



DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE, HISTORY OF IDEAS, AND RELIGION

A Narrative Critique of The Saami Bear Myth.



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Abstract

The Saami bear myth has in the research been closely tied to the bear hunting ritual. When the ritual has been discussed the myth has been narrated and after that the researcher has continued with the bear hunt. There has not yet been a thorough analysis of these bear myths. In this thesis five Saami bear myths are analysed with narrative criticism. They are written down by Pehr Fjellström, Sigrid Drake, Johan Olafsson Turi and Harald Grundström. A shortened plot of the narratives is: a Saami girl lives together with a bear and they get a son. A dialogue is had between the bear and his family where information is given from the bear, later the bear is killed. Conflict between a bear family member and the hunters and the meat is shared. This study explores the information about the relationship between the Saamis and the bear that can be drawn from these myths. Two of my findings are that the conflicts between the hunters and the family member of the bear is often won by the family member with aid from the bear. The importance of the sharing of the bear meat is featured in all of the versions of the myths; if the bear meat is not shared by the hunters, the bear comes alive and none of them gets a piece.

Key words: the Saami bear myth, narrative criticism, bear, bear myths, Saami indigenous religion, Pehr Fjellström, Sigrid Drake, Johan Olafsson Turi, Harald Grundström, Jonas Andersson Nensén, Seymour Chatman and Mark Allan Powell.

Contents

Abstract.....	2
1 Introduction.....	5
1.1 Aim and Research question.....	6
1.2 Method.....	7
1.3 Disposition.....	7
1.4 Conceptions and definitions.....	7
1.5 Material and demarcation.....	9
1.5.1 Fjellström.....	9
1.5.2 Drake A and B.....	10
1.5.3 Turi.....	11
1.5.4 Grundström.....	12
2 Previous research.....	13
3 Background.....	19
3.1 Saami religion and the shift.....	19
3.2 The Saami view of the bear.....	20
3.3 The Saami bear hunting ritual and bear burials.....	21
4 Theory and Method.....	24
4.1 Introduction.....	24
4.2 Narrative criticism.....	24
4.2.1 Events.....	25
4.2.2 Characters.....	27
4.2.3 Settings, spatial and temporal.....	27
4.2.4 Plot.....	28
4.2.5 Implied author.....	28
4.2.6 Narrator, Narratee and Implied reader.....	29
4.2.7 Point-of-view.....	30
5 Analysis.....	31
5.1 Introduction.....	31
5.2 Fjellström.....	31
5.2.1 Events.....	31
5.2.2 Characters.....	33
5.2.3 Settings, spatial and temporal.....	37
5.2.4 Plot.....	38
5.2.5 Implied author.....	38
5.2.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader.....	38
5.2.7 Point-of-view.....	39
5.3 The Drake versions.....	39
5.3.1 Events.....	39
5.3.2 Characters.....	41
5.3.3 Settings, spatial and temporal.....	43
5.3.4 Plot.....	43
5.3.5 Implied author.....	44
5.3.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader.....	44
5.3.7 Point-of-view.....	44
5.4 Turi.....	45
5.4.1 Events.....	45
5.4.2 Characters.....	45
5.4.3 Settings, spatial and temporal.....	47
5.4.4 Plot.....	47
5.4.5 Implied author.....	47

5.4.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader.....	47
5.4.7 Point-of-view.....	48
5.5 Grundström.....	48
5.5.1 Events.....	48
5.5.2 Characters.....	49
5.5.3 Settings, spatial and temporal.....	50
5.5.4 Plot.....	50
5.5.5 Implied author.....	51
5.5.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader.....	51
5.5.7 Point-of-view.....	51
5.6 Summary of the analysis.....	52
5.6.1 Events.....	52
5.6.2 Characters.....	52
5.6.3 Settings.....	54
5.6.4 Plot.....	55
5.6.5 Implied author.....	55
5.6.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader.....	55
5.6.7 Point-of-view.....	56
6 Discussion.....	57
7 Conclusion.....	62
8 Sources and literature.....	63
8.1 Sources.....	63
8.2 Literature.....	63
8.3 Internet sources.....	66
Appendix 1.....	67
Appendix 2.....	68
Appendix 3.....	69
Appendix 4.....	69
Appendix 5.....	69
Appendix 6.....	70
Appendix 7.....	70
Appendix 8.....	71
Appendix 9.....	71
Appendix 10.....	72
Appendix 11.....	73
Appendix 12.....	75

1 Introduction

In the indigenous religions of the circumpolar region the bear is or has been regarded as a special animal. Bears are featured in myths and other stories from this area and from other locations as well. It seems that there is a special bond between bears and humans, and that bond or relationship is the theme for this thesis. An essay of this size cannot analyse all the bear myths of the world, and that is why the Sapmi area in the circumpolar region is chosen for this thesis project.

The earliest rendition of the Saami bear myth is from 1755 in the priest Pehr Fjellström's (1697-1790) book *Kort Berättelse Om Lapparnas Björna-fänge, Samt Deras der wid brukade widskeppelser*. He tells the myth and describes the ritual that was used during the Saami bear hunt. In the edition from 1981 the professor of history of religion Louise Bäckman (1926-) has written a commentary, where she writes that the conception that the bear is a holy animal above all other animals is present with all the peoples in the circumpolar area, including the northerly regions in North America. She continues that in the Saami indigenous religion, the bear was regarded as *passé* which meant it belonged to the divine and the holy.¹ This did not mean that the animal could not be hunted and eaten. Only that the bear hunt had to be performed according to certain rules and traditions, which led to a feast where the bear was celebrated. Fjellström writes that the main reason behind the ritual is the bear myth.²

In 1912 the professor of theology Edgar Reuterskiöld (1872-1932) wrote about the bear feast and the myth in his book *De nordiska lapparnas religion*. In it he tries to go back in history to explain the traditions behind the feast and the bear hunt. He writes about the Saami view of nature and the bear, when nature were filled with all sorts of beings the bear was put in connection with them, which was completely natural according to Reuterskiöld. That the bear could live in the hibernating den the whole winter without food must get an explanation. That explanation was found in the Forest maiden/Vättekvinnan/Uldan, who is feeding the bear.³ There will be more on the Forest maiden in section 1.5.3 when the The Turi version of the myth is introduced. Reuterskiöld continues, old conceptions and customs came to live on regarding human's relationship with the bear, and as time passed, one layer after another left a mark in these conceptions. Then came a time when man did not understand the original meaning of these customs. Then they tried to explain them through mythologic stories. Off course they have nothing to do with the origin of the customs. Through one and another elaboration, they could serve to explain all of the steps in the ritual.⁴ Reuterskiöld's view on the matter is that myth explains the ritual and has nothing to do with the

1 Fjellström 1981, pp. 43 & 45.

2 Fjellström 1981, p. 14.

3 Reuterskiöld 1912, p. 42; Turi 1987, p. 170.

4 Reuterskiöld 1912, p. 42.

origin of it. It seems that Reuterskiöld contradicts Fjellström who regards the myth as the background to the ritual. It would appear that Reuterskiöld is an adherent to the myth-ritualists, who views the myth as subordinate to the rite. The myth's connection to ritual will be introduced in section 1.4 Conceptions and definitions.

For this thesis project the focus will be the Saami bear myth, in which a bear lives together with a woman and they get a son. Five versions of this myth are known, they are chosen for this thesis project because they share a similar story. They have been written down by Pehr Fjellström, Sigrid Drake, PhD (1878-1930) two versions; the Saami author Johan Olafsson Turi (1854-1936), and the priest Harald Grundström (1885-1960).

When it comes to the indigenous religion of the Saamis the researcher in the field of history of religion Håkan Rydving (1953-), writes that the Saami religion is like a continuum, with small differences between two close areas, and larger variations between areas far apart.⁵ Due to the fact that there are differences between the Saami areas, it might be worth noting that three of the myths, Fjellström and the two Drake versions are from the South Saami area, Turi is North Saami, and Grundström is Lule Saami.

1.1 Aim and Research question

To say that the Saami bear myth is an unexplored field of study is an overstatement, but it has not yet been a thorough analysis of it. In the previous research on the Saami bear hunt in which the myth is a part, focus has been on the ritual. The researchers have investigated the rites and mentioned the link to the myth, then continued with the rites. Due to the connection to the ritual I believe it will be interesting to research the Saami bear myths. For I believe that the Saami view of the bear is present in these myths.

The aim with this study is to investigate the human-bear relationship as it is portrayed in the Saami bear myths. The way the characters in the myths interacts with the bear shows the relationship between them and how they viewed the bear. It is this relationship that I want to investigate.

The research question for this thesis project is: What information about the relationship between humans and the bear can be drawn from the Saami bear myths, and how can this information be interpreted?

5 Rydving 1993, p. 22.

1.2 Method

The bear myths are available to us today as texts, because they were written down by researchers that were interested in the Saami religion. Some of the methods or theories that can be used when analysing a text that tells a story are Narrative criticism, Reader-response criticism and Deconstruction. They will all be introduced in 4.1 in the Theory and method section later in this essay. The method that is chosen for this project is narrative criticism. Because it lets the researcher pick the text apart in an easy enough fashion and look at it in detail. It is a text centred method from the field of literature and biblical studies. With it the researcher can investigate among other things what happens in the story, the characters and their interaction.

1.3 Disposition

After this disposition section 1.4 Conceptions and definitions will follow, where myth and myth-ritualism among other concepts are defined. In 1.5 Material and demarcation, the material or the myths for the study are introduced. Previous research in section 2, is an exposé of the research of the Saami bear myth. Section 3 Background will provide information about the Saami religion, the Saami view of the bear and Saami bear hunting rites and bear burials. The method of narrative criticism is presented in 4 Theory and method. In section 5 Analysis, the myths are analysed one by one, the section ends with a summary. The results from the analysis will be discussed in 6 Discussion, and followed by 7 Conclusion. In section 8 Sources and literature are listed, and in the Appendix section the complete versions of the myths. The last appendix is a map of the Sápmi area.

1.4 Conceptions and definitions

Conceptions like myths and ritual are used above in this thesis, in this section important concepts for the thesis is defined, discussed and explained, among them myths and ritual.

The concept of *discourse* will be handled in the meaning that it is given by the method and theory of narrative criticism. Discourse is how a story is told, see further section 4.2 Narrative criticism.

One definition of *myth* is by the German scholar of Greek mythology and ritual Walter Burkert (1931-2015): “myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance”. He continues that myth is a traditional tale applied, and its relevance and seriousness stem from this application.⁶ Another definition of myth can be found in *The Routledge companion to the study of religion* there it is defined as: “a story, which can be about anything and which has as

6 Burkert 1979, p. 23.

its characters gods, humans, or animals, that expresses a deeply cherished conviction.”⁷ Both these definitions are valid when working with the Saami bear myth, the importance and application from Burkert and the latter’s cherished conviction are expressed in the bear hunting ritual, and the Saami view of the bear.

Myth-ritualism is defined in *The Routledge companion to the study of religion* as: “the theory of myth which contends that some or all myths were originally or subsequently linked to rituals, so that myth can only be understood in relation to ritual.”⁸

Ritual in *Routledge companion to the study of religion* is defined as, “an action, which is usually public but which can also be private, that is prescribed and that cannot be altered in any way.”⁹

After the definition of myth-ritualism above it will now be useful to look at the link between the two. Professor of religious studies Robert A. Segal (1948-) has written about myth and ritual. His chapter in *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, has three parts; myths, myths connected to rites, and rites (only) I will concentrate on the first two here. He writes that there is a genuine difference between the theories of the 19th century and the 20th century. The theories from the 19th century tended to see the function of myth as either a literal explanation or a symbolic description of the natural world. The myth was viewed as the primitive counterpart to science, which was supposed to be completely modern. Myth and science were not only redundant but outright incompatible, and the moderns that per definition were scientific rejected the myth. Contrarily the 20th century theories have tended to view the myth as almost everything else than an outdated counterpart to modern science, either on the subject matter or function. Consequently the moderns have not been obliged to desert the myth for science.¹⁰ Segal continues that theorists differ on what the function of myth is, but for all the function is important, contrarily to the easier function of the legend and folktale. The myth accomplishes something significant for the adherents.¹¹ According to myth-ritualists the myth does not stand alone but is connected to the rite. Myth is not only a statement but also an act. Segal continues with the professor of divinity William Robertson Smith (1846-1894), who meant that the ritual came first and that the myth were to explain the conditions, under which the rite first came to be established by a command or a direct example from a deity. The myth is clearly subordinate to ritual. Segal also mentions sociologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) that argues that the myth explains the origin of ritual, and it gives rituals an ancient or honourable origin which sanctions them.¹²

7 Hinnels 2010, p. 588.

8 Hinnels 2010, p. 588.

9 Hinnels 2010, p. 591.

10 Hinnels 2010, p. 373.

11 Hinnels 2010, pp. 373-374.

12 Hinnels 2010, pp. 384-385; Robertson Smith 2002, pp. 17-18.

Theme is defined in *Perrine's Story and Structure* as "The central idea or unifying generalization implied or stated by a literary work."¹³

1.5 Material and demarcation

The material that will be studied in this essay will in this section be presented with information about them and also their plot. With an analysis of multiple versions comparisons can be made between them, and more information may be detected than from only the one. That is why I decided to analyse all five alternatives of the Saami bear myth. These myths are chosen for they share the similar story or narrative. Although closely tied to the myth, the ritual of the bear hunt will not be studied in this project, since it has already been the object of study in the previous research, and also to keep the workload to a manageable level.

The analysis will be made with the Swedish versions of the myths. For the full versions in Swedish and in English see the Appendix section. Translations of the myths from Swedish to English in this thesis are my own if not otherwise noted.

1.5.1 Fjellström

This south Saami version,¹⁴ is the earliest and most complete of the Saami bear myths. In this section I present the plots for the myths as they are in the Analysis section when plot is handled, the plot in Fjellström is: a girl is forced to take refuge into the wild, where she comes upon a bear den. A bear comes and they start a family. After some time the bear wants to get killed. Conflict between the bear and his wife. The bear demands that brass be attached to his forehead. The three brothers go hunting. Dialogue between the bear and his wife. The bear attacks the brothers. The bear and his wife exits the den and she orders her youngest brother to shoot the bear. The brothers put the meat in the kettle, the son of the bear comes. Conflict between them. The son takes a twig and convinces the brothers into sharing the meat.

Fjellström writes that although he had spent almost 40 years with the Saamis, to get information about the bear hunt and its ritualism was very hard.¹⁵ According to the priest Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861), the myth is from the Saamis in Lycksele.¹⁶ Professor of history of religion Carl-Martin Edsman (1911-2010) writes that the secret behind the ritual, the myth; was revealed to a priest in the 18th century with the greatest hesitation, because it was feared that it would cause their hunting

13 Arp & Johnson 2002, p. 747.

14 Edsman 1994, p. 82.

15 Fjellström 1981, p. 14.

16 Laestadius 1997, p. 123.

to fail.¹⁷ The priest that Edsman mentions here would most certainly be Fjellström. The year of this myth 1755 is a late date when it comes to the religion of the Saamis. In late 17th century to middle 18th century the Saamis were forced to abandon their own beliefs and become Christians. By the time the myth was written down this religious change had already taken place. Although a certain time and a date for that change will be difficult to pinpoint, see the Background section 3.1 Saami religion and the shift. There is no information in what language Fjellström received the myth, according to Bäckman Fjellström taught Saami to Swedish missionaries, so his knowledge of the language should have been proficient.¹⁸ For the Swedish version of the myth see Appendix 1, for a version in English see Appendix 2.

The facsimile edition of Fjellström's book contains two versions, one original with an elderly font and spelling and one with modernized font and somewhat modernized spelling. Pages referenced to this book will be to the modernized version and/or to the commentary by Louise Bäckman if not otherwise noted. After a detailed reading of the two alternatives of the myth that is featured in the book, the only difference is the font and spelling. That the letter "w" is used instead of "v"; "whilket"/which, is "hvilket" in the modernized section.

1.5.2 Drake A and B

Although these myths have the same theme as the Fjellström version, they also bring new information about the inheritance from the bear. According to Edsman the point with these versions is the right that the human relatives have to the killed prey.¹⁹ The plot for Drake A: The bear and the Saami girl lived together and got a son. A dialogue between the bear and his wife and son. Conflict between the bear son and the hunters. The bear came alive. Drake B: A bear had captured a woman and had her with him for awhile. The bear orders and informs the woman of the pot. The woman touches the pot, and the woman gets her share.

In her dissertation from 1918 and facsimile edition 1979, Sigrid Drake presents two versions of the Saami bear myth, the first is called The bear and the Saami girl and is marked (Å. 22), the second The bear and the woman, marked (L. 375). I have named them Drake A and B respectively to facilitate the study. Originally they were written down by the vicar Jonas Andersson Nensén (1791-1881).²⁰ The myths are included in the Nensén handwritten collection at the Uppsala University Library, with the identification R649. The Nensén manuscripts are currently available online through Uppsala University's Alvin-portal.²¹ The pages referenced with the myths are in

17 Edsman 1956, p. 47.

18 Fjellström 1981, p. 38.

19 Edsman 1994, p. 83.

20 Drake 1979, p. II.

21 <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/resultList.jsf?faces-redirect=true&searchType=EXTENDED&query=Nensén&includeViewParams=true&dswid=-4694>

Saami, Drake has translated them to Swedish in her dissertation. The myths are from Åsele- and Lycksele Lappmark which are in the South Saami area. In Drake A the Saami girl asks the bear about her inheritance, Drake writes that the bear's answer is illegible in the manuscript, due to this there is no information of the answer to the girl's question.²² For the Swedish version of Drake A, see Appendix 3, and for an English version see Appendix 4. Drake B, for the Swedish version, see Appendix 5, and Appendix 6 for the version in English.

1.5.3 Turi

The Saami Johan Olafsson Turi tells a short bear myth with a quite different ending and a somewhat different story, at least in comparison to the other chosen myths. The plot is: A girl lives with a bear, they get a son with a bear paw. Conflict between a man and the bear son. People understand that the bear son told the truth.

