

MATTI SARMELA

# FINNISH FOLKLORE ATLAS



4<sup>th</sup> partially revised edition  
Helsinki 2009

MATTI SARMELA

**FINNISH FOLKLORE  
ATLAS**

**Ethnic Culture of Finland 2**

Translated from Finnish by

**Annira Silver**

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## Foreword

**Perspectives of the work.** "This work has been in the making for thirty years. In that time, Finnish society has experienced the most profound structural change in its history and become centralized as a scientific-technical state culture. The tradition of village man has been displaced: this is the time of centralized systems and global narratives. Finland is involved in building a common European continent state, and the ideology of nation states – national culture – will perhaps in turn lose its significance. Centralized systems have come and gone. With the Atlas, I have revisited times a long way back in the past of Finno-Ugrian peoples, the culture of man who lived in the natural environment. There the structural changes have begun, and from there originate the characteristics that entitle the Finns to distinguish themselves from other peoples, from universal man." These were the words I used to open the Foreword to the first edition in 1993.

According to current understanding, the Finno-Ugrians are European indigenous peoples who already lived on this continent during the last Ice Age, maybe before it, before the arrival of the Aryan and Slavic peoples. The Finno-Ugrians were among European aborigines; they were peoples of post-Ice Age sea coasts and inland waterways, part of the ecohistory of northern forests and boglands. They belonged to the peoples who have left the oldest cultural traces on the continent. Thus, this Atlas provides some insights into the nature of indigenous European peoples, and the kinds of structural changes man's cultural systems have undergone in northern areas.

*Finnish Folklore Atlas – Ethnic Culture of Finland 2* describes Finnish and Karelian culture from the fishing-hunter-gatherer era to that of peasant society. In the Finnish runes in archaic meter speak the shamans of hunter communities, who dealt with human souls, and the sorcerers of swidden cultures, masters of incantations, who dealt with people through words. The first map concerns bear rites, the background of which is the religion of the earliest hunter-gatherers of northern peoples and probably of Europe.

In this Atlas, culture does not consist of traditions, permanence, or continuous reproduction of tradition, but adaptation of individual man and human communities to the future, to their future environment. The Finnish past is a series of irrevocable structural changes, and the changes are continuing. Today, local cultures everywhere are forced to adapt to a postlocal world and an environment governed by global technosystems. Traditions, cultures, have their own life cycle; while building its future, each generation is forced to destroy the culture of its childhood, to adapt to its constantly changing environment, to reassemble its life again and again, to believe in new explanations, new folklore.

**Aims of the mapping.** The Atlas is an attempt to construct the salient features of entire cultural systems, the *hunting*, *swidden* and *agrarian cultures*, in the light of Finnish-Karelian material. This has been possible because (1) the Finnish Folklore Atlas is founded on one of the largest national folklore archives in the world; it has been possible to include maps from many different areas of life and on topics that can no longer be mapped elsewhere. Systematic folklore collection has been taking place

in Finland for more than 150 years, and the Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives alone contain about 5 million units of recorded folk culture. (2) The poetry in the old meter preserved in the Finnish-Karelian culture area, from which the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, was assembled, is extremely archaic and contains elements rooted in the culture of northern hunter-fishermen. (3) In Finland, culture systems have coexisted longer than elsewhere in western Europe, and the distribution maps can be used to compare the differences between, for example, western agrarian culture and eastern swidden culture.

The Atlas addresses collective culture, common customs, and speech that has become crystallized as tradition. Folklore reflects, often expressed in allegorical terms, man's endeavors of the time and his interpretations of the reality surrounding him, his ideas of a good life and good relationships, but also the boundaries and social necessities that maintain cultural order. We know that in the past, man has expressed himself through singing, telling stories, or by using allegories and proverbs. Folklore has also included the language of incantations or rites, used by the consciousness technicians of each culture era when taking control of the knowledge of the otherworldly environment of the time, creating mental imagery and explanations of a secure future. The distribution maps reveal the people who lived in the various environments and who felt that the narration of their time concerned them. At all times, human ecosystems have also been influenced by an external, visible or invisible threat: the strange world on the other side, the uncertain future.

The early part of the Atlas introduces the cyclic and calendric rites of the different eras, annual festivals, courtship customs of the young, the turning points of human life. Included are the actants of communities, masters and mistresses of houses, spokesmen at weddings, performers of their time, but also narrators and their worlds, the supernatural inhabitants of man's living environment, and the devil of Christianity, the most influential environmental figure of the time. About half of the maps concern narratives and epic poetry in archaic meter, from pre-Christian epics to the ballads and Christian legend runes of the Middle Ages. They are only examples of the thousands of narratives and songs known by people in the local culture era in Finland. Through these runes speak the singers of many different eras, the man of evolving cultivating villages of the Iron Age, medieval kinship culture, and Christian peasant community. In different cultural systems, the message of tradition and even its structures are different; in structural changes of culture, man has changed his ideas, reinterpreted the framework of his life and the surrounding reality, new threats and new possibilities.

The Folklore Atlas has specific theoretical and practical aims. I do not attempt to interpret the maps from general cognitive perspectives or those of evolution psychology or bioecology, but try to construct the experiences and thinking of man who has lived in different cultural environments. In this work, folklore is set in the environment in which it has lived. The Atlas is founded on systematic analysis of tens of thousands, a total of hundreds of thousands, recorded folklore notes; the distribution maps are in themselves ethnographic research results. The Finnish Folklore Atlas is about Finnish folk culture, and although the mapped themes are often wide-ranging, even universal, the references aim to introduce primarily Finnish and Karelian research.

