

**PART III:
THEORIES, COMPARISONS, AND THE
ROLES OF SCHOLARSHIP**

7. Methods and Theories as Tools in the Study of Northern Religions: Native North American Bear Rituals and Sweat Bath Traditions as Examples

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Introduction

Not infrequently, a scholar is dealing with cultures and religious traditions that are not part of his or her own cultural context or tradition. It is also possible that the researcher deals with features of traditions that were practiced decades, or even centuries, ago. It may even be possible that the traditions under study no longer exist or else their functions and meanings have changed remarkably. Source material might also be limited. Under these circumstances, the importance of valid research methods is emphasised. To better understand and interpret the cultural and religious phenomena under study, theories usually offer useful tools. However, it is the researcher's responsibility to reflect on the methodological and theoretical choices of his or her own work and be aware of the emphasis on subjective interpretation.

Valid methods and theories help us to understand not only foreign traditions but more familiar traditions as well. To shed light on the usefulness of methods and theories in the study of northern religions, I will offer examples from bear rituals and sweat bath traditions. My examples come from Native North America, but in conclusion I will also offer a couple of cases from Finnish traditions to demonstrate how the theories that have proved useful in

How to cite this book chapter:

Hämäläinen, R. 2022. Methods and Theories as Tools in the Study of Northern Religions: Native North American Bear Rituals and Sweat Bath Traditions as Examples. In: Rydving, H. and Kaikkonen, K. (eds.) *Religions around the Arctic: Source Criticism and Comparisons*. Pp. 207–226. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16993/bbu.h>. License: CC BY 4.0

Native North American studies can be applied to the traditions of other societies as well.

Bear Rituals

In his classic study, A. Irving Hallowell collected data on bear rituals from Eurasia and North America. He also offers a generalising overview of them and identifies common and essential elements of bear rituals within several northern societies.¹ According to him, these elements include 1) the favourite time for hunting, in spring, while the bear was still in its den; 2) referring to the bear by metaphorical expressions; 3) calling the bear out of its den; 4) killing the bear with archaic weapons; 5) making speeches to the bear's spirit after its death and paying attention to the carcass, which became the focus of elaborate ceremonial attention; 6) organising a communal, often so-called eat-all feast of bear meat; and 7) respectful handling and disposition of the bear's bones and especially the skull.

The purpose of this ritualism was to please the guardian spirit of the bears and make the rebirth of the killed bear possible, so the people could hunt bears also in the future. However, as I have emphasised before,² not all bear rituals have followed Hallowell's scenario, and my intention below is to compare the bear rituals and their meanings in two different surroundings in Native North America and discuss the fundamental differences between them.³

North American Subarctic

In the nineteenth century, the bear rituals of the Eastern Cree, a Subarctic people in North America, followed Hallowell's scenario. The scenario is also representative of bear ceremonialism in the North American Subarctic in general.⁴ The hunting of the bear in its wintertime den usually occurred in early spring. The Cree never said the word bear (in his native language) when preparing for the hunt; instead, it was referred to using metaphorical expressions, such as 'Black Food', or kinsman, like 'Grandfather/mother'.⁵ When the hunter reached the den, he called the bear until it came out. When the bear appeared, the hunter killed it. It was proper to kill the bear only with a traditional weapon, such as a spear.⁶

The hunter turned the body on its back and put some tobacco on its chest. He sat down and spoke solemnly to the bear. He explained that he killed the bear only because he was poor and hungry, and he needed the skin for his coat and the meat so his family could eat. When the hunter reached the camp, he asked somebody to bring the bear to the camp and butcher it. Certain parts of the bear's flesh were at once burned as an offering, so that *Meme:kwe:ši:w*, the guardian spirit of bears, would provide more bears in the future.

