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# 北冰洋研究

第六辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店





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第❶辑



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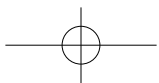
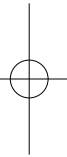
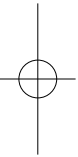
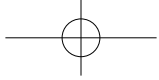
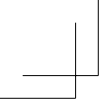
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# 萨米土著的植物药用传统及萨米与自然之 关系：基于瑞典北部的一项访谈研究

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刘静-赫尔默森 (Jing Helmersson)：于默奥大学博士后研究员。她有超过 20 年的物理学（量子光学和材料科学）研究经历（1989 年获得美国密歇根大学博士学位，后曾经担任加州州立大学长滩分校物理学教授），并有 7 年公共健康（气候变迁及传染病学数学模型）研究经历（2018 年取得于默奥大学博士学位）。她目前的研究兴趣包括萨米传统医学及其与中医的比较研究、性别与健康、福祉的系统动力学建模。

奥斯卡·塞德霍尔姆 (Oscar Sedholm)：南方萨米社会学家、音乐家，也曾是参与瑞典萨米议会的土著政治家。他在北瑞典从事土著语言复兴、数字化及交流活动，在公私领域都有所贡献。作为

# Sámi Indigenous People's Tradition on Uses of Plants for Healing/Health and Sámi Relationship with Nature—An Interview Study in Northern Sweden

Jing Liu-Helmersson<sup>1</sup> Oscar Sedholm<sup>2</sup> Torbjörn Arnold<sup>3</sup>  
Anita Ponga<sup>4</sup> Laila Spik<sup>5</sup>

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**Jing Helmersson:** a postdoctoral researcher at Umeå University. She has research experience in both Physics (quantum optics and material science) over 20 years (former physics professor at California State University Long Beach, with a PhD from the University of Michigan, USA, 1989) and Public Health (Mathematical modelling of climate change and infectious diseases) for seven years (PhD from Umeå University 2018). Her current research interests include Sámi traditional medicine and its comparison with traditional Chinese medicine, gender and health, and system dynamics modelling of wellbeing.



一位具有社会学背景的作家，多次参与瑞典的后殖民问题讨论，提供了驯鹿牧养社区之外的萨米人视角。

托比约恩·阿诺德（Torbjörn Arnold）：退休护士、作家、导游及公众讲师。曾在耶夫乐护理学校学习精神疾病护理（1967—1969），在默奥大学学习社会医学（1975—1976），在卢雷亚科技大学学习动力心理治疗（1987—1989）。曾在萨拉的萨尔贝加精神病院担任护士（1965—1975），在约克莫克担任地区护士（1977—2008）。前岳父的父母都是萨米医师，1967年时受到当时岳父的影响，他对萨米传统治疗产生兴趣。1967—2012年间，他就传统医疗、文化与前基督教宗教等问题对萨米人展开访谈。收集到的很多文字和录音材料现存放在约克莫克 Aitte 博物馆的图书档案中。

安妮塔·庞嘎（Anita Ponga）：艺术家、作家以及拥有萨米传统医学知识的草药专家。她从事过多个领域的工作：基律纳医院和海纳桑德医院的助理护士，阿比斯库的萨米教师，瓦西尧勒和基律纳 Samegårde 萨米博物馆的解说员和儿童“语言沐浴”老师，基律纳的艺术教师，并曾在北瑞典基律纳的萨米剧院工作。Anita Ponga 的画作曾在挪威、芬兰和瑞典展出。她接受的教育很广：斯堪的纳维亚平面设计营销学校，德哥尔摩艺术学校，Dals Långed 的金银匠，以及约克莫克的萨米民俗学院。

莱拉·奴妮珂（Laila Spik）：发言人、自然景观导游。1949年出生于约克莫克的一个传统的驯鹿牧养家庭。她是家里三个女儿中的老大。她早期跟随着父母亲做日常工作，从中学习到萨米文化和自然知识。直到1990年代，Laila 接受的训练和从事的工作都是教育，之后转为全职的萨米文化发言人。她利用北欧的广播和电视向萨米人传授从自然中获取食物与药材之法，因此在国际上极负盛名。她和家人生活在瑞典北部的穆尔杰瓦瑞。

**译者简介：**马惠娟，女，香港中文大学中国研究博士，中南民族大学民族学与社会学学院讲师。研究方向为民俗信仰、文化遗产、东北亚民族。

**关键词：**萨米 北极圈土著人民 植物 自然 世界观 萨米传统医学 传统医疗 生态系统理论 传统中医 因纽特

#### 摘要：

萨米土著居住的北极萨普米地区横跨了四个国家：挪威、瑞

**Oscar Sedholm** a Southern Sámi sociologist, musician and former Indigenous politician in the Swedish Sámi Parliament. He has worked with Indigenous language revitalization, digitalization and communication in Northern Sweden, within both the public and private sectors. As a writer with a background in sociology, Sedholm has contributed frequently to the ongoing public discussion on postcolonial issues in Sweden, especially from the perspectives of Sámi outside of reindeer herding communities.

**Torbjörn Arnold:** a retired nurse, a writer, a tour guide and a public lecturer. He was educated in psychiatric care at Gävle Nursing College (1967–1969), in social medicine at Umeå University (1975–1976), and in dynamic psychotherapy at Luleå University of Technology (1987–1989). He worked as a nurse in the Salberga mental hospital Sala (1965–1975) and as a district nurse in Jokkmokk (1977–2008). Torbjörn Arnold got interested in Sámi traditional healing in 1967 through his then father-in-law, whose parents were Sámi healers. During 1967–2012, he interviewed many Sámi People on traditional healing, culture and pre-Christian religion. His collection of many notes and audio tapes is now stored in the library archive, Aitte museum in Jokkmokk.

**Anita Ponga:** an artist, a writer and an herbalist with knowledge of Sámi traditional medicine. She has worked in various fields: as an assistant nurse at Kiruna Hospital and Härnösand Hospital, a Sámi-teacher in the Abisko, Kiruna “Language Bath” for school children, Curator and guide for the Sámi Museum at Samegården, Kiruna and at Vassijaure, an art teacher at Kiruna, and worked at the Sami Theatre, Kiruna, northern Sweden. Anita Ponga’s paintings have been exhibited in Norway, Finland and Sweden. She has a broad education: Scandinavian School of Graphic Design & Marketing/Gerlesborgsskolan; Stockholm Art School/Stenebyskolan; Dals Långed gold-silversmith, and Sámi Folk College in Jokkmokk.

**Laila Spik:** a public speaker and a nature tour guide. She was born in 1949 in Jokkmokk to a traditional reindeer herding family. She was the eldest child of three daughters. Early on, she followed her parents in their daily work, which taught her Sámi culture and nature. Laila was trained and worked as a teacher until the 1990s, when she became a full-time spokesperson for Sámi culture. Through radio and TV in Nordics, she taught Sámi knowledge of using nature for food and medicine, and received awards and great appreciation internationally. She lives with her family in Muorjevaare, North Sweden.

**Keywords:** Sámi; Arctic Indigenous People; plants; nature; worldview; Sámi traditional medicine; traditional healing; ecological systems theory; traditional Chinese medicine (TCM); Inuit

### **Abstract**

The Sámi Indigenous population lives in the Arctic Sámi area across four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. Wild plants

典、芬兰和俄罗斯科拉半岛。在萨米传统里，人们收集野生植物食用和药用的历史已有上千年。本研究意在介绍瑞典萨米人将植物用于医药和食物的传统，并介绍萨米土著与自然及其土地之间的关系及观念。本研究采用定性访谈的研究方法，对瑞典的五位重要报道人进行采访，其中四位是萨米人。本研究发现，在萨米植物利用的传统里，医药、食物和精神是不可分割的；萨米医学知识的传承者是目前已为数不多的萨米医师（healer）。萨米的年轻人对这一传统知识的了解已经很少了。基于一种整体的、相互联系的、长期的理念，萨米土著与他们的土地/自然有着非常紧密且敬畏的关系。而今天的萨米人与土地的关系出现了问题。本研究使用生态系统理论解读当前的植物使用情况和土地关系情况。萨米世界观对今天我们应对气候变迁及至大流行病等种种挑战，仍然具有借鉴意义。

## 前言

人类诞生之初就开始了植物的采集和利用。植物是人类饮食的组成部分，也是人类狩猎或驯养动物的食物。植物是工具，也是建筑材料。本研究采用的是生物学意义上的广义植物概念（牛津语库 2021）：

一种生命有机体，包含树木、灌木、药草、青草、蕨类及苔藓等，通常在固定地点生长，通过根吸取水和无机化合物，并通过叶绿素进行的光合作用，在叶片中合成营养物质。

### 萨米概述

萨米土著居住在一个称作萨普米（Sápmi）的地方。萨普米横跨北极地区的四个国家：挪威北部、瑞典北部、芬兰最北端和俄罗斯科拉半岛。这一地区总面积为 157 487 平方公里，其中在瑞典的部分占瑞典总面积的 35%（Sami\_Parliament 2005）。萨米总人口大约在 8—10 万人，其中约 5 万在挪威，2—4 万在瑞典，8 千在芬兰，2 千在俄罗斯（Sametinget 2021）。可见萨普米的人口密度非常小。它包括高低山区，森林及沿海地带。

have been gathered and used for food and medicine for millennia in Sámi tradition. This study aims to introduce Sámi tradition on the use of plants for medicine and health in Sweden and the Sámi Indigenous People's view and relationship with nature and their land. A qualitative interview research method was used with five key informants in Sweden, of whom four are Sámi. The study finds that in Sámi tradition on plant use, medicine, food and spirits are inseparable; the knowledge carriers for medical use are Sámi healers, of whom not many are still living. The young Sámi people know very little about this traditional knowledge. The Sámi Indigenous People have a very close and respectful relationship with their land/nature, based on a view that is holistic, interconnected and long-term. Today the Sámi people have a troubled relationship with their land. Ecological systems theory is used to understand the current situation on plant use and relationships with the land. The Sámi worldview is still relevant for today's societies that face great challenges from climate change to the pandemic.

## Introduction

Plants have been gathered and used by humans since the beginnings of human existence. Plants are part of human food. Plants are also food for animals that people raise or hunt. Plants are used as tools and building materials. This study takes a broad definition of plant in biology (OxfordLanguages 2021):

*a living organism of the kind exemplified by trees, shrubs, herbs, grasses, ferns, and mosses, typically growing in a permanent site, absorbing water and inorganic substances through its roots, and synthesizing nutrients in its leaves by photosynthesis using the green pigment chlorophyll.*

### ***Sámi background and a brief history***

The Sámi Indigenous population lives in a place called Sápmi, across four countries in the Arctic region: northern Norway, northern Sweden, the northernmost part of Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. The total area is 157,487 km<sup>2</sup>, which includes about 35% of Sweden's surface area (Sami\_Parliament 2005). The Sámi population is estimated to be around 80,000–100,000, with approximately 50,000 in Norway, 20,000–40,000 in Sweden, 8,000 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia (Sametinget 2021). Thus, Sápmi is a very sparsely populated area. It contains low and high mountain areas, forest land and coastal areas.

Not all Sámi work with reindeer husbandry. Tourism, fishing, handicrafts and, to a



并非所有萨米人都从事驯鹿业。除了驯鹿业，还有旅游业、渔业、手工业以及与驯鹿业相关的小规模农业。尽管说着十种不同的方言，萨米人仍被称为“一族四国”（Sami\_Parliament 2005）。很多证据，包括居住地、坟墓、狩猎陷阱系统、陶器、岩画及祭祀点等，都证明一万多年前，随着内陆冰川的撤退，萨米人已经在北斯堪的纳维亚地区生活（Sami\_Information\_Centre 2004）。

17 世纪开始，萨普米被侵入这一地区的非萨米人所殖民；到了 20 世纪之交，萨米人已经变成了少数族裔（Brännlund and Axelsson 2011；Lantto 2010）。殖民统治下的萨米人被压迫、被歧视，失去了自己的语言、土地和普通话（Samer\_History 2019）。

从不同国家对萨普米地区的边界协议，到瑞典政府的分离和同化政策，一个世纪前萨米人开始被分裂，直至今今天（Lantto 2014；Liu-Helmersson 2022）。这意味着只有大约 10% 的萨米人拥有驯鹿牧养权和土地使用权；大多数萨米人还是无权延续在自己土地上狩猎、捕鱼或开展小型农业的那种传统生活方式（Lantto 2014；Liu-Helmersson 2022），虽然他们享有投票权。养驯鹿的人通常需要付费使用土地，而这些土地曾经是属于他们的（Sami\_Parliament 2005）。另外，还有瑞典研究院于 1936—1960 年间进行的“种族生物学（Racial Biology）”研究（Ericsson 2021），包括了裸体照片和头骨测量等，将萨米人刻画成了比北欧人低等的种族。《萨米之血》这部电影生动地阐释了这一“种族生物学”的流程，以及它在一位萨米女孩身上形成的心理阴影。除此之外，瑞典政府及教会为了阻止萨米传统和文化表达，特意贬低很多萨米传统实践——比如萨满（Noaidi）对鼓的使用；比如在教会服务或教会活动的其他方面，都不允许展示萨米身份（Lindmark and Sundström 2017）。

最近出现了一些进步，试图解决这一历史创伤。例如，自 1990 年代，瑞典教会开始通过一项“白皮书计划”与萨米人和解，为过去的错误行为致歉，为作为殖民势力一分子而压迫萨米传统及文化承担历史责任（Lindmark and Sundström 2017: 1）。2019 年 8 月 9 日，25 具在 1950 年被掘出的萨米人头骨被再次安葬在北瑞典墓地。这一仪式承认了瑞典萨米群体曾经遭受的历史不公。2020 年 6 月，萨米议会获得瑞典政府授予的 120 万瑞典克朗，开始为设立真相委员会（Truthcommission）做准备（Quinn 2020）。

### 萨米传统生活方式、植物、医学与健康

萨米人传统上是游牧生活。他们在近北极或北极的广袤土地上狩猎和采

lesser extent, small-scale agriculture can in some cases be mixed with reindeer husbandry. Although speaking 10 different dialects, the Sámi is called *one people in four countries* (Sami\_Parliament 2005). The Sámi have been a part of northern Scandinavia for more than 10 000 years, following the retreat of the inland glaciers. Some evidences include settlements, graves, hunting pit systems, ceramics, rock paintings and sacrificial sites (Sami\_Information\_Centre 2004).

Beginning in the 17th century, Sápmi was colonized by non-Sámi moving into the area, and by the turn of the 20th century the Sámi people had become a minority (Brännlund and Axelsson 2011; Lantto 2010). With colonization the Sámi People have experienced oppression, discrimination and loss of language, land and common law (Samer\_History 2019).

Divides between Sámi were created a century ago and have lasted till today, from the border agreements between different countries of Sápmi and the Swedish government's segregation and assimilation policy (Lantto 2014; Liu-Helmersson 2022). This means that only about 10% of the Sámi have rights to reindeer herding and use of their land; the majority do not have the rights that allow them to live a traditional lifestyle of hunting, fishing and small-scale farming in their own land (ibid.), although they have voting rights. The reindeer herders often had to pay to use land that used to be theirs (Sami\_Parliament 2005). In addition, Racial Biology, the studies made by the Swedish Institute during 1936–1960 (Ericsson 2021) that included nude photographs and skull measurements, portrayed Sámi as an inferior race compared to the Nordic race. The film “Sami Blood” illustrates vividly the Racial Biology process and its psychological consequences for a Sámi girl. Furthermore, the Swedish state and church prevented the expression of Sámi traditions and culture by delegitimizing some of the Sámi traditional practices - for instance, the use of drums by the Noaidi/shaman; Sámi identity could not be reflected in church services and other areas of church life (Lindmark and Sundström 2017).

Recently, some progress has been made in resolving the historical trauma. For example, since the 1990s the Church of Sweden has started reconciliation with the Sámi through a *White Paper Project*, to apologize for the past wrongdoings and to take a historical responsibility for being part of a colonizing power in oppression of Sámi traditions and culture (Lindmark and Sundström 2017) (p1). On August 9, 2019, the skulls of 25 Sámi people were reburied in the northern Swedish graveyard from which they were exhumed in the 1950s. This ceremony acknowledges historic injustice suffered by the Swedish Sámi community. In June 2020, the Sami Parliament was awarded 1.2 million Swedish krona from the Swedish state to begin laying the groundwork for a truth commission (Quinn 2020).

