

"Not on bread but on fish and by hunting": Food Culture in Early Modern Sápmi

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"...they [Sámi people] live not on bread but on fish and by hunting wild creatures..." (Olaus Magnus 1996 [1555], 198).

Introduction

When Olaus Magnus was writing his *Description of the Northern Peoples* in the mid sixteenth century, he relied partly on what he had seen himself on his journey in the northern parts of Sweden and partly on what he had heard about the habits of the Sámi people. Olaus's statement that the Sámi live on fish and game meat reflects rather well how outsiders saw the Sámi way of living and food culture. His statement is not totally wrong, but it does oversimplify things. In the sixteenth century, the Sámi people lived in a large geographical area that stretched from the southwestern part of Norway to the Kola Peninsula, which means that the Sámi culture was not unified with regard to environment and sources of livelihood. The local Sámi food culture was affected not only by these factors, but also by the contacts the Sámi had with their Scandinavian or Finnic neighbors. Our hypothesis is that the Sámi food culture in areas where the Sámi encountered the Scandinavian or Finnic culture was hybridized, meaning that it was influenced by products that Scandinavians or Finns used.

We have examined and tested our hypothesis by comparing archaeological data from various places in northern Fennoscandia with written sources from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The choice of this period is based on the fact that King Gustavus I of Sweden (reigned 1523–1560) developed a taxation system that produced a wealth of

documents known as Bailiff's Accounts. These documents are the best available sources for investigating this matter.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries offer an interesting point of departure for our investigation because the Crown was not the only party that had closer contacts with the Sámi. After the Reformation, which was headed in Sweden by Gustavus I during the sixteenth century (Ylikangas and Tarkiainen 2005), the Lutheran Church began its missionary work among the Sámi in earnest when it realized that the Sámi were not "proper Christians". Religion and food are closely related to each other, which can be seen, for example, in dietary rules concerning fasting and unclean food. Especially in the case of the Sámi ethnic religion, offering traditions and livelihood were intertwined: parts of the catch were often promised as offerings (Äikäs et al. 2009; Äikäs 2015). We have therefore also included archaeological data from various Sámi offering sites, which can cast light on what kind of (food) offerings were made.

The underlying theme of our research is thus as follows: how does the food culture of Scandinavians and Finns present itself in Sámi food culture? If it can be perceived, what elements of it were adopted by the Sámi and why?

Food historians have mostly been interested in the history of European and Western food cultures, while the food histories of national minorities have often been neglected (Claflin and Scholliers 2012). This reflects what is considered to be worth studying. In cultural encounters, the cultural practices of both parties become altered, forming hybrid cultural forms, ambiguous third spaces, multiple identities, and new ways of using and creating material culture (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Gosden 2004; Johnson 2006; Naum 2010; Ylimaunu et al. 2014). Although the power relations in colonial situations, like the one that prevailed in northern Fennoscandia, are often simplified to dualistic terms such as domination and resistance, in reality, a wide variety of strategies have taken place in colonial societies (Shohat

1992; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Comaroff and Comaroff 1997, 22; Lindenfelt and Richardson 2010; Bergman and Edlund 2016; Kuusela, Nurmi, and Hakamäki 2016). Many of these strategies were played out in the small details of everyday life, such as food culture (Pavao-Zuckerman and DiPaolo Loren 2012; Kennedy and VanValkenburgh 2016). The examination of Sámi food culture can therefore contribute to the understanding of the complicated power relationships and cultural negotiations that took place in the encounters between the Sámi and the Scandinavians or Finns. It also provides a unique window into the everyday strategies the Sámi employed to negotiate their relationships with the Scandinavians and Finns.

Sources

Archaeological data

Archaeological data on Sámi foodways consists of faunal assemblages, supported by pollen and macrofossil data. For the purposes of this paper, we rely on previously excavated and published data from Sámi dwelling sites excavated in present-day northern Norway and Finland (Carpelan 1987; 2003; Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997; Halinen 2009; Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). We also compare this data with published pollen and macrofossil data (Bergman and Hörnberg 2015; Hörnberg et al. 2015) from Sámi dwelling sites, as well as published faunal data from sites visited or temporarily occupied by the Sámi, such as market places (Lahti 2006; Harlin 2007; 2009) and mining communities (Sten 1989). In addition, we compare the data with information provided by the stable isotope analysis of human remains (Fjellström 2011). The dietary information provided by the faunal, macrofossil, pollen, and stable isotope analysis is also compared with faunal assemblages from Sámi offering sites (Äikäs 2015; Salmi et al. 2018).