Just after sunset, people gathered at the feast lodge. The feast-keeper sang and made offerings to *Meme:kwe:ši:w* by dropping pieces of meat into the fire. He asked for more bears to be hunted. He drank some of the bear's tallow and smeared a bit on his forehead. He passed the container of tallow clockwise around the lodge, and the others did the same. David Rockwell notes that the Cree have considered the nutritious tallow the most important part of the bear.⁷ The first part of the bear to be eaten was the head. The oldest men ate first, the youngest last. When the head was eaten, the front legs were then consumed. After the men had eaten these sacred parts, the rest of the meat was passed around in a clockwise direction and everyone could eat. At this point, the mood lightened, and people talked and laughed. Men smoked, the feast-keeper sang and drummed, and later others drummed and sang as well. In the early morning hours, after most of the meat had been eaten, people danced.

The bear rites of the Cree also involved ritual handling of the bones and especially the skull. The bones could not be thrown away, and dogs were not allowed to take them. It was forbidden to break the skull, even when killing the bear. After the feast, a tree was cut down and stripped of most of its bark and branches, with only a small tuft left at the very top. The tree was painted and stuck in the ground at the edge of the camp. The bear skull was painted, tobacco put in the jaw, and ribbons of hide or cloth tied to it. Then, the skull was lashed to the pole about three metres above the ground, and the other bones were bundled and hung below the skull. The Cree did this for every bear they killed so the bear would return to life and come back to be hunted again.⁸

North American Plains

Veneration of bears and bear rites have existed among several Plains nations, particularly in the northern Great Plains. Alice Fletcher noticed that, in the 19th century, each animal cult was composed of individuals who had obtained supernatural power from the same animal species through a vision, and each of these cults possessed certain rituals and ceremonial regalia symbolic of the animal from which the power was obtained.⁹ The members of the cult were united by the medicine¹⁰ derived from the same animal, and a peculiar relation was formed between the members of the cult.

Though the Native American Nations of the Great Plains hunted the bear and certain nations had bear dances, existing information concerning bear rites on the Great Plains does not tell us much about bear hunting rites and bear feasts.¹¹ The main importance was not in the hunting rites and rebirth of the bear, as among the Cree. During his fieldwork among the Assiniboine, a northern Great Plains nation, in the summer of 1953, John Ewers collected information about their bear cult. His informant, Henry Black Tail, recalled three major functions of the Assiniboine bear cult: 1) ceremonies in honour of the bear, 2) aggressive participation in war expeditions, and 3) doctoring the sick.¹²

Since the bear cult is similar enough throughout the Great Plains area, we can suggest that these functions comprise the bear cult of the Plains peoples in general. In consequence, the bear rites focused especially on warfare and healing.¹³ Warfare has traditionally been an essential part of the Plains culture, and members of the bear cult were known as terrifying fighters. They had obtained their powers from the bear, and the bear served as their guardian spirit in battle, which was paraded, for example, on the surfaces of shields.¹⁴ When bear cult members went into battle against an enemy, they wore their distinctive outfit, painted their faces in a peculiar way, and usually carried bear knives. When the bear men charged the enemy, they acted like bears and made noises like the bear.¹⁵ When carrying his ceremonial regalia, the bear cult member might be sure his bear power was with him and would help him in battle. With his outfit and behaviour, he made clear to his enemies who they were fighting, and thus he also might gain a psychological edge over his enemies.¹⁶

The Plains peoples had high regard for the bear also as a curing agent. Among the Lakota, the bear was regarded as the only animal that in a dream could offer herbs for healing purposes. Two Shields, the informant of Frances Densmore, stated that the Lakota considered the bear the head of all animals regarding herbs, and therefore, if a man dreamed of the bear, he would become an expert in the use of herbs for curing illness. Bear medicine was the most sought after because bear medicine men could treat all ordinary diseases, and only they could treat wounded warriors.¹⁷ The healing power of bear medicine men was closely linked to warfare, and bear medicine has been practiced specially to heal wounds. Thus, according to Thomas Lewis, the bear medicine men of the Lakota have almost disappeared since the battles and the need to cure war wounds came to an end on the reservations.¹⁸

Bear Rituals and Ecology of Religion

Even though the indigenous peoples of both the Great Plains and Subarctic areas have been traditionally hunter-gatherers and hunting formed the basis of their livelihood and existence, the meanings ascribed to the bear and bear ceremonialism varied from one region to another. This raises an important question: Why did the meanings ascribed to the bear and the bear rites of the Plains peoples diverge from the bear rites and their purposes in the Subarctic areas?