**Editions of the Atlas.** *Suomen perinneatlas* was published in 1994, when two editions were printed; in the same year it won the *Tieto-Finlandia* Prize. A German edition was published in 2000 under the direction of Dr Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra. In 2007, the Finnish Cultural Foundation awarded a grant to Annira Silver, BA, for translating the work into English. While editing the English edition, I have also digitalized the Finnish version of *Perinneatlas*, which is published as a CD book, but it is also available as a free download on the Internet.

For the German edition, I have written a new, more extensive review of the various cultural periods. This English edition includes the Introduction from the German edition, again extended a little. The maps of the Atlas and the associated articles are in their original form, although the references have been augmented with literature published after the publication of the Atlas. Only the article on the bear has been significantly extended: the bear map is the key to the oldest cultural periods and structural changes of tradition.

Thanks for the publication of the English edition are due to the translator, Annira Silver. The Atlas is a real mammoth translation assignment, which she approached with efficiency and tenacity. Some of the rune translations are loosely based on Keith Bosley's translation of the *Kalevala*, and the bear rune translations are by Ritva Poom. I would also like to extend my thanks to Secretary General *Urpo Vento* and Professor *Pekka Laaksonen* for their valuable support.

The translation project was funded by the *Finnish Cultural Foundation* and the *Alfred Kordelin Foundation*. The work is published in digital format both as a CD book and an e-book on the Internet; the intention is to send the CD Atlas to the libraries of universities and research institutes all over the world.

Helsinki 6.4.2009

Matti Sarmela

# ATLAS OF FINNISH CULTURE

# MAPPING TECHNIQUE

## ***The base map***

**Finnish-Karelian culture area.** The base map of the Atlas covers the historical area where *Finnish* and *Karelian* populations have lived in Finland and outside her borders in Russia, Sweden and Norway. Ancient areas inhabited by Karelians and other Baltic-Finnic peoples beyond Finland's eastern border are Dvina and Olonets, as well as Ingria, which lies to the south of the Gulf of Finland. Dvina and Olonets combined is called East Karelia in Finland, and during the Soviet era it formed most of the autonomic Soviet Republic of Karelia. East Karelia has been inhabited by Karelians as far as the White Sea and areas beyond Lake Onega, but the eastern and northern sides of Lake Onega had already become Russian by the early 1900s. South Karelia or the Karelian Isthmus and the province of Ladoga Karelia have been parts of the independent state of Finland, but the peace terms of the Second World War attached them to the then Soviet Union, and the entire population of the area was relocated to Finland.

Of the Baltic-Finnic peoples, the *Ludians* (speakers of Ludian dialects) live in the area between the lakes Onega and Ladoga, and the southernmost are the *Vepsians* around the river Svir. The Ludians have not been studied separately, and only incidental information from the Vepsian areas is included. The Atlas also mentions the Orthodox *Tver Karelians*, whose ancestors in Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia fled the persecution of Lutheran Finns in the 16th and 17th centuries, and moved to an area near Moscow. The material collected among the Tver Karelians, as well as that from the Värmland Finns in Sweden, helps in dating the life cycles of cultural phenomena.

Ingria is the ancient domain of the *Votians* and Karelians. During the Swedish empire, Ingria was annexed to Sweden-Finland, and mainly in the 17th century, the province was resettled by the originally Finnish *Savakot* and *Äyrämöiset* ethnic groups, whose tribal names refer to their places of origin, South Savo and the jurisdictional district of Äyräpää on the Karelian Isthmus. The small indigenous population of the province, Izhorians (Izhors; Fi. *Inkerikot* or *Inkeroinet*), kept their Orthodox religion right up to the 1900s. Izhorian villages remained particularly on the coast of western Ingria right up to the Estonian border, while the Votians (Ru. *tsud*) had already almost disappeared by the early 1900s. During the period covered by the Atlas, the Lutheran *Savakko* and *Äyrämöinen* tribal groups – Finns according to modern definition – formed the main population of Ingria, and the province maintained close links to the Karelian Isthmus.

From northern Sweden are included the ancient Finnish parishes of Norrbotten, and from northern Norway the Finnish areas of Finnmark and Troms (Fi. Ruija) on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Finns or

## Baltic Sea Finns. Ancient Culture Circle around Gulf of Finland



Kvens settled on the Arctic Ocean coast in the 1800s, and towards the end of the century they formed the majority population of northernmost Norway (Finnmark) for a long time.

The maps also contain information concerning *Värmland Finns* in Sweden. The Värmland Finns, who in the 16th and 17th centuries had moved to the forests of central Sweden and partially also across the Norwegian border, were swidden farmers from Savo, who for a long time led an isolated life and were even persecuted by the surrounding populations; the material collected among them moves the map data back by centuries.

Many of the maps also include the Swedish-speaking coastal parishes of Finland, but the mapping has not been consistent. Dedicated maps of the material tradition of the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland (Ahlbäck 1945) already exist, and they are included in the Atlas of Swedish folklore (*Atlas över svensk folkkultur*). Only one map (no. 2) directly concerns the *Sami (Lappish)* people.