The archaeological sites discussed here are scattered around a vast area inhabited by various Sámi groups that rely on different modes of subsistence. In addition, the sites span a long period of time from ca. 800 AD to the eighteenth century. The data therefore does not allow us to produce a comprehensive description of the foodways of various Sámi societies in the course of a thousand years, but it does offer glimpses into several regions, supply networks, and interactions that shaped the food culture in those locations and beyond.

Written sources

The Lapland that belonged to the Kingdom of Sweden in the sixteenth century was divided into administrative regions. We have examined the two northernmost regions, *Torne Lappmark* (Tornio Lapland) and *Kemi Lappmark* (Kemi Lapland), which were mostly inland areas (the northernmost parts of Finland, Sweden, and Norway) of the current Sápmi. The administrative centers of these *Lappmarks* were situated on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. The town of Tornio was founded in 1621 on an old market place from which trade excursions to Lapland could be carried out (Ylimaunu 2007). The area of Torne and Kemi *Lappmarks* is characterized by many lakes and large salmon rivers, but also mountains and fells. The written records concerning taxation – the so-called Bailiff's Accounts – from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are one of the few document record series covering these areas. When King Gustavus I began to reorganize the administration and taxation, local bailiffs had to write detailed accounts of taxes collected from the Crown's subjects (Seppälä 2009, 9–25).

The Bailiff's Accounts since the 1530s are imperfect at some points, but they give us a glimpse of what kind of tax parcels the Crown was able to collect from the Sámi. This also ought to reflect their sources of livelihood and thus, indirectly, their food culture, as the taxes were collected in the form of natural products (Seppälä 2009, 208). Admittedly, these sources are one-sided and do not give a full picture of the Sámi food culture, but they reveal what kind

of barter economy flourished between the Crown and its subjects. We also use other available archival material, such as toll registers and letters addressed to Swedish kings and queens. The Sámi of Kemi and Torne *Lappmarks* also wrote letters to authorities if they had, for example, concerns about their livelihood. Combining all this information with narrative sources and archaeological data therefore allows us to look at a fuller picture of the Sámi food culture.

Narrative sources consist of the book *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Description of the Northern Peoples, 1555), written by the Swedish author Olaus Magnus. The book was partly based on Olaus Magnus' (1996 [1555], 212) own journeys, but he was also familiar with the texts of earlier European authors. We also use various accounts from the seventeenth century, such as Olof Tresk's atlas of Kemi and Torne *Lappmarks*, *Kartor över Kemi och Torne Lappmarker 1642 och 1643*. Tresk worked as a land surveyor and visited every village in the area during the first half of the seventeenth century. Johannes Schefferus' *Laponia* (1673) is also useful. Schefferus had many local informants, including clergymen (such as Johannes Tornaesus and Samuel Rheen) who worked among the Sámi and knew about their living conditions. In addition, we refer to some earlier sources, such as medieval Icelandic sagas, ethnographic data from the 19th and 20th centuries, and later narratives, such as Carl Linnaeus' *Iter lapponicum* (Expedition to Lapland, 1732).

Meals of fish and game

Fishing was important for the Sámi who lived by the seaside, as well as for those living close to rivers and lakes. In fact, already in the Middle Ages, the Sámi living by the seaside in Finnmark were called "sedentary Finnar" (búfinnar) or fishermen.¹ In *Historia Norwegiae*

¹ Sneglu-Halla þátr, *Flateyjarbók* III, edited by G. Vigfússon & C.R. Unger. P.T. Mallings bokforlag 1868, 422;

The author of *Historia Norwegiae* tells how the Sámi went fishing with "Christians" and pulled a huge catch of

(from ca. 1170), in turn, the anonymous author describes how the Sámi people were skillful hunters and how they moved following the game (*Historia Norwegiae*, 58–61). The author also mentions that the Sámi paid their taxes to the Norwegian kings in the form of squirrel and ermine furs. On several occasions, Olaus Magnus (1996 [1555]) mentions that the Sámi hunted different kinds of birds, for example.

The Bailiff's Accounts confirm that hunting was an important source of livelihood in Lapland. There were yearly records of squirrels, different kinds of foxes (such as white fox and red fox), otters, beavers, wolves, weasels, pine martens, lynxes, wolverines, wild reindeer, and bears (RA, KA). Altogether, the bailiffs had listed a considerable number of fur animals. According to these tax records, the Sámi specialized in different sources of livelihood, meaning that there was a separation of producers (of different resources) in the 16th century. Some of the villages produced a lot of game animals, while others produced a lot of fish. Fur trade flourished, and some Sámi started to focus more on hunting. Also, salmon and other kinds of fish had considerable importance as commodities. Some villages in Torne Lappmark produced a lot of lake fish, and the Bailiff's Accounts especially emphasize the significance of dried pikes, which were an essential export product for the Swedish kingdom. Fish products were in high demand in Catholic Europe, as they were suitable for fasting on Fridays and consumption during Lent (Seppälä 2009, 136–137).