In the other versions the bear son do not have a bear paw, and he is featured less in those narratives. Also the bear and the Saami girl are featured less in this version. In his book *En bok om samernas liv - Muittalus Samid Birra* from 1917, he writes about his own experiences of the Saami way of life and traditions in the surroundings of Kautokeino in Norway. Turi's book was first published in Saami and with a Danish translation in 1910. First Swedish translation was published in 1917 and this edition was published in 1987 in facsimile, I will refer to this edition.

Another difference with the Turi version is that we get an explanation why the bear can survive the winter seemingly without food. It is because of Uldan who brings food to the bear and the bear cannot live another way, than that Uldan nourishes the bear.²³ "Uldorna" are according to Turi a people living underground and inside cliff walls. They own reindeer and the reindeer of Uldorna are much more beautiful than the Saamis'. Uldorna taught the Saamis how to yoik and they guard the Saamis' reindeer. Uldorna do not like all people they only like the ones with black hair, that are honest and can talk in a way that Uldorna like.²⁴ There are more on Uldorna in Appendix 11.

In Turis' telling of the myth, he only differentiates the boy's hands one time, when he tells that "den ena handen blev en björnram och den andra en människohand"/one hand became a bear paw and the other a human hand. The rest of the myth Turi refers to "den handen"/that hand, "den"/it or "sin hand"/his hand. Probably since a face gets torn, Turi refers to the bear paw, but it is not specified which hand he refers to. For the Swedish version, see Appendix 7, and for the English version see Appendix 8.

²² Drake 1979, p. 308.

²³ Turi 1987, p. 94.

²⁴ Turi 1987, pp. 153-154.

1.5.4 Grundström

The Grundström version is from Jokkmokk in the Lule Saami area and was written down by Grundström in 1929, and is thusly the latest of the five. The narrative in this version is all about the inheritance of the bear, and the right that the bear son and the girl have to the bear meat. The plot is: A bear has a son with a human girl, the bear instructs the girl of things to come. The bear son follows the instructions, conflict between him and the hunters. The hunters share the meat.²⁵

The Grundström version was given to him by the Saami informant and author Anta Pirak (1873-1951). There is no information in what language, but according to Grundström Pirak knew both Saami and Swedish.²⁶ For the Swedish version, see Appendix 9, and for the English version see Appendix 10.

With the thesis and material introduced, it will be time for the previous research.

²⁵ Grundström 1929, pp. 68-69.

²⁶ Pirak 1937, p. 12.

2 Previous research

The previous research on the Saami bear myth will be presented here, and also the areas in proximity to it. In the previous research the Saami bear myth has been tied to the Saami bear hunt and its ritual. Almost every time the myth is mentioned it is in connection to the bear hunt. In this section an attempt is made to describe how the myth has been viewed in the previous research. The sources to the myths that will be analysed in this thesis, are also given a further presentation. The exposé is put in a chronological order.

In the 17th century the professor of political science Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679) wrote to that date perhaps the largest work on the Saamis. In the forward to the Swedish edition *Lappland*, ethnographer Ernst Manker (1893-1972) writes that *Lapponia*, was published in 1673 in latin, and it was quickly translated to other european languages. The driving force for the publication was earl Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622-1686). He asked the priests in northern Sweden doing missionary work among the Saami to collect information about them.²⁷ Bengt Löw writes in his article that, this new information or relations were then compared with earlier material and compiled by Schefferus.²⁸ The book contains old and for the time new general knowledge of the Saami and the land; the bear hunt and the ritual is covered but not the bear myth. It is a great source to the knowledge of the Saamis, and it is referred to by many of the following texts in this section, for instance Fjellström.

82 years later Pehr Fjellström writes down the myth in his book from 1755 *Kort berättelse, om lapparnas björna-fänge, Samt Deras der wid brukade widskeppelser*. When he writes about it, he does so from a ritual perspective. After his rendition of the myth he continues at once with the hunting ritual. When Fjellström writes about the ritual he quotes from *Lapponia* by Schefferus. I am including this work here for it contains the version of the bear myth that is referred to by other scholars.

In the middle of the 19th century Lars Levi Laestadius started working on his fragments of the Saami mythology. The professor of folkloristics Reimund Kvideland (1935-2006) writes in his chapter about the manuscript by Laestadius that, in 1840 Laestadius finished the first part of his work on the Saami mythology, the second to fourth were finished in 1845.²⁹ Kvideland continues, it was later published in 1959 as *Fragmenter i lappska mythologien*. The complete edition from 1997 is the first in Swedish.³⁰ This edition contains the before mentioned chapter by Kvideland; and an article by professor of religion Juha Pentikäinen (1940-) discussing Laestadius as an ethnographer,

27 Schefferus 1956, p. 7.

28 Schefferus 1956, p. 17.

29 Laestadius 1997, pp. 233-234.

30 Laestadius 1997, p. 235.

mythologist and mythographer. Laestadius writes about the names the Saami used for the bear, the bear hunt and the ritual and he re-tells the Fjellström version of the bear myth. Directly after the myth he continues with the ritual. Laestadius has used many sources that he then compares and discusses. Pentikäinen writes, since Laestadius is born and raised in the Saami territories he also brings his own knowledge of the Saami culture.³¹

In 1873 the book *Om Lappland och Lapparne. Företrädesvis de Svenske* by the ethnographer Gustaf von Düben (1822-1892) was published, in the second edition from 1977 Jan Garnert has written a foreword about Gustaf von Düben and his travels to Lappland 1868 and 1871. He writes that the reason the interest in the book still is strong, is because von Düben succeeded to combine the experiences from his travels with the knowledge from his foundational literary studies, the result became a very systematic and detailed description of the Saamis.³² von Düben writes among other topics about the nature, and the living conditions of the Saami, their physical appearance, the religion and the bear. On pages 278-279 the bear myth from Fjellström is retold. von Düben writes that the story by Fjellström probably is of a later origin. It is not improbable that at the bear hunt the Saamis have used conceptions similar to the Finns.³³ The bear hunt and its ritual is described on pages 280-284, von Düben has mainly used information from Fjellström.³⁴

In 1909 *De svenska landsmålen 17* was published, in this volume the professor in finno-ugric languages Karl Bernhard Wiklund (1868-1934) collected six relations about the Saami which had been published between 1897-1909 with forewords by Wiklund, among them the accounts by the priest Samuel Rheen (1615-1680), priest Gabriel Tuderus (1638-1705) and priest Olaus Petri Niurenius (1580-1645). Wiklund writes in his foreword to Rheen's relation that the publisher's intention was to make public the manuscripts from the 17th century, the descriptions of the customs and the ways of the Saami. Many of the handwritten accounts came to, through Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. Many of the manuscripts have been used by Johannes Schefferus for his work *Lapponia*. But according to Wiklund he has not used all of the information in them. Besides he has sometimes misunderstood the originals.³⁵ *De svenska landsmålen 17* is included here for it provides access to relations mentioned by other scholars for example Reuterskiöld. Below Reuterskiöld refers to a manuscript by Rheen. The relation or the account by Rheen describes the conditions in Lule Lappmark, especially Jokkmokk's parish. The manuscript is written in 1671. According to Wiklund, Rheen was especially qualified to give trustworthy information of the Saami because of his intimate contact with them. The account betrays the meticulous observer. The account by Rheen is published in the form in which the text is found in two manuscripts in the Royal library in Stockholm marked

31 Laestadius 1997, p. 241.

32 von Düben 1977, p. IX.

33 von Düben 1977, pp. 278-279.

34 von Düben 1977, pp. 280-284.

35 Rheen 1897, p. 3.

D65 and D66, the former is the relation and the latter an appendix.³⁶ A note of some importance might be that the numbering of the pages in *De svenska landsmålen 17* re-starts with every relation or manuscript in the volume.

In his book from 1912 *De nordiska lapparnas religion*, Edgar Reuterskiöld writes about the bear feast and the ritual. He re-tells the Fjellström version of the myth. Reuterskiöld gives further information about the ritual. Sometimes he agrees with Fjellström in his accounts, and sometimes he does not, as we already have seen in the Introduction in this thesis. Reuterskiöld writes that in his account of the bear hunt Fjellström quotes Rheen, when he writes about the beating of the drum, in the preparation of the hunt.³⁷ Reuterskiöld then writes that Fjellström explains that in later times and in the southern Saami lands such ceremonies before the bear is felled are not known. Reuterskiöld continues that Fjellström even criticises some of these facts and quotes him. If the drum would give the whereabouts of the bear, it could always be so, and without the bear being ringed.³⁸ Before the hunt the hunters ringed the bear hibernating den by walking around it in the snow, see section 3.3. Reuterskiöld means that it is a misunderstanding of the words by Rheen and quotes him, the Saami beats the drum and sees if they will get bear.³⁹ Reuterskiöld's point is that the criticism of Fjellström only affects his own account, and that this account can not be just either by Rheen or the latin translation of them by Schefferus. Reuterskiöld continues that the beating of the drum means more, than to see if they will get bear. It meant to predict a fortunate hunt, and that was the same as making it so. The drummer was not only a man that could see into the future, he could also transform it after his wishes. Under these circumstances the drumming was a very important preparation for the hunt.⁴⁰ Further on Reuterskiöld refers to Fjellström who writes that the killed bear gets covered by spruce branches and stays put until the day after, if they could not bring the bear home and flay him.⁴¹ Reuterskiöld writes that Fjellström has not researched the cause why it is so, and Reuterskiöld assumes that the cause was not known to the Saamis, that Fjellström had met. Fjellström continues that the bear was seldom flayed and boiled in the woods where he was shot, if it was not possible to bring the bear home. Reuterskiöld assumes that was the way it was in the time of Fjellström, but if we go further back in time there are information that rearrange the conditions. Originally the bear was flayed and boiled on that spot where it was killed. Remains of this are left in the accounts of Fjellström according to Reuterskiöld. Fjellström tells that on the second day a new hut is built, afterwards the bear feast is held.⁴² After the feast the men go to the place where the bear was boiled and rests there until they can get to their wives. The special hut where the bear is boiled

36 Rheen 1897, pp. 3-4.

37 Reuterskiöld 1912, p. 19; Rheen 1897, pp. 43-44.

38 Reuterskiöld 1912 p. 19; Fjellström 1981, pp. 9-10.

39 Reuterskiöld 1912 p. 19; Rheen 1897, p. 43.

40 Reuterskiöld 1912 p. 19.

41 Reuterskiöld 1912, p. 30; Fjellström 1981 pp. 18-19.

42 Reuterskiöld 1912, p. 30; Fjellström 1981 pp. 20-21.

is explained when we know that the old custom was to eat the bear on the spot where it had been killed, or on the closest possible spot where they could pitch tents and huts for the days of the bear feast. During those days the men are taboo for their wives. That a special hut was build when they had brought home the bear, bear witness to how deep the tradition was.⁴³ Reuterskiöld writes that the most detailed story is Fjellström's and gives an account of it on pages 43-44. In Reuterskiöld's telling of the story he does not quote Fjellström but retells it in his own words with some minor explanatory parts and digressions.⁴⁴

The Sigrid Drake academic dissertation from 1918, *Västerbottenslapparna under förra hälften av 1800-talet*, is an ethnographic study of the Saamis in Västerbotten. Her aim with her study was to give a depiction of the ethnography of the Saamis from 1800 to 1850. Her material was previously unpublished sources and in particular the Nensén collections, from the 1800s.⁴⁵ Jonas Andersson Nensén was a collector of ethnographic material about the Saamis. She re-tells the myths from Nensén and gives no further information about them. This work is included here for it presents the Drake versions, and is referred to by later scholars.

In 1926 *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere* was published, a dissertation by the anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell (1892-1974). Hallowell's material is from North America and Eurasia, his focus is the rituals and Hallowell does not mention myths at all, save for two tales in footnote 42. Hallowell writes about the Saami hunt and its ritual, and refers to Schefferus work *Laponia* and to Fjellström via Reuterskiöld.⁴⁶ Hallowell's use of Schefferus, Fjellström and Reuterskiöld show their importance in the field.

In his article from 1956 *The Story of the Bear Wife in Nordic Tradition*, Carl-Martin Edsman looks at some traditions regarding the Saami and the bear. His aim with the article was to put them in a wider Scandinavian and circumpolar perspective.⁴⁷ Edsman tells traditions of how the bear can stay alive during its hibernation, and also of people visiting the bear den during winter. The Fjellström version of the myth is re-told and translated to English.⁴⁸ After Fjellström, Edsman re-tells the two Drake and the Grundström versions.

In Edsman's book from 1994 *Jägaren och makterna. Samiska och finska björnceremonier*, he collects his research on the Saami and Finnish bear rituals and adds new material. He writes, the Saami legend is among nordic researchers a hardly observed key to the understanding of the bear feast, as a divine constituted order.⁴⁹ The function that the bear variant of the Amor and Psyche tale and the tale of the bear's son had with the circumpolar people, Edsman writes, is a description of

43 Reuterskiöld 1912, p. 30.

44 Reuterskiöld 1912, pp. 43-44.

45 Drake 1979, p. VIII.

46 Hallowell 1926, p. 17 & 99, footnote 403.

47 Edsman 1956, p. 36.

48 Edsman 1956, p. 47.

49 Edsman 1994, p. 84.

ritual or an answer legend. This legend is spread over large parts of North America and North Eurasia. It has been told at the bear rituals and at the rising of totem poles in which the theme is carved, and at festive gatherings in general.⁵⁰ After this Edsman continues with the bear ritual.

In the book by the docent of history of religion Hans Mebius (1931-2013) from 2003 *Bissie. Studier i samisk religionshistoria*, Mebius gives an introduction to Saami religion. Mebius writes about the sources, the Saami world view, the hunt, and the Saami shaman (the noaidi) among other subjects. The bear and the bear hunt are also mentioned. The focus is the ritual and he refers to the Fjellström account of the myth and ritual. After the re-telling of the bear myth, Mebius continues with the ritual. The work is included here for it is of a later date, and to show how the research in the myth is progressing.

In 2005 Magnus Eriksson wrote a bachelor thesis, and a one year master on this subject.⁵¹ I am mentioning Eriksson here for he actually has treated the myth recently. For the bachelor thesis Eriksson studied the bear ritual, with his one year master Eriksson returned to the ritual, and analysed two bear myths. Eriksson analysed the Fjellström version and a myth about why the bear sleeps during the winter. When analysing the myths Eriksson used anthropological myth theory by Malinowski, and psychological myth theory by the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961). The analysis of the two myths is brief and takes up two pages of the whole thesis. In his analysis of the myths Eriksson used short theoretical definitions of myth, which he then applied to them. He does not go further into the theories. When he analysed the Fjellström version, he looked at how the myth had shaped the ritual regarding the use of brass rings; the sexual celibacy and the transgressing that the women do when they handle the bow and arrow, which were ordinarily only handled by the men. Magnus Eriksson does not go deeper into the myths and their narratives.

The book *Wo(men) and Bears: the Gifts of Nature, Culture and Gender revisited* from 2008 edited by the professor of women's studies Kaarina Kailo (1961-) is a contribution to the subject of bears and women. The book presents the field of study from a women and bears point of view. The book features papers by a number of scholars and also poems, artworks, interviews, and myths. The common denominators are women and the indigenous religion, and the perceived bond between bears and women. The Saami bear myth is told, its the Edsman translation of the Fjellström version in English.⁵² There is no analysis of the Saami bear myth. This work finishes the previous research, it is included here for it is a recent work with a slightly different angle. The perceived bond between bears and women seems to be of interest even to this day, for an example of it from 2018 see the Conclusion.

50 Edsman 1994, p. 87.

51 Eriksson 2005 February, *Den samiska björnceremonin*.

Eriksson 2005 December, *Den samiska björnceremonin: Analys av några dithörande myter och riter*.

52 Kailo 2008, p. 104.

As is seen in this exposé of the previous research, focus has been on the ritual and not the bear myth. The myth has been narrated and then linked to the ritual. My positioning in relation to the previous research, is to focus on the Saami bear myth.

3 Background

This section provides a background to facilitate the understanding of the thesis. To offer a background for the reader the Saami religion and the shift will be introduced, and the Saami view of the bear. The section ends with Saami bear hunting rituals and bear burials.

3.1 Saami religion and the shift.

The historian of religion Åke Hultkrantz (1920-2006) and Bäckman writes that saami shamanism was a variant of arctic shamanism in northern Eurasia. It was related to Siberian shamanism, but less flamboyant.⁵³ The noaidi/shaman was according to Rydving, the most important religious functionary among the Saami. His most important task was to uphold the contact with the world of the dead. In order to perform the duties he had helping spirits. There were different levels among the noaidi, and they could be common in some areas and scarce in others.⁵⁴ Bäckman and Hultkrantz writes that despite its holiness the bear could not be a helping spirit for it was considered to be too holy and too dangerous.⁵⁵ The professor of history Lars Ivar Hansen (1947-) and professor of archeology Björnar Olsen (1958-) offers a clear summary of the pre-Christian Saami religion as a nature religion with shamanistic traits. The view on reality was a visible material dimension and one invisible spiritual dimension that permeated the whole nature, living creatures and inorganic matter. It was a polytheistic religion and there was no sacred text or liturgy. The religion was practised and upheld through actions, myths, stories and material manifestations. The shamans had no monopoly on cultic actions or sacrifices.⁵⁶

Most of the sources according to Rydving, that describe the religion of the Saami are from the south Saami region. The indigenous religion was active there into the 1700s. Drums are of great worth since they are primary sources to the religion. But their symbols are hard to interpret and can only be used as sources with great caution.⁵⁷ Rydving writes that holy places like circular offer sites, *seites* and human and bear graves can give valued information. What we know of Saami religion comes from the priest relations from the 1600s and 1700s. These relations are accounts of the Saami, written by priests from Norway and Sweden,⁵⁸ as is seen in the Previous research above. The written sources from these missionaries, which Rydving calls verbal secondary sources are of important value. However, the authors of this material belonged to another culture and they had another religion, they spoke another language and worked to replace the Saami religion with

53 Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978, p. 40.

54 Rydving 1993, pp. 70-71.

55 Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978, p. 55.

