

Answer and comment to question 1.

The parallel, but separate spaces, in the belief in the existential universe of the individual - a hypothesis.

My hypothesis is that in the individual Greenlanders' world of beliefs there are two different perceptions. The two beliefs can be or are parallel and are in separate spaces in the individual's consciousness. I believe the two have existed since the introduction of Christianity. I am not in favor of generalizations; therefore, I am talking about individuals and not about the population as a whole. The idea arose when I published the small booklet about the storyteller Joas Andersen's (1901-1986) story about the last murder in pagan ways in 1812 in Uummannaq. In the booklet is also an audio CD, where Andersen tells about his own upbringing, where he tells that he had been brought up in a 'pagan way' in parallel with his Christian upbringing. It was to ensure him a long life because his two older brothers died at birth. (Lyberth 2013).

In his book 'The New Greenlanders', Pastor Emeritus Henrik Wilhjelm (2008), in the section 'Folk Faith and Christian Faith' (pages 213-232), describes a number of examples from Greenlandic catechists' observations about mixing folk belief and Christian faith. As a reason for this, Wilhjelm writes: "Apart from Toornaarsuk, who was made a devil and thereby kept as a reality, it was mostly the smaller spirits who remained real to the Greenlanders after they had become Christians. As these spirits were attached to the reality in and of which the Greenlanders continued to live, foreign spirits would not be able to replace them. The Greenlanders took beliefs and ideas from the legends that the Europeans had no sense of. There was a sharp boundary. This was not about treasures and princesses, but about magic potions for power and captivity. - The strangers came across the sea from another world, also filled with power and sorcery, but of a foreign nature as the Bible reported. Outwardly, the Greenlanders adopted the Bible's precepts, but the missionaries were not really able to apply this knowledge to them. On the other hand, the Greenlanders themselves largely merged the new teachings with the old ideas - without the mission's knowledge". And a little later Wilhelm wrote thus: "A person as prominent as Henrik Lund agrees with other theological views, but never with superstition. For good reason: he himself was superstitious." (Wilhjelm, 2008: 213). Lund's belief in the magical abilities of the spirits was also reflected in his preface to the National Council's 25th anniversary publication, where he believed that the reason for the northerners disappeared from Greenland was because they did not have shamans among them. (Lund, 1936: 6). This example is also used by the neo-religious to legitimize their modern belief.

The Greenlandic philosophical Catholic priest, Finn Lynge has described the phenomenon with the parallel, but separate, spaces in the individual's consciousness in his book 'What now? Thoughts on God for diversion and gathering'. He writes: "If you read Georg Quppersimann's 'my Eskimo past', there are two things that come to mind: First, it is quite clear that when he was baptized, it did not happen that he wrote off the reality of the pagan the spirit world. It is clear that throughout most of the book he describes the pagan parnas as the apparent reality. Tupilaks were real, alive and deadly. His helping spirits were there, appeared to him, helped him. No missionary makes him say it was hallucinations and lies and deception. It was a reality. It just so happened that exactly that reality, so to speak, was getting tired. It had had its time, the wheel of the world was turning, and new times were coming, inevitable. It was in recognition

of this that he made the decision to turn his back on his spirituality and be baptized.

These are two worlds that are impossible to maintain at the same time. He had to choose; he faced an either-or. And he made his choice. No one forced him" (Lynge 2008: 111-112. Finn Lynge. 1933-2015. Studied philosophy and theology (Catholic) in France 1954-56, and in Rome and the United States 1957-6).

I agree with Lynge on one thing and disagree with him on another. I agree with him that the conversion to Christianity in Greenland took place at his own free choice, but I disagree with him that the 2 sets of reality he is talking about could not be maintained at the same time. As I see it, the voluntary conversion took place at the expense of opting out of many original customs and traditions. It is the opt-out, forced or voluntary, that the neo-religious today use to criticize Christianity as an attack on Greenland's original culture and religion.