According to Olof Tresk (1928 [1642–43], 18), “the best and the biggest” village in all of Swedish Lapland was situated in Inari (which contained the winter village of Nukkumajoki, where Sámi families gathered in the wintertime). The Bailiff's Accounts contain both taxation and trade information from Inari from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It seems that the Sámi saved the most valuable skins to be used as trade goods. The wealthy paid

fish from the depths into the boat. *Historia Norwegiae*, edited by I. Ekrem & LB. Mortensen, Museum Tusulanum Press [e-book] 2006, 62–63.

taxes at higher rates than the poor (1556, KA 4973). The most affluent Sámi of Inari might sometimes have paid their taxes with beaver skins, but it was not common. In 1594, a taxpayer named Aikia Tutiasson paid one beaver, 20 squirrel skins, and five pikes to the Crown. At the same time, most of the other taxpayers paid their taxes with pikes, squirrels, and sometimes also pine marten skins (KA 4987:10). In 1607, Sámi inhabitants of Inari sold to Swedish officials, among other things, the skins of 15 beavers, five bears, three wolves, one wolverine, two male reindeer, and two red foxes. Beaver furs had become very fashionable during the 16th century. According to Eric Jay Dolin (2011), during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603), high-quality beaver hats were more and more desired throughout Europe, where they had become symbols of social status.

According to Olof Tresk (1928 [1642–43], 18), there were good opportunities for wild reindeer hunting and fairly good opportunities for beaver hunting in Inari. Tresk also praised the fishing waters of Inari, which produced so much fish that it could be exported to neighboring areas. Although many Sámi villages had good inland fishing waters, they also imported cod from the coast of the Arctic Ocean (RA 1578). On the basis of the taxation lists in the Bailiff's Accounts, even the inhabitants of Inari sometimes paid their taxes in the form of dried cod, which means that either they had contacts with coastal people or they went to the coast to fish themselves. In 1578, there was one taxpayer in Inari with 15 squirrel skins, 1 reindeer skin, 30 pikes, and 30 *Bernfisk*, which means dried cod (KA 4985:67). In the early years of the seventeenth century, pike became the most important tax parcel in Inari (Vahtola 2003, 119).

In 1555, Olaus Magnus (1996, 202) wrote that the Sámi paid the officials with “valuable pelts and many sorts of fish”. All in all, fish was an important resource for many Sámi communities, but it was also a very important part of the Sámi diet. Samuel Rheen, who worked as a minister in Lapland during the 17th century, described the Sámi diet: “They make

their meals of fish and game that they have hunted; they eat that in the winter and summer, in the autumn and spring”. Johannes Schefferus (1963 [1673], 301) also mentioned how frequently the Sámi ate fish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fish was such an important commodity for the Sámi that, although it was often preserved by drying, it had also tied them to the global salt trade. Toll registers from the early 1600s show that salted fish was imported from the northern parts of Norway. In 1629, captain Jaen Pedersen from Copenhagen carried a cargo of salted fish, train oil (*traan*), salmon, and dried fish from Vardø, which was also visited by the inland Sámi (STR).

Historical sources, then, focus mainly on tax and trade items. These items are also visible in the archaeological record. For example, judging by the faunal assemblages from dwelling sites in the Pasvik area, it seems that pike was probably dried but not necessarily consumed at these sites, because almost no vertebral bones of pike were identified in the assemblages. Pikes were therefore probably processed for trade and taxation purposes. Cut marks on pike jaw bones from these sites are also consistent with later ethnographic data on splitting the fish in order to facilitate the drying process. (Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). Fur species, such as beaver, pine marten, wolverine, and bear also feature in some faunal assemblages from dwelling and offering sites (Carpelan 1987; Äikäs 2015; Salmi et al. 2018).