### ***Sámi traditional lifestyle, plants, medicine and health***

The Sámi traditionally live a nomadic life. They have hunted and collected from nature in their vast land in or near the Arctic. The food has been fish, meat, berries and

集。自石器时代开始，他们就以鱼、肉、浆果、植物为食。萨米人以优秀猎手、造船家和渔民而著称，他们狩猎驼鹿、驯鹿、熊、鸟类、海豹、鲸和鱼类，也采集植物为食。他们发展出了很多保存食物的技术（Ponga 2020a），例如：

用烟熏干肉类，冻干奶血，用盐腌制，生鱼腌制，将植物用桦树皮包裹并埋在土地里储存。

萨米传统知识是“一项由亲人和祖先传递下来的遗产”（Ponga 2020a）。Torbjörn 在他未发表的文章中写道：“从 17 世纪和 18 世纪的记录可知，萨米人已经以植物作为食材和药材了。一些植物还具有魔力。其中一些植物主要在北极圈；其他植物在整个斯堪的纳维亚地区都可以找到，但在萨普米地区的用法却与欧洲其他地区略有不同。”（Arnord 2005）不过，关于植物的知识不仅限于萨普米的萨米人，殖民者和其他临近国家的人们也都使用植物。“很难将这些知识相互区分开来，一般都混在一起，人们从邻居那里或者相互之间学习交流。”（Arnord 2005）

除了食用，植物也是萨米传统医疗或传统医学的重要材料。来自北瑞典的 Johan Turi 是第一位萨米作家，同时也是一位萨米医师，在 100 多年前写了两部全面介绍萨米传统医学的书，其中第二部是与他的兄弟合写（Turi 1917；Turi and Turi 1918—1919）。DuBois 和 Lang 对 Turi 的 137 个萨米传统医学案例的治疗、用材、症状、用量和用法进行分析之后，发现了以下疗法和草药的材料使用比例：1）动物 31%，植物 17%，矿物和化学材料 12%；2）物理疗法 22%；3）巫术疗法 17%（38% 在与其他疗法混用）。所处理的疾病问题，既有急性的（65%）也有慢性的（35%）。所处理的病症既有伤口、传染病也有助孕，既治疗人类也治疗狗和驯鹿（DuBois and Lang 2013）。最近的一篇综述性论文描述了当前萨普米地区萨米传统医学的情况（Liu-Helmersson and Ouma 2021）。一个访谈研究介绍了关于瑞典萨米传统医学的情况（Jacobsson et al. 2021）。

卡罗卢斯·林奈（Carolus Linnaeus）或者称卡尔·冯·林奈（Carl von Linné），是瑞典的植物学家、动物学家、分类学家和医生，在 1732 年对瑞典最北部的拉普兰地区做了考察。他在其瑞典文著作《拉普兰之旅：Iter Lapponicum 1732》里描述了萨米人的健康状况（Linné 2003）。Anita Ponga 对此书做了概括（Ponga 2020a）：

herbs since the Stone Age. Sámi have been known as excellent hunters, boat-builders and fishermen, and they hunt moose, reindeer, bear, birds, seals, whales and fish. They have also gathered plants for food. They have developed many techniques to preserve food (Ponga 2020a), e.g.,

*smoking and drying meat, freeze-drying milk and blood, salting, making raw spiced and soured fish, storage of herbs wrapped in birch bark and saved under the soil.*

Sámi traditional knowledge is “a Legacy from relatives & ancestors” (Ponga 2020a). In his unpublished writing (Arnold Unpublished), Torbjörn wrote “From records of the 1600s and 1700s, we know that the Sámi have used plants for food and medicine. Some plants also had a magical meaning. Some of the plants are only found mainly in the circumpolar area. Other plants are found throughout Scandinavia but were used in a slightly different way here in Sápmi than in the rest of Europe.” However, the knowledge of plants is not limited to only Sámi living in Sápmi. Settlers and people from neighboring countries also used plants. “It is difficult to distinguish one or the other. Usually they go together and they have borrowed ideas widely, neighbors and in between.” (Arnold Unpublished)

Besides food, plants are one of the materials used in Sámi traditional healing or traditional medicine (TM). Johan Turi, the first Sámi author and a Sámi healer, from Northern Sweden, wrote a comprehensive description of Sámi TM in two books over 100 years ago, of which the second was co-authored with his brother (Turi 1917; Turi and Turi 1918–1919). DuBois and Lang’s analysis of Turi’s 137-case description of Sámi TM remedies, materials, conditions, regiments and frequencies, found the following proportion of materials and modalities in usage: Zootherapeutic 31%, Botanical 17%, Mineral and chemical 12%, Physical acts (massage, moxibustion, or manipulation) 22%, Magic 17% (38% in combination with others). The problems treated were both acute (65%) and chronic (35%). The diseases treated range from wounds and infectious diseases to pregnancy cravings, from human to dog and reindeer (DuBois and Lang 2013). The current situation of Sámi TM in Sápmi is described in a recent review article (Liu-Helmersson and Ouma 2021). The situation in Sweden is studied using an interview method (Jacobsson et al. 2021).

Carolus Linnaeus or Carl von Linné, the Swedish botanist, zoologist, taxonomist, and physician, made an expedition to Lapland, the northernmost region in Sweden, in 1732. He described Sámi health in his book in Swedish, “The Lapland Journey: Iter Lapponicum 1732” (Linné 2003). It is summarized by Anita Ponga (Ponga 2020a):



萨米人很健康，很长寿……因为空气纯净……食物烹饪得很好，先凉下来再入口……他们平静，他们不争吵……不贪婪……不饮酒，即便偶尔品尝，也只喝有益于健康的量，而不会损害身体……他们从孩童时期就可以忍受寒冷。

另一项研究将林奈视为萨米文化的民族志学者，并转述了他对萨米人健康状况和生活方式的观察（Zorgdrager 2008: 72–73）：

林奈认为萨米人无论从身体上还是心理上都是极为健康的，这得益于纯净的空气和他们的生活方式，他们吃的食物，他们的衣着和寝具。萨米人四肢柔软灵活、脚步轻盈，因为他们不穿有跟的鞋子，也因为他们盘腿坐在地上而不坐椅子。……萨米人用水煮肉和鱼，还会把煮肉的水喝掉，这也是为什么几乎没人知道生病是什么滋味。而且萨米人每次只吃很少就感到满足了，正因为如此，他们不会变胖。……林奈一次又一次地在演讲里强调说，萨米人的生活与自然是一致的。

最近林奈的人类学研究受到指责，认为他带着一种殖民的，有时候是种族主义的视角（KRÖNIKA 2021）。

### 今天萨米人的健康状况及历史创伤

今天萨米人的健康状况已不同于林奈所描述的 18 世纪时的状况。最近的研究发现，瑞典萨米人的心理和生理健康都低于国民平均水平（Anderson et al. 2016; Hassler et al. 2005; Omma et al. 2012）。萨米年轻人里有心理健康问题的比例很高，比如有自杀倾向（经常有自杀想法）的比例高达 49%，而对照组的比例为 37%。进一步延展这一问题：70% 的瑞典年轻萨米人（18—28 岁）认为持续受到歧视。

研究表明，殖民主义已经损害了土著人民的健康和福祉（Brave Heart 2000; Czyzewski 2011; Greenslade 1997）。“历史创伤”这一概念在其他国家也越来越多地为研究者和临床医师所使用（如美国、加拿大和新西兰），被用来描述负面历史事件如何影响患病率 and 健康差异（Brave Heart et al. 2011; Estrada 2009; Pihama et al. 2014; Sotero 2006）。历史创伤被定义为：“跨越

*The Sámi were in good health and had a long life ... due to the purity of the air ... well cooked food, that was cooled down before eating ... they were calm, they had no fights ... no greed ... no alcohol, which they seldom tasted, and if so, in such quantities that was beneficial rather than harmful ... and they can endure the cold since childhood.*

Another study described Linnaeus as ethnographer of Sámi culture and his observation of Sámi health and lifestyle (Zorgdrager 2008)(pp.72–73):

*According to Linnaeus the Sami are bodily and mentally extremely healthy people because of the pure air and their way of living, the food they eat, their clothes and their bedding. The Sami are loose-limbed and light-footed because they use shoes without heels and because they do not sit on chairs, but on the ground, legs crossed. ... When Sami boil their meat and fish they drink the cooking water; and this is why almost no one knows what it is to be ill. <sup>48</sup> The Sami too is content with only a little food each time he eats, and because of that, he does not become fat. ... Again and again Linnaeus emphasizes in his lectures that the Sami lives in accordance with nature.*

Recently Linnaeus has been criticized for having a colonial and, at some points, racist viewpoint when studying humans (KRÖNIKA 2021).

### ***Today's Sámi health and historical trauma***

Today's health situation is not the same as that of Linnaeus' description in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In recent studies, Swedish Sámi have been shown to have poorer mental and physical health compared to the national average (Anderson et al. 2016; Hassler et al. 2005; Omma et al. 2012). A high percentage of young Sámi experience mental health problems, such as higher suicidality –49% compared with 37% of the reference group (having frequent suicidal thoughts). Further compounding this issue, 70% of Swedish young Sámi (18–28) report continued discrimination.

It has been known for generations that colonialism has negative consequences for Indigenous peoples' health and well-being (Brave Heart 2000; Czyzewski 2011; Greenslade 1997). The concept of *historical trauma* has been used increasingly among researchers and clinicians in other countries (i.e., the USA, Canada and New Zealand) to illustrate how historical negative events might play a role in disease prevalence and health disparities (Brave Heart et al. 2011; Estrada 2009; Pihama et al. 2014; Sotero 2006). Historical trauma is defined

世代的情感和心理伤害，包括人的寿命，源于大规模的群体创伤。”（Brave Heart et al. 2011）

萨米健康研究中经常提及历史丢失（土地、语言、文化和身份认同）（Hassler et al. 2005；Omma et al. 2011）。例如，最近的一项关于挪威北极区萨米人自杀行为的研究指出，历史丢失会导致“萨米人挣扎于自己的身份认同”，这是造成自杀行为的深层原因之一（Stoor et al. 2019）。最近，瑞典萨米议会代表瑞典社会事务部在《萨米心理健康问题摘要》的报告中明确提出，“历史创伤及其心理健康影响”是目前缺乏了解的三个领域之一（Stoor 2016）。

### 萨米宇宙观及土地相关的传统实践

传统上，萨米人信仰很多神灵，相信生命具有不同维度，就像他们在鼓面上描绘的那样：上界、中界和下界。上界是天堂，人类生活在中间，赛沃人（Saivo）生活在下界（Ponga 2017b）。死亡不是生命的终结，而是去往另一个维度。虽然没有文本记录，但萨米人的传统信仰仍以口头的方式代代相承。萨米人以擅讲故事著称，正如 Anita Ponga 在她的书里描述的那样（Ponga 2017b）：

我们用神灵点亮大地，让周遭万物充满活力、充满意义。萨普米不是一片野地，它是一块古老的萨米文化大地。

动物、植物、石头、山脉——一切皆有灵性，皆被各自的神灵守护着；当不被善待或被伤害的时候，它们也会报复。一种整体的哲学观将一切统合在一起，万物都互相依赖，互为所属。这包括一切。人类与动物并没有分别。动物可以拥有人型，而人也可以转化为动物。萨米哲学的根本原则就是，自然生命本身就是神圣而超越等级的。

经历孤独且漫长的劳作日后，超自然体验对疲劳的人们来说是真实和可接受的。在这种体验面前，人们如何行为举止，都是有不成文规定的。

在萨米宇宙观里，有很多将自然拟人化的神灵，他们会对人类的行为进行规约。比如（Ponga 2017b），太阳之神是 Beaivi，月亮之神是 Manno。Manno 是太阳的妻子，她有两个姐妹，黄昏（Dusk）和黎明（Dawn）。Dierpmes 是雷神，可以为天空驱赶邪灵。当诺艾迪（萨满）在异界神游之时，Dierpmes 和他的狗是诺艾迪的守护者。Bieggolmmai 搬运空气并带来风，

as “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations, including the lifespan, which emanates from massive group trauma.” (Brave Heart et al. 2011).

Historical loss (land, language, culture and identity) has often been mentioned in Sámi health studies (Hassler et al. 2005; Omma et al. 2011). For example, in a recent study on Sámi suicide in Arctic Norway, it was suggested that historical loss may lead to “Sámi struggling with their identity” as part of the underlying factors for suicide (Stoor et al. 2019). Recently, *historical trauma and its psychosocial health effects* has been identified by the Swedish Sámi Parliament, on behalf of the Ministry of Swedish Social Affairs, as one of three areas in which knowledge is lacking, in the report “Knowledge Summary On Sámi Psychosocial Ill-Health” (Stoor 2016).

### ***Sámi cosmology and traditional practices related to their land***

Traditionally, Sámi have believed in many deities and different dimensions of living as depicted in their drum surface: the upper, middle and under world. The upper is heaven, people live in the middle, and the Saivo people live under the ground (Ponga 2017b). Death is not the end of life, but passing to another dimension. Despite the lack of written books, the Sámi traditional beliefs were passed on orally from generation to generation. Sámi have a reputation of being good storytellers. As described by Anita Ponga in her book (Ponga 2017b):

*We have lit the landscape with spirits that make the surroundings alive and full of meaning. Sapmi is not a wilderness. It is an ancient Sami cultural landscape.*

*Animals, plants, stones, mountains-everything has its soul and is guarded by its deities and avengers if they are harmed and mistreated. A holistic philosophy holds everything together, and everything belongs together and is dependent on everything else. That is everything. There was no difference between man and animal. An animal could take the shape of a man and a man could transform into an animal. The ground rule in Sami philosophy is therefore that nature's life itself is sacred beyond hierarchy.*

*The supernatural experiences were real and accepted phenomena for people tired after long workdays, and alone for long times. There were unwritten rules how one should behave on such encounters.*

In Sámi cosmology there are many deities who personify nature and regulate human behaviors. For example (Ponga 2017b), the deity for Sun is Beavi, and the one for the moon is Manno. Manno is the wife of the Sun; she has two sisters, Dusk and Dawn. Dierpmes is the deity for thunder, who clears the sky from evil spirits. Dierpmes and his dog are guardians of the Noaidi (Shaman), when the Noaidi is travelling in other worlds.

猎手和水手们可以向他求助。Cahceolmmai 通过诱鱼到鱼钩或渔网的方式协助打鱼，但你需要向水里回馈（献祭）一些东西以示敬意，比如一块鱼肉、鱼骨头或鱼脂肪，同时应该得到他允许之后再捕鱼。

Haldi 是涵盖树木和山脉、湖泊和大海的神灵。如果你举止得体，他会恩泽于你；但如果你行为不端，他也会狠狠伤害你。

行为得体包括尊敬自然，保持大地整洁，并按照一种不破坏生态平衡的方式生活。比如说，在建帐篷之前，人们需要求得准许（Ponga 2020a），并且：

在砍树的时候，你要想一想树的生命。猎人会跪在他放倒的猎物面前，并脱帽以示尊敬。

人们收集起驼鹿和驯鹿的骨头，或者把它们烧掉，或者隐埋在土里。有时候，人们会将一整头驯鹿的骨头压碎并安葬在石墓中。人们也收集兽角。海洋哺乳动物身上较大的骨头会被烧成灰；小的鱼骨会被归还到湖里。这是一种**精神净化（spiritual recycling）**。保持美好洁净，则神灵会感到满意。熊的骨头会被特别对待。它们会被葬在坟墓里，每一块骨头都被安葬在恰当的位置，人们以此向物种和熊族致敬。

Siida 掌管渔业，确保渔业可存续。

一个 siida 就是一个完整的萨米驯鹿牧养单元，翻译成萨米村落（Brännlund 2015；Brännlund and Axelsson 2011：21-23）。此外，

在以前的萨米社会里，女性是强大的。家里的女性，以及家屋本身，是有庇护女神的——Mattarahkku 和她的三个女儿 Sarahkku，Uksahkku 和 Juksahkku（Ponga 2017b）。

萨米人信仰很多神灵，并且基于他们的神性有很多行为规范。这也是萨米日常生活中的润滑剂。

萨米人没有关于战争和宗教的词汇……殖民者到来后，妖魔化我们的世界和我们自己。当他们开始用恶魔和地狱作为手段，来控制自己

Bieggolmmai moves air and brings wind, and to him hunters and sailors can ask for help. Cahceolmmai helps with fishing by luring the fish to the hook or the net. But you need to honor him by giving something back (sacrifices) to the water, such as a piece of fish, fish bones or fish fat, and by asking for permission to fish.

*Haldi is the deity covering woods and mountains, lakes and seas. He will be good to you, if you behave properly, but can harm you badly if you misbehave.*

Proper behavior includes showing respect to nature, keeping the landscape clean, and living in a sustainable way. For example, before building a tent, one needs to ask for permission (Ponga 2020a) and:

*When cutting wood, you give the life of the tree a thought. A hunter kneels before his laid down game, and takes off his cap when paying reverence to it.*

*Bones from moose and reindeer are gathered, sometimes burned, sometimes hidden and buried. Sometimes bones from a whole reindeer were crushed and buried in stone graves. Also horns were gathered. Bigger bones from sea mammals are burned to ashes; smaller fish bones were given back to the lakes. That is a sort of **spiritual recycling**. **Keep it nice and tidy** and the spirits will be happy. The bones of a bear were given a special treatment. They were buried in graves with all the bones in their proper places in honor of the species and family of bears.*

*The siida regulated fishery to ensure sustainable fishing.*

A siida is a closed Sámi reindeer herding unit, translated as a Sámi village (Brännlund 2015; Brännlund and Axelsson 2011) (p21–23). In addition,

*The woman is powerful in the old Sami society. The woman at home, and the home itself, has guarding goddesses-Mattarahkku with her daughters Sarahkku, Uksahkku and Juksahkku. (Ponga 2017b)*

The Sámi beliefs with many deities and regulations for proper behavior based on their spirituality, serve as lubrication in the Sámi daily life.