As for the 2 sets of reality, history shows precisely that they have existed side by side, and are still existing, more or less visible to anyone to see. Therefore, there is an immediate thought that the 2 sets of reality are close to the Greenlandic people's mind, despite the fact that I try to avoid generalizations. During our conversation, Bishop Sofie Petersen also acknowledged that she believes that among her congregation there are people who she believes can accommodate the two sets of reality. As an example, she told of her encounter with a man, who had been locked inside of ice when he was hunting seals in his kayak, and risked die unless he could get out of the big ices grip. To save himself, the hunter had been forced to send prayers away. Then he could sail out with his kayak and come home well. To this day, the hunter has refused to tell whom he had sent his prayers. But it had been important for him, as a confessor, to tell the bishop about the incident. The bishop himself is a staunch opponent of clairvoyants and healers, who for a fee heal and claim to send souls beyond. At the same time, it is not uncommon for her and her colleagues to be asked to come to homes where there are ghosts. The only thing that helps in such situations is the prayer Our Father, emphasizes the bishop.

Such perceptions indicate to me that the parallel but separate spaces in the imaginary world of the individual, still exist in the present. Therefore, I agree with Provost Emeritus Magnus Larsen that an individual can well hold a parallel religious identity. One identity may be dominant, while the other must conform to the circumstances. I therefore believe that for many in Greenland it is not a question of either or, but rather of both and.

I believe that even among clergy in the field of the Greenland National Church, there are people who, like Blessed Henrik Lund, accept the existence of folk beliefs. The Greenlandic National Church has its basic images in the Bible, the Sacraments, the Apostilicum, Næcinum and Athanasium, the Augustburg Confession and in Luther's catechism. These preachings must be seen in relation to the folk beliefs in Greenland. One must read through these heavy texts in the Bible, to understand them thoroughly. Greenland has only had almost 200 years of tradition of reading and studying at close reading. On the other hand, the population has over 1000 years of storytelling tradition. It is in the storytelling tradition that folk beliefs are preserved and developed in modern Greenland.

When you ask a person in Greenland about their faith, the answer is often the following: 'Yes, I am baptized and confirmed, therefore in principle a Christian, but ...'

In Greenland there is no church tax as in Denmark. Therefore, it has no (economic) significance for many in Greenland whether they are members of the Greenland National Church or not. In modern Greenland, religion is a

private matter. Unlike previous generations, no one keeps an eye on whether you come to church or not. The consequence of when a person signs out of the congregation only becomes apparent when one dies and the question of where one may be buried becomes topical.

As for the actors in the neo-religious field, revitalized pre-Christian beliefs are more dominant than the Christian beliefs. Some actors have completely opted out of Christianity, while others are both. But they use the text of the Bible to reflect on, and thus playtime, their ideas in relation to lay people and in relation to the church.

It is in the neo-religious field that syncretism develops, in the individual, inspired by other peers, and with the help of guidance from modern shamans.

The motive for the neo-religious field originating in Greenland is for me more difficult to analyze. However, I believe that it happened in the wake of the cultural revitalization that is continuously taking place in Greenland. There are also indications that this happens on the basis of the individual actor's search for a new identity in life's creations. In the process of gaining a new personal identity, some actors seek spiritual guidance. Several actors from the neo-religious field, have said that they had written off the way they lived, 'when they reached the bottom', and that they were reborn. From here, they started a search for a new religious identity. The reasons can be various personal complexes and conflicts, including bad experiences with the Christian faith. Their previous identity was associated with Christianity and the term 'kalaaleq' (Greenlander). Here, too, the neo-religious claim that it is the strangers who have imposed on them that identity. In the neo-religious field, the actors therefore prefer the term 'inuk', which was the term of the pagan ancestors for themselves. Put into my hypothesis of 'parallel identities', one can therefore see that the neo-religious have chosen 'the identity as inuk (a human being)' and opted out of the Christian identity.

This choice and opt-out fits well into the explanation of why revitalization occurs, namely the notion that everything was better in the past. If we look at the global definition of neo-religiousness, we can see that it also fits into the neo-religious field in Greenland. The actors in the field have not invented a new religion, but take parts from already known beliefs, and thus the Greenlandic syncretism arises. Therefore, it is also my assumption that persons who, through the process of revitalization, are engaged in 'religious renewal in their interiors', opt out of church without, however, completely abandoning the Christian faith, precisely because of the 'parallel religious identity'. As in the wider world, the 'new' in the neo-religious field in Greenland thus also only consists in the fact that it is a relatively new phenomenon that has become visible within the last few decades.