Among the Subarctic people, the major function of bear rites has been to ensure game in the future. Returning the bones, and particularly the skull where the spirit of the animal lived, back to the woods hanging from a special tree, allowed the spirit to return to the supernatural guardian of the species and made the rebirth of the animal possible. Ivar Paulson has examined the rites concerning the bear skull and its return to the woods. He notices that the area where these rites have existed in North America includes the areas extending from the Plateau to the north in the West, and from the eastern Woodlands and the Great Lakes to the north in the East. He does not mention the Plains peoples, and the area he describes encompasses the Plains area in the North.¹⁹ Hallowell, in turn, mentions that although the Plains nations have had high regard for the bear, we do not find evidence that any

rites were performed in connection with the killing of the animal, except by the Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa and Assiniboine.²⁰

In the north, the game has sometimes been scarce, and the Subarctic people could not be dependent on only one source of food. Toby Morantz states that starvation and diseases were common enough to explain why the Eastern Cree could not afford to depend on just a single resource.²¹ Their subsistence level of survival depended on the amount of game available, and thus the people made use of all available food sources. The only big food animal besides the caribou and moose was the bear. Alanson Skinner noticed that the bear was an important dietary source among the Eastern Cree, and, according to Frank Speck, the Naskapi, another Subarctic nation, has considered the bear next in rank as a food source.²²

Hallowell states that the study of man's relationship to the faunal world can be approached from two standpoints. 'First is the utilitarian, that is, the exploitation of animals for their flesh, skins, or other substances', as he put it. Second, he says, we can study this relationship as the people themselves view it. This is what he calls the psychological aspect, and it may include all the folk beliefs and customs connected with animals.²³ Actually, the latter is the religious aspect. But, do these two standpoints exclude each other?

Since religion is not separated from culture, but a part of it, religion also shares some of the effects that the environment has on culture. Using his method of cultural ecology, Julian Steward has demonstrated that there is an ecological integration between nature and culture in which culture not only inhibits but also promotes cultural development.²⁴ Åke Hultkrantz has developed this method to include the relationship between religion and the natural environment, especially among northern hunting people.²⁵ The ecology of religion is 'the study of the environmental integration of a religion and its implications', as Hultkrantz puts it.²⁶ The model shows that there is an explicit environmental influence on any religion that stands in close relation to a cultural dependence on nature.

In the northernmost regions, agriculture was not as effective as in more southern regions, and the gathering of food plants

has been limited. In consequence of this, the principal way to obtain food has been hunting and fishing. The amount of game has varied periodically; it has been scarce especially in winter, and in springtime starvation has been particularly common. According to Morantz, no discussion of the environmental factors impinging on the lifestyles of Subarctic hunters would be complete without an examination of starvation, which has been a natural part of life.²⁷ In the early twentieth century, Skinner claimed that there were still ‘individuals at nearly every post who have tasted human flesh under these conditions’.²⁸

In Hultkrantz’s religio-ecological model, the animal ceremonies belong to the primary level of integration, as he calls it, which includes environmental adaptation of basic cultural features, like subsistence and technology and the religious features associated with them.²⁹ In the north, the bear has sometimes been a very important source of food, especially in the late spring when game is scarce, and this is when bears were primarily hunted. As a large animal, the bear could offer an opportunity for the whole community to feast.