*In Sami, there are no words for war; religion... When the colonists came, they demonized our world and ourselves. Thereby they also demonized their own world*

和他人的时候，其实也同时妖魔化了他们自己的世界。

古时候，我们会看到灵魂在它们回家探访的路上，聚在一起。像在很多文化中一样，亡魂可以在平行维度里自由穿行。……那时候，死亡是生命的一种状态，你可以无所畏惧地思考关于存在的问题，这远远早于恶魔和地狱（Ponga 2017b）。

概括来说，萨米人在他们的土地上按照狩猎、捕鱼和采集植物的传统生活方式，生活了上千年。广袤的土地上生活着众多神灵，他们规约着信众的行为举止，奖惩分明。在过去的两三个世纪里，萨米人的土地被殖民，语言和文化被压迫，这些都给他们留下了创伤。

本研究意在介绍生活在瑞典的萨米人在健康和医疗方面的植物使用传统，他们关于植物的世界观，以及他们与自然的关系。本文重点关注以下四个问题：

1. 在瑞典萨普米，萨米土著传统上如何看待和使用植物？
2. 萨米土著与植物相关的自然及土地的宇宙观是怎样的？
3. 今天瑞典萨米土著的植物利用的知识及其土地关系是怎样的？
4. 萨米土著的世界观之于当今社会是否有价值？

## 方 法

本研究采用定性访谈法，包括半结构访谈和深度访谈。样本是按研究目的选定的，通过个人关系、专业关系和阅读专著确定各受访人。研究者（JLH）在2021年春季学期接触了10名受访人，其中5人接受了访谈。这5位受访人包括4位萨米人和1位瑞典人，两位男性和3位女性，年龄最小的32岁，最大的78岁。他们的职业包括作家（3位），医务工作者（2位），教师/公共讲演者（3位），萨米文化与自然解说员（2位），艺术家（1位）和公司职员（1位）。

本研究共展开了7次访谈，其中有两位受访者接受了两次访谈。6次访谈是在2021年4月8日至6月13日之间展开。一位受访人曾在2019年10月10日就另一项研究接受过一次访谈；他在第二次访谈前一周阅读了访谈记录，并表示之前的访谈信息仍然有效；该次访谈主要是关于其个人经历和萨米传统。对他的第二次访谈在2021年4月，在第一次访谈的基础上进行，并



*when they began to use devil and hell as means of control over themselves and others.*

*In ancient times, we saw the gathering of the spirits on their way to pay a visit back home. The dead moved freely in a parallel dimension, as they did in many cultures. ... In those times, death was a state of life and you could contemplate existential questions without fear, long before devil and hell. [ibid.]*

In summary, the Sámi have lived traditionally on their land through hunting, fishing and gathering plants over millennia. The vast landscape is alive with deities which regulate believers' behaviors with reward/help and vengeance. During the last two or three centuries, colonization of their land, cultural and language suppression have left trauma in the Sámi people.

This study aims to introduce Sámi tradition on the use of plants for healing and health in Sweden, their worldview on plants, and their relationship to nature. It focuses on the following four research questions:

1. How do Sámi Indigenous People traditionally view and use plants in Swedish Sápmi?
2. What is the Sámi Indigenous People's cosmology about nature and the land in relation to plants?
3. What is the current situation of Sámi Indigenous People's knowledge on plants' use in Sweden and relationship with land?
4. Is Sámi Indigenous People's worldview relevant to today's society?

## Methods

A qualitative interview study was chosen, including both semi-structured and in-depth interviews with an emergent design. The sampling was purposeful. Informants were found through personal and professional contacts and from reading books. The researcher (JLH) contacted 10 potential informants during the spring semester 2021 and five agreed to interviews. The five informants consist of four Sámi and one Swede, two men and three women, spanning in age from 32 to 78. Their professions include authors (3 people), medical professionals (2), teachers/lecturers (3), Sámi culture/nature tour guides (2), artist (1), and company employee (1).

A total of seven interviews were conducted in which two informants were interviewed twice. Six interviews were conducted between April 8 and June 13, 2021. One informant was interviewed once before for another study on October 10, 2019; he read through the transcription a week before the second interview and agreed that the earlier information was still valid; it was mainly on personal background and Sámi traditions. Hence the second interview in April 2021 continues from the first one to avoid repeating



避免了重复问题。访谈的形式包括通过 Zoom 网络平台展开的线上访谈（3 次），脸书信息文字交流（1 次），电子邮件（1 次），电话访谈（1 次）和面对面访谈（1 次，2019 年）。每次口头访谈，包括跟进访谈，时长从 20 分钟到 100 分钟不等。每位受访者接受的口头访谈时间从 40 到 120 分钟不等。访谈语言为英语（4 位）和瑞典语（1 位）。除了两次线上访谈有一位同事在场之外，所有访谈由第一作者独立完成。

第一次书面访谈之后，在随后的访谈里，会灵活设计半结构访谈提纲，以获取更多元和独特的经历。研究问题也是在前两次访谈中进行调整，并于第三次访谈之前最终确定。

包括本研究在内的伦理许可（Dnr 2020-06555）于 2021 年 3 月 5 日获得批准。

录音资料由在线程序（happyscribe.com）转录为文字，并由第一作者校对，结果下载至微软 word 文件中。瑞典语访谈是采用书面形式，之后首先使用谷歌翻译将瑞典语转译为英文，再由一位瑞典母语者检查和编辑。

所获资料通过两个步骤进行主题分析（Braun and Clarke 2006）。第一步，将访谈数据输入微软 word 程序里的一个四列表格中。原始数据放在第一列，开放代码放在第二列，类别或子主题放在第三列，主题放在第四列。对数据中有意义的元素通读几次，并用颜色对信息进行分类：背景信息用绿色，植物用蓝色，健康 / 医药用青绿色，当前的情况用红色，与自然 / 土地的关系用棕色，一般的社会挑战用紫色。第二步，去除第一列，只留下开放代码、类别和主题。如此处理过的数据得到了大幅度的压缩，将超过 20 页的原始数据压缩到了 1—6 页。这样就更容易观察类别和主题，更容易比较不同的访谈，以找到其中的类目，即子主题和主题。

## 结 果

经由数据分析，确立了 4 个主题和 16 个子主题：

- 植物：食物、医药和精神一体（3 个子主题）
- 自然 / 土地：萨米人与瑞典主体民族之间在世界观上的分歧（5 个子主题）
- 当前的情况：代际知识差距以及与传统土地的紧张关系（5 个子主题）
- 未来：关于萨米人的不同观点以及给世界的建议（3 个子主题）

questions. The format of interviews consists of internet interviewing through a program called Zoom (3), writing using Facebook Messenger (1), and email (1), talking on the telephone (1) and face-to-face (1 in 2019). The time for each oral interview was from 20 to 100 minutes, including follow-up. The total oral interview time for each informant was from 40 to 120 minutes. The languages used were both English (4) and Swedish (1). The first author conducted all the interviews alone except for two internet interviews where a colleague was present.

After the first written interview, a semi-structured interview guide was developed before each subsequent interview, according to an emerging/flexible design to include questions intended to capture diversity and specific potential experiences. The research questions were also modified through the first two interviews and finalized before the third interview.

An ethical approval (Dnr 2020-06555) that includes this study was obtained on 2021-03-05.

Voice data were transcribed using an online program (happyscribe.com) and checked for accuracy by the first author. The results were downloaded into Microsoft Word files. The Swedish interview was in written form. Google translation was used to translate from Swedish to English first and then a native Swede went through and edited the translation.

Thematic analysis was used to process the data (Braun and Clarke 2006) through two steps. In the first step, the interview data was put into a table form with four columns in a Microsoft Word program. The original data was on the first column, open codes in the second, categories or sub-themes in the third, and themes in the fourth column. The meaningful units in the data were read through a few times and colors were used to mark the categories of information: green for background, blue for plants, turquoise for health/medicine, red for the current situation, brown for relations with nature/land, and purple for common society challenges. In the second step, the first column was removed and only open codes, categories and themes were left. This reduces the processed data greatly from over 20 pages of the original data to 1–6 pages. This makes it easy to see categories and themes, and to compare across different interviews to find common denominators-subthemes and themes.

## Results

From the data analysis, four themes and 16 sub-themes were identified:

- Plants: food, medicine and spirits are in one (3 sub-themes),
- Nature/Land: conflicting worldviews between Sámi & the Swedish majority (5 sub-themes),
- Current situation: knowledge gap between generations & the troubled relationship with traditional land (5 sub-themes),

## 主题 1 植物：食物、医药和精神一体

5 位受访者中的 3 位是萨米草药和萨米传统植物知识的专家：1、2、5 号受访者。他们都是从身为萨米医师的亲戚那里学到这些知识。1、5 号受访者从幼时就开始学习，而 2 号受访者青年时期同时从萨米医师亲戚、其他萨米人和书本中学习。这 3 位萨米植物知识持有者现在都已经过了退休年龄。3 位都致力于通过包括书本、演讲或自然之旅等多种形式，在瑞典传播他们的知识，其中的两位目前仍在做这项工作。

### 具有多种功能的本土产品

通过访谈，我们发现植物利用是多功能性的，其范围囊括了从药用 / 治疗到食物和日常生活。

在药用 / 治疗方面，受访者最多提及的植物是圆叶当归和白桦茸 (*Inonotus obliquus*)。其他被提及的植物还有：云杉树脂、红景天 (*Rhodiola rosea*)、火烧草 / 柳兰 (*Chamaenerion angustifolium*) 和荨麻 (*Urtica dioica*)。

在食用 / 茶饮方面，3 位受访者再次提及圆叶当归，它是做萨米著名汤品 Gompa 的调料之一。其他被提及的植物还有：火烧草、白桦茸、荨麻汤、浆果、蘑菇，以及被用来烟熏鱼肉以储存和增加风味的松木，用来做糖浆的云杉针叶等。

在其他利用方式上，3 号受访者提及：在没有厨房用品的野外，用马尾草 (*Equisetum*) 做碟刷；大叶植物被用作野外的厕纸；树苔被用来为羊毛染色，也是驯鹿的食物；赤杨树皮被嚼烂以后用来在鼓面上画熊，以示敬意；桦树皮上特别的弯曲结点被用来做木杯，被称为 guksi。

关于植物的数量，按照 5 号受访者的说法，在任何一个区域，人们通常会使用 30—40 种植物。“我们使用当地生长的植物，我们只使用我们生活和谋生的地方的植物。……从数量上看，可能在一个地方是 30—40 种，而另一个地方则多很多。” Anita 在她的《食与药》一书里列举了 22 种她认为是最重要和最常使用的植物 (Ponga 2020a)，而 Torbjörn Arnold 在一未出版著作里记录了 36 种药材，在他出版了的书里提及了 120 种萨米药用植物 (Arnold 2005)。

- Future: mixed views about Sámi and advice to the world (3 sub-themes).

## Theme 1. Plants: food, medicine and spirits are in one

Among the five Informants, three are experts in Sámi herbal medicine and Sámi traditional knowledge of plants: Informants 1, 2, and 5. All have learnt from their relatives, who were Sámi healers. Informants 1 and 5 have learnt since childhood, while Informant 2 learnt as a young adult from both a Sámi healer relative as well as other Sámi and books. All these three Sámi plant knowledge holders are now past retirement age. All have worked and two are still working to spread their knowledge in Sweden in various forms including books, lectures, or nature tours etc.

### *Local products with many functions*

From the interviews, we found that the use of plants is multifunctional, ranging from medicine/healing to food and daily life.

For **medicine/healing use**, the most often mentioned plants by the informants are *angelica archangelica*, and *chaga from the birch tree (Inonotus obliquus)*. Other plants were also mentioned: *resin from spruce*, *roseroot (Rhodiola rosea)*, *fireweed/rosebay willowherb (Chamaenerion angustifolium)* and *stinging nettle (Urtica dioica)*.

For **food/tea use**, three informants again mentioned *angelica archangelica* as one of the ingredients to make a well-known Sámi soup dish called *Gompa*. Other plants were mentioned also: *fireweed*, *birch chaga*, *nettle soup*, *berries*, *mushrooms*, and *juniper wood* to smoke meat and fish for preservation and flavor, *Spruce* tree needles are used for syrup etc.

For **other uses**, Informant 3 mentioned: *horsetail (Equisetum)* used as an improvised dish brush; plants with big leaves were used as toilet paper in the wilderness; *lichens* that hang on a tree were used for coloring wool and for reindeer food; *alder* tree bark was chewed for painting drums and was used to honor the hunted bear; *birch* tree's special joint part with a curved shape was used for making wooden cups, called *guksi*.

In terms of the number of plants, according to Informant 5, normally about 30–40 plants were used in any one area. “*The number we use usually grows locally and we only use plants where we live and work. ... It may be 30–40 in one area and significantly more in another.*” Anita listed 22 plants in her book “Food & medicine” (Ponga 2020a) that she considers as the most important and commonly used, while Torbjörn Arnold wrote about 36 herbs in one writing (Arnold Unpublished) and mentioned 120 herbs for Sámi medicine use in his published book (Arnold 2005).

在植物治疗疾病应用时，被提及的是煎煮（茶饮）和灸炙。如 1 号和 2 号受访者所言，通常是煎煮一种植物，也可以将两三种草药进行混合，与驯鹿奶一起煮。灸炙法需要燃烧药材，比如在皮肤上施用桦树上的木蹄层孔菌（*Fomes fomentarius*）的内层。

关于植物药用的例子，这里列出最常被提及的 3 个，并在图 1 展示它们的照片。

**圆叶当归**被用来增强抵抗力，预防流感或其他传染性疾病。有 3 位受访者提到，在 400 多年来北瑞典最大的冬季市场——约克莫克市场上，萨米人以前会嚼野生圆叶当归根，就像嚼口香糖一样（Stenlund 2021）。其新鲜叶子和根茎中都含有维生素 C。煎煮其干根可以用来治疗咳嗽、支气管炎、感冒和肺炎。“据说要在布谷鸟叫之前获取当归根，之后获取的当归根是没效力的。”（Ponga 2020a）



圆叶当归 /Fjällkvanne

白桦茸 /Sprängticka

红景天 /Rosenrot

图 1 三种植物药用的例子：圆叶当归、白桦茸（*Inonotus obliquus*）和红景天（*Rhodiola rosea*）。瑞典语名字放在“/”之后。照片由刘静-赫尔默森拍摄于瑞典。

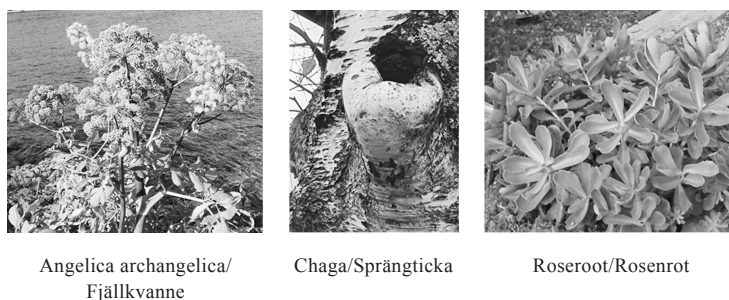
**白桦茸**是白桦树的寄生生物。白桦茸富含抗氧化剂，可以增强免疫系统。它含有植物甾醇及其他物质，可以屏蔽胆固醇吸收并减少从食物中吸收胆固醇（Ponga 2020a）。它可以被煎煮几个小时或者重复煎煮，煮后可以治疗疾病或作为茶饮。

**红景天**在瑞典市场也被称为北极之根（Arctic root），它与人参的功效相似，都是增加能量和增强免疫力，如 5 号受访者所言。“据说在红景天的帮助之下，你可以步行走很多公里……它被用来治疗头疼、乏力、焦虑、喉咙痛和感冒。……它也可以提升男性能力——在高加索山区，新娘总会收到一大捧红景天，用来提高生育能力。”（Ponga 2020a）

In terms of usage of plants for healing, decoction (tea) and moxibustion were mentioned. Decoction uses mostly a single herb but it can combine 2–3 herbs cooked in reindeer milk, as described by Informants 1 and 2. Moxibustion involves burning of the herb, e.g., the inner part of tinder fungus (*Fomes fomentarius*) from a birch tree, on the skin.

To give some examples of how these herbs were used for medicine, three most often mentioned examples are described here, with their photos shown in Figure 1.

**Angelica** was used to increase immunity for prevention of influenza or other infectious diseases. Three informants mentioned that Sámi used to chew the root of wild *angelica* like a chewing gum while in Jokkmokk market, the biggest market every winter over the last 400 years in Northern Sweden (Stenlund 2021). Both the fresh leaves and the root contain Vitamin C. The dry root decoction can be used against cough, bronchitis, cold and pneumonia. “It was said that the root of *Angelica* was to be taken before the cuckoo was heard. After that, it became powerless.” (Ponga 2020a)



**Figure 1** Three examples of plants used for medicine: *angelica archangelica*, chaga from the birch tree (*Inonotus obliquus*), and roseroot (*Rhodiola rosea*). The Swedish words were listed after “/”. All photographs were taken in Sweden by Jing Helmersson

**Chaga** is a parasite on the birch tree. Chaga is full of antioxidants that strengthens immune defense. It contains phytosterols among other substances which can block cholesterol reception and diminish cholesterol reception from the food (Ponga 2020a). It can be cooked for hours or repeatedly and the decoction is used for health problems or as tea.

**Roseroot** is also called the Arctic root in Swedish market which has a similar function as ginseng, to give energy and strengthen the immune system, as indicated by Informant 5. “It was said before that you could walk for miles with the help of roseroot... It was used against headache, fatigue, stress, sore throat and cold. ... It is also supposed to raise potency-in the mountains of Caucasus the bride always gets a large bouquet of roseroot to improve fertility.” (Ponga 2020a)



## 食物与药物不可分割

按照 2 号受访者的说法，尽管被作为药用，植物在萨米传统医学最主要的应用是以食物的方式来治疗和预防疾病：

是的。食物做药用。如果你吃了这个和那个，你会更加健康；如果你吃了这个和那个，你会生病。如果你生病了，如果你胃疼，他们会做一种蓝莓汤给你；汤里也会有各种不同的动物产品，或者也会有不同的草药。煮了然后喝掉，就像喝茶或者喝汤那样。（2 号受访者）

很多萨米植物既做药用也做食用，还在日常生活里被使用。3 号受访者提到，圆叶当归用来煮汤；火烧草用做食物，做成果冻，还可以用来愈合伤口；桦树上的木蹄层孔菌（瑞典语：*Björkticka*）是一种便携火源，烧起来可以驱除蚊虫；松树皮里层特别被用来做成富含维生素 C 的食物，把它烘干以后碾碎，然后放在面包里；云杉树脂被用来做类似糖果，也可以覆盖伤口，或者做胶水用。

几乎所有的受访者都提到了浆果。比方说，云莓、越橘（*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*）、蓝莓，采集到之后被制成果酱。典型的植物食品，举个例子，是 Gompa，用圆叶当归和其他几种植物（如阿尔卑斯蓝苣苔和山蓼）混合，烹煮，并与驯鹿奶或酸奶一起食用（Wistrand 2017）。

至于用法，1 号受访人回答说：“如果你是做药用，一般只用一种草药，但作为食物我们可以混合多种植物（比如 gompa），怎么用取决于你身在何处。”

## “一些植物非常强大并具有魔力”

植物的治疗效力不仅仅是植物的功能。2 号受访者列举了 3 个植物与萨米信仰有关的例子：

关于它们和它们的魔力，以及魔力来自何方，有一些传说故事。比如说桦树，与一位名叫 Sarahkka 的女神有关。她是萨米人的一位女神。人们认为她住在桦树里。所以，桦树很适合被用在各种不同的治疗当中，因为她的魔力就在树里面。……她保护女人，从她们出生直到死亡，尤



### ***Food and medicine are inseparable***

Although plants are used for medicine, the largest part of Sámi traditional medicine, according to Informant 2, is food to treat and to prevent:

*Yes. food as medicine. If you eat this and that, you will be healthier; if you eat this and that, you may be sick. If you were sick, if you had problems in your stomach, they made a soup of blueberry and gave them, and the soup also from different kind of animals, for example, or from the different herbs also. Cook and drink it, drink like tea or soup or something.*

[Informant 2]

Many of the Sámi plants are used for both medicine and food, as well as use in daily life. As mentioned by Informant 3, *angelica* is used for soup, *fireweed* for sustenance, jelly and to close wounds; Tinder fungus from birch (*Björkticka* in Swedish) is a portable fire source, to ward off mosquitoes and other biting insects by burning it, the inside of *pine tree bark* is used especially to get a C-vitamin rich sustenance. It is dried and ground down, and put in bread. *Resin from spruce* is used as a sort of candy, to cover wounds, or as glue.