Over time, new ones have been added to the folk belief from the global village, which today is mixed into 'old Greenlandic' performances. The individual today has his religious freedom to confuse the perception of his faith. The degree of confusion will always depend on the habitus and capital of the individual actor, the doxa of the field, the search for identity and awareness of views on life, views on the cosmos and interest in religions. To this can be added the individual's desire for personal freedom and thus independent for himself, for his people and for his country.

Answer and comment to question 2.

As I described it on the first question, I believe that the two beliefs have existed and been quietly accepted over time. Under colonial rule, the Greenlandic folk church / mission fought with words and arguments some

people's attempts to start "other Christian faiths than the Lutheran". But as far as "the old beliefs" were concerned, not much was made of it.

As early as 1868, 150 years after the introduction of Christianity in West Greenland, the then Inspector of South Greenland, H.J. Rink states that the mixed beliefs existed in the Greenlandic Christian congregation. He did this in his descriptions entitled "about the Greenlanders' old faith and what has been preserved during Christianity" (Rink 1868). The ancient pagan Greenlanders already had a religion when the mission came to the country in 1721. The purpose was to convert Greenlanders to Christianity. It was here that the two beliefs began to mix. According to Rink (1868), Danish missions turned the highest pre-Christian Greenlandic being and source of wisdom 'Toornaarsuk' into a devil. Thus, the missionaries turned a certain positively imagined being into a negative / evil being in the other belief, leaving the rest alone.

Furthermore, Rink wrote that the more enlightened angakkut (spirit manners / Shamans) recognized that Europeans were even greater Angakkut than themselves. It is known, according to Rink, that the first Dutch and Danes who arrived with large ships from the open sea, after closer acquaintance, were put in the same class as mighty spiritual beings and asked them to breathe on sick people and on throwing weapons, and that pieces of European clothing were used as arnuat (amulets). Thus, in their encounter with the missionaries, the spirit leaders adopted them as 'super-spirits' who could be used as auxiliary spirits. Although the spirit men lost authority during the advent of Christianity, the Greenlandic people maintained the notion that the missionaries possessed a spiritual power they could use in the practice of the pagan religion.

That part of the original Greenlandic folk belief, namely the shaman's exercise of getting in touch with his auxiliary spirits via his magic drum, was banned. Likewise, hundreds of taboos and rules of conduct that particularly affected women, children and the sick and disabled people, very hard, keep them in oppression, were banned, just as blood revenge and enmity between family for generations were banned. The shaman was the one who kept an eye on whether all taboos and rules of living were observed. But with the spread of Christianity, the shaman lost his authority. I believe that the Christian message that "you must love your neighbor as yourself" came as a liberation for many - especially women. There are also many accounts that shamans who were first against the Christians got sight and met Jesus, where they then, voluntarily traveled to the missionaries to be baptized.

I am therefore more convinced that the introduction of Christianity - over time - created the way for human rights in Greenland, especially for women. And with religious freedom in Greenland, it is free for anyone to choose the religion with which one can identify. But this is not to say that the Greenlandic national church is not trying to maintain its position of power.

### Answer and comment to question 3.

In the original Inuit religion, there were hundreds of taboos and rules of living. Polar researcher Knud Rasmussen has written down 500 taboos and rules of living from the original faith. Others have also collected and described such rules, e.g. H.J. Rink, Kristoffer Lynge, and Jakob Olsen. We must remember that Inuit Greenlanders did not have a written language. All rules and taboos were handed down by oral telling tradition. Jakob Olsen, who was with Knud Rasmussen's first wintering in Baffin Island - Hudson Strait in Canada - on his way to the big dog sled expedition - 5th Thule expedition across Canada to Siberia - writes that he was very impressed

with how well all taboos and rules were observed - even though it was hard on women and children. Christian Rosing, who was one of the first Greenlandic missionaries in East Greenland, has described that women had no rights. Eg. he describes that young women only at the age of 20-25 may have been married and divorced 5-6-7 times because the man has the right to throw them out of their house when they are tired of them. The man also had the right to use violence against his women - also to stab them with a knife, to prevent them from fleeing. This was told by the shaman George Quppersimann from East Greenland.