Hallowell has stated that even among those nations that observed no special rites when the bear was killed and eaten, the animal may, nevertheless, have been greatly respected or even revered. Here, Hallowell mentioned especially the Plains nations.³⁰ It seems that the bear was not so frequently eaten in the Great Plains area, and thus the bear hunting rites and the disposal of bones and the skull were not required among the Plains peoples. Though, game might also have been scarce in the Great Plains area in late spring, the huge herds of buffalo and other numerous game animals as well as wild and cultivated plants offered more plentiful sources of food than in the Subarctic regions.

Since the bear has not had the same significance as a game animal among the Plains nations, the bear rites do not belong in the religio-ecological model to the primary level of integration, as among the Subarctic people, but instead to the secondary level of integration, i.e. to the indirect adaptation of religious beliefs and rituals, which ‘are organized into a framework that takes its forms from the social structure, which is, in its turn, a model suggested by the economic and technological adaptation to environment’.³¹

Besides, on the Great Plains the concept of a supernatural master, or guardian spirit, of the animal species was ousted by the idea of individual guardian spirits.³² Among the Plains peoples, the bear was the symbol of power and wisdom, and the medicine obtained from it helped braves to succeed in warfare and enabled medicine men to ensure the welfare of the community.

Sweat Bath Traditions

The sweat bath is another widespread northern tradition found both in Eurasia and North America. There are two main areas where particular sweat bath tradition can be found in the world, one around the Baltic Sea region and among some Finno-Ugric peoples, and another in North America, particularly north of Mexico.³³ The Finnish sauna and the Native American sweat bath resemble each other so much that they are usually compared, and previously in some contexts they have been even considered to have common roots.³⁴ Of these two traditions, the Native American sweat bath is clearly supposed to promote spiritual purification, but similar meanings can be found within the Finnish sauna tradition as well.³⁵

Native North American Sweat Bath

The sweat bath is an ancient tradition known to most indigenous peoples of North America, with it being an especially strong tradition among some groups.³⁶ At first glance, the sweat bath refers to physical activity, but the ultimate meaning of the Native American sweat bath goes beyond that. Even though bathers wash themselves after the bath, the main significance of it has not been physical cleansing but ritual purification.³⁷

Here, I will focus on the Lakota sweat bath tradition because more information is available on it. Moreover, it represents and illustrates quite well the ultimate meanings of the Native American sweat baths. Accounts of the Lakota sweat bath exist already in the early ethnographic literature, and sources from the nineteenth century reveal that the sweat bath has been used particularly within rituals and ceremonies. However, the first comprehensive account was not published until 1953, when Joseph Epes Brown's

book *The Sacred Pipe* came out. The book is based on interviews with Nicholas Black Elk, who introduces the seven rites of the Lakotas. One of these sacred rites is the sweat bath. Black Elk was a medicine man, and he offered the first detailed description of the Lakota sweat bath and its symbolism from the Native American viewpoint.³⁸

The English term 'sweat bath' emphasises this phenomenon as a physical action, but as a matter of fact the term is misleading regarding its fundamentals. The Lakota word for sweat bath, *inípi*, shows what it is about. The core of this term is *ní*. Lakota informant George Sword said that *ní* is what a person breathes into his body, and *ní* travels throughout the body and keeps it alive. If *ní* leaves the body, a person dies. When the Lakotas speak about *inípi*, they mean the act of doing *iní* (i.e. 'taking a sweat bath'). Sometimes a person's *ní* is weak, and then hurtful things can get into the body. When this happens, the Lakotas should *inípi* (i.e. 'to take a sweat bath'). George Sword emphasised that the 'Lakota does not *inípi* to make the water on the body. He does it to wash the inside of the body.'³⁹

The sweat lodge is described as a womb and the sweat bath as rebirth. For example, Arvol Looking Horse, the keeper of the Lakotas' sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe, has stated that the 'sweat lodge is very sacred. It is the mother's womb. They always say when come out of the sweat lodge, it's like being born again or coming out of the mother's womb.'⁴⁰ The complete darkness inside the lodge represents how it is being inside the mother's womb (or mother earth) before birth. The symbolism of the sweat lodge is also related to life. As Black Elk states, the frame of the lodge is made of willow saplings, which represent rebirth.⁴¹