**Municipal divisions and locality indices.** The local divisions of the base map (appendix) are those of the 1910 rural municipalities; the Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia were at that time a part of Finland. In Dvina and Olonets, the municipalities are defined according to the census carried out in Soviet Karelia in 1925, as detailed material exists on it. In Ingria, the local divisions are based on the Lutheran parishes in the early 1900s. Thus, the base map comprises the rural parishes of the peasant culture period before World War I, and the municipal divisions of areas outside Finland also date from roughly the same period.

In ancient Finnish farming areas, especially Varsinais-Suomi, parishes are small compared to the sparsely populated, large municipalities in eastern and northern Finland. It was difficult to fit even a single map symbol in many parishes around Turku, while in the parishes of eastern Finland the map symbols look visually thin on the ground. Consequently, the parishes in eastern and northern Finland, Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia have been divided into districts comprising several villages, following roads or waterways. On the base map, these parish sections are marked with letters (see locality index). In Dvina and Olonets, villages in the 1800s were administrative units (*mir* system), and, for example, runes in the old meter were localized into 'rune villages' that are now shown in the locality index. More detailed information on villages in East Karelia, Ingria and Ruija may be found in the index created alongside the Atlas: Viljo Nissilä - Matti Sarmela - Aino Sinisalo, *Ethnologisches Ortschafts- und Dorfregister des finnischen Sprachgebiets* (Studia Fennica 15).

## **Material of the Atlas**

**Source of the materials.** The maps are based on folklore archives, particularly the collections in the *Finnish Literature Society (SKS) Folklore Archives*, the *Finnish National Board of Antiquities Ethnological Collections (KA)* and those of the *Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (KOTUS)*. All known sources were searched for material, and the Atlas has a dedicated reference and system file index, which is kept in the Finnish Literature Society Literary Archive.

The Finnish folklore archives hold (1) folklore and oral history recorded by researchers and collectors, (2) personal information and memoirs sent by local enthusiasts and people interested in local history, usually responses to thematic questionnaires or collection contests organized by the archives. Exten-

sive folklore surveys covering the whole country have been organized since the 1930s. The collections of the Folklore Archives received a great boost with the general folklore collection competition in the *Kalevala* Jubilee Year 1935-1936; the collections exceeded the mark of a million numbered items of folklore information. The collection work continues: today's subjects are the traditions of various occupational groups, life histories of the unemployed or women's life experiences in Finnish society. The Folklore Archive collections now comprise about 5 million numbered items of folklore and oral history. In the same vein, the National Board of Antiquities Department of Ethnology has collected ethnological material since the 1800s, for example customs and festival traditions. In Finland, the study of dialects and folk culture are closely interconnected, and collectors of dialects have at the same time recorded folklore or oral history about local customs and other culture.

A whole network of regular respondents has evolved around the Finnish folklore and language archives. For the Atlas, an informant network of about 3,000 people was assembled from the respondents of the Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives, the Finnish National Board of Antiquities Department of Ethnology, and the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland, which was employed when checking distribution boundaries. The work of filling in the gaps and checking took more than three years, and dozens of folklore questionnaires were prepared in that time.

By sending the questionnaire to regular respondents in different parishes, almost all the distribution areas were checked, and either a positive or negative confirmation obtained from parishes that would otherwise have been left blank. Archive material can never be comprehensive, and information from many areas is scant. Most material comes from the Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia; migrants who moved into Finland from areas ceded to the Soviet Union have wanted to record their memories of their homeland.

Material was sourced from local studies, parish histories, and publications on local history and dialects. All Finnish-language literature on local history published at the time was examined for the Atlas. Missing information was also sought from the collections of the departments of folkloristics in the universities of Turku, Jyväskylä, and Tampere. During a visit to Petrozavodsk in the then Soviet Union in 1965, the Atlas workers had an opportunity of supplementing the variant lists for the maps of runes and laments in the old meter in the folklore archives of the Karelian Filial of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, the present Karelian Research Center.

**Period covered by the material.** Folklore was first recorded in Sweden-Finland by the clergy in the 1700s and published in dictionaries, doctoral dissertations, and parish reviews. Later in the 1800s, folk culture was important as the Finnish-speaking intelligentsia was creating the independent national state and its own Finnish identity. The nationalistic endeavors of Finnish educated classes were united by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) established in 1831. One of the first collectors of folklore was Elias Lönnrot, who in the 1820s set out to collect epic poetry in archaic meter, and discovered the rune tradition that had survived in Karelia. His publication of the national epic *Kalevala* (1835-1836) evoked a nationalistic fervor. Young representatives of the Finnish intelligentsia set off to Karelia and Ingria to collect folk poetry, above all to search for the last rune singers who still remembered some of the old epic poetry. From the 1820s on, Finnish linguists and ethnographers, among the first the academician A. J. Sjögren, also extended their expeditions outside Finland, among other places to the Finno-Ugrian peoples living in northern Russia and Siberia. During the period of national romanticism, Dvina became the 'Kalevala song country' where writers, composers and painters sought the ancient roots of the Finnish people, the lost heroic era.