56 Hansen & Olsen 2006, p. 308.

57 Rydving 1993, pp. 23 & 30.

58 Rydving 1993, pp. 31 & 34-35.

another faith. They were not unbiased or nuanced, one of the reasons they wanted to know more about the religion was to be able to fight it and this narrows the material. The missionaries were also interested in theology which reflected on the questions they posed, and these questions in their turn were not relevant for the Saami religion. The material from one of the missionaries the priest Thomas von Westen (1682-1727), is biased and looks upon the Saami religion as revolting. The priests forced the Saami to give information and in only one or two cases they were eye witnesses to actual rituals. The missionaries exaggerated the indigenous religiosity, to come in a better light themselves and they also exaggerated their own results.⁵⁹

The indigenous religion of the Saamis had a pantheon of gods, the information about these divinities differ, and since this thesis is not about the gods of the Saamis I will not go into detail here. According to Rydving, the writers of the missionary statements knew about the regional differences, that certain gods were only worshipped locally and of the variety in names. Rydving means that Saami religion is like a continuum with small differences between communities, but the longer the distance from the starting point the larger the variation.⁶⁰

The religious change among the Saami took place between 1687 to 1753 according to Rydving. During this time period the Saamis were forced to abandon their former beliefs and confess to the Christian faith. In 1753 the priesthood and the Saami were sure that no one in the congregation lived an ungodly life or performed witchcraft.⁶¹

3.2 The Saami view of the bear

According to the Rheen relation the Saamis considered the bear to be an outstanding animal, and called him Skogsbonde/Forest farmer. A husbonde/master over all of the other animals in the woods, because he is more cruel and stronger than the other animals.⁶² Despite its divine origin the bear according to Bäckman, is not always considered a god. No offerings are made to it and the place of its burial does not become holy.⁶³

Drake writes that when it comes to the bear, the animal is dangerous, strange and useful at the same time. He is not a pest in the same way as the wolf and wolverine, even though he can be dangerous for both humans and reindeer. The bear's strength, his peculiar way to in an upright position strike his victims with his paws, amazes and impresses the Saami. But above all it rests something enigmatic over the bear's long winter sleep. He goes into the bear den when the dark comes and awakes only when the sun is high in the spring sky. According to Drake the cause to the

59 Rydving 1993, pp. 32-33.

60 Rydving 1993, pp. 21-22.

61 Rydving 1993, p. 1.

62 Rheen 1897, p. 43.

63 Fjellström 1981, p. 48.

bear's unique position in the Saami mindset is in the bear's spiritual constitution. When the Saami talks about the bear they use other expressions than for other animals. Which shows that they believe that there is a difference between them. They equate the bear with themselves or even think of him as a higher being with human attributes.⁶⁴

Hallowell writes that for the Saami the bear was under a special protection of a forest deity, and that the woodland creatures were regarded as this god's herds. Luck in hunting depended on this god's will and favour and was very important.⁶⁵ Schefferus means that you can only catch these animals with the deity on your side.⁶⁶ Hallowell continues that the goal with the ritual surrounding the hunt was the calming of this supernatural agent, and not the animal's which is conceived as a terrestrial creature.⁶⁷

3.3 The Saami bear hunting ritual and bear burials

Although the Saamis considered the bear to be holy, this did not mean that it was forbidden to hunt and kill it. The hunt was needed to be done within a framework of a ritual. The professor of natural philosophy and human ecology Paul Shepard (1925-1996), and Barry Sanders (1938-) professor of English and history of ideas means that the killing of the bear was never an every day event. Seldom enough for it not to be a harvesting of ordinary food, but often enough to be experienced by all.⁶⁸ The professor of archeology Noel Broadbent (1946-) writes that the bear hunt could sometimes take six months to plan.⁶⁹ The vicar Olaus Petri Niurenius (1580-1645) writes that the ritual during the hunt and the burial are used by the Saamis to be able to catch and kill these dangerous bears, without danger and coming to harm. For earlier when the animals could talk, the bear said that he always shall let himself be killed, without harming any man if they after his death honoured him with this ritual.⁷⁰

The psychological background to the bear cult according to Edsman is the bear's humanlike qualities, among others: the bear is an omnivore, its way of sitting, and its wisdom and humanlike proportions after it has been flayed.⁷¹ Edsman agrees with Hallowell above that with the ritual man wants to achieve atonement with the bear population, and not with the animal as an earthly creature. The veneration of the bear includes the atonement of the supernatural controller of the bears. The ritual is necessary for the prey not to diminish or not occur.⁷² According to Mebius the use of brass

64 Drake 1979, pp. 339-340.

65 Hallowell 1926, p. 100.

66 Schefferus 1956, p. 131.

67 Hallowell 1926, pp. 144-145.

68 Shepard & Sanders 1992, p. 57.

69 Broadbent 2010, p. 181.

70 Niurenius 1905, p. 19.

71 Edsman 1994, pp. 19-20.

72 Edsman 1994, p. 24.

rings as protective amulets in the ritual was to ward off the wrath of the killed bear. And also as a safety precaution between the bear hunter and the bear meat. One of the functions of the ritual was to express a good relationship between the hunter and the bear.⁷³

I will use Pentikäinen's stages for the bear ritual from the south Saami, because it gives an easy rendition of the ritual. But first there are some commentaries needed. For stages (8) and (10) regarding the bones, there are two miss-conceptions in the written sources surrounding bear burials, according to Broadbent, Bäckman and Hultkrantz. That the bones of the killed bear had to be buried in the right order they had in the skeleton and with the bones intact. Archeological excavations show that almost all the bear bones in both Norway and Sweden had been split to get to the bone marrow, and that goes also for almost all animal sacrifices that were perceived to be edible. It is rare that all the bones were collected and buried and rarely in anatomical order. Most burials with complete material of bones dates to 1700s and 1800s, and that was maybe influenced by christianity that prescribed that the body would be intact for the regeneration.⁷⁴ This shows that there are differences between how the bear was thought to be or should be treated and how it actually was. Stage (9) regarding the erotic games, Fjellström means that the men run around in the camp imitating the bear, the wife of the man that killed the bear tries to catch them and when she does she asks how long until the next bear is slain.⁷⁵ Stage (11) it is the husband of the wife that hits the bear skin that will be the next bear slayer, according to Fjellström. If she is unmarried she will get a brave bear like man as a husband.⁷⁶

The ritual according to Pentikäinen starts with (1) encircling the bear after the first snowfall often with the help of a shaman drum. (2) A festival is held whose participants were bound to take part in the hunt in the spring. Before the hunt (3) a few days of celibacy. The day of the hunt (4) the men leaves through the sacred back door of the hut. (5) They walk in a solemn procession to the den of the bear. Before they kill the animal (6) the bear is wakened to ensure that its soul has time to return to him. (7) On their way back to the village the hunters sing bear songs that emphasize the bear's divine origin. (8) For the bear festival the meat is prepared and eaten without breaking a single bone. After the festival (9) there are purification rituals performed with fire and lye followed by erotic games. (10) When the animal is buried its bones are placed in their natural arrangement to ensure the bear's rebirth. (11) To predict the next bear slayer the bearskin is aimed and shot at by the women. The ritual ends with (12) a few days of celibacy.⁷⁷

We have now looked at the areas of research that the bear myth is connected to. The Saami held the bear high in their religion as did other peoples in the circumpolar area. The bear was thought of

73 Mebius 2003, pp. 107-108 & 113.

74 Broadbent 2010, p. 180; Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1985, p. 94.

75 Fjellström 1981, p. 29.

76 Fjellström 1981, pp. 32-33.

77 Pentikäinen 2006, p. 69.

as an animal worth showing respect proven by the names used for it, and how it was treated both during the hunt and after it was killed.

4 Theory and Method

4.1 Introduction

In this section an argument will be made for the choice of theory and method, later the chosen method, narrative criticism will be introduced and presented.

Narrative criticism is not the only method to choose to analyse a text or a narrative. In theologians Anders Gerdmar's (1954-) and Kari Syreeni's (1952-) book *Vägar till Nya Testamentet* they present methods, techniques and tools for exegesis in the New Testament. In the section of their book regarding texts that tell a story, narrative criticism is one of the methods they present, they also introduce reader-response criticism and deconstruction. Reader-response criticism pays attention to the role of the reader and does not work foremost with the text, but discusses the reading and the terms of the interpretation. It is not an independent method but is partly an extension of narrative criticism, and partly belonging to reception criticism and/or ideological criticism.⁷⁸ Deconstruction is a postmodern method where a reluctant reader pays attention to, and puts contradictory structures of the text against each other and analyses them. This theory falls in the area of ideological criticism, even if it uses narrative and other text centred methods.⁷⁹ An analysis with reader-response criticism and/or deconstruction would be interesting, but they would not suit this investigation. Since my interest is not in ideological criticism nor the readers of the myth, but in the myths themselves and the relation between humans and the bear shown in them.

The Saami bear myths are available to us today as narrative texts, to be able to analyse them I need a method that gives me tools to work with the text from various viewpoints and in detail. That is the reason why narrative criticism has been chosen for this project.

4.2 Narrative criticism

The method of narrative criticism that will be used in this study is by Seymour Chatman (1928-2015) who was a professor in the rhetoric department at the University of California, Berkeley; and Mark Allan Powell (1953-) who is Robert and Phyllis Leatherman professor of New Testament at Trinity Lutheran Seminary.⁸⁰

In short narrative criticism is a text centred approach. The researcher concentrates on the text, and not the environment in which the text is produced or received. Narrative criticism according to Powell, views the text as a whole communication that includes three components: sender, message

78 Gerdmar & Syreeni 2006, p. 79.

79 Gerdmar & Syreeni 2006, p. 80.

80 <http://rhetoric.berkeley.edu/faculty-profile/seymour-chatman> Accessed 171007.
<http://tsohio.edu/faculty/20-faculty/faculty-profiles/41-powell> Accessed 171007.

and receiver. This view makes the text complete in itself.⁸¹ With these components one might say it does not need an external sender, message or receiver, that they are all included in the text. A broad definition of a narrative is according to Powell, any literary work that tells a story. The story is important here because it would probably be difficult to do a narrative critique on a text that does not tell one. Powell continues, a narrative has two aspects: story and discourse. Story, is the content of the narrative, what it is about. The story in its turn contains: events, characters and settings; the interaction between these make out the plot. The discourse is the rhetoric of the narrative, how the story is told. Stories with the same basic events, characters and settings, can be told in ways that gives different narratives.⁸² The discourse according to Chatman, is said to state the story and these statements are of two sorts, process and stasis; according to if someone did something or something happened, or if something simply existed in the story.⁸³

On page 151 Chatman has made a diagram of the situation of the narrative-communication. It contains a box which symbolises the narrative text and outside of the box to the left is real author and to the right of it is the real reader. Between every party there is an arrow pointing to the right. The sequence starts with the real author to the left and continues to the box and implied author. Next comes narrator and narratee and they are both in parentheses. Ending the box is implied reader and outside of it is real reader that ends the sequence. The box indicates that only implied author and implied reader are immanent to the narrative, the narrator and the narratee in parentheses are optional. The real author and real reader stand outside the narrative transaction as such, though obviously indispensable to it.⁸⁴

Events, characters, settings and plot, are as we have seen above, parts of the story and by using them in the analysis the story will be investigated. In the same sense the discourse will be through implied author, narrator, narratee, implied reader and point-of-view. In the following subchapters the tools for the analysis are presented.

4.2.1 Events

According to Powell, events are the incidents or happenings that occur within a story, and a story can not exist without them. Powell refers to Chatman that emphasizes that events also may include speech, thoughts or even feelings or perceptions.⁸⁵ An event is according to Chatman, a “process statement”, in contrast to a “stasis statement” that describe. Events are either action/acts or happenings, both are changes of state.⁸⁶

81 Powell 1990, p. 20.

82 Powell 1990, p. 23.

83 Chatman 1978, pp. 31-32.

84 Chatman 1978, p. 151.

85 Powell 1990, p. 35; Chatman 1978, p. 45.

86 Chatman 1978, p. 44.

Chatman means that narrative events do not only have a logic of connection, but a logic of hierarchy, some are more important than others. In a narrative it is only the main events that are part of the chain or the armature of eventuality, minor events have a different structure. Chatman refers to the linguist Roland Barthes (1915-1980) and continues that kernels are nodes or branching points in the structure, which force a movement into one of two or more possible paths. Kernels can not be taken away without destroying the logic of the narrative.⁸⁷ While a satellite Chatman continues, as a minor plot event is not critical. It can be taken out without disturbing the logic of the plot, though its disuse will worsen the narrative aesthetically. Satellites brings no choice, they are just workings out of the choices made at the kernels.⁸⁸

The professor in literature Gérard Genette (1930-2018) among others according to Powell, has called attention upon the temporal relations that govern the reporting of events in literature.⁸⁹ Powell continues, a distinction is made between story time and discourse time. Story time refers to the order that the events are conceived to have occurred by the implied author when the world of the story was created. Discourse time refers to the order that the events are described for the reader by the narrator. The order in which events are reported is an important part of the discourse of the narrative, how the story is told. Discrepancies between the order of the events in story time and discourse time are called anachronies. A general distinction is made between prolepsis and analepsis. Prolepsis is any narrative manoeuvre of telling or evoking ahead of time an event that comes later. Analepsis, any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment.⁹⁰ Events may imply or index existents like a character for example; and vice versa, existents may project events. An event may imply another, an existent another.⁹¹

The professor Laurence Perrine (1915-1995) defines conflict broadly according to Powell, as: “a clash of actions, ideas, desires, or wills.” The conflict may be physical, mental, emotional or moral.⁹² Powell continues, such oppositions seems to be inbuilt in the narrative, for it is hard to imagine a story that does not contain some element of conflict. Conflict may occur at various levels. Perhaps most common is conflict between characters, which generally can be defined in terms of inconsistent points of view or incompatible character traits.⁹³

87 Chatman 1978, p. 53. The reference to Barthes by Chatman is without page and title, earlier in the text Chatman refers to *S/Z* by Barthes.

88 Chatman 1978, p. 54.

89 Powell 1990, p. 36; Genette 1983.

90 Powell 1990, pp. 36-37, Genette 1983, p. 40.

91 Chatman 1978, p. 33.

92 Powell 1990, p. 42; Arp & Johnson 2002, p. 60.

93 Powell 1990, p. 42.

4.2.2 Characters

Powell writes that characters are the actors in the story, the ones that do the various activities that makes the plot, and it is possible for a group to function as one character.⁹⁴ Which we will see regarding the brothers and/or hunters in the bear myths. Chatman argues for a conception of character as a paradigm of traits, where trait is a sense of relatively stable or enduring personal quality. The traits must be distinguished from more short lived psychological phenomena as feelings, thoughts, attitudes and the like.⁹⁵ Chatman mentions the writer E.M. Forster (1879-1970) who distinguishes between round and flat characters. The flat character has two features, first: a flat character has only one trait, or very few. When there are more than one factor in them, we can see the beginning of a curve towards the round character.⁹⁶ Second, since it only is one single trait, or one clearly dominating the others, the behaviour of the flat character is more predictable. Flat characters are easily remembered because they do not change due to circumstances.⁹⁷ Round characters contrarily, possesses a variety of traits, some of them conflicting or even contradicting. Their behaviour is not predictable and they are capable of change, to surprise us and so on. It is only round people who are fit enough to perform tragically for a longer period of time and can move us towards any feelings except humour and properness. A round character is more organized than flat, they function all round, they function adequately no matter the demands of the plot.⁹⁸ The effect of the flat character is that it has a clear direction. Round characters on the other hand may inspire to a stronger feeling of intimacy despite the fact that they do not add up, we remember them as real people. A test for the round character is whether it is capable of surprising in a convincing way. If it never surprises it is flat. If it does not convince, it is a flat pretending to be round.⁹⁹ Powell mentions that characters may be spoken of as static or dynamic, depending on if their basic profile changes over the course of the narrative.¹⁰⁰

4.2.3 Settings, spatial and temporal

Spatial settings are according to Powell the locality or space, the physical environment where the characters live and acts. It can be props and furniture that makes the environment or clothes, transport and so on.¹⁰¹ Powell continues, there are two different types of temporal settings: chronological and typological. The chronological setting can be further divided into two categories: locative and durative. The locative setting is a certain point in time an action takes place, for

94 Powell 1990, p. 51.

95 Chatman 1978, p. 126.

96 Chatman 1978, pp. 131-132; Forster 1949, p. 65.

97 Chatman 1978, p. 132; Forster 1949, pp. 66-67.

98 Chatman 1978, p. 132; Forster 1949, pp. 70 & 72.

99 Chatman 1978, p. 132; Forster 1949, p. 75.

100 Powell 1990, p. 55.

101 Powell 1990, p. 70.

example it can be broad as a whole year or narrow as an hour. The durative setting is an interval and does not indicate a specific time, but the amount of time that has passed. The typological setting indicates the kind of time when an action takes place, for example during the evening but not a specific evening, but that it was evening at the time.¹⁰²

4.2.4 Plot

The events in a story makes an ordered group that is called a plot. Structuralist narrative theory argues, Chatman writes, that this arrangement is the operation that the discourse does. The events in a story makes into a plot through its discourse, the way it is presented. Its function is to emphasize or to de-emphasize certain story-events, to interpret some and to leave others to suggestion. To show or to tell to comment or to remain silent, to focus on this or that aspect of an event or character.¹⁰³ Chatman writes, the Greek philosopher Aristotle's (384-322 BCE) discussion of the terms "beginning", "middle" and "end" can be applied to the narrative. According to Aristotle the tragedy is a representation of an action that is a whole and on an appropriate scale. A whole is something that has a beginning, a middle and an end. A beginning is an item that in itself not necessarily follows something else, but which has a part that necessarily follows directly after it. Conversely, an end is something that naturally follows either by necessity or usually on something else, but has nothing following it. A middle is a component that both follows upon a preceding item and has another unit following upon itself.¹⁰⁴

4.2.5 Implied author

Chatman means that the implied author is the one within the narrative itself that leads the reading of it. The real author pulls back as quickly as the book is printed and sold. Yet the writer's invention and intention is still there in the text. These are reformed by the audience every time it is read, or the play is seen, these principles informs and controls the message of the narrator.¹⁰⁵ When the reader reads the text, it is presented just as the writer(s) chose it to be presented. Every choice the writer(s) made is there for the reader to discover. According to Chatman some works as parts of the Bible or traditional ballads were created by anonymous writers working through many generations. Others like films from Hollywood are created by groups of writers, producers etc. But some works seems to be created by a single writer or creator. For they are governed by a uniting invention and intention from the text which are their implied author. For Chatman the implied author is nothing else than the text in itself in its inventing aspect. Many texts have been created through cooperation