Nearly all the informants mentioned berries. For example, cloudberry, lingonberry, (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*), blueberry, which are picked and made into jam. The typical plant food, for example, is *Gompa*, where *angelica* and a few other plants (e.g., *alpine blue-sow-thistle* and *mountain sorrel*) are mixed, cooked, and served with reindeer milk or yogurt (Wistrand 2017).

As for usage, Informant 1 answered: “*If you make medicine, you usually use only one single herb, but for food we can mix many plants (“gompa” for example), it depends on where you are.*”

### ***“Some plants are very powerful and magic.”***

The plants’ power to heal is more than just the biomedical function of the plants. Informant 2 listed three examples from Sámi beliefs:

*There are stories about them and about their power, and where it comes from. The **Birch tree**, for example, it’s connected with a goddess, whose name is Sarahkka. It’s one of the Sámi Goddesses. And they say she lives in the Birch tree. And because of that, the Birch tree is very good for different kinds of healing and so on, because her power is in the tree. ... She protects women from birth to end, especially during pregnancy and delivery. They used to sacrifice during giving birth, to split a Birch*

其是在她们怀孕和分娩的时候。人们以前会在分娩的时候祭拜，会把一根桦树枝劈开呈 Y 字形，以求分娩顺利。

（**圆叶当归**）并不是某一位神灵，但是它充满灵力，是一种非常强大的植物。人们会用到它的全部——从上到下直到根部，会做不同的用处。人们也会拿它当烟抽，把它放在烟斗里抽。

**赤杨树**有神灵——狩猎动物的 Leibolmai（一位狩猎和森林神灵）。……如果你嚼它的树皮，它会变红。红的像血色。人们用它来画鼓，萨满鼓。

这些例子与本研究前言中描述的萨米传统信仰是一致的。5 位受访者中的两位健康专业人士强调了信仰和安慰剂效应的重要性。萨米传统治疗是植物和安慰剂效应的组合体。2 号受访者指出人们相信他们的医师：

医师在社会等级里面的地位是非常高的。人们会有一点害怕他们的医师，因为医师与灵界有联系。

## 主题 2 自然 / 土地：萨米人与瑞典主体民族在世界观上分歧

访谈中会自然而然地提及萨米人与自然的关系。因为萨米人的宇宙观里，他们土地上的自然界不是空旷的，不是只有植物和动物生存的空间。在萨米文化里，人类是自然的一部分，与其他生物都是平等的。

### “土地是活的……它充满了故事”

萨普米地广人稀。从地图上看，它是一片空旷的空间。而从年长萨米人心里的地图来看，这片空旷的土地并不“空旷”，而是鲜活的，充满了故事。3 号受访者生动地描述了他探访祖父母时的经历：

“如果我们与社区里的老人一同出门，他们会告诉你哪块石头边上发生了什么，哪棵树周围曾经发生了哪些事。在湖的那个地方，发生过什么。这些人是参与其中的。所以，如果你问我，他们心里的地图是什么样的，你会发现到处都充满了人、充满了故事。你会看到名字、故事、图画，就像你也在那一样。我发现这非常、非常地让人着迷。我跟

*branch into a Y-shape to wish for an easy birth.*

*[Angelica] “It’s not a specific God, but it’s full of spirits and it’s a very powerful plant. And they use it-all the plant from the top to the bottom, to the roots. And they use all the plant to different things. They smoke it also, use it in a pipe, smoke it.*

*Alder tree has a spirit-Leibolmai [a hunting and forest god] for hunting animals. ... And if you’re chewing the bark of the tree, it becomes red. Red as blood. They use it to write on the drum, the shaman drum.*

These examples are consistent with deities in Sámi traditional beliefs as described in the Introduction of this study. Two of the five informants who have worked as health professionals emphasized the importance of belief and the placebo effect. Sámi traditional healing occurs from a combination of plants and placebo effect. Informant 2 stated that people believe in healers:

*the healer is very high up in the hierarchy. And they were a little afraid of the healer because the healer has connection with the spiritual world.*

## Theme 2. Nature/Land: conflict worldviews between the Sámi & the Swedish majority

The relationship with nature and Sámi land comes naturally during the interview. Because of Sámi cosmology, nature in their land is not just an empty space where only plants and animals live. In Sámi culture, humans are part of nature and are on equal terms with other creatures.

### ***“the landscape is living ... it is filled with stories”***

Sápmi is a big area with few people. On a geographic map, it is largely empty space. From an elderly Sámi’s mind map, the empty landscape is not empty but alive. It is full of stories. Informant 3 described vividly based on own experiences while visiting grandparents:

*“If we go out with one of the elders of our community, they’re going to tell you over there, that rock I was there, that happened over there that tree that we just passed by, that was where that happened. In that part of the lake, that happened. Those people were involved. So, if you would sort of mine their minds of how a map would look for them, you’d have so many things all over the place. You*

我的祖父母出门的时候，就是这样的感觉。他们会一直给我讲故事，哪里发生了什么，它们的关系是怎样的等等，这是一种深厚的讲故事的传统。”

“是的，**大地是有生命的**。它不仅仅是自然科学术语或者地理学术语所描述的地理位置，**它充满了故事**，进一步说，它充满了人。是的，可能那里现在没有很多人生活了，但在很长的一段时间里，人们是生活在那里的，人们的故事也还留在那里。”

### “与土地建立联系是灵性治疗的一部分”

现在很多萨米人都不了解自己的历史。有些人试图通过与自己或祖先起源的土地建立联结，来找寻自己的身份认同。3号受访者就是其中之一：

是的，它不只是旷野，它是一片文化大地，它是你的历史的一部分，人们并不了解自己的历史。

……我认识的很多萨米人都认为回到我们传统的地方很重要。尤其是在每年中特定的一些时间里，有点像“Fjällsjuka”——高山病，向往山脉。当然这是山地萨米人的想法。森林萨米人当然向往着森林。……那能够让他们找到内心的平静，能够平静面对当前境遇。这整个过程，我相信，是灵性的一部分，让我们与祖先建立情感联结，与我们的土地建立联结，让我们感到自己不是孤单的。……我相信**与土地建立联结、找寻自我身份认同的这一过程，是灵性治疗的一部分**，会让人感到，在我们生活的这个世界上，自己是个完整的人，感到自己不是个陌生人。

### 人与自然的关系：平等的、相互联结的、相互依赖的

当被问及人与自然/土地的关系时，所有受访者都指出了尊重自然的必要性。在一个地方生活了许多世代之后，人们会与自己的土地建立密切的关系，即直接的、长久的、平衡的和相互依赖的关系。他们认为一个系统里面的所有分子都需要保持健康。如很多受访者所言：

萨米信仰包含了以整体观对待自然万物。自然万物以不同的神灵的

would see names, stories, pictures, as if you have those. And I find that very, very fascinating. So that's how it's been when I've been out with my grandparents. They've always told me stories, a deep storytelling tradition of this happened, there, and in relationship to this and so on."

"Yes, that **the landscape is living**. It is not only something that is described like a natural scientific terms or geographic terms, **it is filled with stories** and in extension, it is filled with people. Right. There's not a lot of people may be living there right now, but there has been for a very long time and their stories remain there."

### **"connection with the land is part of spiritual healing"**

Many Sámi today do not know their history. Some are trying to find their identity through connecting with the Land, whence they or their ancestors originally came. Informant 3 is one of them:

*Well, it's not just wilderness, it's a cultural landscape and it's part of your history as well, people don't know their history.*

*... for many Sámi that I know, it is important to go back to our traditional area. And, especially during certain times of the year, it is almost like 'Fjällsjuka'-mountain sickness, to long for the mountains. That is from the mountain Sámi perspective, of course. Forest Sámi certainly long for the forest. ... That is something that makes them feel at peace with themselves and the situation that they live in today. The whole process, I believe, is part of the spirituality, of feeling connected with our ancestors, with our land and feeling that we are, we are not alone.... I believe that **this process of working with one's identity, in connection with the land, is part of spiritual healing**, about feeling whole as a person, about feeling not as a stranger, in the world we live in today.*

### **Human-nature relation: equal, interconnected and mutually dependent**

When asked about relationship with nature/land all the Informants voiced the need to respect nature. When one lives in a place for many generations, one builds a close relationship with one's own land that is direct, long-term, balanced, and mutually dependent. They see a system that needs to be kept healthy for all. As stated by various informants:

*Sami belief contains a holistic view of things in nature, which appear*

样子示人，在万物联结的不同维度神游。生命是神圣的，哪怕一只蚂蚁的生命也是神圣的。在自然面前，没有高下优劣。哪怕砍倒一棵树，你也必须求得自然的许可。……以整体观视角，把人类视为自然的一部分，这一点至关重要。人类是宇宙众多等分之一，也因此有责任敬重自然。（1号受访者）

在这种世界观里，人类需要尊重其他生物——动物和植物，需要保持它们的健康。

它是一个总体系，而我们人类是它的一部分。保持这些体系健康对我们有直接利害关系，因为这样才能保持我们自己健康。（3号受访者）

### 萨米关于自然的世界观——凝聚萨米人的黏合剂

由于前言里提及的历史原因，大多数瑞典萨米人已经不再牧养驯鹿。他们被同化进瑞典社会，而无权像驯鹿牧养者那样拥有土地使用权。他们大多不会说萨米语。那么今天在瑞典的萨米土著们共享的文化是什么呢？

不同的萨米群体间存在着巨大的分歧。也就意味着，人们一直以来都在讨论什么是萨米文化？萨米文化的边界是什么？哪些人被允许涵盖在萨米文化里？谁有权就萨米文化问题发声？谁可以在萨米议会里投票？争论还在进行，毫不夸张地说，这很让人痛苦！很多人好像被困住了，不知何去何从。嗯，他们在可能的萨米文化和瑞典西式社会文化之间感到迷失。（3号受访者）

或许养驯鹿从来就不是把萨米人凝聚在一起的主要文化黏合剂。这黏合剂更可能是，作为自然界中的一份子，在自然里求生存的努力方式。（1号受访者）

### 世界观与实践之间的冲突——分享与获利；传统与掠夺

一些受访者称，萨米世界观并不为瑞典主体社会所共享。

举例来说，就像周遭的世界，如果要砍树，（瑞典主体民族）会把（那片松林中）所有的树都砍掉。但在萨米人的思想世界里，你总是得留

*in different God shapes among souls migrating in different dimensions where everything is interconnected. Life is holy, even the life of an ant. In nature there is no hierarchy. You have to ask nature for permission even if you cut down a tree. ... It's essential to look upon man as part of nature in a holistic way. Man is an equal part of Universe, and is therefore obliged to respect the situation.* (Informant 1)

In this worldview, humans need to respect others-animals and plants and keep them healthy.

*It's all a system and we as people are part of it. And we have a direct interest to keep those systems healthy because that keeps us healthy.* (Informant 3)

### ***Sámi worldview of nature-a glue to hold Sámi together***

Due to historical reasons stated in the Introduction, the majority of Sámi in Sweden are no longer reindeer herders. They are assimilated into the Swedish society with no right to use the land as reindeer herders do. Most of them cannot speak the Sámi language. What would be the common culture of today's Sámi Indigenous People in Sweden?

*So there's this huge divide between the groups. And that means that there is an ongoing discussion all the time about what is Sámi culture? What are the boundaries of Sámi culture? Who should be allowed to be included in Sámi culture? Who should have a say in Sámi cultural questions? Who should be accepted into voting in the Sámi parliament? And this is an ongoing discussion, and it is painful to say the least! And a lot of people get sort of stuck and don't really know where to go. Uh, they feel lost between their possible Sámi culture and the Swedish Western society culture.* (Informant 3)

*Maybe reindeer herding never was the main cultural glue, that held the Sami together. Perhaps more the approach to the existence in nature, where one is part of it.* (Informant 1)

### ***Conflict in worldviews and practices-share vs. profit; tradition vs. predation***

Some Informants indicated that the Sámi worldview is not shared by the practice of the majority society of Sweden.



下些东西。我不知道该怎么表达这一点。你只能拿走很少的东西，只拿走你当下所需要的部分。不能卖，比方说，利用自然去售卖，然后你变富有了，而其他人都什么都没有了。嗯，但这只是我的看法。也可能不是大家的真实想法，我也不知道。但我记忆中是这样的。（4号受访者）

（萨米传统医药与西医医疗体系）的结合将是对脆弱的大自然的掠夺。只有那些生活在（萨米）传统里且有广博知识的人，可以正确地使用植物。（5号受访者）

### 主题3 当前的情况：代际知识差距以及与 传统土地的紧张关系

所有受访者都担忧随着知识持有者的逝去，传统知识也将消失殆尽。

#### 老的知识持有者们正在逝去，知识却没有很好地向下传递

有两位受访者是70多岁，他们是五位受访者中最年长的两位。他们有着丰富的植物知识。两位在过去的几十年里，都在瑞典举办了很多关于萨米植物使用的讲座。当被问及今天瑞典的植物知识状况时，他们表达了如下观点：

嗯，可能我属于最了解现状的那群人。很遗憾地说，在萨米人中，（这些知识）基本都已经消失了，大部分。……没有多少（医师）使用这些草药。在约克莫克这里我们曾经有这样一位，他在1990年去世了。他非常厉害，尤其是针对皮肤病，湿疹和各种皮肤疹。……一般来说，了解这知识最多的是老人们，一些年轻人听到过很少的一部分。他们说，是的，我听说过这个。我的祖母和祖父是这样跟我说的。所以一般都是老人。（2号受访者）

混杂的但低效的知识传递。年轻一代已经不跟老人同住。所以向前回溯两三代，知识失传这一严重后果已经出现。……如果一个家庭里已经没有教给年轻一代萨米语言，那么传递了那么多世代的知识，到这一代已经丢失得太多了。与非萨米人的族际通婚，也影响了本真的萨米文化及日常知识的汲取。萨米人口的一大部分现在都居住在大城市的社区里。他们基本已经失去了自己的语言，但很多人试图重新习得它。问题

*For example, like in the world around, if you are going to cut trees, they [Swedish majority] take all trees. But **in the Sámi world of thinking, you have to always leave something.** I don't know how to say it. You have to take very little, only what you need now. Not to sell, for example, to use the nature, and sell it that you have that you get rich and other people don't get anything. Well, but that's only my view. Maybe it's not the real thoughts. I don't know. But it's how I remembered.* (Informant 4)

*An integration [traditional medicine with health care system] would provide predation on a **fragile nature.** Only those who live in tradition with broad knowledge can use the plants correctly.* (Informant 5)

### Theme 3. Current situation: knowledge gap between generations & troubled relationship with traditional land

All Informants shared their worries about losing the traditional knowledge as the knowledge holders are disappearing.