In independent Finland, folklore-collecting became a hobby of local people. The Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives, as well as the collections of other folklore and language archives, are mostly produced by the Finnish people, local individuals who have been interested in the history, customs and dialect of their locality. In Finnish rural areas, the idea of enlightenment, the youth association movement and the ideal of preservation of local history and folklore gained a strong position at the turn of the 20th century. The folk school system was established in Finland in the mid-1800s, and local teachers, students and other so-called intelligentsia internalized the cultural ideals of national romanticism.

The oral history collected into archives concerns the past and not often the period in which it was recorded. Tradition-bearers have usually been old people reminiscing about the customs of their childhood or folklore they heard and learned as children. The information collected in the 1930s and later often concerns a period decades earlier. The maps concerning customs and folk narrative depict the end of the 1800s and the early decades of the 1900s, up to the 1930s. Thus, the Folklore Atlas is about the tradition that was alive or known in rural areas towards the end of peasant society before the industrial revolution.

## Map-building technique

**Analysis of the material.** The notes and memoirs of the archives are spontaneous, diverse, and bound to the interests of their time. They are folk narration, dialogues of respondents and questioners, or local people's personal interpretations of their culture and environment. On the other hand, personal memoirs are also often dialogue with the archive. Like in all fieldwork and collection of material, respondents tend to fulfill expectations set at the time also for folklore discourse, to elaborate on what is topical or 'valuable' information. From the point of view of mapping, free-form folk narrative is also inadequate. For example, no description of a wedding can be 'complete', even if the archive competition questionnaires or interviews have put the questions as comprehensively as possible.

In order to prepare the maps, the archive material had to be assembled together, analyzed and interpreted. The majority of the material was transferred onto special *system cards*, onto which the material to be mapped was coded according to a *content-analytical classification framework*, using motif, content or corpus analysis. The cards could be quickly sorted by hand, which facilitated building up of the draft maps. In 1967, we moved over to punch cards and IT methods. The data was transferred from the system cards onto punch cards, and a tabulation machine was obtained for use by the Atlas. I spent many months at the machine, sorting and tabulating; this way were produced most of the statistical map representations. Some of the data groups were processed at the University of Helsinki Computing Center. As far as we know, the Finnish Folklore Atlas is the first of all ethnographical atlases to have utilized information technology. Quantitative study of archive materials and interpretation of statistical maps are beset with numerous problems, which I have explored in my book *Perinneaineiston kvantitatiivisesta tutkimuksesta* (Sarmela 1970a).

It was decided from the outset that the maps would be printed in four colors and that the map symbols could be in three colors: red, black and gray. For reasons related to printing technology, the colored symbols were glued each on their own plastic membrane, using transfers. Modern stick-on labels did not yet exist, but the transfers were made at the printing works of the National Land Survey of Finland; the beeswax used as the glue has withstood the rough handling of many years. The primary material of the

Atlas is mostly on system cards, and the archived material comprises hundreds of draft maps, from which the regionally significant folkloristic phenomena were sifted out. The references on the maps only include research studies in the field, they do not include printed descriptions of lives of the people, parish histories or other literature on local history, but information on them is in the documentary card systems of the Atlas.

**Meaning of different map types.** When studying the maps, distinctions must be drawn between (1) historical, displaced phenomena and (2) real-time phenomena, such as customs that at the time depicted by the Atlas were still living tradition. Epic poetry in archaic meter was recorded mainly only in the 1800s in Dvina, Olonets, and Ingria, to some degree also from Finnish Karelia. Lyric poetry and incantations in archaic meter survived longer and in a wider area, but all in all, rune singing in the old meter had already disappeared by the start of the 20th century. Maps of such historical phenomena do not represent actual distribution areas. The living environment (context) of runes and incantations in archaic meter has been the community of hunters and swidden farmers; they must be viewed as documents of a bygone age, with a message that might reach back thousands of years.

The maps have been assigned technical labels expressing the real content of the map as a cartographical representation.

(1) **A distribution map** shows the actual distribution of a folkloric phenomenon. Thus, it shows where some custom or perhaps a narrative has been known at the turn of the 1800s and 1900s and where it has not spread – as accurately as is possible, taking into consideration the problems of folklore collection.

(2) **An archive map** shows the locations where displaced, socially already 'dead' tradition was recorded, the distribution of archive material. It is not, therefore, a real distribution map, but shows the last recording locations of, for example, epic poetry in the old meter. The ancient epic runes have only ever been recorded in Karelia, but it is most likely that they have been sung everywhere within the circle of hunting and swidden culture.

(3) **A reconstruction map** is a simplified representation of the most extensive distribution area of the earliest form of incidence of a tradition. The map deals with phenomena that have become obscured under an expansive tradition layer, as in the map of festival bonfires (map 24). The expansive form of festival bonfires has been the Midsummer bonfire, which from the end of the 1800s spread across the whole of Finland with summer residence settlements and summer festivals. Earlier, spring bonfires or Ascension Day fires were burned in western Finland, and Easter bonfires in Ostrobothnia. When preparing the map of festive bonfires, the information on Midsummer fires has been left out if material on older customs exists from the parish. Thus, the map shows the most extensive known distribution of spring bonfires, i.e. the theoretical areas that existed before the expansion of Midsummer bonfires. In theory, changes might also be represented on 'period level maps' or by preparing maps of different points in time, but in practice the archive material is insufficient for such maps, and level maps do not provide a more accurate picture of the change than reconstruction maps.