102 Powell 1990, pp. 72-73.

103 Chatman 1978, p. 43.

104 Chatman 1978, p. 47; Aristotle 2013, p. 26.

105 Chatman 1990, pp. 74-75.

often anonymously, where the details of the authorship are difficult or impossible to decide. The collective writers did never know or forgot or lied about who did what. Still the reader conventionally assign with every reading, a unifying agent.¹⁰⁶

Chatman writes, there are hundreds of reasons to tell a story, but these reasons are the narrator's, not the implied author's, who is without personality or even presence, hence without motivation other than the purely theoretical one of constructing the narrative itself.¹⁰⁷

4.2.6 Narrator, Narratee and Implied reader

Chatman writes that the reader must separate the narrator (in the text) the teller of the story and the author. The author decides how visible the narrator shall be. Usually the reader ignores the author, but not the narrator.¹⁰⁸ The statements of the narrative, according to Chatman, can be directly presented to the audience or it can be mediated by someone, a narrator. A direct presentation assumes a sort of overhearing of the audience. Mediated narration on the other hand presumes a more or less express communication from narrator to audience. Or expressed in more modern terms to show or to tell. When there is telling there must be a teller, a narrating voice. The teller, the transmitting source is best accounted for as a spectrum of possibilities, from narrators that is least audible to those who are most so.¹⁰⁹ It is less important, according to Chatman, to categorize types of narrators than to identify features that mark their degrees of audibility. The non- or minimal narrated story is simply a story in which no or very few such features occur.¹¹⁰ One way for the implied author to lead the reader, according to Powell, is through the use of a narrator, the voice that the implied author uses to tell the story.¹¹¹ Powell continues, narrators vary regarding how much they know and how much they choose to tell. They can report not just public events, but also private ones in which a character supposedly is alone. Information may be reported on what is happening on two locations at the same time. The character's inner thoughts and the motivations can even be described, still the narrators' knowledge may have limits.¹¹²

According to Powell the narratee is whom the story is being told to, the implied reader is invited to listen in on that story.¹¹³ Chatman writes, just like there may or may not exist a narrator, there may or may not be a narratee. A narratee can materialize as a character in the world of the work. Or it need not be an overt reference to the narratee at all, though its presence is felt. In such cases, with a materialized narratee-character, the author makes clear the desired stance of the audience. The

106 Chatman 1990, pp. 82, 86 and 91.

107 Chatman 1978, p. 158.

108 Chatman 1978, p. 33.

109 Chatman 1978, p. 146.

110 Chatman 1978, p. 196.

111 Powell 1990, p. 25.

112 Powell 1990, p. 26.

113 Powell 1990, p. 27.

narratee-character is only one device by which the implied author informs the real reader how to perform as the implied reader.¹¹⁴

When the reader enters a fictional contract, according to Chatman, the reader adds another self, and becomes an implied reader. And just like the narrator may or may not ally with the implied author, the implied reader furnished by the real reader may or may not ally with the narratee.¹¹⁵ Chatman continues, the counterpart to implied author is the implied reader, whom is not the real person reading the book, but the audience presupposed by the narrative itself. As implied author, the implied reader is always present in the narrative. In narratives without overt narratees, the implied reader's attitude may only be suggested in ordinary cultural and moral terms.¹¹⁶ The actual responses of real readers are unpredictable, according to Powell, but there may be clues inside the narrative that indicate an anticipated response from the implied reader.¹¹⁷

4.2.7 Point-of-view

Chatman writes that point-of-view can have three meanings: A) literal, through someone's eyes a perceptual point-of-view. B) figurative, through someone's world view, ideology, conceptual systems, etc., a conceptual point-of-view. C) Transferred, from someone's interest-vantage, characterizing the characters' general interest, profit, welfare, wellbeing etc., an interest point-of-view. In narrative texts we find a complicated situation where it is not only one singular presence but plural; character and/or narrator, and also the implied author. Everyone of these can manifest one or many sorts of point-of-view. One character can literally perceive a certain object or event; and/or it can be presented through the characters' conceptualization; and/or his interest in it can be involved. The difference between point-of-view and narrative voice: point-of-view is the physical place or ideological situation or practical life orientation, to which the narrative events stand in relation. Voice on the contrary refers to speech or other overt means through which events and existents are communicated to the audience. Point-of-view does not mean the expression, just the perspective in terms of which the expression is made.¹¹⁸

With an understanding of the theory and method it is now time for the analysis.

114 Chatman 1978, p. 150.

115 Chatman 1978, p. 150.

116 Chatman 1978, pp. 149-150.

117 Powell 1990, p. 19.

118 Chatman 1978, pp. 151-153.

5 Analysis

5.1 Introduction

In this section the myths will be analysed with the Swedish versions as they are featured in the Appendix. There might be a good idea to read them there before the analysis, to familiarize with them. They will be treated one-by-one, and the section ends with a summary. The steps taken in the analysis of the different myths will be the same. For the first version which is Fjellström, the overall process will be thoroughly presented, to make the choices made clear.

5.2 Fjellström

5.2.1 Events

The myths that are going to be analysed are quite short, which makes it possible to go into detail when looking at the events of the narrative. If the story is a couple of pages long or more, one can not be too detailed for it to be manageable. In choosing the events of the myth I have read the text and looked for where the changes of state have occurred, or where an act or action has taken place. When a new action or a change of state has occurred I have regarded it as a new event. If a change of state has occurred but without breaking the current event I have labeled it with the same number as the event and a letter. The descriptions of the events in the following text are made to be as short and with as much information as possible. Whether the event is a kernel or a satellite will be indicated by the colour of the event number, red for kernel and blue for satellite.

The first event of the myth, **1** a girl is forced to take refuge into the wild, where she comes upon a bear den. The reason behind her refuge is because of the brothers hatred towards her. Exhausted she finds a bear den and in it she finds rest. In event **2** a bear comes and they start a family. I regard this event as separate since the perspective change, from that of the girl to the bear. He comes to the same den, and after a closer friendship he takes her as his wife and he begets a son with her. Some time might have passed between the two events, and most assuredly when they got to know each other and when they started their family. I regard these two events as kernel events for the characters are introduced and they are points or nodes where choices for the continued narrative can be made. Event **3**, after some time the bear wants to make tracks in the snow so he can be killed. Time has passed between this and the former event for it clearly says so. It is due to his old age and that the son has grown up that the bear wants to make the tracks. According to the bear he can not live on, and he wants to go out in the first snow of autumn. In section 3.4 Saami bear hunting rites

and bear burials, the steps of the bear hunt were presented and here in the myth we can see a hint of step (1), where the bear is encircled at first snow in autumn. The hunters locate the bear den through the tracks of the bear. It is a kernel event since the bear says and explains what he wants to do, which sets the course for the following events. In 3b there is a conflict between the bear and his wife. The girl tries to prevent the bear from going out, but although she tries her hardest the bear can not be persuaded. This event is a part of event 3 but since their discussion escalates a change of state has occurred, therefore I regard it as a separate event. It is a satellite since it does not change the course of the narrative for the bear stand fast, it only fleshes out the story and presents their relationship. In event 4 the bear did what he wanted to do. In event 3 the bear *wants* to go out, in this event he *does* so, he goes from wanting to acting despite the conflict in 3b. Event 5 the bear demands that brass be attached to his forehead. According to the bear the brass is to make him distinguishable from other bears, and recognized by his own son to prevent him from killing the bear. This brass connects the myth to the hunt and the feast since the Saamis used brass as protection amulets during the hunt, see section 3.4. Later in the ritual, according to Drake the bear head was adorned with silver.¹¹⁹ An assumption can be made that time has passed between this and the following event, for in event 6 deep snow had fallen when the three brothers go hunting. For when the bear made tracks in the first snow it was autumn. The brothers go hunting for the bear they previously encircled. Events 4-6 are kernel events since they have impact on the following story. In 4 the tracks from the bear makes it possible for the brothers to see where he is located. In 5 the brass enables the son to recognize his father later in the story and in 6 the brothers go hunting for the bear they have encircled, since they saw his tracks from 4. In event 6b a dialogue between the bear and his wife is had of her brothers' treatment of her. In the text it seems like this dialogue is had at the same time as event 6. Since it starts "Då frågar björn..."/Then the bear asks... The word "Då"/Then, connects the two sentences. That is why I regard it as 6b. In the dialogue the bear asks his wife if all the brothers treated her badly, she answers that the two eldest had, and the youngest were somewhat milder. This dialogue functions as an explanation why the two elder brothers get hurt in 7. It is a satellite event for it fleshes out the narrative and explains the coming action, but it can be taken out of the story without hurting the logic. Event 7 the hunters come to the den and the bear attacks the two elder brothers. It seems like the brothers take turns in attacking the bear, since he can defend himself and then go back to the den. In event 8 the bear and his wife exits the den, the bear demands that she grabs ahold of him and he carries her out. She then orders her youngest brother to shoot the bear. These two events are kernels for we get to know what happens to the brothers from 6, and how the bear gets killed and by whom. Event 8b the wife sits down some distance away and covers her face. The wife leaves the place of the killing of the bear and covers

119 Drake 1979, p. 329.

her face for she does not have the heart to see that the bear was shot and now were to be flayed. After this sentence there is an explanation of the custom that the women during the bear hunt can not see the bear or the bear men without a covered face and through a brass ring, and that it will be further narrated below. The narrator is clearly seen in this event. This is a satellite for it can be taken out of the narrative without disturbing the logic. For event 9 the brothers have put the meat in the kettle, and the son of the bear comes. The brothers tell the bear son that they have shot a bear with curious brass on his forehead. By doing this the son knows that it is his father they have killed. It is a kernel for we follow the route of the meat and the brothers tell the son of the killed bear. A conflict is had between the bear son and the brothers in event 9b. The bear son says that it is his father they have killed for he was marked with such brass, and he then wants same part of the bear as them. When they deny this the son threatens them that he will wake up his father. I regard this as a satellite since it only fleshes out the story, and the son could act only on the information from 9. The son in 10 takes a twig and hits the hide and he says twice my father rise up. The meat then starts to boil heavily as if it wanted to get out of the kettle, the brothers agrees or were forced to share the meat and give him an equal share. With this event the story ends and the son gets his fare share, this is a kernel for it shows the bond between the bear and the son, and the acts begun in 5 gets their conclusion.

There are no discrepancies regarding the story time and the discourse time. The events are narrated as they occur, except for the possibility of event 6b that might take place at the same time as the brothers go hunting. The first conflict is between the brothers and their sister in event 1, it is because of their hatred she has to leave her home. The bear and his wife have the second in 4 when she tries to convince him not to go out and make tracks. When the bear attacks the brothers in 7 is the next. The last conflict is between the brothers and the bear son. The arguments between the characters will be studied in the section that follows.

5.2.2 Characters

Each of the characters will be analysed in the order they appear in the story, first the three brothers and then the sister, and so on. The characters in the story are: three brothers, the sister, the bear, the bear son, other bears (only mentioned), the bear men (only mentioned).

The three brothers are almost always mentioned as one unit of three people. In event 1 the story starts with mentioning that three brothers had only one sister whom was hated by them. The reader does not get an explanation why that is. Later in that same sentence (the first) the reader gets to know that the hatred was so strong that she had to take refuge into the woods, where there are not

only wild animals, but according to Rydving also an environment inhabited by other beings like spirits for example.¹²⁰

Later in the narrative in event 3 the brothers are mentioned, when the bear tells his wife that he wants to go out and make tracks, so that they can see them. There seems to be no other hunters around for the bear to be hunted by. It appears the bear chooses whom will see his tracks, and hunt him down. The bear as prey chooses his hunters. In event 4 the brothers see the tracks. In deep snow, event 6, they go on a bear hunt. Meanwhile in event 6b the bear asks his wife if all of them had been equally spiteful to her. She tells him that the two eldest had been more spiteful and the youngest somewhat less. This is the only part, where someone else than the narrator tells something about the three brothers. The differentiation of the three brothers continues when they arrive at the den in event 7, and the bear attacks and harms the eldest and the middle brother. The youngest brother is then in event 8 told by his sister to shoot the bear which he does.

Later in 9 it is stated that the hunters had killed the bear. From now on the brothers are grouped together and work as one unit again. The son of the bear comes to them when they have put the meat into the kettle to be boiled. They tell him that they have killed a curious animal with a piece of brass on the forehead. By telling this they confess to the son that they have killed his father. Because of the brass they are tricked by the bear and his family. The brothers refuse the son in 9b his share of the bear. It is not until he scares them in 10 that they give it to him.

The portrayal of the brothers is not well rounded since they are featured as a group most of the time. They hated their sister but the story does not tell why, and that the bear chooses them as his hunters. The hatred and that they did not want to share are negative sentiments and actions. The only positive act they get to do is to shoot the bear. Although that act is planned by the bear, and later ordered by their sister. It is not explained how they think or their thoughts behind their actions, the reader does not get to know the individual characters.

The sister is hated by her brothers in event 1, it is understandable that it is severe because she takes refuge in the wild. When she is exhausted she finally comes across a bear den where she goes to rest. That she is weary tells us that she has been going with haste or for a long time. There is nothing about the possible danger, of going into a bear den. According to the story she has nothing to fear from the den or the bear. After getting to know him in 2, she is taken as his wife and the bear begets with her a son. The story does not say if she herself wanted this. When the bear tells her in event 3 that he because of old age wants to go out and make tracks in the snow, his wife in 3b seeks or tried this at the highest to prevent. Even though the bear was getting old, she did not want him to be hunted by her brothers. In event 6b the bear asks his wife if the three brothers had been equally spiteful to her, and she answers that the two eldest were more difficult than the youngest.

120 Rydving 1995, p. 173.

Later the bear orders his wife in 8 to grab him around the waist and he carries her out of the den. She then orders her youngest brother to shoot the bear. Even though she did not want to let himself get killed. She does as he wanted to and is therefore a part in killing the bear. After the bear is killed she sits down some distance away. She covers her face like the one that do not have the heart to watch, that the bear was shot and were to be flayed. After this the sister or the bear wife exits the narrative, she is not mentioned from here on.

Through the narrative the reader gets to know the sister more at least in comparison to her brothers. The hatred towards the girl gets her to take action and flee. From this it can be deduced that she is a strong character and she will not stand the treatment from her brothers. She befriends a bear and marries him and starts a family. She tries her hardest to prevent her husband to make the tracks, this points to their possibly good natured relationship. In that passage the reader gets to know her and it shows that she could oppose the bear when she felt it was needed. Through her description of her brothers treatment of her, she helps the bear to choose his killer. When they exit the bear den together shows an equality between them, the bear does not leave her there instead they face their future together. After the bear is killed, she sits down some distance away possibly to grieve her husband's death. Through her actions the reader learns about her and she is therefore a round character.

The bear enters the story in event 2, when he finds a girl resting in a den. After a closer acquaintance he takes her as his wife and they get a son. The closer acquaintance seems to mean that some time has passed, between when they first met and when they married. After some time in 3 when the bear got old he tells his wife that he out of old age can not live any longer, and wants to make tracks in the snow. The time that has passed we do not know how long that is. Even though his wife tries her hardest to prevent him from going out in 3b he does so anyway. He can not be persuaded and by making his tracks in 4 he is sentenced for death. The bear then orders his wife in 5 to place a piece of brass onto his forehead. So that the bear is distinguished from other bears and recognized by his son so that he will not kill his father. The three brothers are on a bear hunt to kill this bear in 6, they are not on a hunt to kill any bear.

The bear asks his wife in 6b if her brothers have been equally harmful towards her. The consequences of her answer, is that the two eldest brothers gets attacked in 7. And that the youngest is told to kill the bear in event 8 which was an honourable feat. It seems that he delivers their punishment for being hateful towards their sister. The bear then in 8 carries his wife out on two paws, that he brings her out in such a way can be interpreted as a sign of the bears human qualities that he can walk on his hind legs.

As an acting character, the bear leaves the story after he is killed in 8. Afterwards the bear is only mentioned as being slain by the brothers in 9 and that the meat is in the cauldron. The brothers tell

his son that they have shot a curious animal with a piece of brass on his forehead. The son says to them that the bear is his father. It is because of the boiling meat that the son gets his share of the bear in 10. The boiling meat can be an expression of the forceful capabilities that the bear was perceived to have.

The reader learns about the bear's character through his actions. He finds a girl in his den and marries her. It seems like they have a good relationship. When he says to her that he out of old age wants to make tracks, his wife tries her hardest to convince him not to do that. Even though she tries her hardest he can not be persuaded. It is like his mind is already set and it can not be altered. He then orders to fasten a piece of brass on his forehead. With the making of the tracks the bear is choosing his hunters. By asking his wife how she was treated by her brothers he also chooses his killer. It is like he can see into the future what is going to happen with him and his family. For without the brass the son could not have recognized him when the brothers describe the bear that they have killed. This could be an example of the supernatural bear, that he is perceived to be not of this world. In hurting the two elder brothers he passes judgement on them for their treatment of his wife. Through his wife by choosing the youngest brother to kill him, the bear rewards that brother's actions towards her even though he was a part of the hatred. Towards his family the bear is caring and protecting, to his enemies he is a dangerous animal. The bear is the most round character in the myth.

The bear son enters the narrative directly after the marriage between the bear and the sister in event 2. After that it is stated that the son has grown up in 3. Later when the bear orders his wife about the brass in 5, it is done so that his son will recognize his father. It is also understood that the son has left the family. When the meat is in the cauldron in 9, the son enters the narrative as an acting character. He comes to the brothers when they are boiling the meat. The son says, that the bear with the brass on his body is his father in 9b and the son therefore claims equal share in the bear. These are the first acts of the son in the narrative. The brothers constantly deny that, which supposes some time of discussion or debate being had between them. The son threatens them if they do not give him his share he will wake his father up. He then takes a twig in 10 with which he hits the bear hide and says my father get up. After he has said this the meat in the cauldron begins to boil heavily. When the brothers sees this they are forced to give him his share. This beating on the hide and the words being said seems to show that the son has some capabilities. The bear was seen as a very forceful animal belonging to the godly realm. The son with a bear for a father might have gotten some of his fathers powers, see section 1 and 3.2.