Archaeological finds also contain a wealth of information on subsistence activities and food procurement that are not visible in historical sources. Especially fowling and non-commercial fishing feature heavily in many of the faunal assemblages from Sámi sites. Depending on the seasons of use of the site, several species of waterfowl and grouse were encountered in the faunal assemblages from Sámi dwelling sites (Carpelan 1987; Lie 1992; Halinen 2009; Hedman, Olsen, and Carpelan 2015), market places (Lahti 2006; Harlin 2007; 2009), and offering sites (Äikäs 2015; Salmi et al. 2018). A swan bone from the offering site of Unna Saiva, dating to ca. 777–993 AD, was among the oldest dated animal bone finds from

Sámi offering sites (Salmi et al. 2018). At Juikenttä, a few bones of crane, great cormorant, and northern goshawk may indicate that the skins were used for making bags (Carpelan 1987). Later ethnographic accounts suggest that the Sámi held varying attitudes towards eating cranes and hawks (Itkonen 1948a, 507; 1948b, 36, 50; 370; Paulaharju 1961, 118–119), and therefore their consumption for food is also a possibility.

Subsistence fishing is also visible in archaeological animal bone assemblages. In the faunal assemblages from dwelling sites near the Arctic seacoast, in the Pasvik area located near the Pasvik River and the Arctic Sea coast, common whitefish and pike were the most common fish species. There were also bones of grayling, salmon, carp fish, and cod, with cod being the only indisputable indication of sea fishing (Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). The analysis of a number of small animal bone assemblages from Sámi sites in the Varanger area shows a dominance of sea species, such as cod, haddock, and coalfish (Lie 992). In the faunal assemblages from inland locations near lakes and rivers, bones of pike, perch, cyprinid fish, and whitefish were identified (Halinen 2009). In the fish bone assemblages from market places in Markkina and Pappila, salmonid and cod bones were the most common finds, followed by pike and perch (Harlin 2007; 2009). Fish bones and scales were also found at two offering sites, namely Näkkälä and Taatsi in present-day Finland (Figure 6.1). A pike bone from Taatsi was dated to 1040–1209 AD. In addition, perch and trout bones were identified. (Äikäs 2015)

<Figure 6.1 here>

In the comparison of historical sources and bone finds from Sámi dwelling and offering sites, it is clear that the Bailiff's Accounts first and foremost reflect what the authorities considered valuable. Even though the Sámi often had the chance to decide their tax

parcels independently (Vahtola 2003, 119), they also had to hunt and fish the products that the Crown and its authorities deemed useful. Archaeological data, on the other hand, provides information on subsistence hunting and fishing, revealing the importance of seasonal fishing and fowling in the Sámi food culture. It has to be noted, though, that also archaeological assemblages are subject to bias. For instance, written sources indicate a wider significance of fish offerings than the bone finds testify to (Äikäs 2015, Fig. 57). The *sieidi* (a type of Sámi offering site, often a large boulder unshaped by humans) of Koskikaltiojoen suu is known in both written sources and living oral tradition as a fish *sieidi* (Paulaharju 1914; Paulaharju 1965 [1927]), whereas excavations yielded bones of reindeer and wood grouse. Fish bones are small and fragile in comparison with mammal and bird bones, which is probably one of the reasons why they are underrepresented in archaeological assemblages. Other archaeological data, such as the stable isotope analysis of human remains from Rounala, testifies to a diet consisting of mixed marine and terrestrial resources (Fjellström 2011).

Reindeer meat, “the most esteemed delicacy”

Reindeer hides are mentioned in the Bailiff's Accounts concerning Kemi *Lappmark* since 1550. Hides were collected as tax parcel at a rate of approximately 20 hides per year until 1575. After that, the amounts increase, and the top year was 1582, when 54 reindeer hides were given to the bailiff. (KA 4986). After 1585, the amounts decreased dramatically. The reason may be the war between Sweden and Russia (1570–1595), which may have affected the locals and disturbed tax collection. For example, some years are missing from the accounts. Wartime was also reflected in the amounts of products acquired by hunting. For example, between 1560 and 1580, there was also an increase in the amount of squirrel and pine marten furs. These amounts decreased towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Can we figure out how much reindeer meat was consumed by the Sámi or how reindeer husbandry developed just by investigating the Bailiff's Accounts? We have some information about reindeer herds owned by the Sámi in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In Torne Lappmark, some of the villages (or at least some individual Sámi in these villages) specialized in reindeer herding. The tax lists of Rounala from 1559, for example, included pikes, pine martens, and wolverines, but one taxpayer had four reindeer skins among his tax parcels. In the same year, reindeer herds were also listed in the Bailiff's Accounts. According to the documents, a Sámi woman named Kirsin Jönsdåtter, who lived in Torne *Lappmark*, owned twenty-three male reindeer, fifteen female reindeer, and eight young reindeer calves (RA 1559:17).