(4) **Statistical maps** have been used to represent regional differences by using occurrence frequencies of archive information: descriptions or variants. The relative prevalence (frequency) of the alternatives of a phenomenon is calculated as percentages, usually of all information (of e.g. wedding customs) of a certain area, and the results presented as diagrams. The base regional units have been the old historical provinces, which nevertheless have been combined to form larger wholes. The computations are based on quantities of archive data and do not as such show the frequency of phenomena, but relative differences between regions or interrelations of different alternatives of a phenomenon. The interpretation

of the maps is based on the assumption that a tradition common in some region has also translated into more archive information than in other areas, or, if variations of a phenomenon are compared, the most commonly occurring form is dominant in principle, characteristic of the regional culture. The frequencies must be studied for each individual map and taking into account the problems of analyzing archive materials, but in any event, the statistics provide comparable information on regional differences in cases where they cannot be represented by map symbols.

## Mapping ethnic culture

**Background to the mapping work.** Toivo Vuorela has elucidated the history of Finnish ethnological mapping in Part I of the Atlas (*Suomen kansankulttuurin kartasto* 1. 1976). The initiative of mapping folk culture came from the Geographical Society of Finland which published *Suomen kartasto* [Atlas of Finland], including the first linguistic and ethnological maps, in 1910 and 1925. Ethnological mapping was begun in Finland in 1937, but, as was the case in the rest of Europe, the work was suspended during the wars and relaunched in the 1960s. The first ethnological atlas of Finland is Ragna Ahlbäck's *Kulturgeografiska kartor över Svenskfinland* (1945), linked to the work of producing the Swedish ethnological atlas under the leadership of Sigurd Erixon.

In 1962, the Academy of Finland awarded the Secretary of the Finnish Literature Society, Professor Toivo Vuorela, a bursary for preparing a linguistic and cultural atlas of Finland. Preparation of the folklore section of the atlas was entrusted to two young graduates, Urpo Vento and the present author. Our first task was to seek out all the existing distribution maps of folklore, published in connection with research or student dissertations. At the beginning of the following year, Vento joined the Finnish Literature Society and I remained the part-time editor of the atlas right up to the year 1970, when the project was completed. By then, the maps had been technically finished. On 15 January 1970, I have written in the atlas log: "All the maps are finished. I will make no further alterations or additions..." Part I of the Atlas, covering material culture, was published in 1976. After my move to teach cultural anthropology at the University of Helsinki, publication of the part on folklore was suspended. I have written the bulk of the articles of the Atlas over the years as a hobby, as I found it hard to accept that all the work invested in the preparation of the maps would be wasted.

Some of the material of the Atlas was collected by students of folkloristics, many of whom are today scholars in the field. While writing the articles for the maps, I have received comments from many experts, among them Professors Terho Itkonen and Mikko Korhonen, who provided crucial assistance in the preparation of the table of linguistic and cultural periods. The Academician Matti Kuusi has reviewed the articles on poetry in archaic meter. Before the work went into print – after Karelian archives were opened – the scholar Aleksi Konkka has augmented the maps and references on Dvina and Olonets. The work was rendered fit for printing by Marjatta Jauhiainen, a Researcher at the Folklore Archives; she also furnished the central motifs appearing in the maps with international index codes.

**European atlases.** In Europe, mapping of folk culture began in linguistics. The first dialect maps were August Petermann's map of the linguistic boundaries of the Alsace (1870 and 1875), followed by several others, among them the linguistic atlas of Rumania (1875, 67 maps); in the early 1800s, work began on a

linguistic atlas also in Germany. The French dialect atlas was completed in 1903-1920 and comprised all of a couple of thousand map sheets. Subsequently, several dozen linguistic atlases have been published in Central Europe alone. In Finland, too, the mapping of folk culture began from dialects, with the publication in 1940 of Lauri Kettunen's *Suomen murrekartasto* [Atlas of Finnish dialects].

To complement the linguistic maps, the preparation of ethnological and folkloristic atlases was also initiated. In Germany, work was begun on a folk culture atlas towards the end of the 1920s, and part I of the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* was completed in 1937 (H. Harmjanz and E. Röhr). A little earlier (1934-1936), *Atlas kultury Ludowej w Polsce* (K. Moszynski) had been published in Poland. In most European countries, the work of ethnological mapping was begun in the 1930s, but the atlases began to appear in print only after the Second World War. As well as in Germany (2 series), national atlases were published in Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Poland, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Hungary and Slovakia (see the appendix *European Ethnological Atlases*).

In the Soviet Union, a historical-ethnographical general atlas of Siberia and an ethnographical atlas of Russian peoples and the Baltic countries have been published, with the atlases of Ukraine and Belarus under way at the time. Ethnographical atlases have been compiled in many countries, and in recent decades historical-ethnographical atlases of many provinces (federal states) have also been compiled in, for example, France, Austria and Germany. Most of the European atlases contain almost exclusively material culture, with customs included in e.g. the German and Swiss atlases; the clearest exposition of folklore is in the second part of the Swedish atlas (*Atlas över svensk folkkultur II* 1976).