As a character, the reader does not get to know the bear son. It is stated that he is born and grows up and has left the family. The son exits the narrative and comes back when the brothers have killed the bear. In his efforts to revive his father it seems that the meat will come alive. Since he is alone in

confronting them although two are wounded by the bear it must take courage to face them. It is not said how the son got these capabilities, or if it is the bear that operates through his son. Despite the possible powers and due to the small part in the myth that he is featured, the bear son is a flat character.

Other bears, these bears are only mentioned in 5, when the bear orders his wife about the brass, so that he can be distinguished from them. The bear men, the same as above with these bear men. They are mentioned when it is explained in event 8b, why the women can not watch the bear or the bear men without a covered face and through a brass ring.

5.2.3 Settings, spatial and temporal

The settings of the narrative are the *wild*, this is only mentioned as a space where the sister takes her refuge. Later she comes to a *bear den*, at this den a good part of the narrative takes place. Some time later the bear wants to go out into the *first snow* of autumn. A prop is introduced in the *piece of brass* that is fastened on the bear. When the *deep snow* has fallen it is understood that some time has passed from the earlier snow in autumn. A *brass ring* is mentioned as an object for the women to look through. When the brothers have killed and flayed the bear they put the meat into a *cauldron*. Later the son takes a *twig* that he beats the *bear hide* with. Regarding the meat it can be seen as a part of the bear which it is and therefore a character. Or, it can be seen as a prop since the animal has been killed. Had the bear resurrected in the end of the narrative the meat could be seen as a part of the character. But since the meat here seemingly only gets manipulated by the son and does not transform into the bear. It would be more correct to see it as a piece of setting or prop.

The temporal setting of the narrative is chronological. There are indications that time passes, in event 2 when they get to know each other and they get a son. After that it is told in event 3 after some time, and it is also stated that the bear is old and the son grown up. These are durative settings even though the time that has passed is unspecified. We also get a time marker in event 3 with the first snow of autumn and later another in event 6 with the deep fallen snow which indicates that time has passed. These are locative settings since they specify a certain time, like autumn and the time for the deep fallen snow. For with knowledge of the bear hunt the reader knows that the deep fallen snow indicates spring when the hunt was performed, see (2) in section 3.4. When the narrator tells us in 8b, why women can not see the bear save but through a brass ring, this part seems to interrupt the narrative. In event 9 when the brothers have killed the bear and put the meat in the pot the sentence starts with “While the”, this indicates that time has passed and that is the time that it took to kill and flay the bear and put the meat in the pot. This is a durative setting although not too specified.

5.2.4 Plot

I will use the terms Beginning, Middle and End to get an easier overlook of the plot of the myths. Events 1-2 I regard as the beginning for in these events the settings and the main characters are introduced. Event 3 starts with a time marker that suggests that time has passed from event 2. The middle would then be from event 3 to 8b. These events have the bear hunt as theme. This sequence ends with the clear and present narrator in 8b. The narrative starts again with event 9 and ends with 10 which would be the end. These events have another perspective, it is now the bear son and the brothers that are the centre characters. The plot of the myth would then be:

The beginning, a girl is forced to take refuge into the wild, where she comes upon a bear den. A bear comes and they start a family.

The middle, after some time the bear wants to get killed. Conflict between the bear and his wife. The bear demands that brass be attached to his forehead. The three brothers go hunting. Dialogue between the bear and his wife. The bear attacks the brothers. The bear and his wife exits the den and she orders her youngest brother to shoot the bear.

The end, the brothers put the meat in the kettle, the son of the bear comes. Conflict between them. The son takes a twig and convinces the brothers into sharing the meat.

5.2.5 Implied author

A family member of the bear is always present in the story. First the girl, then the girl and the bear and after that the bear son. The hunters appear with intervals, the story begins with their hatred and ends with them sharing the bear meat. They are encouraged to do it by the bear son, and indirectly the bear. Since the hunters are the sister's brothers, they are also a part of the bear family. The importance of the sharing of the meat within the family is therefore stressed by the implied author.

5.2.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader

The narrator in the myth is visible through the fact that the myth is told by someone, that is outside of the story. Everything in the narrative is told to us by the narrator even the dialogue. The narrator does not try to manipulate the reader towards or from certain aspects. In event 8b the narrator becomes very clear when describing the custom of the women during the bear hunt.

The implied author stresses the sharing of the meat between the bear son and the brothers. The bear instructs his family of his impending death, the bear son recognizes his father due to the brass, and he can then demand his share of the inheritance from the bear. Since the narratee-character points to the desired stance of the audience, see section 4.2.7 Narratee and Implied reader, the bear son could in this version be the materialized narratee. The anticipated response from the

narrative to the real reader through the implied reader is that the bear son has a right to the bear meat. The implied reader may then ally with the narratee.

An alternative may be the hunters/brothers as narratees and the implied reader still allies with the bear family. The brothers may be the narratee-characters for they share the meat with the bear son, by doing this the point of sharing the inheritance still comes across.

5.2.7 Point-of-view

The myth has a conceptual point-of-view since it is presented within the Saami environment and culture. Where for example the girl is not afraid of the bear and the bear understands human language and is a very forceful animal even after it is dead. The depicted hunt is also in the Saami culture. There is nothing told about other peoples like Swedes or Norwegians or Saamis from other places.

It is the bear's interests that gets the upper hand in the narrative, which is an interest point-of-view. Since the bear was a part of the Saami culture and religion the interest point-of-view could therefore also be the Saami. This gives us that there are two perspectives present in the myth, a conceptual point-of-view and an interest point-of-view.

5.3 The Drake versions

Since the Drake versions are short I decided to put them together in the analysis, to lessen the repetitiveness of the essay.

5.3.1 Events

As with the analysis of Fjellström I have read the Drake versions closely and tried to decide where to identify the events of the story. Drake A is a much shorter myth than Fjellström so there is less room for details and information to the reader.

The story starts with **1**, the bear and the Saami girl lived together and got a son. The main characters are introduced and nothing more. Event **2**, a dialogue between the bear and his wife and son. In this event the reader gets the information that the bear got old and he tells his wife and son to go to the Saamis. The son asks him about his inheritance the bear answers him that he is to demand half of him/the bear from the hunters. The Saami girl asks about her inheritance but the answer is illegible in the material, see section 1.4.2 The Drake A and B versions. That he tells his wife and son to go to the Saamis may infer that they do not live together with other Saamis, perhaps there is a distance between them. In event **3**, there is a conflict between the bear son and the hunters.

The bear son demands his inheritance from the hunters, they refuse and in response the son tips the pot over. And in 4, the bear came alive and went to the woods.

Regarding if the events are kernels or satellites, it is a bit more difficult to decide with this myth. Due to its shortness nearly every sentence is important for the narrative, and contains valuable information for the reader. Events 1-3 are kernels for in 1 the characters are introduced and the story begins. The second event contains the dialogue where the inheritance is discussed, which leads to event 3 where the son asks for his share of the bear. Event 4 is a satellite for its loss would not disturb the logic of the narrative and it only fleshes out the story.

An argument could be made to let the second event be a satellite. For without it the reader would still learn that the bear is dead from event 3. The aesthetic of the narrative would be hurting without it but the story would still be understood. There are no anachronies in the temporal relation of the events. The only conflict is between the hunters and the bear son in event 3.

Drake B is also a short version and every sentence in the narrative is important to present information to the reader. The narrative has been divided into three events: event 1, a bear had captured a woman and had her with him for a time. As in the previous versions the main characters are presented here. In event 2, the bear demands an ornament and informs the woman of the pot. When the bear decides to let her go he demands her to tie an ornament on his forehead. If she should hear of a bear being shot with such an ornament she is to go there and demand a third of him and if they were not about to give her that, she is to touch the pot and the bear will resurrect. These two events are kernel events for they present valuable information for the reader. They are nodes on the armature of the narrative. Event 3, the woman touches the pot, and she gets her share. In this event we learn that what the bear told her in event 2 happened. She touches the pot and yoikes. When she has done that it starts to move inside the pot and the hunters become afraid and she gets her share and the pot calmed down. As I have written above every sentence in this version is important, therefore event 3 could be a satellite event, for predicted actions in event 2 are performed in this event. If we look at it more carefully, the acts made in event 3 have already been presented in event 2. Even though the last event closes the myth in a good manner, the narrative could do without it. The aesthetics are disturbed but it still would work.

The events are reported as they occur in the narrative, except for the bear's information in event 2, that could be seen as a prolepsis. Since the prolepsis in this case slightly duplicates a narrative section to come, it is according to Genette a repeating prolepsis.¹²¹ According to Chatman see section 4.2.1 Events, an existent in this case a character may project an event to come, as the bear does in event 2 here, where he projects the actions in event 3. There is one conflict between the woman and the hunters. That the bear had captured the woman might also be seen as a conflict.

121 Genette 1983, p. 71.

5.3.2 Characters

The characters in Drake A are: the bear, the Saami girl, the son, the Saamis (only mentioned), and those that killed the bear/the hunters.

The bear lived together with the Saami girl and they got a son, event 1. When the bear got old in 2, he told his wife and son to go to the Saamis. Upon his son's question the bear told the son to demand half of him from the one that gets him. When the cauldron is pushed over in 3 the bear comes alive again in 4, and went off to the woods.

The information about the character the bear that is given by the myth is not much. That he says to his family that they should go to the Saamis since he has gotten old; might be interpreted that he cared for them and wanted them to be tended for after his death. The bear wanted the son to get half of him from his killer also points in that direction. The bear is a flat character.

The Saami girl lived together with a bear in 1 and they got a son. When the bear got old in 2 she is told by the bear to go to the Saamis. She asks the bear what her inheritance shall be. The answer to the question is not given in the material due to its illegibility as mentioned above, it is not obscured in the story. After her question she exits the narrative, even less is expressed about this flat character. Maybe the answer to the girl's question could have given us more clues about her.

The son has a bear for a father, and a Saami girl as mother. The son is told to go to the Saamis in event 2. He asks the bear what his inheritance shall be. The bear says to the son to demand half of him from the one that gets him. The son does as he is instructed in 3, when they did not want to, the son pushed the cauldron over and exits the narrative. This character is also scarcely described. It is not said what happens to the son or the girl after the bear runs into the woods in event 4. The bear son is a flat character. The Saamis are only mentioned when the bear tells his wife and son to go to them in event 2. Those that killed the bear/the hunters, the son demands from them half of the bear in event 3 which they did not want to give. After the refusal they exit the narrative, there is not much description of these flat characters either.

The characters in Drake B are: the bear, the woman and a set of characters that is not described further.

The bear has trapped a woman and has her with him for a while in event 1. The myth does not give any information on how he trapped her or how long he had been keeping her. In event 2 he lets her go and orders her to tie a sjeäle/an ornament on him. That the bear let her go supports that he has kept her there against her will. In ordering her to tie the ornament on him, there is no affection being described between them. The bear informs her that if she were to hear of a bear being shot with a sjeäle, she is to go there and demand a third of him. If they do not want to give her that she is to touch the pot and the bear would resurrect. The ornament is meant for her so she can distinguish him from other bears and to receive her part of him. The reader is informed in event 3 that what the

bear has told her happened. As an acting character the bear exits the narrative. Indirectly he later moves inside the pot.

Less is said about the character of the bear in this myth, one action can be interpreted as negative and one positive. The unfavourable action that he does is that he captures a woman and keeps her, probably she is kept there against her will, it is hard to say. The positive action is that he wants her to receive a third of him after he is killed. These two actions gives a slightly more rounded portrait of the bear. Since things happened just as he predicted gives us that the bear might have the ability to see or perhaps guess what will happen in the future.

The woman has been trapped by the bear in event 1. She is ordered to tie an ornament on the bear in 2 and if she were to hear of a bear being shot with a sjeäle she is to go there and demand a third of him. If they do not want to give her that she is to touch the pot and the bear would resurrect. The information from the bear comes true in 3. She touched the pot and yoiked that they did not want to give her anything. It starts to move in the pot, and they got scared, and she received her part.

When she touched the pot she yoiked: Stand up, sjeäle-ear! they do not want to give anything. This is the only Saami bear myth that the girl/woman yoikes. Sjeäle-ear is her words for the bear. Sjeäle is the silver or metal ornament that she tied to him. Maybe her words “sjeäle-ear” informs us where she tied it. According to Drake the bear could be called “sjele-kallo”/decorated with silver leafs on his forehead, referencing to the bear feast when the bear was adorned with silver.¹²² The woman’s words “sjeäle-ear” might then be a term of affection. Since the meat started to move inside the pot, the bear answered to her call which would support the sign of fondness.

Almost nothing is told about the character of the woman. The only leads that are given are that she does as he instructs her and she calls the bear sjeäle-ear. If she were to really dislike the bear she would probably not even go to the hunters or to call him sjeäle-ear. The third of the bear that she receives, can be interpreted as some sort of payment or inheritance from him.

A set of characters, they are referred to in event 2 as killers of the bear, and in event 3 as acting or re-acting characters when they got afraid. The set of characters exits the narrative right after they become scared. Even less is said about these characters other than that they shot a bear, and they refuse to give the woman her share, and they get afraid from the meat moving in the pot. From these actions it is hard to deduce anything about these characters. Since the woman has to prove her connection to the bear, it can be said that they are not easily fooled and as characters they are flat.

122 Drake 1979, p. 329.

5.3.3 Settings, spatial and temporal

The only prop in Drake A is the *cauldron* that is pushed over. The only environment mentioned is the *woods* that the bear went into after he came back alive. The only indications that time passes, is that they got a son in event 1, and that the bear got old in event 2. Although unspecified, these are durative settings.

In drake B there are no descriptions of an environment in the myth but some props are mentioned and used. The first prop is the *sjeäle* that the bear orders the woman to attach. This *sjeäle* comes back in “*sjeäle-ear*” when the woman yoiks. The second prop being mentioned is the *third of the bear* the woman’s inheritance from him. The myth ends when she receives her part. The third prop is the *pot* and it is first mentioned when the bear informs the woman.

The only time marker in the myth is in event 1 where the bear had the woman with him for a while. As previously mentioned it is hard to tell how long that time is, but it ends when he sends her away in event 2. The setting might therefore be durative since it is a period of time and not a specific point in time. Another durative setting is in event 3 where it is said that what the bear had told the woman in event 2 passed just as he had said it would. The actual happenings told by the bear is the time that has passed.

5.3.4 Plot

To divide Drake A in a beginning, middle and an end, I would place event 1 as the beginning for in this event the main characters are introduced. Event 2 as the middle for the notion is given that time has passed between event 1 and 2. The dialogue seems to be happening at one time and not at different occasions. The end would be events 3 and 4, it is not certain but time might have passed between 2 and 3, for example the killing of the bear. Events 3 and 4 belong together for event 4 is a response for acts made in 3. The plot of the myth is:

The beginning, the bear and the Saami girl lived together and got a son.

The middle, a dialogue between the bear and his wife and son.

The end, conflict between the bear son and the hunters. The bear came alive.

The plot of Drake B begins with event 1. The middle is event 2. The end is event 3, for it is a change between the bear’s information and the actual acts in event 3. The plot is:

Beginning, a bear had captured a woman and had her with him for awhile.

Middle, the bear orders and informs the woman of the pot.

End, the woman touches the pot, and the woman gets her share.

5.3.5 Implied author

The inheritance from the bear is the theme for Drake A, it is discussed in event 2 and acted upon in 3 and 4. The killing of the bear is not a part of this narrative, it is only mentioned in events 2 and 3. By omitting the hunt, the implied author has focused on the inheritance. Since the hunters do not share the meat none of them gets a share of the bear.

The inheritance and the sharing of the bear meat is the theme for Drake B. The implied author has centred on the subject, since every sentence but the first is concerning it. The implied author's version of the bear in this myth is strict and maybe not as kind as in the other myths. Instead of marrying a woman he captures one. Yet he teaches her how she will get her part of the inheritance, and supports her in convincing the hunters.

5.3.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader

Drake A is told through a narrator, that does not try to manipulate the reader. The speeches from the characters are delivered in their own words. The core of the myth is the inheritance and that it should be shared by the hunters. Taking this into consideration the narratee-character may be the bear son for he follows the bear's instructions. The anticipated response from the narrative through the implied reader may be that the bear son had a right to the bear meat, and/or if the hunters do not want to share none shall have a part.

Almost everything that occurs in Drake B is mentioned by the narrator, only the woman's yoik in event 3 is told in her own words. The narrator is not trying to manipulate the reader. The importance of the inheritance is emphasized through the bear's information to the woman. She may be the narratee-character in this version. The anticipated response from the narrative to the real reader through the implied reader is that the woman should get her share of the meat, since she receives the information from the bear and is thereby a part of his family, and follows the bear's instructions.

5.3.7 Point-of-view

The perspectives of Drake A changes between third person, the narrator and singular person in the dialogue between the bear, the son and the Saami girl. The myth can perspectively be divided into third person in events 1 to 2, and then singular person in the dialogue in event 2, and after the dialogue back to third person in 3 to 4. Since the reader does not see what the characters see, there is no perceptual point-of-view. In the questions regarding the inheritance, there is an interest point-of-view. Since the myth is situated in the Saami environment, there is also a conceptual point-of-view.

Drake B is told by a narrator, there is no perceptual point-of-view through someones eyes. Since it is situated in the Saami environment, there can be a conceptual point-of-view. The interest point-of-view may be the bear and the woman's inheritance from him, due to the large part of the myth they take.

5.4 Turi

5.4.1 Events

This version is different from the others and also quite short which makes every sentence important. The events of the myth are: event **1**, a girl lives with a bear and they get a son with a bear paw. In this event it is stated that a girl stayed for a winter in a bear den and she slept as good as the bear. The bear was a male and he got the girl pregnant. It is also stated that the girl was fed by Uldan. Within parentheses the explanation informs that the bears live together with Uldan during the winter, this being gets food to the bear and the bear cannot survive without it, end of parentheses. The child was a boy and he had one human hand and one bear paw that he always kept hidden. I regard this as one event for it presents the characters of the myth and there is no change of state or action that breaks the event. In event **2**, there is a conflict between a man and the bear son. The man wants to see the bear paw, the bear son does not want to show it for the danger but the man persists. The son shows the paw and he cannot help himself and wounds the man in the face. The narrative ends with event **3**, people understand that the bear son told the truth. It seems that it is not until his display that the people now know that he was telling the truth.