The influence of Christianity has clearly had a very positive effect on the issue of gender equality in Greenland. The result we can see today is how far the majority of well-educated academics are women.

#### Answer and comment to question 4, 5 og 6.

In connection with my master's thesis at the University of Copenhagen, I have researched pre-Christian beliefs in the present. The thesis is written in Danish. In Section 3.0: Empirical Material and Collection Method. 4.0: Analysis - selected cases. 5 Discussion, as well as 6: conclusion, answers to these questions can be found.

My empirical material shows that there is a group of drummers who, according to their own statements, get into a trance and get in touch with their ancestors, which leads me to assume that the traditional drum qilaat has gained a special significance for them as a religious instrument. The material also shows that the phenomenon of modern spirit manners is gaining ground and is widely accepted in and outside the neo-religious field in Greenland. That the neo-religious profess primarily to pre-Christian beliefs, but also use the Bible to mirror themselves in order to find comparable elements. Finally, the answers from the qualitative questionnaire survey show that there is strong sympathy for the pre-Christian notions, where someone has even opted out of the Christian faith.

#### Conclusion:

believe I have received answers to my questions about whether revitalized pre-Christian beliefs with syncretistic traits and tendencies are gaining ground among actors in the field I describe as the neo-religious field in Greenland. I have also shown that the use of the traditional drum, qilaat, has initiated subjective processes in some actors, which are different from previous similar cultural revitalizations, so that qilaat has become a sacred instrument for them. Finally, I have explained that in Greenland there are actors who can be described as modern spirit leaders in the neo-religious field. Beliefs in the field are mixed performances from pagan Greenlandic beliefs and Christianity. The actors in the field have not as such invented new kinds of religion but use mixed old beliefs. The new thing is that the neo - religious field is a relatively new phenomenon, and that the actors in the field are constantly trying to find elements in the Bible that are comparable to pre-Christian customs and beliefs in Greenland. In this way, the neo-religious legitimize their beliefs in relationships

67

to the surrounding community and not least in relation to the Greenlandic National Church. The motive for the emergence of the neo-religious field seems to be the desire not to be submissive to Christianity. The actors perceive Christianity as a colonialist religion that has degraded original Greenlandic customs and beliefs, and by aggression has

deprived the Greenlandic population of their original identity. Thus, there also seemed to be political undertones in the neo-religious field.

The neo-religious have repeatedly challenged the Danish National Church's actors with actions and beliefs that have caused a stir and debate in the Greenlandic public, and at times shaken the Danish National Church. Due to religious freedom in Greenland, the Danish National Church's opportunities to 'defeat' the neo-religious have been limited to verbal struggles for dominance in the Greenlandic religious field. In previous similar attempts at confrontation and rebellion, the threat of exclusion from the community of the Danish National Church and thus the exclusion of the community in the local community, has been a preventive and effective tool for the Danish National Church.

Seen in historical perspective, the pre-Christian Greenlandic beliefs and the Christian faith have existed in parallel, side by side, since the mission's arrival. This led to my hypothesis that the individual can well accommodate parallel but separate spaces and religious identities. I mean to be able to state that the neo-religious field contains a desire and a dream of personal independence and freedom - a dream of freedom and independence that one in one's imaginary world believes that one's ancestors once had.

According to Bourdieu, a thematic field in the social space can only exist as long as the actors in the field believe that there is a value capital that the actors can fight for. The capital the actors in the field are fighting for is the religious cultural capital with political undertones. If one accepts that the neo - religious field arose in the wake of the Greenlandic cultural revitalization, one can also imagine that the neo - religious field will gain more actors and sympathizers over time in line with the Greenlandic population's growing desire for independence. In other words, that 'identity inuk' will at some point be dominant in relation to the identity 'the Christian man'. It can take many years, maybe one or two generations will pass, but as the drummer Leiffi said to me: "Time works for us" (Leiffi 2015, appendix 1). But so far it is only my hypothesis.

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