After the national atlases, European ethnology set as its goal a cultural atlas covering the whole continent. Plans were afoot among archaeologists for a European atlas in the 1870s, however, the dominant position acquired by the typological research method extinguished the interest in mapping. The first attempt at producing a pan-European ethnographical atlas was made in the 1930s, and after the World War the work was again revived by the Unesco cultural organization *Commission internationale des arts et traditions populaires*. Sigurd Erixon served as its chairman for a long period.

Many working conferences have been held in order to produce a pan-European ethnographical atlas, and the aims and editorial issues discussed. Alongside Erixon, the movers and shakers of the publication project were the Dutch P. J. Meertens and the editor of the German atlas, Mathias Zender, to mention just a couple (see Bratanic 1979). The atlas editorial office has been maintained in Bonn and Göttingen, and in 1980 was published the first, experimental map of festival bonfires, *Die Termine der Jahresfeuer in Europa*.

In conclusion of the Finnish mapping work, the fourth working conference of the European ethnological atlas was held in Helsinki in 1970. In the post-war world, the Helsinki conference was the first scientific meeting attended by scholars also from all the East European countries. Great hopes were vested in the common project. An atlas of European ethnic cultures would actually be a conclusion of the work done by e.g. the Kultukreis school. The ultimate achievement of European cartographical research would be a distribution history covering the whole continent. The atlases would combine the interest of evolutionism and diffusionism in its time, but on the other hand the atlases are still, or would be, fundamental expositions of the diversity of European ethnic cultures. The 1970s saw a profound paradigm shift, and current interpretative anthropology no longer sets itself such extensive empirical research objectives.

*On the history of mapping of Finnish folk culture:* Vilkuna K 1938a; 1962. Vuorela T 1976, 7- *On European atlas projects* Sarmela 1965; Bratanic 1979; Terentjeva 1977. *On map techniques* Sarmela 1970a.

## CULTURAL THEORY OF THE ATLAS

### ***Tradition and cultural environment***

**Theory of environmental systems.** The maps of the Folklore Atlas are not phenomenological lists of features or motifs, showing all local variants of a phenomenon, as has been the goal in European cartography. I have wanted to use the maps to create an overall picture of the major *cultural systems* of the past: the cultures of (1) northern hunters (fisher-hunter-gatherers), (2) swidden farmers and (3) landed peasants, and the chain of structural changes experienced by the Finnish-Karelian and the whole North European culture. The past has been construed by comparing structural differences in tradition in different distribution areas, and by looking for features that are typical on the one hand for the agrarian area of western Finland and, on the other, for the swidden cultivation area of eastern Finland. The distribution maps are keys to the history of structural changes, and they are the basis of the anthropological construction of the past of this work and its internal logic.

Culture systems have had their own economic and social structures, but also their ideologies or religions, the representations, rites, myths and narratives of which provided answers about man's relationship with his environment; they justify the fundamental rationality of a society functioning in its own environment. It is my view that folklore does not have its own cognitive existence in people's minds, but folklore products also have a public life cycle, they evolve to fit the expectations of the time, adapt to the structural changes of their cultural environments, and die when the culture system dies.

I view *culture* as a human operational system that adapts to the environment of its period, above all to the constant environmental changes – to the future. The approach is fundamentally one of cultural ecology, but my concepts of the human environment and the nature of man's ecosystem differ from those of classical cultural ecology. By the *environment* I mean the circumstances surrounding man and the community, the changing reality; the cultural environment is a process of change sustained by man through his constant creation of new adaptive techniques and new forms of adaptation, cultural answers. Man's environment is the world that surrounds him (*Umwelt*): the geographical, economic and social conditions within which he lives at any given time. From the individual's point of view, the environment is a culturally predictable future, the imaginary change and horizon of opportunities to which he must adapt. Man is an actor tied to his community within his own cultural environment, and in the final reckoning, culture is a system that defines the boundaries of man's activity. Man strives towards some goal, a future made

possible by culture; to adapt to the future, not the past. Adaptation to the future has always been imperative, a dominant cultural process.

The term *structure* I define as the economic, social or ideological characteristics of a culture operating within a certain environment, reinforcing the existing order of the environmental system, its structural, *constructive* or *constitutive* foundations, and adaptation to the future. Constructive structures may equally well be religious rites, narratives, songs and proverbs as working methods, financial institutions, or the technology man uses to exploit his environment. The structures are like a web that binds the environmental system into a functioning culture. A structure characteristic of agrarian village culture, the cultural web that binds together its tradition, may be for example a communal feast or a moral narrative emphasizing sexual chastity, with a message that reinforced the necessary behavioral norms for the communal life of the village. As cultural bonds, communal feasts, such as village weddings or various forms of collaboration, are constructive, they strengthened the ideas of an agrarian community member about coping together, communal security and a good future. Communalism is defined as the *key structure* of agrarian village culture, a common social ideology that permeates numerous peasant institutions and forms of tradition, giving them a constitutive significance from the perspective of man living in the village. Cultural structures give the individual's intentions a framework that is perceived as sustainable.

The term *ethnic culture* I define as a cultural system that is adapted to its local environment and creates cultural solutions functioning on the strength of local resources. The essential element is the local nature of man's operational environment. Opposites of the local cultural systems are national state cultures that adapt to an environment external to communities, defined by international trade or scientific-technological development. The nation state is a centralized, *delocalized* cultural system. Today, the environment of state cultures has become *postlocal*: the global world economy, continental states or the media reality with no fixed locality, the virtual meta-world.