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Swedish documents contain even more detailed descriptions of reindeer herds and the amount of reindeer. This was part of the politics of King Charles IX (1600–1611), who was interested in utilizing the resources that could be extracted from the northern areas of his kingdom (Kylli 2012, 34–35). The Crown's growing interest in reindeer herds is reflected also on the tax parcels. In Torne *Lappmark*, there were a lot of reindeer skins as tax parcels in the second half of the 1570s, and again starting from 1601. In 1576, the number of reindeer skins was 54, and thirty years later, in 1606, the Sámi of Torne Lappmark paid 151 skins to the Swedish Crown. For the sake of comparison, in 1586 there were only 28 reindeer skins listed. The Russo-Swedish war also hindered reindeer herding during the last decades of the sixteenth century. In the early years of the seventeenth century, many taxpayers in Torne *Lappmark* (for example, in Utsjoki) paid their taxes with money or with reindeer skins. The situation was different in Kemi *Lappmark*, where the Sámi focused more on fishing and hunting. The Inari Sámi, for example, had traditionally hunted a lot of wild reindeer and beavers and kept only a few reindeer themselves. In 1607, there were

only twenty-nine male reindeer, twenty-eight female reindeer, and twenty reindeer calves in Inari (RA 1607:6).

If reindeer hides were paid as tax parcels and sold, we may assume that something was also done with the meat – it was most probably eaten by the Sámi. The Sámi were considered primitive by outsiders because of their cooking habits: they either dried or grilled reindeer meat (Steckzén 1964, 239). Among the archaeological finds from Nukkumajoki, there are fragments of cooking cauldrons (Carpelan 2003, 73), and also on the basis of written sources, the Sámi cooked their meals during the early modern period. In the 1670s, Johannes Schefferus (1963 [1673], 300) wrote that the Sámi used to boil reindeer blood in water in order to make gruel. According to Samuel Rheen, this was a very common dish among the Sámi. Johannes Tornaëus (1772 [1672], 59), who was in charge of the church services for the Sámi in Torne *Lappmark*, also described the reindeer-based diet of the Sámi living within his parish as follows: “The most esteemed delicacies of the Lapp are reindeer meat, bone marrow, reindeer tongue, cheese, and milk. The best cheese is made in the summer. The cheese made in the autumn has less fat. The Lapp conserves autumn milk in pots and reindeer stomachs with blueberries and crowberries, and allows it to freeze.” Carl Linnaeus (1960 [1732], 64) also noted that the Sámi bought root crops from their neighbors and paid for them with cheese (probably made of reindeer milk). Presumably the Sámi adopted the milking of reindeer from their sedentary neighbors, who kept cattle (Ingold 1980, 102).

Reindeer dominated all the archaeological animal bone assemblages, which testifies to the importance of reindeer meat in the Sámi diet and foodways. Because of the presence of two subspecies with similar skeletal morphology and overlapping size, it is usually impossible to identify wild and domesticated reindeer based on fragmentary archaeological bone finds. The reindeer bones discovered at the archaeological sites discussed in this paper can therefore derive from either wild or domesticated reindeer. The percentage of reindeer

bones varied from ca. 70 % to 100 % of number of identifies specimens (NISP) at different sites. Zooarchaeological data suggest that reindeer consumption patterns were generally similar at different Sámi dwelling sites. At all dwelling sites, mainly adult reindeer were slaughtered for food, with very few or no bones of juvenile, subadult, or old individuals (Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997; Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). Both meaty and meat-poor body parts were present in the assemblages (Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997; Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). This suggests that the reindeer were slaughtered and consumed locally. It also indicates that all reindeer body parts were utilized for food, which has been characteristic of the Sámi foodways also in later periods (Itkonen 1921; Soppela 2000). In the archaeological assemblages, also the splitting of metapodials, phalanges, and even upper limb long bones testifies to the intensive use of marrow (Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997; Carpelan 2003). At market places, all body parts were also present and the age profile was similar to that seen at dwelling sites (Lahti 2006; Harlin 2009).