#### ***Old knowledge holders are disappearing, with poor knowledge transfer***

Two Informants are in their 70s, the oldest among the five interviewed who have rich plant knowledge. They both have given many lectures on Sámi plant uses in Sweden over the last few decades. They stated the following views when asked about the today's plant knowledge situation in Sweden:

*Well, maybe I'm one of the people who can know most of it. It has mostly already died out among the Sámi people. Most of it. Sad to say. ... Not many [healers] using these herbs. And we had one man here in Jokkmokk, he died 1990. He was very good, especially with the skin diseases, eczema and different rashes on the skin. ...usually, it's old people that know most of it anyway. And some of the young have heard a small part of it. They say, ok, I've heard about that. My grandmother and my grandfather told me about that. So usually old people.* (Informant 2)

*Mixed but poor knowledge transfer. The younger generation no longer lives with the older one. So **it has been 2–3 generations back in time with severe consequences of lost knowledge.** ... If the Sámi language within a family is lost to the younger one, the generation is lost so much more by knowledge passed on to many generations. Mixed marriages with non-Sami can then also often contribute to one leaching of the genuine knowledge of Sámi culture and everyday life. A large*

是，日常语言必须在家庭内每天的交流中使用，这样对文化的理解才能延续。……萨米语言一直是一种口头语言，直到现代。知识的传递是在日常劳作中进行，在营地贸易中发生，一代传一代。（5号受访者）

### 缺乏传统知识的年轻萨米人

两位最年轻的萨米受访者（一位30多岁，一位50多岁）也同样回答了关于萨米传统知识的问题。

我从没问过问题，也从未感兴趣。（萨米传统）……是的，现在我明白了了解多一些知识的重要性了，因为我常会发现自己很欠缺。（4号受访者）

这些年我曾跟我妈妈聊过，我曾跟她聊过很多关于这些事情（萨米关系）。她也告诉我说，如果我没有开始询问关于我们的历史、我们的家族历史、我们与萨米文化的关系的话，她不会知道自己是萨米人。（3号受访者）

因此，对传统知识的缺乏不是只有一代人而是至少已经有两代人了，就像5号受访者前面的回答中所指出的。我们自然想知道，为什么会这样？

### 当前境况的根源：国家政策

一些受访人指出，今天年轻到中年一代萨米人缺乏植物知识的原因，是国家政策——土地使用的历史政策，同化和隔离政策，以及今天医药实践的政策——医务人员不允许使用传统医药，只能遵循他们受过的西医疾病治疗训练。萨米土著，不管养不养驯鹿，都没有对自己的土地的拥有和管理权。有两位受访者的表述提到了这些：

我一般会教他们。在我的（医药护理）职业生涯里，瑞典是不允许运用这些（传统萨米医药）知识的。所以我不能在医疗工作里使用它，但我说，在过去，人们是如此这般做的。我可以给他们一点小提示。他们如果愿意的话，就可以自己去使用它（植物）了。（2号受访者）

……这里有一个巨大的鸿沟，一些家庭设法，嗯，被国家提拔，让他们保持自己文化遗产、保持自己的语言不要被同化，而要隔离。是吧？那是一个群体，是的，而我们剩下的所有人，百分之九十的人，也

*part of the Sámi population today lives in large urban communities. They have many times lost the language but in many cases try to regain it. The problem is that an everyday language must be spoken within the family on a daily basis in order for cultural understanding to live on.... The Sami language was a spoken language until modern times. Knowledge was transferred in everyday work and in trading in the hut from generation to generation.* (Informant 5)

### ***Young Sámi lack traditional knowledge***

The same questions regarding Sámi traditional knowledge about plants were answered by the two youngest Sámi Informants who are in their 30s to 50s.

*I have never asked questions and been so interested. [Sámi Tradition] ... Yes, now I understand that it would be very valuable to know more because often I find myself very handicapped.* (Informant 4)

*I was speaking to my mother, I've been speaking to her a lot about these things [Sámi relations] these last years. And she told me that if I hadn't started asking questions about our history, our family history and our relation to Sámi culture, she wouldn't have known that she was Sámi.* (Informant 3)

So, the lack of traditional knowledge is not just one generation but at least two generations, as the Informant 5 indicated earlier. One wonders why?

### ***Root to current situation: State policies***

Some Informants indicated the reasons for the poor plant knowledge in today's young to middle aged Sámi population. They are state policies both historical policies on land use, assimilation and segregation, and today's policy on medical practices—medical professionals are not allowed to practice TM, other than what they are trained for in treating diseases. Sámi Indigenous People, reindeer herders or not, have no ownership and control over their own land. These are illustrated by two examples of the Informants' statements:

*I usually teach them. In my [medical] profession it was not allowed this in Sweden to use it. So I can't try it in my professional way. But I can say, in old times, they did so and so. I can give them a little hint. And they can use it [plants] themselves if they want to.* (Informant 2)

*... there is this huge divide between the families which managed to, well, which were promoted by the states to retain their cultural heritage and their language*

就是不符合国家认定的真正萨米人标准的这些人，都远远地在另一边。那么在不同群体之间就产生了这个巨大的鸿沟。

……总是这片土地和参与这片土地管理的可能性，想办法让你的声音在这个特定地区的政治领域里被听见。这是你的语言、你的生活方式、你的土地但你却他妈的说不上话！抱歉说了脏话，但我对此、对这些问题都感到特别窝火。（3号受访者）

访谈里可以很明确感知到这种恼火。除了丧失萨米身份认同、养驯鹿的权力和过去使用土地的权力以外，还有其他让人恼火的问题，比如，学校里不教萨米文化和萨米历史。一位受访者提到说，人们只有在博物馆里才能学到萨米历史和文化。所以，这种创伤——与自己土地和与自己的过去的关系——需要治愈。

#### 主题 4 萨米人的未来：不同的观点以及给世界的建议

当问及萨米土著人民和北极圈的未来时，不同受访人表达了不同的观点。另外，问及萨米世界观在应对人类社会共同挑战方面——比如疫情和气候变化等——的关联时，受访人的回答也有所不同。

##### 萨米的未来——不确定或是不乐观？

以下是老年和中年受访人对萨米传统植物医用知识未来，和对萨米生活方式未来的两种不同看法。

我想说，这一（草药）传统已经差不多从萨米传统中被遗忘了。因此，我想把它还给萨米人，帮助他们恢复它，如果我能力允许的话。

现在萨米人努力找回自己的身份认同。因此，他们关于萨米医药的知识也可能会相应增加。但是，吃一片抗生素总是比跑到森林里、寻找草药要简单得多。……我的工作已经完成了，因为我已经老了，也懒了。（2号受访人）

是的，有很大的差别，为了利润，会采走所有，不给下一代留一点东西，污染了水源，污染了自然。因此，很难过要看到最后，它将会，我认为萨米传统生活方式将会终结。什么都不会剩下，所有的都会被拿走，包

*through not becoming assimilated, but being segregated. Right? That's one group, yeah, and **all of us, the 90 percent who were disqualified from being true Sámi by the states** are all the way over there. **So there's this huge divide between the groups.***

*... always the land and the possibility of being part of the administration of the land, being able to have your voice heard in the politics of this specific area. It's your language, your ways of living, your land and **you have no say what so fucking ever!** Sorry for the rude language, but I'm very frustrated by this, over these questions.* (Informant 3)

The frustration is clearly heard during the interviews. Besides having lost Sámi identity, rights to raise reindeer and to use the land as they used to do, other frustrations were voiced as well, such as, no Sámi culture and history were taught in school. One Informant mentioned that only in museums one can learn about Sámi history and culture. So, there is a trauma to be healed in the relation with land and their past.

#### Theme 4. Future: mixed views about Sámi People and advice for the world

When asked about the future of the Sámi Indigenous People and the Arctic, different views were voiced. So did regarding to the relevance of the Sámi worldview to the common society challenges like the pandemic and climate change.

##### ***Sámi future-uncertain or negative?***

Here are two views from the old and middle-aged Informants about the future of Sámi traditional knowledge of the use of plants for health, and the Sámi way of living.

*I like to say this [herbal medicine] is a tradition that is almost forgotten in the Sámi tradition. So, I like to give it back, if I can, to the Sámi people, to help them to get this back.*

*The Sámi people nowadays try to get their identity back. So, it maybe, will grow up the knowledge of this Sámi medicine. But. **It's more easy to take an antibiotic than to go out in the forest and look for herbs.** ... I have finished my work today, because I'm old and lazy.* (Informant 2)

*Yeah, that's a very big difference, the profit, to use all and not leave anything for the next generations and to pollute the water and nature. So, it's very sad to see that it will, in the end, **I think it will be the end of the Sámi way of living.** There won't be anything left, because all will be taken from them, all their land. It will*

括他们的土地。留下的只会是游客和矿业这些。所以我的观点并不乐观，我觉得是很难过的。但世界上还有其他力量想要控制这里。（4号受访者）

开矿侵入我们的土地，无障碍入境等等，已经给驯鹿业带来了巨大的问题。驯鹿牧业是我们萨米认同、萨米文化的根基吗？我认为是。语言、亲近自然、通向自然、使用自然资源、使用驯鹿，这些与狩猎和捕鱼一起给了萨米人一种归属感——一种共同的文化和生计产业背景。使用土地的权力、狩猎和捕鱼、在萨普米建驯鹿放牧小屋，在萨米人看来，都与驯鹿业有关，它们构成一种不可缺少的单元，没有它们，萨米文化就很难生存，就只能变成游客的博物馆。萨普米的驯鹿业这一部分已经逐渐被工业用地取代。我们努力试图适应这一新的状况，但问题重重，而未来将会指向我们萨米文化、萨米生活之路。（5号受访者）

也有其他的担忧，比如生活方式变迁带来的知识失传（5号受访者），老人逝去带走了关于土地的故事，人口减少和城市化（3号受访者）。当被问及气候变迁时，3号受访者说：“因为这个体系已经破碎了，它将缓慢但以不可改变的趋势灭亡我们的文化。”

### 萨米的未来——改变法律然后期待

当然，也有希望。当问及如何治愈萨米群体间的分歧时，3号受访者说：

要说治愈我们所说的萨米社区不同群体之间的分歧，首要的是法律，**瑞典的法律必须要改变**，对不对？我不能谈论，我是这样认为，我们不能谈论作为人权的土著权力，而只用来针对很少一部分的萨米人群。在殖民体系下的萨米村庄，也就是今天的这个样子，我认为像是一种殖民建筑，被建来控制萨米群体，被建来控制萨米人的生活。通过控制土地、宣称瑞典的土地权，即便这些土地曾经是萨米人长期生活和劳作的地方。

那么，要治愈，要治愈萨米人民首先要**让所有萨米人同等重要、拥有同样的权力、同样的土著权力**。因为今天，我们还在为了瑞典政府餐桌上留给我们的那点残羹冷炙而互相争斗。……

我认为这一代（萨米人）和接下来的一代，包括今天的青少年，正在更加积极地探寻自己的文化之根。……

所以，是的，这是个很复杂的问题，但我认为**我们的人很多，这是**



*only be to the tourists and for the mines and so on. So I'm not so positive in my view. I think it's sad. But there are other forces in this world who wants to take over.*

(Informant 4)

*The intrusion into our lands with mines, accessibility, etc. has created great problems for the reindeer herding industry. Is the reindeer husbandry the basis for our Sami identity and culture? I believe that's the case. Language, closeness to nature, the approach to nature, the use of nature's resources and the use of reindeer in combination with hunting and fishing gives a sense of belonging to the Sámi People—a common cultural and living industrial background. The rights to land use, hunting and fishing, and the construction of reindeer herding cottages within Sápmi are related to reindeer husbandry and creates a unit, without which the Sámi culture would have difficulty survive other than as a tourist museum existence. The reindeer herding part of Sápmi has gradually been displaced from the areas required by the industry. We have tried so far to adapt to the new conditions but the problems are great and the future will show the way of our Sámi culture and Sami existence.*

(Informant 5)

There are also other worries, such as knowledge lost due to lifestyle changes (Informant 5) and disappearing stories of their land due to dying of the elders, depopulation and urbanization (Informant 3.) When asked about climate change, Informant 3 said “*Because it's a broken system and it's slowly but surely going to kill us off.*”

### ***Sámi future-change laws and hope***

However, there is also some hope. When asked on how to heal the divide among Sámi groups, Informant 3 stated:

*When it comes to healing the divide between different parts of what we call the Sámi community, first and foremost, the laws, **the Swedish laws, have to be changed**, right? I can't speak of, and in my opinion, we can't speak of Indigenous rights as human rights and have those only go to just a small piece of the population, the Sámi population. Which is the way it is today, with the colonial system of the Sámi villages. I see it's like as a colonial construction. Built to control Sámi groups, built to control Sámi and not Labor. What's the word? One moment. Uh. Like Business, like the way that the livelihood of Sámi and take control over the land itself, through confiscating, claiming that Sweden has a right to these lands, even though it has been settled and worked up by Sámi.*

*So, to heal, the first to heal the Sámi people is **to make all Sámi equally worth and have equal rights, equal Indigenous rights**. Because as it is today, we are fighting each other over the scraps from the State's table. ...*

### 基础。（3号受访者）

这种观点更加积极，涉及了关键问题——改变瑞典法律。受访者将其提高到人权的层面，也看到了很多年轻萨米人正在积极地参与到争取土著权力的过程中。

一些萨米传统植物知识的持有者正在努力地挽救这一知识，避免其消失，比如 Torbjörn Arnold 和 Laila Spik。他们都在北瑞典的约克莫克的山地花园，引导夏季自然之旅，讲解萨米草药的食用、药用和魔力，也都出版了关于传统医药和文化的著作（Arnold 2005；Spik 2002）。这些书使用的是瑞典语，在瑞典出版，就像大部分在瑞典出版的关于萨米的植物利用的书。最近由 Anita Ponga 和 John Ponga 出版的著作是个例外，它们使用了3种语言：萨米语、瑞典语和英语，其内容包括植物药用和食用，萨米神话，动物观，以及萨米历法、时间和历史（Ponga 2017a, 2017b, 2020a, 2020b）。

自20世纪70年代末开始，Torbjörn Arnold 曾在整个瑞典展开萨米传统医学为主题的公开演讲，其中包括草药和文化。40多年来，他献身于萨米传统植物知识的讲授。他确实是萨米传统知识及医学（植物和鼓）的大使。人会变老死去，而书会留下来。

### 北极 / 世界的未来：倾听原住民的世界观

问及萨米世界观与社会共同挑战时，两位稍年轻的受访者回答说：

就像前面说过的，与自然和谐相处，使用我们手边的资源，在用的时候不要破坏它们。我认为这一点对北极的未来十分重要。（3号受访者）

我认为全世界都可以倾听和借鉴萨米人的思维方式，因为那不仅是萨米人的方式，而是所有原住民的思维方式。如果人们可以倾听和使用原住民的知识，倾听和借鉴他们如何生活、如何考虑到不过度使用土地或海洋、水源等等，那将是一个更加美好的世界。

要对你现在的生活感到满足，而不是这个你想要的越来越多。那些环球旅行，我真的不明白到底会带来什么。真的有必要看遍世界上的一切吗？在你自己生活的地方多做些好事，这样会更好些，因为今天像这些航班、这些飞行其实是在给世界带来污染。还有，你想要的越来越多，你正在用尽自然的资源。（4号受访者）

*I think that the current [Sámi] generation and the upcoming generation, as well as those who are teenagers today, are more actively looking into their cultural roots. ...*

*So. Yeah, it's a very complex question, but I think **that there are a lot of us, that's the baseline.***"

(Informant 3)

This is a more positive view, engaging in the key issues-changing Swedish laws. The Informant brought it up to the human rights level, and saw that many young Sámi are actively participating in fighting for the Indigenous rights process.

Some Sámi traditional knowledge holders on plant uses have worked hard to save this knowledge from disappearing, for example, Torbjörn Arnold and Laila Spik. They both led nature tours for summer wandering in north Sweden on Sámi herbs usage for food, medicine and magic in the mountain garden in Jokkmokk, and published books on traditional medicine and cultures (Arnold 2005; Spik 2002). These books are in Swedish as most of the books are about Sámi plant uses published in Sweden. Exceptions are recent publications by Anita Ponga and John Ponga that are in three languages: Sámi, Swedish and English. They are about plant uses for medicine and food, about Sámi mythology, and views about animals, and about Sámi calendars, time and history (Ponga 2017a; Ponga 2017b; Ponga 2020a; Ponga 2020b).

Torbjörn Arnold has given public lectures on Sámi TM, including herbal medicine and culture, over the whole of Sweden since the end of the 70s. Over four decades, he has dedicated his life to teaching Sámi traditional plant knowledge. He is truly an ambassador for Sámi traditional knowledge and medicine-plants and drums. People do grow old and die, but books stay.

### ***Arctic/world future: listen to the native people's worldview***

When asked about Sámi worldview and the common society challenges, two younger Informants have stated:

*As said beforehand, **living in balance with nature**, and using the resources we have at hand, but **not destroying them in the process**. I think that's going to be very important in the future for the Arctic.*

(Informant 3)

*I think the Sámi way of thinking, because it's not only the Sámi way, it's all the native peoples' ways of thinking, the world could listen and take. If they could listen and use the knowledge of the native people, how they live and think of how to **not overuse the land or the seas, the waters and so on, then it would be a better world.***

***To be content with your way of living**, not this, that you want more and more, and all these travels around the world. I don't really know what it gives. Is it really necessary to see everything in the world? It would be better **to do good things in where you live**, because now, for example, with all the flights that are polluting the world. Also you want more and more, and you are using the natural resources.*

(Informant 4)

## 讨 论

本研究使用访谈法探讨民族植物学——瑞典萨米人的传统植物使用知识/观念，与自然和土地的关系，这方面知识的现状，及其与当前社会的关联。分析结果显示了4个主题和16个子主题，涵盖了从植物知识，到萨米与瑞典主体民族在自然/土地世界观上的冲突；从代际知识差异及与传统土地的关系困境，到萨米传统生活的未来及这一知识可以给予世界的建议。

### 植物：传统萨米医学与中医，相似性与差异性

研究者发现萨米传统植物知识非常丰富，用途多样：既可药用、食用，又可日常使用。食物、医药与精神是不可分割的。同一种植物既可用作治疗/预防疾病，也可以用作食物，还可以用在其他日常生活里。最常被提及的植物是圆叶当归。

用植物做草药只是医疗方式的其中一种，根据2号受访者估计，大概只占萨米传统医学的20%左右。其他方式涉及动物部分，矿物，远程止血（心里和/或精神力量）、石头浴、不同地方的水（比如，用于治疗眼疾的特别的泉水）。对于生活中的困境和心理问题，不是用草药而是用精神疗法；比如萨满（Noaidi）用鼓，按手疗法（laying on of hands）或者交流咨询。这与之之前出版的萨米传统医学相关的著作是一致的（DuBois and Lang 2013; Eriksson 2004; Eriksson 2018; Turi 1917; Turi and Turi 1918-1919）。

在植物使用方面，萨米传统医学与传统中医有相似之处。比如煎煮/茶饮以内服，灸灸以外用。一些植物可以食用也可以药用，这种并存性在中国和萨米文化中都存在。此外，萨米关于生命、健康和与自然关系的整体世界观，在中国传统文化里也是被广泛共享的。不过，这两种传统医药之间存在的差异也很大，尤其是在以下这些方面：1）草药的数目范围，2）实践运用，3）对治愈效力的来源及精神的理解，4）这两种传统医学目前的状况。

萨米人使用的是当地采集的植物，一般是30—40种，用来药用、食用和做其他用途。在传统中医里，不同书籍中列出的草药数量不同。例如，官方草药书籍中华本草列出了8980种，包括植物、动物产品和矿物。其中，数量最大的是植物（ZHONGHUA-BEN-CAO 1999）。而《中医百科全书》（Xu et al. 2018）指出：“各种中药相关药典中记载的草本植物超过11 000种，常用

## Discussion

This study used an interview research method to explore ethnobotany-Sámi traditional knowledge/views on plant uses in Sweden, on relationships with nature and their land, the current status of this knowledge, and any relevance to today's society. The results show four themes and 16 sub-themes, ranging from plant knowledge to conflicts of worldviews of nature/land between Sámi Indigenous People and the Swedish majority, from the knowledge gap between generations and a troubled relationship with traditional land to views on the future of Sámi traditional living and the advice this knowledge gives and can give to the world.