I regard the first two events as kernels for they carry the narrative and the last one a satellite for it is not needed to understand the story, it only fleshes out the ending somewhat. There are no discrepancies between the story time and discourse time in this version. The only conflict is between the man and the bear son.

5.4.2 Characters

The characters in the myth are, the girl, the bear, the bears, uldorna/uldan, the boy, the man, the people.

The girl stayed for a winter in a bear den, event 1. It is not stated how she got to it or why she stayed there. It is informed that uldorna nursed her too and that she slept soundly. She had nothing to fear from the bear. She got pregnant by him, after this the girl exits the narrative. Little is told about this character other than she seems to have enjoyed her stay with the bear. The only part of

the myth that can pass as something about her character, is that she slept soundly during the winter. Due to the little information about her, she is a flat character.

The bear has a den, in which a girl stays in event 1, the bear sleeps very soundly as well as the woman. We do not know what he thinks about the girl that stays there. The information that is given is that the bear is a male and that he gets the girl pregnant, after this event the bear exits the narrative. This character as well as the girl is scarcely described and is therefore also a flat character. The reader does not get to know the bear as well in this myth as in the other versions. The bears, these bears are only mentioned in the parentheses in event 1, which explains how the bear can survive his winter sleep. These bears are not part of the narrative.

Uldorna/uldan nurses the bear and the girl in the den during the hibernation. Uldorna are only mentioned in event 1, and then they exit the myth. No information is given about Uldorna in the text besides them nursing the bear and the girl. The explanation in event 1 is to the reader and is outside of the narrative. Due to the lack of information about Uldan, she(?) is a flat character.

It is understood in event 1, the boy has one bear paw and one ordinary hand, probably because he has a bear for a father and a human mother. The boy always kept the bear paw hidden or covered. In event 2 one man wants to see the bear paw, the boy does not want to show it for it is dangerous. The man is not convinced and the boy shows it. The boy can not keep himself and tears the man's face apart. It seems that the bear paw acts on its own. Or it could be that the boy is enraged by the man's eagerness or his bullying. It says in the myth, he could not keep himself. Either he could not keep his bear paw still and keeping it from hurting the man, or he could not keep himself calm.

Due to the length of the myth that the son is featured, the reader gets to know him more than the other characters. By not showing his paw he prevents himself from hurting others. Because of the man's eagerness or bullying he shows it and the man gets hurt. The bear son in this myth is more rounded than the other characters. The bear paw connects this myth to the bear's son cycle of folktales and the bear's ear stories, with a bear son that has bear features. For further details see Funk & Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*. Where *The bear's son* is a cycle of folktales from Europe and Asia, and *Bear's ear* is a hero who has bear's ears and superhuman strength inherited from his bear father.¹²³

The man wanted to see the boy's bear paw in event 2, even though the boy did not want to. The man did not believe the boy and still wanted to see it. When the boy showed it he gets his face torn. If it is only curiosity or bullying from the man, it is not known from the myth. What is stated is that the man is not satisfied with the boy's word. The only character traits given about him, is that he wants to see the bear paw. And that he does not believe the bear son's word, this is a flat character.

123 Funk & Wagnall 1984, see "Bear's Ear", "Bear's Son".

The people are only mentioned as a crowd in event 3 in the last sentence, where they could see that it was true what the boy had said about his paw. Since he had showed it to the man (and them) and also demonstrated how dangerous it was. It seems that they are present when the boy shows his paw.

5.4.3 Settings, spatial and temporal

There are few props and environment mentioned in the myth. The only piece of environment is the *bear den* in event 1, in the first sentence. The only prop is *food* in the same event. The place where the conflict takes place suggests an open environment where people can see what happens, between the boy and the man.

The only time marker in the myth, is that the girl spent a whole winter together with the bear. That part of the myth has a locative setting, since we know what specific time of the year they spent together, it may also be durative for it is a period of time, the whole winter.

5.4.4 Plot

The three parts of the plot in this narrative are: event 1 as the beginning, for this event functions as a presentation and introduction to the story. It is not until the second event that a change occurs. The middle will be event 2 containing the conflict of the story. As end event 3, that closes the narrative.

The plot is:

Beginning, a girl lives with a bear, they get a son with a bear paw.

Middle, conflict between a man and the bear son.

End, people understand that the bear son told the truth.

5.4.5 Implied author

The supernatural connection is emphasized and explained by the bear's contact with Uldorna. The bear son with his bear paw, and his lost self control is also evidence of the supernatural bear. The implied author stresses the bear's contact with the other realm and also of the danger of going into a conflict with a member of the bear family.

5.4.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader

The narrator is visible in the story for everything is told through the narrator. It is a straight forward telling, the teller does not try to deceive the reader. The explanation given about Uldorna and the bears makes the narrator more audible, and the narrative seems to come to a halt there.

In event 3 the people saw and understood that the bear son told the truth. A suggestion can be made that these are the narratees, which shows how the author wants the audience to react. That the bear son told the truth and should be trusted. There is no information suggesting the implied reader is not willing to ally with the narratees in this version.

5.4.7 Point-of-view

There is no perceptual point-of-view in the myth, events are not described or told through someones eyes. Since the myth is set in a Saami environment, there can be a conceptual point-of-view. The interest of the myth is the bear son who would be the interest point-of-view.

5.5 Grundström

5.5.1 Events

In the first event a bear has a son with a human girl. The bear instructs the girl of things to come after his death in event 2. The instructions that the bear gives to the girl are that she is to attach a ring on his nose, and when she hears that a bear with such a ring has been killed she is to order his son to go to the hunters and ask for a part of him. If they will not give him that he shall take a stick and strike the hide three times, and the bear will come back to life and tear the hunters to death. In event 3, the son follows the instructions from the bear. It is stated that the son is now grown up, and he hears that a bear has been killed with a ring on his nose. He understands that it is his father. The son goes to the hunters and asks for a part of the bear and tells them that the bear had instructed him to do so. For event 4 there is a conflict between the bear son and the hunters. The son strikes the hide with his stick, then the sticks loosened with which the hide was stretched, and the hide became fresh. He strikes it one more time and it becomes a whole dead bear. In event 5 the hunters share the meat, and it is out of fear they decide to share the bear. This is a separate event since the hunters go from refusing to fearing, a change of state has occurred.

Regarding the hierarchy of the events there is an interesting situation with this version, and it is due to the information in event 2. Through those instructions it is known what is going to happen after the bear is killed. There are two alternatives available, one where events 1, 2, 4 and 5 are kernels and 3 a satellite. Event 3 can be missed for the information has been received from event 2. The second alternative where events 1, 2, 3 and 5 are kernels and event 4 is a satellite. This is also because of the information in event 2.

The only disturbance in the temporal relations of the events are the instructions given by the bear in the second event. The bear tells the girl of something that might happen, since it does occur in

events 3 and 4 according to the bear's information it may be understood as a prolepsis. As previously with Drake B we have a repeating prolepsis and a character that projects a coming event, see section 5.3.1 Events and 4.2.1 Events. The conflict in the story is between the bear son and the hunters in event 3.

5.5.2 Characters

The characters in the myth are, the bear, the son, the human girl and the hunters.

The bear has a son with a human girl, event 1. The bear informs the girl in event 2, of things to come after his death. Towards the girl the bear is tender which is the case with the ring that she may fasten. The son he orders and the hunters he may tear to death. The bear is thusly a tender, strict and possibly a ferocious character. After event 2, the bear exits the narrative as an acting character, he is featured in event 3 as information of a dead animal and in event 4 as a physical dead animal. Earlier in the analysis the bear's otherworldly abilities have been mentioned. In this myth too the bear seems to be able to see into the future. His instructions about thing to come seems to unfold just as he predicted. He not just tells what is going to happen, he also gives his family a way to sort things out with the hunters, if they do not want to share the meat. Although his way might be covered in blood.

Towards the girl the bear is tender, the son he orders and the hunters he may tear to death. The character of the bear is then, a tender husband, a strict father and a dangerous enemy. These character traits gives the bear in this myth a rounded character.

The son has a bear for a father and a human girl as a mother, event 1. Through the girl the son is ordered to go to the hunters and ask for a part of the bear. In event 3 the son had already grown up, this functions as a time marker that time has passed. The son hears that a bear has been killed with a ring on his nose. The son understands that it is his father that has been killed. The bear son goes to the hunters and asks for a part of the bear. Due to the hunters response in event 4 the son hits the hide two times and the hunters becomes afraid in event 5 and gives him his share of the bear.

The son follows the instructions given by the girl from the bear. As in previous myths the son is brave to confront the hunters that is a group of people. What can be deduced about this character is that he is brave, and that he does as he is ordered by his family. The son is also able to perform the actions ordered by the bear with the expected results. But due to the little information about him he is a flat character.

The human girl has a son with a bear, event 1. The bear informs the girl that she may fasten a ring on his nose, in event 2. When she hears that a bear has been killed with such a ring, she is to order the bear's son to go to the hunters and ask for a part of the bear. After event 2, the girl exits the narrative. Since the bear son acts as he is ordered by the bear, through the girl we can assume

that she after event 2 informed her son of what the bear told her. This character is only featured in two events, and in those she is talked about and talked to, she is thusly a flat character. It is not told what happens with the girl after she exits the narrative.

The hunters are only mentioned in events 2 and 3, and they are acting characters in events 4 and 5. The hunters refuse to give the bear son anything in event 4. They get afraid in event 5 due to the son's hitting on the hide and its transformation from fur to a dead bear. They decide he can get a share of the bear.

Even though the hunters are featured in several events in the myth, they are flat characters. The reader does not get to know them personally. They act as a group the whole time and it is not even told how many they are. It seems that the hunters are less important than the bear, the girl and the son.

5.5.3 Settings, spatial and temporal

There are some props being used in the myth, a *ring* that the bear instructs the girl to fasten. The ring is mentioned in events 2 and 3. The bear also gives instructions regarding the *stick*. The stick is mentioned in event 2. In event 4, it is featured as an instrument being used. The sticks in event 4 are sticks that the hide was fastened and stretched with. The hide is mentioned in event 2 in the instructions. In event 4 the *hide* is a prop that the son hits. In the same event the hide begins its transformation and becomes a whole dead bear.

There is only one time marker in the myth, and that is in event 3 where the information is stated that the boy had already grown up. This is a durative setting since it is a period of time that has passed although not specified. There are no certain times mentioned for the events so there can be no typological setting.

5.5.4 Plot

Event 1 will function as the beginning of the narrative. Events 2 and 3 as the middle. Event 4 to 5 will be the end of the narrative since it brings it to closure. The plot is:

Beginning, a bear has a son with a human girl.

Middle, the bear instructs the girl of things to come, the bear son follows the instructions.

End, conflict between the bear son and the hunters, the hunters share the meat.

5.5.5 Implied author

The core in this version is double, the first is the inheritance which is emphasized in this myth, every event pertains to the bear's legacy and every sentence but one is handling it. The second part of the core is the supernatural bear, evidenced by his ability to foresee the future and almost to resurrect. The core of the myth leads according to the implied author, to the sharing of the bear meat between the hunters and the bear son.

5.5.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader

Everything in the narrative is told by the narrator, except for the two speeches which are told in the character's own words, for a discussion about the dialogue see 5.5.7 Point-of-view below. The narrator is not misleading or manipulating the reader.

The narratee-character in this version may be the bear son, since he follows the bear's instructions to get his family's share of the inheritance. The anticipated response to the reader from the implied reader is to ally with the bear son.

5.5.7 Point-of-view

The interest point-of-view is the inheritance from the bear since it is the core of the myth. In event 2 the bear's instructions are given to the audience through his own speech. The piece of dialogue in event 5 where the hunters says that the boy can get a share is also given in their own words. These voices are overt means to communicate to the audience the characters interests and have an interest point-of-view. If the speeches are interpreted to be in their own voice they have a first person perspective, evidenced by the bear referring to himself as "I" and the hunters says "You" to the bear son. Alternatively if the speeches are made through, or retold by the narrator there is no perceptual point-of-view, since the overall perspective is the narrator's. In the other events the narrator is clearly visible. Since the myth is situated in the Saami culture there can also be a conceptual point-of-view.

Before the discussion section a summary of the analysis will be presented.

5.6 Summary of the analysis.

In this section the analysis will be summed up to get a more easily read overview. To facilitate for the reader the information is kept to a minimum.

5.6.1 Events

Since Fjellström is longer than the other myths it has more details in the telling of the events. The other versions are shorter and has less space for information. If the myth is short then almost every event is of importance for the narrative. All of the myths are understood if we only were to read the kernels. The details might flesh out the narrative, but not necessarily move it forward.

There is an interesting situation in Grundström regarding the hierarchy of the events, due to the information in event 2. Through those instructions we get to know what is going to happen after the bear is killed. In the two alternatives presented in the analysis, events 3 and 4 may either be a kernel or a satellite, if 3 is a kernel then 4 is a satellite and vice versa.

In Fjellström there are no discrepancies regarding the story time and the discourse time. The events are narrated as they occur, except for the possibility of event 6b that might take place at the same time as the brothers go hunting. There are no anachronies in Drake A and Turi in the temporal relation of the events. In Drake B and Grundström the events are reported as they occur in the narrative, except for the bears information or instructions, that could be seen as repeating prolepses, or a character that projects a coming event.

Fjellström has four conflicts, they are between the brothers and their sister, the wife and the bear, the bear and the brothers, and the brothers and the bear son. There is one conflict in Drake A and Grundström between the bear son and the hunters. Drake B has one clear conflict between the woman and the hunters but since the bear had captured her earlier in the story, that may also be interpreted as a transgression. The only conflict in Turi is between the man and the bear son.

5.6.2 Characters

Only the acting characters are featured in the summary, if a character only is mentioned (s)he is not included here. The portrayal of the brothers in Fjellström is not well rounded since they are featured as a group most of the time. The reader does not get to know their thoughts behind their actions or the individual characters. Through the story more information is presented about the sister because of her actions, at least in comparison to her brothers, she is a round character.

The actions of the bear presents him to the reader. It is like he can see into the future of what is going to happen with him and his family. That could be an example of the supernatural bear, that he

is perceived to be not of this world. Towards his family the bear is caring and protecting, to his enemies he is a dangerous animal. He chooses his hunters and whom of them that may kill him. The bear is the most round character in the myth. As a character, the reader does not get to know the bear son. In his efforts to revive his father it seems that the meat will come alive. It is not introduced how the son got these capabilities, or if it is the bear that operates through his son. Despite the possible powers and due to the small part in the myth that he is featured, the bear son is a flat character.

The information about the bear in Drake A that is presented in the myth is not much. That he says to his family that they should go to the Saamis might be interpreted that he wanted them to be tended for after his death. The content about the Saami girl is that she asks the bear what her inheritance shall be. The character of the son is also scarcely described, he asks the bear a question and follows the instructions. The same can be said about the hunters. Due to the lack of information about all the characters in this version they are flat.

The bear in Drake B performs two acts. The unfavourable action that he does is that he captures a woman and keeps her. The positive action is that he wants her to receive an inheritance from him after he is killed. These two acts gives a slightly more rounded portrait of the bear. Since things happened just as he predicted gives that the bear also has the ability to see or perhaps guess what will happen in the future. Almost nothing is told about the character of the woman. The only leads presented are that she does as he instructs her and she calls the bear *sjeåle-ear*. Even less is said about the hunters other than that they shot a bear, and they refuse to give the woman her share, and they get afraid from the meat moving in the pot, as characters they are flat.

Not much information about the girl in the Turi version, other than she seems to have enjoyed her stay with the bear. The content that we get about the bear is that he is a male and that he gets the girl pregnant, after this event the bear exits the narrative. No substance about Uldorna is presented in the text besides them nursing the bear and the girl. These characters are flat because of the lack of information.

Due to the length of the myth that the son is featured, the reader gets to know him more than the other characters. The bear son is more rounded than the other characters in this version. The only traits we get about the man is that he wants to see the bear paw. And that he does not believe the bear son's word, this is a flat character.

The bear in Grundström is a tender husband, a strict father and a dangerous enemy. These features gives the bear in this myth a rounded character. What can be deduced about the bear son is that he is brave. He is able to perform the actions ordered by the bear with the expected results. Due to the little information about him he is a flat character. The girl is only featured in two events, and in those this flat character is talked about and talked to. The hunters are flat characters even though

they are featured in several events. They are not known individually for they act as a group the whole time and it is not known how many they are.

5.6.3 Settings

In Fjellström the settings of the narrative are the *wild*, later the girl comes to a *bear den*. Some time later the bear wants to go out into the *first snow*. A prop is introduced in the *piece of brass*. When the *deep snow* has fallen it is understood that time has passed from the earlier snow in autumn. A *brass ring* is mentioned as an object for the women to look through. The brothers put the meat into a *cauldron*. The son takes a *twig* that he beats the *bear hide* with. Regarding the meat it can be seen as a part of the bear which it is and therefore a character. Or, it can be seen as a prop since he has been killed. Had the bear resurrected in the end of the story the meat could be seen as a part of the character. But since the meat here seemingly only gets manipulated by the son and does not transform into the bear. It would be more correct to see it as a piece of setting or prop.

The temporal setting of the narrative is chronological. There are indications that time passes, these are durative settings even though the time that has passed is unspecified. A time marker is presented with the first snow of autumn and later another with the deep fallen snow. These are locative settings since they specify a certain time. When the narrator tells why women can not see the bear save but through a brass ring interrupts the narrative. When the brothers have killed the bear and put the meat in the pot the sentence starts with “While the”, this indicates that time has passed and that is the time that it took to kill and flay the bear and put the meat in the pot. This is a durative setting although not too specified.

The only prop in Drake A is the *cauldron* that is pushed over. The only environment mentioned is the *woods* that the bear went into after he came back alive. The first prop in Drake B is the *sjeäle* that the bear orders the woman to attach. This *sjeäle* comes back in “*sjeäle-ear*” when the woman yoiks. The second prop is the *third of the bear*. The third prop is the *pot*.