Reindeer were the most common animals offered. Reindeer offerings begun around the twelfth century and peaked around 1400–1600 AD, which is probably related to the onset and intensification of reindeer pastoralism occurring at the same time (Äikäs 2015; Salmi et al. 2018). The reindeer age profiles from offering sites are heavily dominated by prime-age adults, and plenty of old individuals past ten years of age were offered as well. Of the skeletal elements, especially antlers and crania are common at offering sites, and their scarcity at dwelling sites may partly be due to the offering tradition (Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997; Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). There is a description from the fifteenth century concerning Sámi offering of reindeer antlers in a lake, which attests to the habit in the Middle Ages (*Jämtlands och Härjedalens Diplomatarium*, 7). Split metapodials are also present in the faunal assemblages from offering sites. This may indicate that reindeer were sometimes consumed at offering sites. Indeed, later ethnographic data indicates that sometimes people ate

at the offering site, believing that the god was also fed as people were eating (Äimä 1903, 115; Collinder 1953, 171; Itkonen 1948b, 311; Paulaharju 1932, 18; Ravila 1934, 62, 85). The occurrence of burnt bone in the faunal assemblage from two sites (Koskikaltiojoen suu and Ukonsaari) may also indicate the use of fire for cooking the meat (Salmi, Äikäs, and Lipkin 2011; Äikäs 2015).

Again, historical sources focus mainly on reindeer hides as tax and trade items, with some insights into the use of reindeer meat in the Sámi diet. Archaeological finds, on the other hand, are a rich source of information on the role of reindeer meat and marrow in the Sámi food culture. In addition to indicating the overall importance of reindeer in the Sámi diet, archaeological bone finds also suggest how the reindeer carcasses were handled and prepared for food. The archaeological assemblages from offering sites also testify to the great importance of reindeer to the Sámi.

Bread and butter - Hybridized or colonial diet?

The historical Sámi are often connected with reindeer herding, hunting, and fishing, but there are also indications of very early connections to agriculture and animal husbandry. In the medieval saga of *Ketils saga hoengs* (1950, 159), two Sámis come to meet Ketil's Norse friend Brúni to obtain butter from him. Although the saga itself cannot be considered to describe historical characters or events, this kind of description may refer to real-life encounters in the Middle Ages.

Bones of cattle and sheep or goat were identified in small numbers in some of the archaeological assemblages. At sites in Norway, small numbers of sheep or goat bones were identified (Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997; Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). One of the ovicaprid bones from Brodtkorbneset in Pasvik was radiocarbon dated to 990–1155 AD,

making it the earliest evidence so far of livestock at a Sámi dwelling site (Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). Bearing in mind the small sample size, it seems that ovicaprids were slaughtered at the dwelling site, but it is not clear whether the animals were actually kept by the Sámi or whether the animals were traded live or as complete carcasses for consumption (Hedman, Olsen, and Vretemark 2015). The longitudinal splitting of metatarsals indicates marrow consumption (Hambleton and Rowley-Conwy 1997).

At the market places in Markkina and Pappila, there were bones of cattle and sheep or goat (Lahti 2006; Harlin 2009). The livestock bones may be related to the foodways of the merchants from Tornio, but on the other hand, cattle and sheep were kept by the Sámi residing by the Teno River already in the 18th century (Itkonen 1948b, 194). Cow owners of the eighteenth century were listed, for example, in Lapland's taxation records. In 1776, there were seven (fisher) Sámi who owned altogether fourteen cows in Utsjoki (Figure 6.2). There were also thirty-four sheep in Utsjoki, which was inhabited entirely by the Sámi population (Nahkiaisaja 2016, 290). Moreover, in the seventeenth century, the reindeer-herding Sámi had sometimes traded live sheep and cattle to be butchered from the Sea Sámi (Hansen 2005, 177 and references therein).

<Insert Figure 6.2 here>

Bones of sheep or goat and cattle were also identified at offering sites in present-day Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Ovicaprid bones at offering sites date from the thirteenth century onwards. A dated cattle bone sample from Mørsviksbotn in Norway was modern

(Salmi et al. in 2018). The Sámi are associated with keeping goats also in the Icelandic sagas, which confirm the evidence seen in the archaeological finds².

According to Johannes Schefferus (1963 [1673], 302), the Sámi ate mainly fish and meat, but also berries (such as cloudberry and lingonberry), wild celery (*Angelica*), and chopped pine bark (Figure 6.2). He did not mention grain (and wrote that “most Sámi did not know the use of bread and salt”). However, pollen analysis suggests that the Sámi in interior northern Sweden cultivated cereals in the Late Iron Age and medieval period (800–1500 AD) (Bergman and Hörnberg 2015; Hörnberg et al. 2015). In addition to cereals, other plants such as *Angelica archangelica* and pine inner bark were utilized for food (Bergman, Östlund, and Zackrisson 2004; Bergman and Hörnberg 2015).