### *Plants: Traditional Medicine - Sámi vs. Chinese, similarities and differences*

The researcher finds that the Sámi traditional plant knowledge is very rich, with diverse usages: from medical use to food, and to daily life. Food, medicine and spirits are inseparable. The same plants can be used for treating/preventing diseases, for food and for other daily conveniences. The most often mentioned plant is *angelica archangelica*.

Using plants as medicine is just one of many healing modalities and are estimated for about only 20 percent of the time in Sámi TM by Informant 2. The other modalities involve animal parts, minerals, stopping bleeding over distance (mental and/or spiritual power), stone baths, water from different places, e.g., a special spring water for eye problems. For life's difficult situations and mental problems, it is not herbs but spiritual healing that is used; examples are the Noaidi using a drum, the laying on of hands, or consulting through conversation. This is consistent with the description of the earlier books on Sámi TM (DuBois and Lang 2013; Eriksson 2004; Eriksson 2018; Turi 1917; Turi and Turi 1918–1919).

In the usage of plants, there are similarities between Sámi TM and Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM). Examples are decoctions/teas for internal use and moxibustion burning for external use. In addition, the same plants are used as food as well as for medicine. This inseparability exists in both Chinese and Sámi culture. Furthermore, the Sámi holistic worldview of life, health and relationships with nature is also broadly shared by the Chinese traditional culture. However, the differences between these two traditional medicines are also significantly large, especially in the following aspects: 1) the herbal medicine reservoirs, 2) usage practices, 3) the understanding of the source of the healing power and spirituality, 4) current situation in the two practices of TM.

The Sámi People use locally gathered plants, which are typically of 30–40 kinds, for medicine, food and other uses. In TCM, one finds different number of herbs listed in different books. For example, the official herbal medicine book ZHONGHUA-BEN-CAO (Chinese basic herbal medicine) avails itself of 8980 different types including plants, animal products and minerals. Of these, the greatest number are plants ((ZHONGHAU-BEN-CAO 1999). While An Encyclopaedia of TCM (Xu et al. 2018) stated: “Over 11 000

的约有 700 种。由于中医在疾病治疗中通常会结合多种草药作为方剂，因此已经产生了数千种。药草，包括加工过的草药，可以在全中国的药店里买到。

在萨米传统医学里，单一类型的植物通常用于治疗疾病，而不同植物的混合物用于食物。在中医中，一个典型的治疗方子平均使用 10 种或更多的草药组合，大多数临床草药处方包括 5 到 20 种不同的草药（Wang et al. 2021），但做食物食用时，一般只用一种植物做菜（这是研究者自己的经验）。

传统中医里，医者与患者都认为起作用的是植物中的化学成分和不同草药的适当配合以获得期待的疗效。正如《中医百科全书》所述“理论上，中药方剂含有多种有效成分，因此可以同时调节细胞内的多个靶点，从而重新建立患者平衡的生理调节网络并治愈疾病”（Xu et al. 2018）。而萨米传统医学认为，在一些植物里起到治愈作用的是神灵或精神力量。很难证明这种信仰的所有内容都有科学依据。然而，信仰不是只存在于萨米传统医学中。西方社会对萨米最著名的植物——圆叶当归——得名由来的报道，看着就十分有意思，也表现出与萨米文化的相似之处（Wistrand 2017）：

15 世纪时，修道士们将圆叶当归从欧洲山区带了出去，因此这一植物变成了大概是北方输出的第一种药用植物。一位天使出现在一位修道士的梦里。这位天使伸出了一枝 kvann（圆叶当归）茎，让修道士向外传达其根茎可以治瘟疫的信息。这种根茎变成了中世纪主要的杀虫剂之一，直到 18 世纪都一直被用来抵抗瘟疫。人们需要嚼它，含在嘴里或者吞下去。它含有味道强烈的精油，具有杀菌作用。中世纪时，人们认为这根茎也可以防御巫师和魔鬼。

精神疗法在挪威的萨米传统医学中占主导地位，正如最近一项综述研究所发现的那样（Liu-Helmersson and Ouma 2021）。萨米传统医学实践中最常被提及的两种方法，一种是诵读祷文，一种是按手疗法。治疗可以当面进行，也可以远程进行。萨米传统医学涵盖了多个领域、多种问题：生理的、心理的、情绪的，并被广泛运用在各种生活境况中。可治疗的疾病和状况从急性出血、胃疼到包括糖尿病和癌症在内的慢性疾病，从神经过敏到睡眠障碍到抑郁症，到如何应对人生困境，包括失业、家庭矛盾、物品丢失或失窃（Mathisen 1989; Myrvoll 2015; Sande and Winterfeldt 1993; Sexton and Stabbursvik 2010）。

传统中医以草药为主，还包括针灸、艾灸、拔罐、推拿、正骨，等等。



herb plants have been recorded in various TCM related pharmacopeia, and the commonly used ones are ~700 species. As TCM usually combines multiple herbs as formulas in disease treatments, thousands of herbal formulas have been generated and widely applied in clinics.”). Medicinal herbs, including processed formulations, can be purchased in drug stores or community pharmacy all over China.

In Sámi TM, a single type of plant is usually used to treat illness and a mixture of different plants is used for food. In TCM, a typical treatment uses on average 10 or more herbs in combination and most of the clinical herbal prescriptions or formulas include five to 20 different herbs (Wang et al. 2021), but for food usually a single type of plant is used, based on the researcher's own experience.

In TCM, doctors and patients believe in the function of plants' chemical ingredients and the combination of different herbs for the desired effect. As described in ETCM” In theory, TCM herbal formulas contain multiple effective ingredients, thus can simultaneously regulate many targets within cells, therefore to re-establish balanced physiological regulatory networks of patients and to cure diseases” (Xu et al. 2018). While in Sámi TM, deities or spiritual powers have been thought to convey the healing power to some plants. It is hard to prove if all aspects of such beliefs have scientific bases. However, belief exists not only in Sámi TM. The account in Western society of how the name of the best-known Sámi plant, *angelica archangelica*, came about seems quite interesting and shows some similarities to that in Sámi culture (Wistrand 2017):

*In the 15th century, the monks brought the mountain Angelica out of Europe and thus the plant became probably the first medicinal plant exported from the north. An angel appeared to a monk in his dream. The angel held out a kvann [angelica] stalk and asked the monk to carry out the message that the root could cure plague. The root became one of the major pesticides during the Middle Ages and was used against plague until the 18th century. It should be chewed, kept in the mouth or otherwise swallowed. It contains strong-smelling essential oils, which have been shown to be bactericidal. The root was also considered to protect against witches and demons during the Middle Ages.*

Spiritual healing dominates in Sámi TM in Norway, as a recent literature review study found (Liu-Helmersson and Ouma 2021). Reading a prayer and laying on of hands are the two most frequently mentioned methods used in Sámi TM practice. Treatment can be performed in person or over a distance. Sámi TM covers a variety of areas and issues: physical, mental, emotional and is applied to a wide variety of life situations. The conditions treated range from acute bleeding and toothache to chronic diseases including diabetes and cancer, from nervousness to sleep disturbances to depression, as well as to life's difficult situations including being out of work, family conflicts, and lost or stolen articles (Mathisen 1989; Myrvoll 2015; Sande and Winterfeldt 1993; Sexton and Stabbursvik 2010).

In TCM, herbal medicine dominates, followed by acupuncture, moxibustion,



传统中医也可以治疗很多种生理和心理疾病，但并不包括处理人生困境，至少不包括在今天的中医诊疗里。在中医大学正式的讲授或医院治疗里，中医并不包含灵性治疗和远程治疗，不过传统中医理论承认魂魄的作用及其对身体的重要性（Kaptchuk and Tomalin 2000）。

在中国，传统中医没有被任何外来影响中断过。在过去的半个世纪中，中国政府鼓励中医以及中西医结合。这提高了整个国家医疗保健的普及性和健康疗效，尤其是在医疗体系整体预算很低的1960—80年代（Zhaoyang 2008）。与中国传统中医形成对照，同样实践了上千年的萨米传统医学，在今天萨普米的医疗保健服务中却几乎无人知晓（Larsen 2018; Sexton and Stabbursvik 2010）。就像我们在本研究及其他研究中发现的，它在瑞典基本上是隐匿的、面临着消亡（Jacobsson et al. 2021; Liu-Helmersson and Ouma 2021），这是被殖民的后果。

### 土地 / 自然：萨米人与因纽特人，传统实践与食物安全原则的相似性

本研究发现，萨米土著人民对自然高度敬重。他们的传统观念 / 实践与因纽特的传统规则有很多相似之处。表1展示了阿拉斯加因纽特人北极圈理事会（FSSG）在《食物主权与自治》报告中列出的传统规则 / 实践（FSSG 报告 2020）。在萨米人的实践中也发现有相似的规则。就像一位受访者（1号受访者）确认了表1中的全部条目之后所说：“如果你把北极居民与世界其他原住民作比较的话，会发现每个方面都有相似之处。差异很小，如果有差异，则是由自然条件、社会条件、地理环境和时间所造成的。”

表1 阿拉斯加因纽特人北极圈理事会列出的因纽特传统规则（FSSG 报告 2020: 24）  
本研究也发现了相似规则。

**框2. 因纽特传统规则/律法/实践。** 本项目实施过程中，参与者们分享了重要的因纽特传统规则/律法/实践。虽然不够全面，但本列表所举例子都是直到今天仍很重要的规则/律法/实践

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 敬意：你与环境中一切事物的关系：你自己，你的邻居，和你</li> <li>• 的敌人</li> <li>• 不浪费：利用动物身上的所有部分：要守旧</li> <li>• 辟谷有助于带来富足</li> <li>• 分享：与长辈分享你的第一次收获；与寡妇分享；确保人人得到供给</li> <li>• 互相照顾</li> <li>• 绝不因为动物（如鸟、鱼、陆地动物、海洋动物）而争论</li> <li>• 照顾土地则土地也会照顾你</li> <li>• 全心给予而不求回报</li> <li>• 带着年轻人狩猎捕鱼：赞美年轻人的参与</li> <li>• 每一位家庭成员都有其责任</li> <li>• 要平静，要谦虚、要和睦相处</li> <li>• 专注于照料，而不争斗</li> <li>• 让长辈先吃</li> <li>• 长辈应分享自己的知识：年轻人应学习长辈的知识</li> <li>• 有耐心，不着急</li> <li>• 应时而动，随动物而动</li> <li>• 动物献身于你，则取之；资源可得之时，则获之</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 诚实</li> <li>• 你属于土地，而并非如西方观点，土地属于你</li> <li>• 交流</li> <li>• 合作</li> <li>• 仅取所需</li> <li>• 狩猎日不谈动物，动物会听得到</li> <li>• 狩猎之前不设定获肉计划</li> <li>• 要善于观察，关注周遭</li> <li>• 无论风往何处刮，海浪总是朝向陆地</li> <li>• 团队（如捕鲸队）安全放在第一位</li> <li>• 万物都相互关联</li> <li>• 人不是个人主义的，避免等级结构</li> <li>• 在环境之中发言</li> <li>• 绝不吹嘘你的收获</li> <li>• 不打扰哺育幼崽的动物</li> <li>• 关注构成环境的每一个碎片——整体管理</li> <li>• 留下你所获的——不能抓了又放</li> <li>• 让大一些的动物先走——他们带领着其他的</li> <li>• 保持倾听</li> </ul> |
|--|--|

copping, Tuina (similar to chiropractic), bone setting, and other methodologies. TCM also covers a large range of physical and mental diseases, but it does not cover life's difficult situations, at least not in today's practice in China. Spiritual healing and healing over distance do not exist in official TCM teaching and practices in universities or hospitals, although TCM theoretically acknowledges the soul's function and importance in the body (Kaptchuk and Tomalin 2000).

In China, TCM has not been disrupted from any foreign influences. During the last half century, TCM in China has been promoted by the Chinese government and integration with Western medicine has been carried out in many universities and clinics/hospitals. This has improved the whole country's healthcare access and outcomes, especially during the 1960s–1980s when the overall medical system had a very low budget (Zhaoyang 2008). In contrast to TCM in China, Sámi TM, which has been practiced also for millennia, is today largely unknown within the health care services in Sápmi (Larsen 2018; Sexton and Stabbursvik 2010). It is largely hidden and facing extinction in Sweden, as we have found in this and other studies (Jacobsson et al. 2021; Liu-Helmersson and Ouma 2021), due to the consequences of colonization.

### *Land/nature: similarities in traditional practices and food security framework, Sámi vs. Inuit*

This study finds that Sámi Indigenous People hold a high respect for nature. Their traditional views/practices have many similarities with Inuit traditional rules. Table 1 displays the traditional rules/practices listed in *Food Sovereignty and Self-Governance* (FSSG) report by Inuit Circumpolar Council Alaska (FSSG\_Report 2020). Similar rules are found in Sámi practices as well. As stated by one of the informants (Informant 1) after confirming all the rules listed in Table 1, “*There are similarities in every aspect, if you compare circumpolar peoples and other aboriginal peoples around the world. The differences are small, and defined by nature, sociologic situations, geography and time.*”

**Table 1** Inuit traditional rules as listed by Inuit Circumpolar Council Alaska (FSSG\_Report 2020) p24. Similar rules are found in this study as well.

<b>Box 2. Inuit Traditional Rules/Laws/Practices.</b> Throughout the project, Participants shared important Inuit traditional rules/laws/practices. Though not exhaustive, this list offers examples of the many important rules/laws/practices followed to this day.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Respect; your relationship to everything within the environment; yourself, your neighbor, and your enemy</li> <li>• Do not waste; use all parts of the animal; be conservative</li> <li>• Fasting helps create abundance</li> <li>• Share; share your first catch with Elders; share with widows; make sure that all are provided for</li> <li>• Take care of each other</li> <li>• Never argue about the animals (e.g. birds, fish, land animals, sea animals)</li> <li>• Take care of the land and the land will take care of you</li> <li>• Give wholeheartedly without expecting anything in return</li> <li>• Include youth in hunting and fishing; celebrate youth involvement</li> <li>• Everyone in the family has a role</li> <li>• Be quiet and humble and live in harmony</li> <li>• Focus on caretaking, not fighting</li> <li>• Let the Elders eat first</li> <li>• Elders should share their knowledge; youth should gain the knowledge of their Elders</li> <li>• Have patience – take time</li> <li>• Follow the seasons, follow the animals</li> <li>• Take animals when they give themselves to you; harvest a resource when it is available</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Honesty</li> <li>• Land owns you rather than western view that you own the land</li> <li>• Communication</li> <li>• Cooperation</li> <li>• Take no more than you need</li> <li>• Don't talk about the animals when you are going to be hunting that day because they might hear you</li> <li>• Don't make plans for the meat before you go out hunting</li> <li>• Be observant, pay attention to your surroundings</li> <li>• No matter which way the wind is, the waves go towards the land</li> <li>• A priority is the safety of your crew (i.e. a whaling crew)</li> <li>• All things are interrelated</li> <li>• People are not individualistic and avoid a hierarchical structure</li> <li>• Speak from within the environment</li> <li>• Never brag about what you catch</li> <li>• Leave animals alone when they are having young ones</li> <li>• Pay attention to all of the pieces that make of the environment - holistic management</li> <li>• Keep what you catch – no catch and release</li> <li>• Let the larger animals go first – they lead the others</li> <li>• Always listen</li> </ul>

同一份报告以鼓的形状展示了关于食物保障的概念框架，如图2所示。鼓的把手是食物主权，它将所有部分聚合在一起：环境健康（关键），（关于食物保障的）6个维度，（结构化保护的）3种工具以及最外层的神灵们（俯瞰着整体的运作）。鼓象征着各个方面的和谐，以使它能够运作良好。关于食物保障的整体世界观，及其相互关联的各种组成元素，同样适用于萨米土著的植物和土地使用，如这份报告在图片说明中所说：

本概念框架以鼓为形状，阐释了因纽特食物保障中互相关联的组成部分。食物保障以环境健康为特征。环绕食物保障这一特征的是**构成食物保障的6个维度**：可利用性，因纽特文化，决策力和决策管理，健康与保健，稳定性，以及可获得性。这些维度由食物（不）安全各驱动力所组成。鼓的外环展示的是取得和维系食物保障所需要的工具（政策、共同管理和知识资源）。**环绕着鼓的是用不同语言写的所有生命神灵的总称**，这些语言包括 *Il̥upiaq*, *Yup'ik*, *Cup'ik*, *St. Lawrence Island Yupik* 和 *Imuvialuktun* 语<sup>①</sup>。鼓的把手是食物主权。必须有食物主权这个把手才能把鼓保持为一个整体并控制鼓的行动、运动和鼓的节拍。如果这一框架的任何一块缺失或者缺乏强度，弹性就会变弱，食物保障就会降低——**干预或破坏任何一块，都将会影响整体**<sup>②</sup>。