Thus, the key structure of the classification is the environment, whether the culture operates in a *local* (ethnic), *delocal* (national state) or *postlocal* (global, universal) environment. The Folklore Atlas describes local cultural systems that functioned in an ethnic environment, their tradition setting and frameworks for the future, their ways of dealing with the basic questions of life: continuity of their livelihood, future of the kinship group, man's heroism, life and death, the world on the other side.

**Structures of environmental tradition.** The shamanism of the hunting culture, sorcery of the swidden era, peasant Christianity, or the belief in development of our own time have defined the common good, demarcated the right environment, and justified the control of resources in their time. Religions or ideologies have always also defined the counter-humans, outsiders or strangers, the ecological losers, and reinforced the hierarchy created around the common good. On the other hand, religions sustain faith in the future, the visions of the future. With the aid of otherworldly forces, individuals and communities equip themselves against the forces that threaten their own living environment and a good future, cause illness, accidents, and death.

From the perspective of environmental theory, the relationship of the 'ordinary person' with his environment is also reflected in the so-called high culture. Religions, philosophies and political ideologies explain the everyday reality of their time, adapt to the environment of their time, otherwise they have no cultural meaning of any significance. When the environment changes, man also regenerates his explanations, his philosophy of existence. The culture of the peasant in western Finland has acquired similar features to the puritanical agrarian societies of continental Europe. Religious and social puritanism, which culminated in the ecclesiastical 'orthodoxy' of the 1600s, does not derive from the heritage of Judaism that was influential in the western countries (Max Weber) or from the bourgeois nature of the reformed

church.(1 It was born in the spiritual environment of agrarian culture; the same happened in Islamic and Buddhist agrarian villages. In its time, agrarian culture created its religious environmental ideology, as workers' society later created the socialist or communist utopia. The oldest elements of religious thinking, such as the doctrine of reincarnation of souls (belief in the soul) originate from the hunter-gatherer era, not from writings of high religion from Asia or the Middle East. The structures of ancient cultural systems of both hunting and swidden eras have been preserved at their most authentic where the environmental system itself existed, in European conditions in Dvina Karelia or among northern (Finno-Ugrian) hunter peoples.

Shared rites and social dramas, such as the wedding drama, also serve to reinforce a shared future, but at the same time offer ecological winners opportunities of publicizing their success, to impinge them in the collective memory of their community. The weddings of agrarian communities were a status rite that reinforced the cultural hierarchy based on land ownership, as well as the continuation of land ownership. Many manifestations of folklore, for example the folk narrative, also provide the community with the means of publicly dealing with conflicts arising from division of resources, and for the loser the opportunity to forget, to compensate for the reality. Personally, I view customs, ceremonies and sociodramas predominantly as instruments of power and influence, status rites and manifestations, used to strengthen existing cultural order and the hierarchy between individuals of groups. Individual spiritual experiences are not revealed by preserved folklore.

According to theories of cultural ecology, folklore is one of the so-called superstructures, with its life and distribution only indirectly affected by the economic-technological core of society.(2 My own view is that man's environmental system is a cultural entity. Sooner or later, folklore also adapts to become a part of the building blocks of culture, reflecting the experiences and visions of the reality of man of its time. Culture is an instrument of adaptation, of man's socialization; it binds individuals to the system and its future.

## **Structural change of culture**

**Chain of environmental changes.** When the environment changes, a new architecture of reality, cultural order and hierarchy of resources are created; the future from which individuals and groups seek their own eco-niche, social space or domain. Cultural change or 'new development' is initiated by environmental change, which is primarily brought about by new environmental technology, such as farming or machine technology; today, the new global environment is created by communications technology. The structural change progresses like a chain reaction, leaving no functional detail of the culture untouched. Former structures no longer function in the new environment, they have no constitutive significance; they become marginal or counterculture. In my view, change is not *reproduction* of old culture, but *reconstruction* that happens under the conditions of the new environment and results in an entirely new cultural system.(3 Spiritual culture, 'new values', new forms of producing folklore, art and knowledge, obtain their strength and significance in relation to the technical-economic process of change, a new state of reality or future horizon.

The changed cultural environment is reflected in all structures: strategies of making a living, technological choices, social relationships, explanations of life and the world view. When the peasant economy

of the 1930s turned into intensive agricultural production with its tractors and combine harvesters, nothing remained of the old 'farming tradition'. The same happened in earlier structural changes, when swidden economy was replaced by field cultivation. In eastern Finland, clearing stony swidden hills to make fields demanded enormous amounts of work; transition to field cultivation was not possible without large-scale draining of bogs and lakes. Today, in the environment dictated by global agricultural industry, it has proved unnecessary and irrational. The concept of *long-term structure* (Fernand Braudel) raised by mental history may mean the necessity of adapting to northern nature, the conditions set by the geographical environment, but cultural answers do not have structural continuity. The chain of structural changes is evident, for example, in map 1 on bear folklore. In every era, man has defined the status of the bear from the perspective of his own living environment (domain or eco-niche), and in every structural change of culture the bear tradition is broken off; the bear is analyzed differently, both linguistically and in man's thinking and mental imagery. In each era, man has had his own eco-compartment, from whence he views his environment and creates his life choices, his ecological strategy. Man's cultural explanations, ideas and symbols are environment-bound, they reinforce the ecological order, hierarchy of resources, or provide ultimate explanations on man's relationship with his environment.