In Native North America, an important element in the preparation for rituals and contact with the spirit world has been ritual purification, which was usually performed through the sweat bath. For example, a Cree hunter went into a sweat lodge before a bear hunt, and the dancers of the Lakota sun dance purified themselves by taking a sweat bath before the ceremony. Consequently, the sweat bath has generally preceded other rituals. Before the ritual, participants went into the sweat lodge and, not infrequently, also after the rite as well to purify themselves.

Sweat Bath as a Transition Rite

In her classic study, Mary Douglas⁴² discusses how the human body functions as a symbol of society and its categorical borders, and sweating, as it penetrates the border and leaves the body, breaks these borders. However, since the major purposes of the sweat bath rite were traditionally to prepare oneself for other rites and to return to everyday life after them, I see it as a symbolic transition between this world and the spirit world. Because of the sweat bath, a person was able to come closer to the powers of the spirit world, not only during the sweat bath but during other rites as well. Consequently, the sweat bath is a tool for a certain symbolic and ritual transition across borders, and this can be understood better through the idea of transition rites.

Arnold van Gennep was the first scholar to note the significance and structure of rituals that mark the passage of a person through the life cycle, from one stage to another. According to him, transition rites can be divided into three periods, the *preliminal*, *liminal* and *postliminal* periods.⁴³ Later, Victor Turner advanced the theory of transition rites and continued exploring transition rites and especially the meanings of the *liminal* period to the community. Turner's theory offers two propositions. First, transition rites are a process of moving from the familiar, or structural, to the anti-structural and back. Second, the period of being away from structure, the liminal period, or liminality as Turner called it, is characterised by the existence of a so-called *communitas*, a kind of feeling of relationship among the participants, or oneness. Turner extended the liminal period beyond its original sense of a marginal ritual phase, where liminality 'has taken on new meaning as an autonomous and sometimes enduring category of people who are "betwixt and between"'.⁴⁴

The sweat bath rite can be analysed using the structure of transition rites, the main purpose being not for social transition in the strict sense of van Gennep, but a more symbolic transition in Turner's sense. All three periods of the transition rites defined by van Gennep can be observed in the sweat bath rite, although no shift of social status is in question. In addition to purification, the purpose of the sweat bath is also the transition from profane everyday life to sacred space. In the sweat lodge ritual, we can perceive these transitions and the liminal period on two levels: first,

the sweat bath as an independent rite, and second, the sweat bath as part of a wider ritual complex.⁴⁵

When surveying the sweat bath as an independent rite, the first transition, or border crossing, can be perceived when the participants enter the lodge and the door is closed, i.e. when the participants are shut inside the dark lodge. The sweat lodge is constructed so that it is totally dark inside and no light can enter in. The second border crossing can be observed when the door is opened and the participants leave the lodge, out of *liminality* and sacred space back into everyday life, or profane space. Native American explanations for the sweat lodge are usually related to the concept of rebirth. The darkness inside the lodge symbolises one's state in the mother's womb before birth and coming out of it is like being born again; when inside the sweat lodge, the participant usually thinks about his or her life and the direction in which he or she wants to go. Lakota testimonies on the meanings of the sweat bath corroborate this point quite well.⁴⁶

The three-stage structure of the transition rites can be observed in the Native American sweat bath ritual. Inside the sweat lodge, humans are separated from profane life and moved into the darkness of a symbolic womb, which is the *liminal* dimension. There they can be closer to the spirit world, having a connection with it. After the bath, when back outside the lodge, the participants are incorporated once again back into their more common, profane existence.