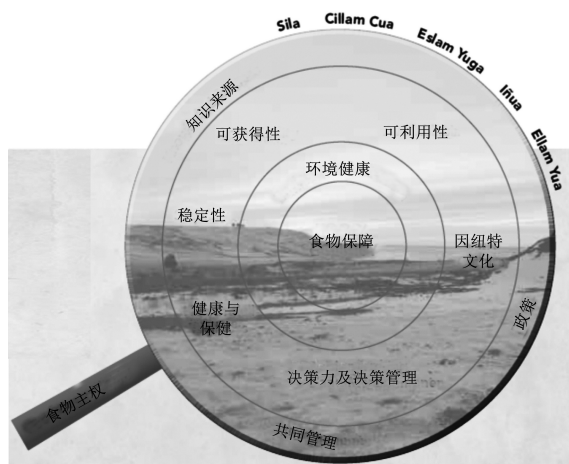
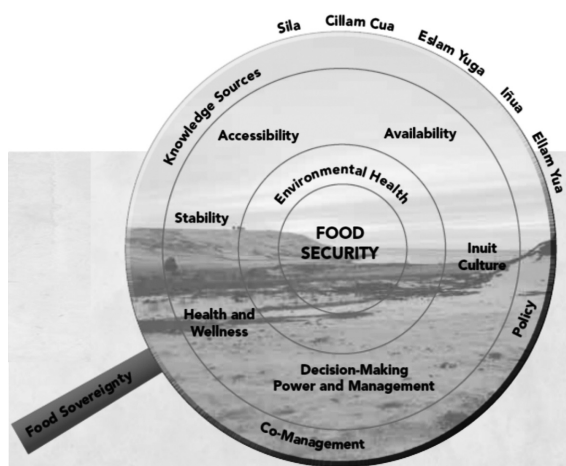


图2 鼓形食物保障框架。环境健康是关键，环以6个维度、3种工具或称结构化保护。最外围是不同语言对神灵的称呼。鼓象征着所有要素的和谐。原图来自阿拉斯加因纽特人北极圈理事会 FSSG 报告（FSSG 报告 2020：19）

①② 详见原始报告（FSSG 2020：24）。

The same report shows a conceptual framework for food security in the shape of a drum, as shown in Figure 2. The drum handle is Food sovereignty which holds all the different parts together: environmental health (the key), six dimensions (for food security), three tools (structural protections) and spirits (overlook the operation) at the most out layer. The drum symbolizes the harmony of all aspects for it to be functional well. The holistic worldview on food security and its various interconnecting components apply also well to the plant and land use for Sámi Indigenous People, as stated in the figure caption of the report:

*The Conceptual Framework is shaped like a drum and illustrates the interconnecting components of Inuit Food Security. Food Security is characterized by a healthy environment. Surrounding the characterization of food security are the **six dimensions that make up food security**: Availability, Inuit Culture, Decision-Making Power and Management, Health and Wellness, Stability, and Accessibility. These dimensions are constituted by drivers of food (in)security. The outer ring of the drum shows the tools required to obtain and maintain food security (policy, co-management, and knowledge sources). **Surrounding the drum is the spirit of all**, written in Iñupiaq, Yup'ik, Cup'ik, St. Lawrence Island Yupik, and Inuvialuktun<sup>①</sup>. The drum handle is food sovereignty. Food sovereignty is required to hold the drum together and to control actions, movements, and the beat of the drum. If any piece of the framework is missing or lacks strength, resiliency will decrease and food security will decrease—**any disruption or interference to one piece has impacts for the whole**.<sup>②</sup>*



**Figure 2 Food Security Conceptual Framework in the shape of a drum.** Environmental health is the key with six dimensions and three tools or structural protections. The outmost layer is the spirit in different languages. The drum symbolizes the harmony of all aspects. The original is from the FSSG report by Inuit Circumpolar Council Alaska(FSSG\_Report 2020)(p19).

①② see original report for details (FSSG-Report 2020) p.24.

## 生态系统理论——理解当今状况的概念框架

研究者发现，生态系统理论将有助于理解萨米植物使用和土地关系中的行为和当前状况。韦氏字典将“系统”定义为“由有规律互动或相互依赖的元素群所构成的统一整体”。系统理论认为，要全面理解某事物或某现象，唯一的方法就是去了解部分与整体之间的关系（Senge and Sterman 1992）。

生态系统理论或框架的产生和发展是基于对人类发展心理学的理解。它由布朗芬布伦纳（Urie Bronfenbrenner）在 1970 年代提出，1980 年代形成理论，之后不断发展直到他 2005 年去世（维基百科 2021）。该理论定义了 5 种环境系统，个体在其中与之相互作用：微观系统、中观系统、外观系统 / 终观系统、宏观系统和时间系统（Bronfenbrenner 1979）。如图 3 所示，前 4 个系统是从个体环境中衍生出来的，从与人最亲近的开始，比如家庭，到最疏远的，比如全球化影响。前 4 个系统与距离 / 空间相关；时间系统（图 3 中未显示）与时间相关并涉及到前四个系统的动态变化：从周围环境所发生的事件的模式，到生命历程的转变，到社会-历史境况的变迁（Bruckmeier 2016；维基百科 2021）。

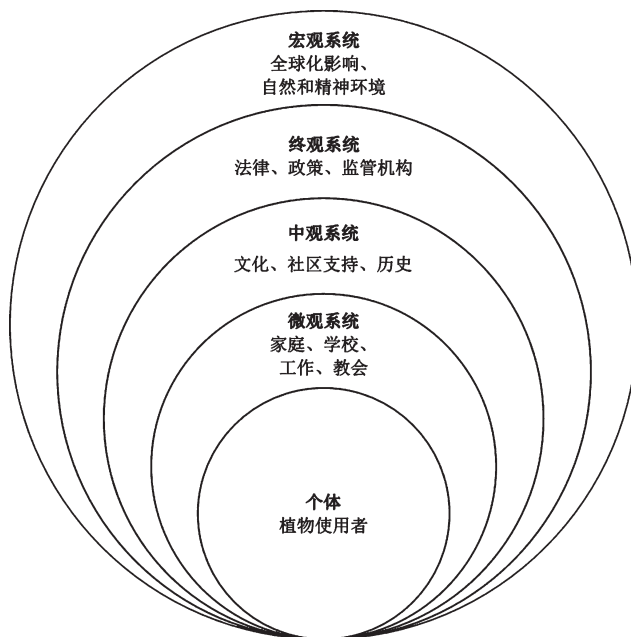
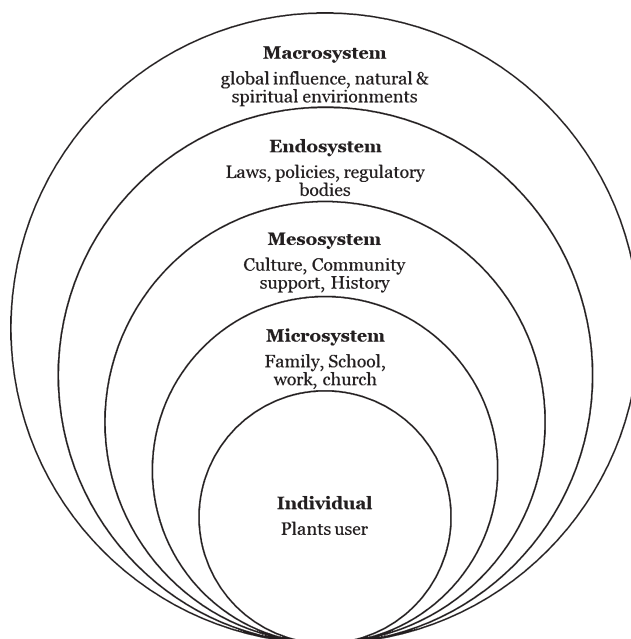


图 3 布朗芬布伦纳的生态系统理论（Bruckmeier 2016）（经改编）

### ***Ecological systems theory—a conceptual framework to understand today's situation***

To understand the behavior and the current situation of Sámi plant usage and land relationship, the researcher finds that ecological systems theory is relevant. A system is defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary as *a regularly interacting or interdependent group of items forming a unified whole*. Systems thinking argues that the only way to fully understand something or an occurrence is to understand the parts in relation to the whole (Senge and Sterman 1992).

The ecological systems theory or framework was developed to understand the psychology of human development. It was introduced in the 1970s, formalized as a theory in the 1980s, and continually developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner until his death in 2005 (Wikipedia 2021). It identifies five environmental systems with which an individual interacts: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem/endosystem, the macrosystem and chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner 1979). As shown in Figure 3, the first four systems are different layers from the individual's environment, from the closest to the person, like family, to the farthest, such as global influences. The first four systems are distance/space related; the chronosystem (no shown in Fig. 3) is time related and takes into account the dynamic changes of the first four systems: from pattern of environmental events, to



**Figure 3** Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bruckmeier 2016) (adapted).



在图3里，对一些层级的解释按照本研究进行了调整：处于中心位置的个体为萨米植物使用者，而最外围的宏观系统则包含了来自自然环境的影响，如气候变化，也包含精神环境的影响，如其他宗教，可能也包括物理学里所发现的暗能量（Lee 2019；Liu-Helmersson 2021），可见的和不可见的。

按照该框架，个体的环境受到各嵌套层的影响。所有系统都是相互联系的，一个影响另一个。该体系强调具有共生关系的人-环境的相互关联性。个体与群体行为受到由家庭到政治环境的各个因素的影响。今天的萨米人所处的情况就是一个例子，尤其是涉及到其传统植物使用知识的代际差异以及他们与土地的关系。

根据布朗芬布伦纳的理论，微观系统是最具影响力的层面，因为它与个体的关系最为密切。该层包含了家庭、学校、工作和教会。其次是中观系统，包含了文化和历史。历史上，1680—1730年之间，展开了针对萨米土著的宗教审判。国家和教会迫害萨满/诺艾迪，烧掉萨满鼓，试图由此控制住“巫术”。如Lindmark和Sundström教授在《白皮书项目》里所说（Lindmark and Sundström 2017），

具体来说，运动包括审判萨米人的一些本土宗教传统，比如约伊克吟唱（yoiking），献祭以及（但不限于）使用仪式鼓。这些传统活动遭受到了严厉的处罚，有时甚至是死刑。然而，这些传统在当时的很多萨米人看来，是绝对关系到他们自己的福祉的。在这些法庭案件里，诉讼常会提及《旧约》的第一条戒律，“除了我以外，你不可有别的神”。这些“巫术案”的诉讼常常是由教士提起的。在审判之外，拉普兰的牧师们还毁坏了萨米人的圣地，自行掠夺走了萨满鼓。

诺艾迪是智者或女智者或萨满，他们可以与亡者交流，在不同维度自由穿行（Eriksson 2004；Eriksson 2018；Ponga 2017b）。“Noajdde（挪威的诺艾迪）是宗教专家，是神意的咨询者，是知晓未来、了解隐秘的仪式大师。Noajdde也是最强大的医者。”（Myrvoll 2015：56）Jörgen Eriksson作为记者在过去几十年里采访了很多萨米人，按照他的说法（Eriksson 2004：4），诺艾迪可以治疗疾病并解决个人和社区的很多重大问题：例如，“追踪走失的驯鹿，确定猎物的位置，为庄稼带来雨水，避免霜冻，防范猛兽，为了社会福祉预测未来”。诺艾迪也是人类世界与神灵世界的中介。所以，诺艾迪/萨满



transitions over the life course, to changing socio-historical circumstances (Bruckmeier 2016; Wikipedia 2021).

In Figure 3, the explanation of some layers has been adapted to this study: the individual at the center is the Sámi plant user and the outer most layer, the Macrosystem, includes influences from both natural environment such as climate change, and spiritual environment such as other religions and possibly the dark energy found in physics (Lee 2019; Liu-Helmersson 2021), the visible and the invisible.

In this framework, an individual's environment is influenced by each nested layer. All systems are interconnected, and one thing affects another. It stresses person-context interrelatedness with a symbiotic relationship. Individual and collective behavior is influenced by everything from one's family to the political environment. This is the case for the Sámi people today, especially with respect to the generational gap in traditional knowledge of plant use and their relationships with their land.

According to Bronfenbrenner, the microsystem is the most influential level because it is the closest level to the individual. This level includes family, school, work and church. The next is the Mesosystem, which includes culture and history. Historically, between 1680 and 1730 religious trials were carried out against Sámi Indigenous People through persecution of Noaidi/Shaman and burning of drums by the State and the Church, which attempted thus to get control of “sorcery”. As stated by Prof. Lindmark and Sundström in the White Paper Project (Lindmark and Sundström 2017),

*Specifically, the campaign consisted of trials against Sami people accused of practicing certain indigenous religious traditions, such as yoiking, sacrifice and, not least, the use of the ritual drums. Such practices incurred severe penalties, sometimes even capital punishment. These traditions, however, were seen by many Sami people at the time as absolutely essential for their own well-being. In these court cases, the prosecution often invoked the first commandment in the Old Testament, “Thou shalt have no other gods before me”. Indictments in these so-called “sorcery cases” were often initiated by clergymen. In addition to the trials, ministers serving in the Lappmark are also known to have destroyed Sami sacred places and seized drums on their own initiative.*

A Noaidi is a wiseman or a wisewoman or a shaman who can communicate with the dead, and travel freely through different dimensions (Eriksson 2004; Eriksson 2018; Ponga 2017b). “*The noajdde [Noaidi in Norwegian] was a religious expert and an adviser about the will of the gods, as well as being a ritual master with the knowledge of the future and other hidden realities. The noajdde was also the most powerful healer*” (Myrvoll 2015) (p56). According to Jörgen Eriksson (Eriksson 2004) (p4), the journalist who has interviewed many Sámi over the last few decades, Noaidi can cure diseases and solve many kinds of important personal and community problems: e.g. “*tracking down strayed*

是“非常多才多艺和全能的人，他/她可以看见，可以知晓。医师则是专长于一项或几项工作的专家，比如说止血或者止痛”。（Eriksson 2004: 4）

鼓是诺艾迪所使用的工具之一，用于帮助诺艾迪为了与其他世界或其他维度进行联系而进入神迷状态。帮助进入神迷状态的其他方法还有跳舞、禁食、吟诵/约伊克（joik）或者药物。在这种状态之下，他/她可以获得原本隐匿的知识，并与他/她的灵魂助手（庇护神、强力动物、灵魂导师）取得联系（Eriksson 2004）。

在过去，“几乎所有的家户都有自己的鼓，用来做日常咨询——就像你手机上的程序一样”（Ponga 2017b）。然而，“在17世纪，十年间就有17位萨满因巫术罪被判死刑，包括与自己的鼓一同被烧死的Lars Nilsson”。（Ponga 2017b）

这一黑暗历史在萨米人记忆里留下了伤痕和悲伤的诗。如Anita Ponga优美的诗句所写（Ponga 2017b）：

我给不了你《圣经》。从白海到大西洋，从芬兰湾到冰海，从此地到彼地，我们有神灵同在，我们需要神灵；我们有诗歌同在，诗歌哺育我们，告知生命真相。我们不会焚烧你，我们不会禁绝你的思想，我们不会把你分裂成海瑞典，山挪威，树林芬兰，我们不会到处划上边界。我们不会嘲笑你说话的样子，不会因你唱了自己的歌，因你不信我们的神，就威胁要你的性命。是什么，是谁偷走了我们的土地，却让我们萨米人绑在了一起。

诺艾迪和鼓在萨米文化里是十分重要的。迫害诺艾迪对萨米文化遗产造成了严重的后果。按照挪威萨米研究者Marit Myrvoll的说法，“旧手稿里描述的Noajdde（诺艾迪）消失了……虽然作为宗教专家和仪式大师的功能结束了，其作为医师的功能存续了下来，直到现在”（Myrvoll 2015: 57）。在瑞典，医师保持缄默并转入地下活动（Haett 2015; Jacobsson et al. 2021）。直到最近几十年，才有几位公开宣布自己的医者和萨满身份，才开始又使用鼓了。

教会与国家压迫萨米宗教和文化表达的这段历史，属于生态系统理论的前两个层面——微观系统和中介系统。法律、政策和监管机构属于终观

*reindeer, figuring out where the game resides, bring about rain to the crops, averting frost, keeping predators away and trying to see into the future on behalf of the society.”* Noaidi is also a mediator between the human world and the spiritual world. Therefore, Noaidi/Shaman is “*a very versatile and all-capable person, the one who sees and knows. The healer on the other hand is specialized in one or a few tasks, e.g., staunching blood or putting away pain.*” (ibid)

The drum is one of the tools used by Noaidi during a trance or ecstasy to get in contact with the other worlds or dimensions. Other methods are dance, fasting, song/joik or drugs to help get into an altered state of consciousness. In this state, he/she receives knowledge which is otherwise hidden and gets into contact with his/her spiritual helpers (protective spirits, power animals, spirit teachers) (Eriksson 2004).

In the old days, “*Almost every household has its own drum that was consulted about everyday life—just like an app on your phone*” (Ponga 2017b). However, “*During ten years in the 17th century, seventeen Sami were sentenced to death for sorcery including Lars Nilsson who were burned together with his drum.*” (Ponga 2017b)

This dark history left scars and sad poems in Sámi memory. As beautifully written by Anita Ponga (Ponga 2017b):

*I have no Bible to give you. From the White Sea to the Atlantic, from the Finnish Bay to the Ice Sea, from place to place, there have been gods that we have needed, we have had the poetry that have fed us with the facts of life. We will not burn you and forbid your thoughts, we will not split you into sea-Swedes, mountain-Norwegians and woodland-Finns, and not draw borders wherever. We will not mock your way of talking, or threaten you with death if you sing your songs, and don't believe in our gods. What binds us Sami together is that something, or someone, stole our land.*

Noaidi and drums played an important role in Sámi culture. Persecution of Noaidi has severe consequences to the Sámi cultural heritage. According to the Norwegian Sámi researcher, Marit Myrvoll, “*The noajdde [Noaidi] as they have been described in the old manuscripts have gone.... Although the function as religious expert and ritual master ended, the function as healer continued and still exists*” (Myrvoll 2015) (p57). In Sweden, healers went underground and kept silent (Haetta 2015; Jacobsson et al. 2021). Only during recent decades, a few have openly claimed to be healers and Shamans, of whom some use drums again.