It seems that Norwegian angelica (*Angelica archangelica*) was one of the key vegetables of the early modern Sámi diet. It was also exported to central Europe in the sixteenth century, as it was considered an important remedy in fighting the plague (Snellman 1996, 15–27). According to written sources, edible commodities were also imported from the south to Sápmi. Olaus Magnus (1996 [1555], 201) mentions that the Sámi lived “not on bread” (but by fishing and by hunting) – but on the other hand he also wrote about their merchandising: “But there gold comes into the business, a commodity that is utterly unknown among the race I am now describing; for valuable pelts, woollen and linen cloth, salt, corn - -.” Olaus Magnus’ information about exchanging commodities seems quite accurate when it is compared to the contents of the Bailiff’s Accounts. According to them, furs were exchanged for fabrics, hemp, flour, bread, and salt – but also for money. In 1577, the Sámi Per Jonsson from Rounala exchanged one pine marten for twenty loaves of bread. Anders Jonsson, another Rounala Sámi, exchanged one beaver for hemp and flour, and also four red foxes for such commodities as

² For example, a poem attached to *Haralds saga gráfeldar* from the 1230s reflects on bad harvest and weather. It mentions that the Sámi take their goats inside (Haralds saga gráfeldar, *Heimskringla* I, 221).

butter, forty-five loaves of bread, flour, and an ax. In 1604, the skins of wolverines and wolves were exchanged for butter, wadmal, and so on (RA 1604:8). In the same year, the accounts contain information on transporting liquor to Torne *Lappmark*, which indicates that more and more new products entered the Sámi culture.

Additionally, many Sámi chose to take money as payment for their furs (instead of butter or flour). They were therefore able to make purchases, for example, in the market places on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. For example, the Sámi from Inari village visited these market places regularly. There were a lot of trading situations (which also might have affected the Sámi diet) that have not been registered in written sources at all. According to Olof Tresk (1928 [1642–43], 18), the Sámi products of Kemi *Lappmark* were very good and were exported to Sweden, Norway, and Russia. Written documents from Russia from the sixteenth or seventeenth century are not available to us, but there is sixteenth-century archaeological evidence of Russian trade contacts (the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan Vasilyevich's coin from 1535–1547) with Nukkumajoki in Inari, for example (Carpelan 2003, 73). Swedish merchants also complained, in 1614, that the Sámi were used to selling their best furs on the coast of Norway (Fellman 1910, 457–460). Among the Nukkumajoki archaeological finds, there are also “fruit knives”, which, according to Christian Carpelan (2003, 73), were made probably either in England or Holland and came to Nukkumajoki through the coast of the Arctic Ocean.

The Sámi actively tried to influence what kind of merchandise was brought to Lapland. According to the Bailiff's Accounts, sixteenth-century Sámi complained when the fur tradesmen did not come and buy their furs in the customary manner (Vahtola 2006). The early modern Sámi needed their trade connections. Even though reindeer meat was their delicacy, they also wanted to eat bread and butter. The flour may have been used, for example, for thickening blood gruels, as mentioned above (Itkonen 1948a, 261). The Sámi might have needed salt and flour also for ritual interaction with their gods. Olaus Magnus (1996 [1555],

151) wrote in 1555 that the Sámi delivered to their deities “certain offerings comprising the bones of wild beasts and of great whales and fishes they have hunted”. “The men of the North” had no incense, but according to Olaus Magnus, it was possible to “seek a favourable omen by means of grain, ground and salted”. Olaus Magnus' texts are sometimes very accurate, but they also require strict source criticism and comparison with archaeological sources: there are no signs of offering salt, flour, or liquor, but these would probably not have left any signs in the archaeological record. All we can conclude is that according to written sources, salt, flour and liquor were offered by the Sámi, but this cannot be attested in the archaeological finds.

Olaus Magnus (1996 [1555], 201) described how unjust it was that business transactions in Sápmi were practiced “at the expense of simple folk” and how faithfully the Sámi carried on their commercial dealings. Later, however, Johannes Tornaeus (1772 [1672], 64–65) – who worked as a pastor in Torne *Lappmark* and visited the area regularly – wrote a different kind of description of the Sámi trading skills: “In trading matters the Sámi are wise... if they learn what things cost in Stockholm, they want to have the same price.” According to Tornaeus, the Sámi fixed prices unjustly, added water to dry fish to make it heavier, stretched reindeer hides, and so on. Especially the Norwegians, “poor creatures”, were thoroughly fooled by the Sámi: When a reindeer died, a Sámi man carried the meat to Norway and said he had slaughtered it himself, and, in doing so, took good *riksdalers* (coins) and other decent goods. Traders imported goods, such as colored clothes, hemp, bread, butter, flour, salt, axes, and liquor, to Lapland and exported reindeer skins, red foxes, dry fish, and so on back to the cities. Olaus Magnus did not mention liquor in the context of Lapland in the mid 1500s. Tornaeus, in turn, mentions it, as liquor became a very valued commodity in the fur trade after the sixteenth century. According to Peter Sköld (1999), the use of spirits as offerings was a fairly late phenomenon, not starting until the seventeenth century.

