous educational agenda of edifying the insider community. The whole idea of writing a book with the dichotomous objective to concurrently target the dominant community and enlighten the Sámi community, aimed at appealing to the colonizers in their own medium, while simultaneously establishing the Sámi as agents of history.

PETITION FOR SURVIVAL

In his lifetime, Johan Turi had witnessed a rapid change in Sápmi that affected profoundly the indigenous population's territorial, economic, social and cultural conditions. Based on the ideas expressed in his book, Turi did not want to remain a passive observer of this transition but sought an active voice to express his concern. The emergent cultural and social critique in *Muitalus sámiid birra* reflects again the concurring agenda of Johan Turi's and Emilie Demant Hatt's collaboration: both wanted to celebrate the Sámi experience as unique, but of equal right to survive in the contemporary world; both wanted to uplift the Sámi and improve their status. Turi was a sensitive observer of the internal and external constraints in Sámi life and character; he tried to analyze and understand the situation of the Sámi, the reasons for conflict with expanding settlers, the territorial, social and cultural restrictions imposed on the Sámi, their historical predicaments in the squeezing and tightening grip of the inevitable modernization on the bordering zones of Sweden, Norway and Finland (cf. Lorenz 1991; Kvenangen 1996; Lehtola 1997).

In his seminal work, Johan Turi embarked on a project to write Sámi history from the past to the present, so that the past would be incorporated into the interpretation of the present. His narrative unraveled the political, social, cultural and religious history of his community. When rewriting Sámi history from a Sámi vantage point, Turi evidently had a double objective. While aiming at the larger Sámi community with the intention of informing them on the particular experiences of the Jukkasjärvi reindeer-herding Sámi, his writing openly addressed the Swedish authorities with the intention of making them comprehend what Sámi existence was about. He was simultaneously targeting the vital internal and external communal relationships which defined the conditions for the survival of the Sámi community and ways of existence. In his own words,

Turi regarded the most important part of his whole work to be the section in which he actually made a petition to the Swedish government, to establish new laws that would recognize the rights of the Sámi (Turi 1931: 232).

When relating his evaluation through a narrative that would express the insider concern but avoid outside confrontation, Turi applied irony and gave a critique through recounted personal histories or folktales. The final chapter of the book presents a poignant allegory on the condition of the Sámi, where Turi has resorted to his characteristic expressive means:

Telling about the unknown animals of Sápmi. // Sápmi is a land where there are [...] certain less valuable animals... who support themselves in places where other animals could not support themselves. And folk will not allow these animals into the better parts of the earth [...] where they have formerly been [...] these animals are easy to frighten, they are very timid, and they are not dangerous even [...] if they can hardly support themselves, and have to suffer – they are animals who do no harm [...] their land is taken away from them bit by bit. And if things go on as they have – heretofore – then those animals will die, and die through suffering that is against the cruelty to animals' law. And if those animals had a master, and he understood how they suffered, then perhaps he would buy them more land, but as they have no real master, now they must suffer until death, which is a sad thing for those who think about it and understand it. I who write this wish that grace might shine before their eyes, as grace shines before the eyes of other created beings, beings which the same God created. Finally, we are in God's care, like a child on its mother's knee, where it has its best refuge. (Turi 1931: 233–235)

In sum, *Muitalus sámiiid birra*, narrated and penned by the Mountain Sámi Johan Turi, extended a compendium of descriptions of the Sámi, their ways of life, their customs and beliefs, their natural surroundings, their lore and legends, their cultural expression. That book was nevertheless a salient result of a joint effort and industrious collaboration between a well-meaning foreign anthropologist Emilie Demant Hatt and a native informant, turned writer. In the current article, I attempted to give a short account of the representational issues negotiated in the publication of *Muitalus sámiiid birra*, the cultural poetics of it and the emergent social and cultural critique. My goal was to argue that Turi – defying the preconception of a passive informant of a cultural experience – became an active agent in providing a voice to the Sámi people through a unique collaborative process of ethnography writing, carried out by two exceptional people in their time.