When surveying the sweat bath as part of a wider ritual complex, the sweat lodge ritual functions as a channel for transition. In this case, the liminal period is the period between the two baths. During the first sweat bath sacralisation occurs, where the participants separate themselves from profane life to enter a space of liminality during the ritual, for which they have been purified. After the ritual period, the sweat bath is taken once more for desacralisation, or the separation of the participants from sacred space and their incorporation back into one's profane everyday life.

I have viewed the sweat bath through the structure of transition rites in order to try to understand its role in ritual purification in preparation for contact with the spirit world. In this connection, Native Americans have been closer to the sacred world, which is made possible by the symbolic transition from profane space into sacred space, and back.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Understanding Similarities and Dissimilarities

Many classic theories are based on compared material. Even though there might be problems within generalising theories, they indeed can offer a worthwhile starting point for further considering similarities and structures as well as finding the deeper meanings of the phenomenon under study. Above, I have discussed the Native North American sweat bath tradition and found the theory of transition rites useful when trying to understand the structure of ritual purification. When conducting research on the Finnish sauna tradition, I noticed that the same sort of symbolic transition can be found in the Finnish sauna.⁴⁸

According to Finnish traditions, the sauna was perceived as *pyhä*, 'sacred', and it has been part of traditional calendar rites, crisis rites as well as transition rites. For example, the sauna has a special place within Christmas traditions. People went to the sauna before the sun had set on Christmas Eve, and then they were clean and ready for Christmas. Traditionally, the sauna has also been used for healing, with people both bathing in the sauna and using it as a place to heal. The sauna has been a space for transition rites as well, whether for birth, marriage or passing away. Until the 1930s, most Finnish people were born in sauna. Sometimes an individual also died in the sauna, or at least the corpse was washed in the sauna. Formerly, it was also the custom for both the bride and the groom to go to sauna in their own homes before getting married. These few examples demonstrate that the Finnish sauna could function as a sacred space where people detached themselves from everyday life and daily routines. I have discussed this in more detail elsewhere,⁴⁹ but it still needs further study.

When comparing rituals, the main aim has usually been finding similarities, and, not infrequently, differences are explained as deviances, or they have been even disregarded. However, the differences especially are interesting and important when studying the diversity of cultures and religious traditions. I found this particularly interesting when researching North American bear rituals. I noticed that the meaning of the bear and bear rites are exceedingly different in two geographical areas, even though the indigenous peoples of both areas have traditionally been hunter-gatherers, and hunting formed the basis of their livelihood.

I noticed that there is an ecological point of integration between the Native cultures and their ecological surroundings within bear rituals. Above, I describe how I have utilised Hultkrantz's religio-ecological model when discussing the bear rituals and their differences within two different Native North American cultures. This model can be applied when studying bear rites of other cultures and traditions, and not only between different cultures, but within one culture as well. For example, concerning the bear rituals within Finnish folk religion, this manner of approach might be useful when discussing the differences between old hunting-based traditions and those of the later agricultural society. Within the hunting society, the bear was an honourable animal having its roots in the sky, and bear rituals followed Hallowell's scenario. It was important to ensure that the bear could return to its heavenly home to be hunted again.⁵⁰ Within the later agricultural society, in turn, the bear was honoured but at the same time it was viewed as a harmful animal from the woods that killed cattle and ate crops. It was important to practice various protective rites against bears, like *karhun pylytytys*, or mooning a bear, i.e. an older woman pulled up her skirt and pointed her naked buttocks in every direction to ensure that the bear would not come any closer.⁵¹ We can consider that the change of stance was based on the livelihood, and thus the religio-ecological model can offer interesting viewpoints in this case, too.

Notes

1. Hallowell 1926.

2. Hämäläinen 2002; Hämäläinen 2009.

3. As Rydving (2010: 34) has pointed out, generalising theories, including Hallowell's theory, have disregarded these dissimilarities. Cf. also Berres *et al.* 2004.