This history of suppression of Sámi religion and cultural expression by the Church and State belongs to the first two layers of the ecological systems theory-

系统。关于这一层级的例子包括国家与其他国家间对萨普米地区的边界协定，这导致了20世纪20年代到30年代的强制搬迁（Lantto 2014; Liu-Helmersson 2022）。同化政策（1846—1913年）和家长式隔离政策（1913—1971年）又在族裔基础上，增加了对萨米人的歧视，而在实践中，则制造了一套制度化的种族主义体系（Kvister 1992: 63），辅以种族生物学研究作为佐证（Ericsson 2021）。这一历史的法律框架引发了萨米群体之间的冲突，并造成萨米人在权利和身份认同上受排斥的经历（Brännlund 2019）。此外，在很长一段历史时期，挪威的法律都禁止萨米医疗和医药（Myrvoll 2015: 57）。在瑞典，即便是今天，法律体系仍然禁止它们参与癌症、癫痫症和糖尿病的治疗，而只允许医疗体系的专业人员参与；最近瑞典的一项政府报告（SOU 2019）甚至建议设立更多限制，基本上禁止它们参与所有严重疾病（身体上或心理上）的治疗，只能用来缓解症状。瑞典政府在土地使用和医药实践方面的国家政策已经给今天的萨米社会留下了消极的影响，包括传统医药实践和植物知识/用法和萨米人与自己土地的关系。

在宏观层面上，从很多其他土著社区带来的全球影响，提高了人们对殖民统治和土著权力的认识。在世界的很多地方都听到了“去殖民化”（Smith 2021），在一些会议上也有类似声音（比如 Presencing Institute 2021）。芬兰萨米研究人员 Rauna Kuokkanen 提出了“原住民范式”的必要性，认为这是“一种通过‘重新定位’原住民价值观和文化实践来实现原住民思想非殖民化的方式，并将原住民及其问题置于主导的主流话语中，直到目前为止，这些话语一直将原住民置于边缘地位”。这种范式的主要目标包括对西方二元论形而上学和欧洲中心主义的批判，以及在研究中回归土著民族的整体哲学（Kuokkanen 2000）。“社会变革促进研究所”（Presencing Institute）今年召集的国际会议议题中就涉及了需要治愈历史创伤、将人类和我们住的地球再次有机结合成一体（同上，MIT，美国）。如著名作家、精神导师、国际承办人 Thomas Hübl 在倡导治愈集体创伤时所说：“整合的历史是活在当下，不整合的历史是留在过去。我们以为已与痛苦时刻分离了，它们却会不断重演。”“过去不会消失，过去需要被消化。”（Hübl, Avritt 2020）

### 土著世界观与今天共同的社会挑战

概括来说，本研究提出了前言部分陈述的4个研究问题。对这些问题的回答，简短总结在图4中。

the Microsystem and Mesosystem. Laws, policies and regulatory bodies belong to the Endosystem. Examples at this level include State border agreements with other countries in Sápmi that resulted in forced relocation during the 1920s to 1930s (Lantto 2014; Liu-Helmersson 2022). The assimilation policy (1846–1913) and paternalistic segregation policy (1913–1971) added discrimination of the Sámi people on ethnic grounds, and in practice created a system of institutional racism (Kvister 1992) (p63) supported by the research on racial biology (Ericsson 2021). Together, the historical legal framework causes internal conflicts between different Sámi groups and Sámi experiences of exclusion both in terms of rights and identity (Brännlund 2019). Furthermore, Norway has a long history of forbidding of Sámi healing and medicine by law (Myrvoll 2015) (p57). In Sweden, even today, the legislation prohibits those other than health care professionals from treating cancer, epilepsy, and diabetes; a recent Swedish government report (SOU 2019) proposed even more restrictions on generally treating serious disorders (somatic or mental), except to relieve symptoms. Swedish State policies on land use and medical practices have left a negative trace in today's Sámi society, affecting practice of traditional medicine and plant knowledge/usage, and the Sámi relationship with their land.

On the Macrosystem level, the global influences from many other Indigenous communities raise the awareness of colonization and Indigenous rights. Decolonization has been heard of in many parts of the world (Smith 2021) and in conferences (e.g. Presencing Institute 2021). The Finnish Sámi researcher, Rauna Kuokkanen, raised the need for an “Indigenous Paradigm” as “a way of both decolonizing Indigenous minds by ‘re-centering’ Indigenous values and cultural practices and placing Indigenous peoples and their issues into dominant, mainstream discourses which until now have relegated Indigenous peoples to marginal positions. ... the main objectives of such a paradigm includes the criticism of Western dualistic metaphysics and Eurocentrism as well as the return to the Indigenous peoples’ holistic philosophies in research.” (Kuokkanen 2000).

The need to heal the historical trauma and to re-integrate people and our planet is on the agenda in the recent international conference organized by the Presencing Institute (MIT, USA, *ibid.*). As stated by Thomas Hübl, a renowned author, spiritual teacher and international facilitator when he calls for healing collective trauma: “*Integrated history is presence and unintegrated history is the past. When we’ve dissociated from our painful moments, they keep replaying.*” “*The past doesn’t disappear. The past needs to be digested.*” (Hübl and Avritt 2020)

### ***Indigenous worldview and today’s common societal challenges***

In summary, this study raises four research questions as stated in the Introduction section. The findings for these questions are summarized in simple phrases in Figure 4.

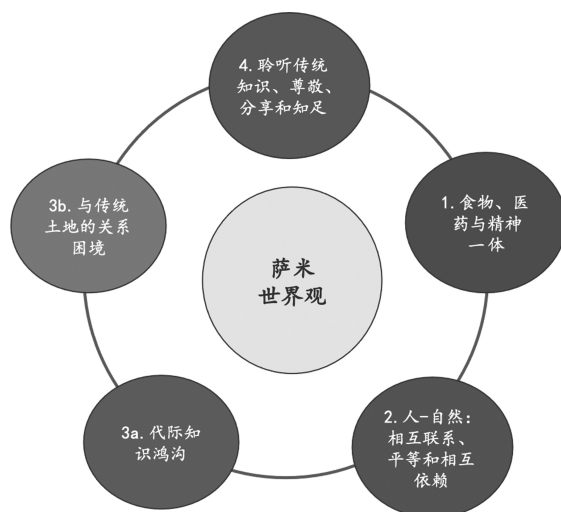
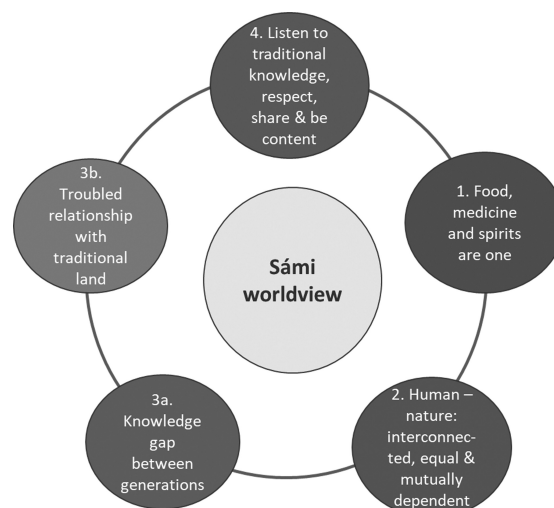


图4 本研究对研究问题的简要回答

针对第一个问题——萨米关于植物的传统知识，我们发现植物是多功能的——食物、医药和精神是不可分割的。针对第二个问题——萨米人关于植物的自然及土地的宇宙观，我们发现萨米人传统上秉持一种整体观视角去看待自然/土地，人与自然的关系是平等的、相互联系、相互依赖的。针对第三个问题——当前在瑞典的情况，我们发现向前追溯两三代，出现了一个巨大的代际鸿沟，他们与传统土地之间的关系困境需要被治愈。其他研究也指出了治愈的必要性（Brännlund 2019; Lantto 2014; Liu-Helmersson 2022），如 Brännlund 所述（Brännlund 2019）：“我相信破裂需要愈合。”这里的破裂意味着土地权利一分为二——驯鹿所有者和非驯鹿所有者，以及这种区分在萨米人生活、文化和身份认同等方面造成的后果。至于最后一个问题——萨米土著世界观与当今社会的关联，我们听到了萨米受访人对世界的一些忠告：聆听传统知识，敬重土地，与他人和后代分享资源；关于旅行和疫情的忠告则是要对你所生活的地方感到知足。在这些不同部分的中心是萨米人关于对待自然/土地的方式的共同世界观，这种世界观是整体的，包括灵性，因为一切都是生命的。

在尊重自然和看待人与自然关系的整体世界观方面，本研究发现萨米人和其他土著人民之间存在许多相似之处（FSSG 报告 2020）。今天我们面临着气候变迁和新冠肺炎疫情这样共同的社会挑战，恰好是让我们重新审视土著人民的世界观和传统实践的好时机。综上所述，我们发现美国著名的语言学





**Figure 4** Summary of this study findings in response to the research questions.

Regarding the first question on Sámi traditional knowledge of plants, we find that plants are multifunctional—food, medicine and spirits are inseparable. Regarding the second question on Sámi Indigenous People's cosmology about nature and the land in relation to plants, we find that traditionally the Sámi People holds a holistic view regards land/nature, human and nature have an equal, interconnected and mutually dependent relationship. Regarding the third question on the current situation in Sweden, we find that there exists a huge knowledge gap between generations that goes back 2–3 generations, and a troubled relationship with their traditional land that needs to be healed. The need of healing was pointed out by other studies also (Brännlund 2019; Lantto 2014; Liu-Helmersson 2022), as described by Brännlund (Brännlund 2019): “I believe that the rupture needs healing.” Here rupture means the division of land-rights into two: reindeer owners and non-reindeer owners and its consequences in Sami livelihood, culture, identity etc. As for the last question on the relevance of Sámi Indigenous People's worldview to today's society, we have heard some advice from Sámi informants to the world: Listen to traditional knowledge, show respect to the land, share resources with others and future generation, and be content with where one lives as related to travel and pandemic. At the center of all the different parts is the common Sámi worldview regarding the approach to nature/land which is holistic including spirituality, as everything is alive.

Many similarities are found between Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples regarding respect for nature and a holistic worldview for seeing human and nature relationships (FSSG\_Report 2020). Regarding today's society challenges on climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic, it is a good time to re-examine the Indigenous Peoples' worldview and traditional practices. To summarize, we find that the following quotation from Prof. Noam Chomsky, a well-known American linguist, made during an interview at his office



家乔姆斯基（Noam Chomsky）教授在麻省理工学院办公室接受采访时的讲话与本研究的結果相关（Spannos 2015）：

在世界各地，是原住民社区在拖我们的后腿：加拿大的第一民族，玻利维亚的原住民，澳大利亚的土著居民，印度的部落民。但不可想象的是，在全世界范围内，我们称之为“原始人”的那些人正试图阻止我们这些自称“开明”的人彻底陷入灾难之中。

具有不可思议的讽刺意味的是，在世界各地，试图挽救一个物种于危难的领导力量是土著群体。

本研究有其局限性。首先，样本限于 5 位受访者，他们可能无法代表所有生活在瑞典的萨米人。第二，受新冠肺炎疫情的限制，访谈主要以网络视频、书面或电话的形式进行，而非面对面。这为信息采集造成了局限，比如受访者与研究者之间的身体语言和交流。第三，其中一位受访人不是萨米人，他可能会引入带有偏见的知识。但是，不是所有的萨米人都享有一样的文化和知识并按照传统萨米人那样思考。如 5 号受访者所强调的：“当谈及萨米文化和自然资源利用时，很重要的一点是要意识到，我们并不是背景相同、成长经历也相同的一个简单的整体。人们一般会说，在我们家，我们这样那样做，或者说我们用我们的方式使用资源。其他家庭可能有他们自己的、不一样的习惯和土地资源使用方式。……很明显，代际知识传承的传统是各不相同的。……从新老文献里获取萨米文化和自然利用的知识是有局限性的。原因显而易见，你必须有机会在萨米人的日常生活、家庭生活里思考，了解游牧社会的萨米人如何生存。”所以，非萨米受访人也可以是一个不错的资源，向我们概括不同的萨米观念，尤其是考虑到，这位受访人的萨米植物知识除了来自于书本资料外，还来自于他在过去 40 年里采访过的许许多多萨米人。最后，整个研究过程基本由研究者（JLH）完全独自完成，从研究设计，到寻找、联络和采访受访人，再到访谈资料分析，再到论文撰写，只有两次访谈是有一位同事参与并讨论了访谈提纲。虽然研究者有草药医学背景，且在瑞典的日常生活里使用植物，但她对萨米文化和萨米研究的知识和经验都是有限的。毫无疑问这会给本研究带来一些基于个人视角的偏见。本文的另外 4 位作者也是受访人的一部分，他们阅读了论文草稿并给出了意见。最终版本纳入了所有受访者的观点和意见，以及研究者于 2021 年 6 月在 Várdduo 讲

at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is relevant to the findings of this study (Spannos 2015):

*All over the world, it's the Indigenous communities trying to hold us back: First Nations in Canada, Indigenous people in Bolivia, Aborigines in Australia, tribal people in India. It's phenomenal all over the world that those who we call 'primitive' are trying to save those of us who we call 'enlightened' from total disaster.*

*It's a kind of incredible irony that all over the world the leading forces in trying to prevent a race to disaster are the Indigenous communities.*

This study has its limitations. First the sample is limited to five informants who may not represent all Sámi persons living in Sweden. Second, due to COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, the interviews were conducted mainly in the forms of online video, writing or telephone, not in person. This has limitations on the information received, such as the view of body language and interactions between research participants and the researcher. Third, one informant is non-Sámi which may introduce knowledge bias. However, not all the Sámi People have the same culture and knowledge and think like traditional Sámi. As stressed by Informant 5 “*When talking about Sami culture and the use of nature's resources, it is important to realize that we are not a simple one unit of people with the same background and upbringing relationship. It is often said that in our family we did so and so or that we used the resources in our way. Other families may have had their own and different habits and use of land resources.... the tradition of passing on knowledge from generation to generation differs markedly. ... Knowledge acquired through older and newer literature on Sami culture and nature use has its limitations. For obvious reasons, one must have the opportunity to think in Sámi everyday life and Sámi family life and how Sámi lived in a nomadic society.*” Therefore, the non-Sámi informant can also be a good source of knowledge summary of different Sámi views, especially since the sources of Sámi plant knowledge of this non-Sámi informant came from interviews of many Sámi over four decades besides reading books. Finally, in this study process, the researcher (JLH) has carried out this study almost entirely alone, from designing the study, to searching, contacting and interviewing informants, to analyzing the interview data, to writing the paper, except for two interviews that a colleague has participated in and discussed interview guides. Although the researcher has a background in herbal medicine and used plants for her daily life in Sweden, she has limited knowledge and experiences in Sámi culture and Sámi research. This has, no doubt, introduced bias with personal perspective into this study. The four other co-authors of this study are part of the informants and have read through the manuscript and commented. The final version has taken into all of the informants' views and comments, as well as feedbacks from her colleagues in Várdduo during and after her seminar given in June 2021. Hopefully the

座后，从同事们那里得到的反馈。希望研究者的偏见已减少到最低限度。

## 结 论

在这项关于萨米植物利用和自然 / 土地关系的访谈研究中，我们发现萨米人关于植物的传统知识非常丰富。他们与自然 / 土地的关系非常密切、直接、相互尊重，但也因殖民化而受到创伤。随着年长的知识持有者的消失，萨米人面临着失去这些丰富知识的危机。萨米人的整体世界观对当今社会十分重要。他们需要治愈历史创伤，以便瑞典的萨米土著人民能够在保护植物和其他文化知识以及改善他们的福祉方面取得进展。

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Arnold T

researcher's bias has been reduced to a minimum.

## Conclusion

In this interview study about Sámi's plant uses and relationships with nature/land, we have found that Sámi traditional knowledge on plants is very rich. Their relationship with nature/land is very close, direct, respectful but also traumatic due to colonization. The Sámi People is facing the risk of losing this rich knowledge as old knowledge holders are disappearing. Sámi holistic worldview has great relevance to today's society. Healing the historical trauma is needed so that Sámi Indigenous People in Sweden can move forward in preserving the plant and other cultural knowledge and in improving their wellbeing.

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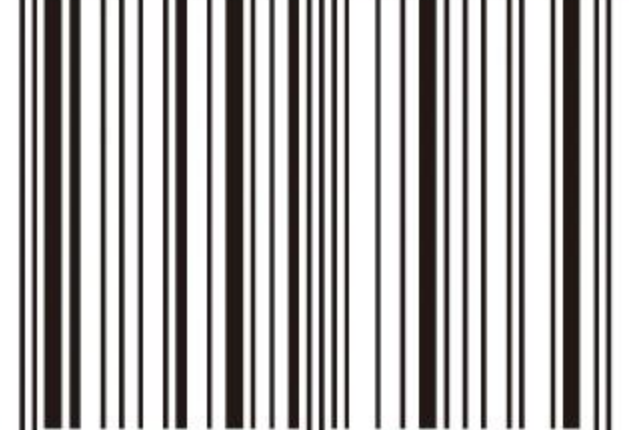
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