In this case, the concept of ethnography presented an idiosyncratic extension, emulating marginality and hybridity. It contradicted the general perception of ethnographic writing involving a professionally trained outsider who enters the field to document or to explain the practices of a cultural 'Other'. *Muitalus sámiiid birra* was instigated by an antithetical process of ethnography writing where the reconstitution of self and society was practiced by the cultural 'Other', a native who consciously established himself as a narrating subjectivity reflecting the experience of his people through singular individuals and cases of personal history. Negotiating personal relationships and representational agency, while surrendering or surmounting the limitations of social and political restraints, Turi emerged as an active agent in providing a voice to the Sámi. The

publication of *Muitalus sámiiid birra* marked a joint effort of multi-faceted collaboration; it was the result of mutual recognition, appreciation and inter-reliance in a controversial context, where remarkable individuals appear engaged in making a Sámi ethnography through contesting authorities and negotiating agendas at a particular moment in Sámi history.

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NOTES

1 While my current focus is on the particular ethnographic text, I've discussed the socio-political context in more detail elsewhere (see Kuutma 2006). Parts of this study have appeared also in Kuutma 2003. For the significance of Turi's book, refer also to its representation in Ruong 1965, in his introduction to that vernacular edition.

2 This currently used transcription of the title is based on the edition of Turi 1987.

3 Based on their geographical location and the means of subsistence, the Sámi have been categorized as Mountain or Reindeer, Forest, Coastal and River Sámi, who carry distinct differences also in the dialects spoken.

4 A revised second edition appeared a year later (cf. Turi 1911).

5 The spacing copies the original English version. I have replaced the terms for Sámi and Sápmi that Elizabeth Gee Nash used in her translation in the 1931 English edition, i.e. Lapps and Lappland, with the ones currently accepted in Sámi studies. In the vernacular original, Turi referred to his native territory as *Sámi ætnam* (see Turi 1911).

6 The interaction between Turi and Demant Hatt over several decades can be followed in their correspondence and personal notes in the archives of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (Folkeminnesamling, L.A.. [Lapska Arkivet]), while being partly published also in Valkeapää 1994b. The original manuscript of *Muitalus sámiid birra* is deposited in L.A., file 853.

7 The book represents the northern Sámi and their culture, but as a representation it has obtained wider connotation. The first edifying religious texts were actually published in South Sámi.

8 For further discussion of the other published writings by Turi see Lundmark 1972. Turi's other notes and writings are deposited at the Nordic Museum in L.A., file 662.

9 Emilie Demant and Gudmund Hatt got married in 1911, after the first edition of *Muitalus sámiid birra* was published.

10 See also Valkeapää 1994b: 79.

11 Finnish served as a kind of lingua franca for the Sámi community, being one of the missionary languages among the people dispersed between four states and many local dialects. See also Valkeapää 1994b: 71.

12 For linguistic reference, see Svonni 2001.

13 Religious and social disturbance of 1852 made a significant mark on Sámi history and was recorded in various cultural historical documents (cf. Lehtola 1997: 40–41).

14 My use of the term of cultural poetics (or poetics of culture) is informed by the relevant interpretations by James Clifford and Stephen Greenblatt, who in their respective works investigate specific exclusions, conventions and discursive practices of self and society in textual representations (Clifford 1986: 24), or focus on the historicity of a text, while observing the negotiations and exchange in reflecting conventional and institutional practices (Greenblatt 1998: 158).

15 In relation to the collaborative effort of producing *Muitalus sámiid birra*, it could be pointed out here that during that process Turi and Demant Hatt had to negotiate intricate issues of gender relations, both between themselves and in the works written, based on the social conventions in the indigenous and the dominant communities. For more detailed discussions of these issues see Kuutma 2005 and 2006.