Export products that entered the Sámi culture can be seen as one feature of colonialism from today's perspective. However, as Johannes Torneus's description shows, the Sámi were not necessarily just "victims" but also active players in the commercial field. This poses the question of how to define colonialism in the Sámi food culture. Fur animals and fish resources stimulated the colonization of the northern areas, and power asymmetries are also mirrored in the sixteenth-century Bailiff's Accounts. On the one hand, the Sámi actively adopted new products and enriched their food culture. Salt and other imported food products must have been valued by the Sámi because they were traded for highly valuable furs. On the other hand, liquor did not improve their lives when its consumption became excessive and addiction caused not just health problems, but also social problems.

At this stage, fur animals were very abundant in Lapland and sixteenth-century fashion still favored wearing furs. Great demand for reindeer products and dried pikes had also affected the Sámi food culture. The situation was changing, however. In the 1640s, the Sámi of Kemi Lapland wrote a letter of complaint to Christina, Queen of Sweden. The Sámi were concerned because peasants from more southern provinces were now invading their fishing waters, which impoverished the local residents. They were also worried because the numbers of wild reindeer and other prey animals, birds, and fish had significantly decreased in Lapland (Fellman 1915, 201). Beaver skins and other furs were still exported from Lapland after the sixteenth century, but since the seventeenth century, they were more often exchanged for liquor and not so often for bread, butter, and salt. In this sense, we see that interaction between the Sámi and merchants was becoming asymmetrical: the merchants could take advantage of the addiction that liquor caused.

Conclusion

For a long time, it was thought that encounters between the Sámi and their neighbors – be they in the form of taxation or trade – consisted only of positive development from the Sámi point of view (Steckzén 1964, 268). In addition, these encounters were long thought to be one-sided, which shows only that the Sámi people have been considered as passive bystanders who were influenced by their neighbors. One feature of this colonial thinking is that not much emphasis has been put on the idea that also the Sámi food culture affected their neighbors' food culture in the areas where different cultures encountered each other.

A changing food culture is one feature of colonialism. Swedish and Finnish authorities tried to control not only the lands they had occupied, but also the food cultures of ethnic minorities. In narratives about the Sámi from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, their food culture consisting mostly of meat and fish was disdained because it lacked bread, which was considered to be the sign of civilized, sedentary living. However, bread and flour were already present in sixteenth-century archival sources, meaning that the local food culture was hybridized and the use of power was under constant negotiation. Sámi people actively shaped their own diets, but their food culture was also affected by the Swedish and Norwegian cultures which expanded into Sámi territories. The representatives of the Crown collected taxes, which they often got in the form of dried fish and furs. These tax items also feature in the archaeological record. Tax collecting itself may not have affected the food culture, but merchants who were keen to obtain Sámi products certainly did: they brought with them new products, such as flour, salt, and spirits.

Not just the Sámi were affected by these encounters. Change took place also in the other direction: according to the written sources, food products exported from the Sámi area (such as dried pikes and Norwegian angelica) were also consumed in early modern Europe. The importance of processing dried pike is also visible in the archaeological record from Sámi

dwelling sites. Moreover, the archaeological record from towns and agrarian settlements in northern Fennoscandia shows that reindeer meat was consumed also by the non-Sámi population, who may have bought whole reindeer or reindeer meat cuts from the Sámi (Salmi 2011). In addition, features that were later characteristic of the Sámi food culture, such as the longitudinal splitting of reindeer metapodials to consume the marrow, were shared between different social and ethnic groups in late medieval and early modern northern Fennoscandia (Salmi et al. 2014).

It is often very difficult to find Sámi voices in the colonial archives produced by the church and state (Stoler 2002, 98). Although the tax lists also reflect encounters at the local level, there is a risk that they portray the Sámi only as taxpayers and trading partners. During the early centuries, the state was not interested in what the Sámi might think, for example, of their own cultural identity – on the contrary, its aim was to maximize tax income and the prosperity of the kingdom (Axelsson 2011). Through the archaeological material, we can view the Sámi food culture more from the Sámi point of view (especially when excavations have been carried out also at dwelling sites and offering sites, allowing us to shift our gaze out of the market places). Whereas the archival material of the 16th century tells first and foremost of the construction and use of power, archaeological finds from the same period provide very detailed information about the Sámi food culture – especially fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding.

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