There are few props and environment mentioned in Turi. The only piece of environment is the *bear den*. The only prop is *food* in the same event. The place where the conflict takes place suggests an open environment, where people can see what happens between the boy and the man.

There are some props being used in Grundström, a *ring* that the bear instructs the girl to fasten. The bear also gives instructions regarding the *stick*. The *sticks* in event 4 are sticks that the hide was fastened and stretched with. The hide is mentioned in the instructions and in event 4 the *hide* is a prop that the son hits. Later the hide begins its transformation and becomes a whole dead bear.

Drake A, Turi and Grundström has one indication that time passes and they are respectively durative, locative and durative. Drake B has two durative settings.

5.6.4 Plot

To facilitate the reading of the text in the summary of the plot I have exchanged the terms with numbers, the beginning with (1), the middle (2) and the end (3).

The plot in Fjellström makes (1) a girl is forced to take refuge into the wild, where she comes upon a bear den. A bear comes and they start a family. (2) after some time the bear wants to be killed. Conflict between the bear and his wife. The bear demands that brass be attached to his forehead. The three brothers go hunting. Dialogue between the bear and his wife. The bear attacks the brothers. The bear and his wife exits the den, she orders her youngest brother to shoot the bear. (3) the brothers put the meat in the kettle, the son of the bear comes. Conflict between them. The son takes a twig and convinces the brothers into sharing the meat.

In Drake A the plot is, (1) the bear and the Saami girl lived together and got a son. (2) a dialogue between the bear and his wife and son. (3) conflict between the bear son and the hunters. The bear came alive.

The plot in Drake B, (1) a bear had captured a woman and had her with him for awhile. (2) the bear orders and informs the woman of the pot. (3) the woman touches the pot, and the woman gets her share.

Turi's plot, (1) a girl lives with a bear, they get a son with a bear paw. (2) conflict between a man and the bear son. (3) people understand that the bear son told the truth.

In Grundström (1) a bear has a son with a human girl. (2) the bear instructs the girl of things to come, the bear son follows the instructions. (3) conflict between the bear son and the hunters, the hunters share the meat.

5.6.5 Implied author

The implied author in all of the versions stresses the inheritance from the bear and the sharing of the meat with the bear family. In Drake A the hunters do not share the meat and none of them gets a piece of the bear. In Turi and in Grundström the supernatural bear is emphasized. In all of the myths it is dangerous to have a conflict with members of the bear family.

5.6.6 Narrator, Narratee and implied reader

In all of the versions there is a narrator that does not try to manipulate the reader towards or from certain aspects. The speeches in Drake A and Grundström and the yoik in Drake B are told in the characters' own words.

The bear son in Fjellström, Drake A and in Grundström could be the materialized narratee. The anticipated response from the narrative to the real reader through the implied reader is that the bear

son has a right to the bear meat. This goes also for Drake B where the woman has taken the place of the bear son. If the hunters do not want to share as in Drake A, none shall have a part of the bear. In Turi a suggestion can be made that the people that saw the conflict are the narratees, which shows how the author wants the audience to react. There is no information suggesting the implied reader is not willing to ally with the narratees in this version. The implied reader may then ally with the narratee.

An alternative may be the hunters as narratees and the implied reader still allies with the bear family. The hunters may be the narratee-characters for they share the meat with the bear son, by doing this the point of sharing the inheritance is still made clear. This alternative is also viable for Drake A, B and Grundström.

5.6.7 Point-of-view

All of the versions have a conceptual point-of-view since they are situated in the Saami environment. The inheritance from the bear is more or less the theme of all the myths in this study, which would be their interest point-of-view. A variant of this is the Turi version with the bear paw. Drake A can perspectively be divided into third person in the beginning, and then singular person in the dialogue and afterwards back to third person.

Regarding the pieces of dialogue in Grundström, the bear's instructions are given to the audience through his own speech. The part of a dialogue where the hunters says that the boy can get a share is also given in their own words. These voices have an interest point-of-view. If the speeches are interpreted to be in their own voice they have a first person perspective, evidenced by the bear referring to himself as "I" and the hunters says "You" to the bear son. Alternatively if the speeches are made through, or retold by the narrator there is no perceptual point-of-view, since the overall perspective is the narrator's.

Thus is the summary of the analysis concluded where the results from the analysis is summed up before the discussion.

6 Discussion

The goal with this thesis project is to investigate the relationship between the bear and the humans in the Saami bear myths. Five myths, Fjellström, Drake A and B, Turi and Grundström, are analysed with the method of narrative criticism. The research question for this project is: What information about the relationship between humans and the bear can be drawn from the Saami bear myths, and how can this information be interpreted?

In section 4.2 where narrative criticism is presented it is understood that events, characters, settings and plot are parts of the *story*, and the *discourse* composes of implied author, narrator, narratee, implied reader and point-of-view. The discussion will then follow that same structure, starting with the story.

The material that has been studied has varied in length. The length influences the amount of information that is given to the reader. If the myth is short almost every sentence is of importance to provide information to the reader, if the myth is longer there is more room for details. The myths are understood when only reading the kernels, the satellites may embellish the narrative but not necessarily move it forward. Due to the information in Grundström in the beginning of the myth, two events may exchange places as kernel and satellite. This shows that it is important how the narrative is constructed, and when certain information is shared with the reader.

In all of the myths there are conflicts, in Fjellström the conflicts are between the brothers and the sister, it is hard to deduce who won that conflict, since the sister left perhaps the brothers consider themselves the winners. But since the girl started a family of her own, she might see herself as the winner. The wife/bear-conflict is won by the bear since he acted along his wishes, it is difficult to appoint a winner in the bear/hunters-conflict since the bear wounds them at first and then they get the honour of killing him, according to his wishes. The conflict between the hunters and the bear son is won by the son since they shared the meat with him. The conflict in Turi between the man and the bear son is also won by the son. The conflicts between the family member and the hunters in the myths are won by the family member.

The conflict between the bear family member and the hunters in the myths points to the importance of the sharing of the meat. If the hunters do not share, they might get severely hurt or maybe killed. No one gets a piece of the meat if it is not shared, see Drake A where the bear comes alive and runs off to the woods. In section 3.4 Saami bear hunting rites and burials, we can see that the planning of a bear hunt could take six months to plan and that in the beginning of the ritual in stage (2) there is a festival for the participants of the hunt. The time that it took to plan the hunt and that there is a group of hunters instead of a singular huntsman, points to the bear hunt as a group effort. The sharing of the meat in the myth secures the sharing of the bear in the ritual, the hunters

can not keep the meat for themselves, if they do they take the risk of enraging the killed bear, who is considered a supernatural being. The actual sharing of the meat is evidenced by the bear feast, and the power of the bear by the use of protective amulets used in the ritual, see again section 3.4.

Towards his family the bear is strict because he gives his family orders, the caring of the bear is shown through his instructions to his family for their time after his passing. Finally the bear is a dangerous adversary to his enemies, which is shown between the bear and the hunters, via the fear they sense and/or the wounds they get. In Drake B the bear captures the woman instead of marrying her. That is a deviation from the other versions where they seem to get along well. In all of the versions the supernatural side of the bear is stressed by showing his connection to otherworldly beings and his ability to presume and/or to prepare for the future. In Fjellström it is shown that the bear chooses his hunters and whom of them that gets to kill him. That the bear as prey chooses his hunters points to the supernatural bear and that he wants to, or lets himself get killed.

The myths are centred around the bear and his family. The bear through the narratives is a round character with his different character traits. In Turi the reader gets to know the bear son more, while in the other myths the bear son is less detailed. There is more information provided by the myth in Fjellström regarding the character of the wife, in the rest of the versions she is less described. The family ties between the hunters and the wife functions as their background. The hunters are mostly flat characters in the other versions, sometimes they are not even introduced as hunters only as them that killed the bear. The hunters in the hunting ritual are important participants, without them there can be no meat to be shared. It is therefore interesting that they are flat characters in the narratives. The background we get in Fjellström is the only piece of information about them. The hunters although important in the ritual, in the myths they are less detailed.

Descriptions of the environment are few, that they live in a bear den is stated and almost nothing more. The amount of props differs between the myths. The most important ones are the ornaments attached to the bear, the pot for the bear meat, the bear hide and the stick for the bear son to hit the hide. The lack of environmental descriptions may be because the narratives are relatively short, Fjellström which is the longest is only one and half pages long. The space allotted for the implied author for the narrative has been used for the events and not descriptions of the environment. The props used in the myths can be seen as points of connection to the ritual, since they are featured in them.

The plot in all of the versions follow roughly the same formula. The cursive text below makes the core of the three parted plots from all the myths, underneath are deviations from the different versions. The plots in cursive emphasizes the bear family and the dialogue between them. The bear is killed and the hunters become convinced to share the meat with the family member. What makes

the bear relative able to oppose the hunters is the information given by the bear, through that content the bear family member is empowered to match the hunters.

(1) *A Saami girl lives together with a bear and they get a son.*

There is no son in Drake B, the bear son has a bear paw in Turi.

(2) *Dialogue between the bear and his family where information is given from the bear, later the bear is killed.*

Conflict between the bear son and a man in Turi.

(3) *Conflict between a family member and the hunters and the meat is shared.*

In Drake A the bear comes alive. It is understood that the bear son told the truth in Turi.

In the Introduction of the thesis it is stated that the indigenous religion of the Saamis was like a continuum with small variations between two close areas and larger variations between areas far apart. Three of the versions are from the south Saami area, Fjellström, Drake A and B; Grundström is from Lule Saami area and Turi from Kautokeino in Norway. If we look at the plot above with the locations in mind we see that the Turi version varies the most from the main plot in cursive. Drake A and B also has differences when compared to the main plot. But these differences are smaller in size. In Drake B there is no son, it is the woman who goes to the hunters and she performs the act of the bear son in the other narratives; and in Drake A the bear comes back to life.

With the story of the myths discussed above the next step is the discourse of the myths, starting with the implied author. The implied author has focused on the events and not descriptions of the environment as written above regarding the settings. The conflicts between the bear family and the hunters are given space in the narratives, which proves their importance. In most of the versions the implied author stresses the sharing of the bear meat with the bear family. If the meat is not shared none is given. The bear that comes alive in Drake A punctuates the importance of the sharing. When the hunters did not share no one got a piece of the bear. Focus has also been the bear since he is the most round or developed character. The supernatural side of the bear is yet another character trait added to him. The danger of having a conflict with the bear is emphasized. Although the bear has a tender side towards his family it is shown that he also is a dangerous and forceful animal. And it is not enough to show the dangerous side of the bear, he is likewise presented as a supernatural being, not just an animal.

All of the myths have a narrator whom is not trying to manipulate the reader. Some speeches are made with the characters own voices. The family member that is supposed to receive the share of the inheritance might be the narratee-character in the myths. Except for Turi where the people that saw the conflict are the narratees. The family member as the narratee-character emphasizes the right that the character has to the inheritance. That the bear supports that character in the coming conflict

also proves the point of sharing the meat. The implied reader allies with the narratee in all of the versions.

The alternative that is presented with the hunters as narratees and implied reader allies with the bear family, pits the narratee and implied reader on opposite sides in the conflict between the hunters and the family member. The story may be told to the hunters to show them the importance of sharing the inheritance, while implied reader sympathizes with the bear family, the main characters in the myth. It is a possibility that the implied reader allies with the narratees, the hunters in this alternative. Whether the narratees are the family member or the hunters or if the implied reader allies with the family member or the hunters do not steer away from the importance of the sharing of the inheritance.

There is a conceptual point-of-view in all of the versions since they are situated in the Saami environment. The speeches in Drake A and in Grundström and the yoik in Drake B have a first person perspective since they are in the characters's own words. The interest point-of-view is the inheritance which is featured in all of the versions, even in Turi where the bear paw can be considered a legacy from the bear. The inheritance from the bear is the importance of the myths, it is a way to care for his family. The bear's interests get the upper hand, and he does as he wishes even if he is opposed. Through the instructions to his family he prepares them for when he is not around anymore. That the bear offers his help in the conflict between the family member and the hunters stresses the importance of the inheritance and that it is supposed to be shared, and not kept by them. The hunters do not get a choice in the conflict, either they share or they will get hurt by the bear, or none shall have a piece if the bear comes back alive.

When the Drake versions are introduced in 1.5.2 Edsman is mentioned when he considers the main point with the versions is the right the bear family has to the killed bear. Through the analysis in this thesis it is evident that the inheritance is a theme in all of the versions. Continuing with Edsman in the Previous research section he means that the Saami legend is a less observed key to the understanding of the bear feast, two researchers that have investigated it are Fjellström and Reuterskiöld and in the Introduction of the essay we can read that they had contradicting ways of viewing the Saami bear myth, while Fjellström considers it to be the background to the ritual, Reuterskiöld views it as subordinate to the ritual. From this study the importance of the sharing of the meat from the bear between the hunters and the family member is evident. The results support the Fjellström viewpoint, through the myth the importance of the sharing of the bear is shown, which it is in the following ritual where the bear meat is shared and eaten, see section 3.3. It is also possible to view the matter as the sharing of the meat in the ritual is explained through the myth as Reuterskiöld writes. It is difficult through only an analysis of the narratives to see what comes first, the myth or the ritual.

The method of narrative criticism was chosen for this essay because it is a method that treats narratives. Tools are provided by the method to use in the analysis of the narrative, by using them one after the other the whole narrative will be analysed, from events to characters to settings, just to name a few. The researcher is free to use as many or as few as (s)he wants. If all of the tools from the method is used, few aspects of the narrative will be overlooked. By researching the narrative in such a way information will be drawn from the myths, not just information that is viewable on the surface but also deeper in the narrative for example the implied author. By comparing more than one version of the myths similarities and differences are recognised and they also provide information to the researcher.

The Saami bear myths are available to us today as narrative texts, it will then be a good start for the research into these myths to investigate their narratives, as they have been in this study. Narrative criticism treats the narratives and *only* the narratives. The method does not leave the text or the story. It will then be difficult to leave the narrative and say something about the Saami way of life through their myths, or for this essay the relationship between the bear and the Saamis. To do that a theory is needed, a theory that can be applied to the results from the investigation through the method, a theory that can take a step outside of the narrative. The next step in the research of these myths may be to use such a theory. Perhaps this essay will provide some information to be used in the future study of the Saami bear myths.

In this section the results from the analysis are discussed and the research question has gotten its answer, it is now time to conclude this thesis.



7 Conclusion

In this study five Saami bear myths have been analysed with narrative criticism. The results show the importance of the construction of the narrative, for example when information is shared with the reader. The conflicts between the family member and the hunters are won by the family member, with aid from the bear. The character the bear is a strict, caring, dangerous and considered a supernatural being. The plots emphasizes the bear family and the dialogue between them, that the bear is killed and the hunters become convinced to share the meat with the family member. Through the content provided by the bear the family member is empowered to match the hunters. In all of the versions the implied author stresses the sharing of the bear meat with the bear family. If the meat is not shared none is given. The interest point-of-view is the inheritance from the bear, which is featured in all of them.

The focus of this thesis has been the narratives, and not the bear hunting ritual which the myths previously have been connected to. Although knowledge of the ritual has been of importance to understand certain aspects of the narrative, I have not included the ritual as an object of study in this essay.

I hope this essay will spark some interest in the Saami bear myths and perhaps more studies will be made and if so maybe this thesis will be a starting point. A way to move the research forward, would perhaps be a structural study of the myths to investigate the structure of the story, and/or a reader-response critique to see how the myths were received and understood.

At the end of the process of writing this thesis I came across the graphic novel *My Boyfriend is a Bear*,¹²⁴ that poked my interest. The narrative is, a woman in Los Angeles meets a real bear and they fall in love. Through the novel we follow the two in their everyday life, and we get to know the benefits and drawbacks of dating a bear. The similarities with the material studied in this thesis ends with the two falling in love. It is interesting though that a part of the plot from the myths which ranges from 1755-1929 from the Sápmi area in northern Scandinavia, gets retold in the United States 2018.

Before this thesis project comes to an end I would like to add that the model to the illustration on the title page is from the book *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II*, by Manker from Saami drum no. 35.¹²⁵ In closing I want to thank my supervisor Mr Cavallin whose patience sometimes exceeded mine.

124 Ribon & Farris 2018.

125 Manker 1950, p. 329.

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Appendix 1

The Fjellström version of the Saami bear myth is as follows in Swedish,¹²⁶

”Tre bröder hade en enda syster, hvilken hatades af sina bröder, at hon nödsakades taga sin tillflykt i vilda marken; då hon uttröttad, änteligen råkar på ett Björnhide, dit hon ingår at hvila: til samma hide kommer ock en Björn, som efter närmare bekantskap tager henne til hustru, och aflar med henne en Son. Efter någon tid, sedan björnen blifvit gammal, och sonen upväxt, skal björn hafva sagt til sin hustru, at han för ålderdom skul nu ej längre kunde lefva, ville derföre gå ut på första snö om hösten, at hennes tre bröder kunde se sporr efter honom, och således ringa och döda honom. Ehuruväl hans hustru sökte detta på det högsta at hindra, lät björnen sig doch ej öfvertala; utan gjorde som han sagt: at de tre bröder kunde av hans sporr honom omringa. Här på befäller björnen at et stycke mässing skulle fästas i hans panna, til ett teckn at han både kunde igenkännas ifrån andra björnar; såsom ock at hans egen son, som ock nu var gången ifrån honom, ej måtte honom döda. Sedan nu djup snö fallen var, följas de 3 Bröder at fälla denna björnen, som de tilförne ringat. Då frågar björn sin hustru om alla 3 bröderne hade varit henne lika hätske? Hvar til hon svarade, at de 2:ne äldre varit emot henne svårare, men den yngste något mildare. När då desse bröder komma til björnhidet, springer björn ut, och öfverfaller den äldsta brodern, biter och sårar honom ganska illa, då björnen oskadd går straxt derpå in i sit hide igen. När den andra brodern kommer, löper björnen ock honom emot, och skadar honom på lika sätt som den förra, och går så in i sitt hide igen.