4. Skinner 1911: 68–73, 162–164; Speck 1935: 94–110; Rogers 1973: 39–44; Kohn 1986: 141–151. I wish to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for valuable comments on the problems of former scholars writing by generalizing about First Nations and Native Americans. For example, 'Eastern Cree' includes several groups of Nêhinaw people, but usually the scholars do not specify which indigenous groups

they were really talking about. Unfortunately, in this context, I cannot guess which groups they were particularly meaning.

5. Skinner 1911: 71 f.; Hallowell 1926: 44 f.
6. Skinner 1911: 26, 72 f.
7. Rockwell 1991: 38.
8. Skinner 1911: 68, 72.
9. Fletcher 1884: 276–282.
10. The term ‘medicine’ refers to the supernatural power of persons, objects and activities. This power, which is usually revealed in a vision, may be used for, e.g. healing, divination or protection in warfare; cf. Hämäläinen 2011: 67 f.
11. Catlin 1841, I: 245; Mandelbaum 1996: 210; Lowie 1983: 264–268.
12. Ewers 1988: 134.
13. Neihardt 1972: 89 f.; Brassler 1979: 37; Bowers 1991: 108; McClintock 1992: 358 f.; Mandelbaum 1996: 210.
14. Hämäläinen 2011: 81–103.
15. Denig 1930: 537 f.; Ewers 1988: 135.
16. McClintock 1992: 353.
17. Densmore 1918: 195; Walker 1980: 105.
18. Lewis 1992: 183.
19. Paulson 1965: 162–166.
20. Hallowell 1926: 73. The Cree and Ojibwa moved into the Great Plains area relatively late and preserved many features of the Subarctic culture.
21. Morantz 1983: 37.
22. Skinner 1911: 26; Speck 1935: 79.
23. Hallowell 1926: 3.
24. Steward 1963.
25. Hultkrantz 1954; Hultkrantz 1965; Hultkrantz 1979; Hultkrantz 1982; Hultkrantz 1985.
26. Hultkrantz 1979: 221.

27. Morantz 1983: 35–37.
28. Skinner 1911: 25.
29. Hultkrantz 1982: 176 f.; Hultkrantz 1979: 227 f.
30. Hallowell 1926: 151.
31. Hultkrantz 1979: 228.
32. Hultkrantz 1982: 166–168.
33. Hultkrantz 2000: 138.
34. Lopatin 1960.
35. Hultkrantz 2000: 138; Hämäläinen 2012.
36. Driver and Massey 1957: 315.
37. Bucko 1999; Hultkrantz 2000; Hämäläinen 2016. I wish to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for reminding that sweat bath is but one way of purification, connecting with a broader notion of purification by smudge/smoke that is more widely practiced.
38. Brown 1953: 31–43.
39. Walker 1980: 100; Hämäläinen 2016: 209.
40. Looking Horse 1987: 72.
41. Brown 1953: 31 f.
42. Douglas 1966.
43. van Gennepe 1909.
44. Turner 1969: 94–130; Stephenson 2005: 7801.
45. Hämäläinen 2016: 211–214.
46. Bucko 1999: 76, 85, 148, 156, 185, 197, 203, 206; Medicine 1987: 167.
47. For a more detailed discussion, see Hämäläinen 2016.
48. I wish to thank one the anonymous reviewers for pointing out that the Ojibwe word for ‘Finn’ is *madoodoowinini*, which means ‘person who takes a sweat bath’. The Finnish fondness for sauna became something that Native American communities noticed already in the 17th century when several Finns moved to the Swedish colony along the lower reaches of the Delaware River, and later in the

context of Finnish settlement on reservation lands in late 19th century. Ojibwe people saw the Finnish sauna as equivalent to Ojibwe sweat bath and used the Ojibwe word for it. For the descendants of the Ojibwe (Anishinaabe) and the Finns in the 21st century, see Kettu *et al.* 2016.

49. Hämäläinen 2012.

50. Siikala 2014: 380–389.

51. Pulkkinen 2014: 207 f.; Pulkkinen & Lindfors 2016: 114.

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