Sedan befäller han sin hustru, att fatta sig om lifvet. Sedan hon det giordt, går han på två fötter, bärandes henne ut ur hide; hon befäller då sin yngsta broder skiuta honom, hvilket ock skiedde. Den omtalte hustrun sätter sig nu et stycke der ifrån, öfvertäcker sit ansikte, såsom den der ej hade hjerta at se, det björn blef skuten, och skulle nu flås: skyttar doch med ena ögat der på. Här af skal sedan den seden vara kommen at intet qvinfolk får se björnen eller björnkarlarna, utan allenast med förtäkt ansikte, och genom en mässings ring; Hvar om nedanföre berättas skal.

Sedan nu de 3 bröderne hade fält Björnen, samt alt köttet var lagt i kittelen at kokas, Kommer Sonen, för hvilken de 3 bröder berätta, at de skutit et underligt djur, som haft ett stycke mässing i pannan. Denne säger, at det är hans fader, som med en sådan mässing blifvit teknad, och påstår derföre lika lott i Björn med dem. När de ständigt der til neka, hotar sonen dem, om de ej ville gifva honom lott, skulle han väcka up sin fader, tager så ett spö, med hvilket han slår på huden, säjandes, min fader stat up! min fader stat up! deraf begynner köttet

126 Fjellström 1981, pp. 14-17.

i kättelen så häftigt kokas, at det syntes såsom ville det springa up, hvaraf de nödsakades at gifva honom lika lott med sig.”

Appendix 2

The Fjellström version in English.¹²⁷

“Three brothers had an only sister who was so hated by her brothers that she had to take refuge in the wilds. When exhausted, she finally comes across a bear’s den, she enters it to have some rest; a bear comes to the same lair and, on closer acquaintance, he weds her and begets a son by her. After a while when the bear has become old and his son is grown up, the bear is said to have informed his wife that, on account of his great age, he can no longer live, but wishes to go out on the first snow in the autumn, so as to enable her three brothers to see his tracks and then ‘ring him in’ and kill him. Although his wife tries in every way to prevent him from doing this, the bear does not let himself be persuaded, but does as he has said, so that the three brothers can ‘ring him in’ when seeing his footprints. Then the bear asks to have a piece of brass attached to his forehead, for this sign would distinguish him from other bears and also prevent his own son who had now left him from killing him. After a deep fall of snow, the three brothers go out together to fell the bear, whom before that they have been ‘ringing in’. Then the bear asks his wife if all the three brothers had been equally spiteful to her, and she answers that her two eldest brothers had been more spiteful than the younger who had been somewhat more clement. When the brothers come to the lair, the bear runs out and attacks the eldest brother, bites him and injures him rather severely, and he himself returns uninjured to his lair. When the second brother comes, the bear runs against him in the same manner and injures him in the very same way and then he returns to his lair. Then he orders his wife to get hold of him round his waist. When she has done so, he walks out of his lair on his hind-legs carrying her; then she orders her youngest brother to shoot him, which he does. The wife then sits down some distance away, covers her face, as if she has not the heart to see the bear being shot and flayed, but still she watches with one eye. This is the origin of the old custom that no woman may see the bear or the men dealing with the bear, unless she has her face covered and is looking through a brass ring. More will be said about this below.

When the three brothers have felled the bear and all the meat has been put in the cauldron to be boiled, the son arrives and the brothers tell him that they have shot a strange animal with a piece of brass attached to his forehead. He says that it was his father, who had been marked with such a piece of brass and he says that he has therefore a right to an equal share in the

127 Edsman 1956, pp. 47-48.

bear with them. When they keep on refusing to give him this, the son threatens to wake up his father, and then he takes a rod and saying the words, ‘My father, arise! My father, arise!’ he beats the skin with it. Then the meat in the cauldron begins to boil so violently that it looks as though it wants to rise up out of the cauldron and so they are forced to give him an equal share.”

Appendix 3

The Drake A version in Swedish.

”*Björnen och lappflickan*. Levde tillsammans och fingo en son. Björnen blev gammal, sade åt hustrun och sonen att bege sig till lapparna. Sonen: »Vad skall jag få till arv av dig?»

Björnen: »Begär hälften av den, som får [dödar] mig». Lappflickan: »Vad skall jag få till arv?» [Svaret otydligt]. Sonen begärde hälften av dem, som fällt björnen. De ville inte ge det. Han välte omkull grytan. Björnen blev levande igen och for till skogs.”¹²⁸

Appendix 4

The Drake A version in English.

The bear and the Saami girl. They lived together and they got a son. When the bear got old, he said to his wife and son to go to the Saamis. The son asks the bear what his inheritance from him will be. The bear replies that the son should ask for the other half of the bear from the hunter that kills him. The Saami girl asks the same question (the answer from the bear is unreadable in the handwritten text). The son asks for half of the bear from the hunters that killed it. They did not want to give him that. The son pushed the cauldron over, the bear came alive and ran off to the woods.¹²⁹

Appendix 5

The Drake B version in Swedish.

”*Björnen och kvinnan*. En björn hade fångat en kvinna och hade henne hos sig en tid. När han lät henne gå, befallde han henne att binda på honom en sjeäle [prydnad av silver eller dylikt]. Om hon skulle höra, att man skjutit en björn med sjeäle på sig, skulle hon gå dit och fordra tredjedelen av honom, och, om de inte ville ge henne det, skulle hon röra vid grytan, så skulle björnen uppstå. Så skedde. Hon rörde vid grytan och joikade: »Stå upp, sjeäle-öra! de vilja

128 Drake 1979, p. 308.

129 Drake 1979, p. 308.

inte ge någonting». Då började det röra sig i grytan, och de blevo rädda, och hon fick sin del, och grytan lugnade sig igen.»¹³⁰

Appendix 6

The Drake B version in English.

The bear and the woman. A bear had trapped a woman and had her with him for some time. When he let her go, he ordered her to tie a sjeäle on him, an ornament of silver or the like. If she were to hear that a bear had been killed with such an ornament, she should go there and ask for a third of the bear. If they did not want to give her that, she should touch the pot, and the bear would resurrect. And so it happened. She touched the pot and yoiked: “Rise up, sjeäle-ear! They do not want to give anything.” Then it started to move inside the pot, and the hunters became afraid, and she got her part, and the pot calmed down.¹³¹

Appendix 7

The Turi version in Swedish.

”Det berättas, att en flicka bott en hel vinter i björnens ide, och uldorna födde flickan också (Björnarna bo om vintern tillsammans med uldan; uldan hämtar mat åt björnen, och björnen kan inte heller leva på annat sätt än att uldan föder honom.) Och även hon sov mycket gott över vintern liksom björnen. Och björnen var en hane, och han gjorde flickan med barn. Det barnet var en pojke, och den ena handen blev en björnram och den andra en människohand. Och den handen hade han aldrig obetäckt. En man ville, att han skulle visa den, fastän han sade, att han inte kunde visa den, ty det var farligt; men mannen trodde det inte, utan ville, att han skulle visa den, och så visade han den till slut. Och när han blottade den för den där mannen, så kunde han inte hålla sig, och så slog han sönder ansiktet på den mannen. Och då såg folk, att det var sant, som han berättade om sin hand.»¹³²

130 Drake 1979, p. 309.

131 Drake 1979, p. 309.

132 Turi 1987, p. 94.

Appendix 8

The Turi version in English.

It is told that a girl stayed for a whole winter in a bears den, and *uldorna*(=underground fairies) gave food to her too, (During the winter, the bears live together with the underground fairy; the fairy gets food to the bear, and the bear cannot even live another way than that the fairy nurses him.) And she too slept very good during winter, same as the bear. And the bear was a male, and he made the girl pregnant. That child was a boy, and one of his hands became a bear paw, and the other a human hand. And that hand he never had uncovered. A man wanted him to show it, even though he said, he could not show it, because it was dangerous. But the man did not believe it, and wanted him to show it. And then he finally showed it. And when he uncovered it for that man, he could not keep himself, and struck that mans face apart. And then the people saw that it was true, what he said about his hand.¹³³

Appendix 9

The Grundström version in Swedish.

”Det berättas åter, att en björn en gång hade en son med en riktig människoflicka. Och björnen hade sagt till den flickan så: ’Du får sätta fast en ring i kanten av min nos. Och när du hör, att man dödat en björn, som har en ring i kanten av nosen, så skall du befälla min son att gå till de jägare, som fått mig, och be att få en del av mig. Om de inte vilja giva honom någon del, skall han ta en käpp och slå tre gånger på huden, så skall jag få liv och riva ihjäl jägarna.’-- Sonen hade redan blivit stor. Då hörde han, att man hade dödat en hanbjörn, och i kanten av hans nos hängde en ring. Då förstod sonen, att det var hans far de hade fått. Han for till jägarna, bad att få en del av björnen och berättade, att björnen hade underrättat honom, att han skulle begära en del av honom. Jägarna vägrade att ge honom något. Sonen slog med käppen på skinnet. Då lossnade alla käppar, med vilka huden var utspänd, och huden blev färsk. Han slog en gång till med käppen. Då blev det en hel död björn. Då blevo jägarna rädda och sade: ’Du får del av björnen’.”¹³⁴

133 Turi 1987, p. 94.

134 Grundström 1929, pp.68-69.

Appendix 10

The Grundström version in English.

It is told that a bear one time had a son with a real human girl. And that the bear had told the girl to fasten a ring at the end of his nose. And when she hears that a bear has been killed and that the bear has a ring at the end of his nose, she should order his son to go to the hunters that killed him and ask for a part of him. If they do not want to give him a share, he shall take a stick and hit the hide three times, and the bear will come alive and tear the hunters to death. The son had already grown up. Then he heard that a bear had been killed and at the end of his nose there was a ring. Then the son understood that it was his father that they had killed. He went to the hunters, asked them for a part of the bear and told them that the bear had told him to ask for a part of the bear. The hunters refused to give him anything. The son hit the hide with the stick. All the sticks loosened, with which the hide was stretched, and the hide became fresh. The son hit it again with his stick. Then it became a whole dead bear. Then the hunters became afraid and said that he gets a part of the bear.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Grundström 1929, pp. 68-69.

Appendix 11

In Turi's book, *Muittalus samid birra, En bok om samernas liv*, where he explains who Uldorna are there is a reference to teacher and ethnologist Levi Johansson (1880-1955) and ethnologist Nils Edvard Hammarstedt (1861-1939) in *Fataburen*.¹³⁶ *Fataburen* is a yearly publication on cultural history from Nordiska museet in Stockholm.¹³⁷ In *Fataburen* from 1906 Johansson explains the origin of the underground people to Adam's first wife named Lucia in northern Sweden.¹³⁸ Hammarstedt continues that there are similarities between this Lucia and the Lilit character in the rabbi/jewish literature.¹³⁹ The story in a very short form is that Adam had a first wife Lucia/Lilit, neither of Adam or Lucia/Lilit or God is happy with the arrangement and God creates Eve instead. The offspring from Lucia/Lilit is said to be all kinds of demons or beings. When Edsman mentions the Turi version in his book he writes in footnote 100 that Ulda is the same as the nordic huldra and belongs to the kin of vittorna or the underworldly.¹⁴⁰

The explanation on uldorna that Turi gives in his book is similar to how the Saiwo world is explained by Laestadius in his § 71. According to Laestadius the underworldly lives in the Saiwo world which is underground and inside the mountains. This world or realm is inhabited by halfspirits and half material beings. The death kingdom which also is underground was inhabited by the souls of the dead. Laestadius differentiates these two realms that sometimes in the sources are thought of as one and the same.¹⁴¹ Laestadius continues and writes that the underworld people are called vittra in Ångermanland.¹⁴² In § 103 Laestadius mentions a piece of the background of the underworldly and writes that some believe them to come from the Christian God, and in Norway some believe they are fallen angels, while others believe them to come from Adam. Laestadius retells a story from the priest Andreas Faye (1802-1869) although not the same as in *Fataburen* above. The story Faye tells, one day Eve bathed her children and suddenly God called on her. Terrified she pushed the un-bathed children aside. God asked if all of her children were present, she answered yes. God replied that what she had attempted to hide from God, will also be hidden from man. Instantly these children became invisible and before the flood God put them into a cave and shut the entry. From these children comes all of the underworldly.¹⁴³ It seems that the Saami understanding of the Saiwo spirits has through the years become Uldorna. With an origin either from God or Adam based in a Christian tradition.

136 Turi 1987, pp. 153-154.

137 <https://www.nordiskamuseet.se/fataburen>, accessed 171110.

138 Johansson & Hammarstedt 1906, p. 195.

139 Johansson & Hammarstedt 1906, p. 199.

140 Edsman 1994, p. 87.

141 Laestadius 1997, pp. 55-56/§ 71-72; Mebius 2003, p. 82.

142 Laestadius 1997, p. 71/§ 101.

143 Laestadius 1997, p. 72; Faye 1948, pp. XXIII-XXV.

In his article from 1956 Edsman writes that the bear has a guardian spirit that rules over him, the forest maiden/skogsrå. This being nurses the bear through the winter and also informs him of his death.¹⁴⁴ According to Laestadius there are no corresponding beings to the Swedish skogs rå in the Saami mythology. Unless they are the same as the underworldly or the vittra. Laestadius writes that in Northern Sweden there is a difference between the skogs rå/forest maiden and the vittra. The forest maiden is a more powerful being than the vittra.¹⁴⁵ Since both Turi and Edsman mentions that Uldan and the forest maiden nurses the bear one could equate the one with the other. Edsman equates the forest maiden to the more local vittra, who according to him are underground fairies.¹⁴⁶ His informants are from Ångermanland, which corresponds to Laestadius above that the underworldly are called vittra there. What we see here are different traditions, in Swedish folk belief it is the forest maiden that is the guardian spirit of the bear. Which locally in Ångermanland is equated to vittra. In a later Saami tradition it is Uldorna that lives underground that takes care of the bear. These uldorna might be equated to the Saiwo spirits in the earlier Saami tradition.

Since Uldan nursed the girl in the bear den it seems that Uldan took a liking to the girl as they can do, see section 1.5.3. Or maybe she was ordered by the bear to nurse the girl. Or, uldan saw that the bear liked the girl and therefore nursed her too. According to Bäckman and Hultkrantz the bear was the king of the forest and over all of the wild animals. The bear belonged to Imel the sky god and was Imel's dog.¹⁴⁷ The archeologist Erik Norberg PhD (1968-), writes that as the dog of god the bear took care of magic powers and visited the other world every year during its hibernation.¹⁴⁸ Since the bear was considered to be a master of the woods and a care taker of magic powers it might be that he also was a master of Uldorna. But as stated above by Edsman in the folk belief tradition, the forest maiden was the guardian spirit and the *ruler* of the bear. As the reader can see the relationship between the bear and the spiritual world in the different traditions is a fascinating topic, and it could easily be a subject for an essay.

144 Edsman 1956, p. 37.

145 Laestadius 1997, pp. 75-76/§ 109.

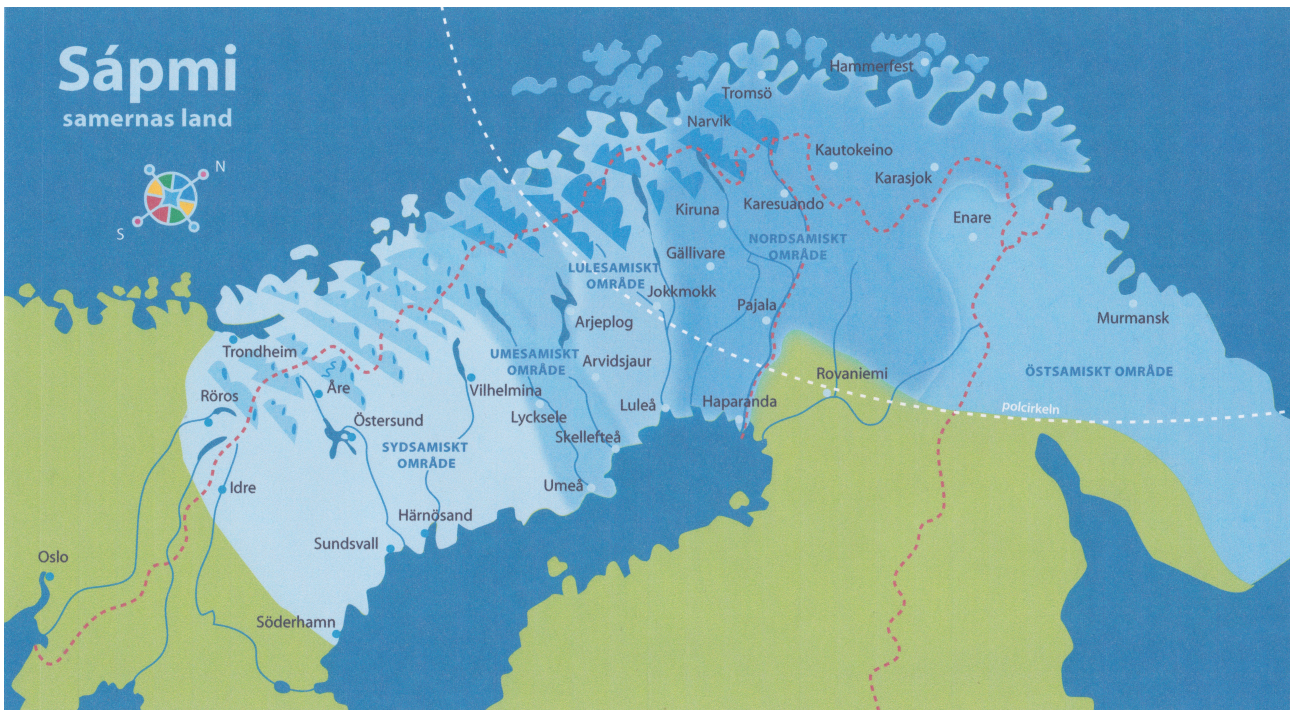
146 Edsman 1956, pp. 37-38.

147 Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1985, p. 193.

148 Norberg 2000, p. 10.

Appendix 12

To get a clearer picture of where the myths come from I enclose this map of the Sápmi area. On the website samer.se, they write that this map does not claim to be an exact science of geography, it is especially difficult to mark a boundary for the south Saami area.¹⁴⁹ With that in mind the places where the myths originate are all marked, except Åsele.



¹⁴⁹ samer.se/karta, accessed 190108.