Environmental change touches every individual person and social class, and this has also been the case in the past. The Finnish past is also a continuous history of environmental changes, including in the period covered by this Atlas. When the sawmill and paper industries were created in the 1800s, the forest as a living environment became different from that in the world of peasants and swidden burners. In the environment defined by industry, there was no longer room for swidden culture, but it was labeled as destructive of forests, anticulture. The new reality forced, for example, the people of eastern Finland and Karelia to seek new technical and cultural solutions. The most common coping strategy was naturally moving over to field cultivation; other solutions have been relocating to emerging industrial centers, emigration to the USA or seasonal work in the fishing villages on the Arctic Ocean coast or peasant seafaring on the Baltic Sea, in Dvina becoming a traveling pedlar. As an individual, local man sought new resources, and the available alternatives of adaptation cannot be placed in rank order in terms of innovativity, as is usually the case in elitist modernization research, in theories of innovators or entrepreneurs.(4)

With regard to the Folklore Atlas, the crucial point is that in the era of local cultures it was possible for different environmental systems, such as field and swidden cultivation, to coexist. The people of this Atlas have lived in three techno-environments. They have possessed cultural knowledge of swidden cultivation, peasant field cultivation, and the emerging era of machine technology. While the land-owning peasants of western Finland began to build guest verandas and dining halls for feasts into their houses at the end of the 1800s, many extended families in eastern Finland still thought it best to live in their chimneyless cabins; when the fiddler played through an Ostrobothnian crown wedding, in the Dvinian wedding drama the women of the kinship group performed wedding songs in old meter, originating from the Iron Age culture of the Gulf of Finland coastal circle. Along with the structural change, the song and incantation tradition of the swidden era has disappeared from the old settlements of western and southern Finland centuries ago, while eastern Karelia in the 19th century still lived within an ancient kinship and sorcerer culture, of which runes in the old meter were a part.

As the cultural environment changes, the ecological winners are those who are able to adapt the quickest and to take control of the new resources. Structural change creates a new cultural hierarchy. In a peasant society, the most important environmental resource was the field, and the ecological pyramid of society, individual rights and obligations, the entire material and spiritual order were principally based on ownership of cultivated land. In industrial societies, the winners have been educated people who adapted to the nation state culture; in the future those who are able to integrate into some global techno-

system. Folklore, from epic poetry in archaic meter to modern literature or pop lyrics, often deals with the tragic consequences of structural change. Lemminkäinen, the shaman of Finnish tradition, was an ecological loser and the sorcerer Väinämöinen a winner, who had taken possession of new environmental knowledge, until Christian meritocracy put an end to the cultural era of sorcerers.

**Diffusion and locality.** The research tradition of Finnish folkloristics and ethnology has been predominantly *historical-geographical* and known in international folkloristics specifically as the Finnish school; in cultural anthropology, the approach has been termed *diffusionism*. Within the frame of reference of this research approach, Finland is a peripheral area into which cultural phenomena, right down to individual narrative motifs, have spread from other European culture areas. The roots of the phenomena have been sought from the culture centers of the Antiquity or further still, from ancient high cultures.

Particularly in ethnology, it has been essential to identify the possible historical sources that might indicate the timing and routes of the distribution of the phenomenon. If a phenomenon was unknown in some area, the causes would be geographical or historical obstacles, such as the borders between Sweden and Russia, or the slowness of the people or other psychological factors.(5 The orientation of research has been from the periphery towards metropoles. Equally elitist have been the innovation theories, according to which local folk culture would be following the examples of upper classes or so-called innovators. Studies of modernization have even viewed locality, folk culture, as a barrier to innovations.

To counter the historical perspective, the *functionalistic* scientific paradigm emerged, emphasizing the appropriateness of local culture. This approach is continued by the present *hermeneutical* (*symbolistic*) or *interpretive research*; the concept of function is replaced by the significance of a phenomenon for the person living within a certain culture. In terms of its paradigm, the Folklore Atlas is positioned in interpretive anthropology. However, I do not examine the cultural meanings of phenomena from a general psychological or cognitive angle, but endeavor to place phenomena into the context of each period, and to trace the changes of the meanings through the stages of the Finnish cultural environment.

Thus, in this work, I do not see tradition as a diffuse phenomenon, spreading mechanically from the centers of the western cultural imperium or from the upper classes to the people, or stopping at boundaries meaningless in the daily lives of people in past times. In the period of local cultures, similarity is often due to the similarity of the environment; it is ecological or structural. Communities living in a similar environment, such as agrarian villages, create or choose structurally similar technical, economic and social responses. Common elements of Karelian kinship weddings or Häme village weddings are found in the structures of distant Asian kinship or village cultures; visiting the graves of ancestors is an important part of Dvina Karelian and Chinese kinship culture; it is possible to trace sorcery, ideas of otherworldly inhabitants or guardians of a place etc. throughout Asia, as far as Thailand, for example. However, it is not customary to link Finnish folklore to Asian culture.

The distribution of the phenomenon is actually uncharted. The environmental knowledge characteristic of the time is kind of in the air, permeating everywhere and to all levels of society. Each person fits, for example, new technical knowledge to his own possibilities, and as the environment changes, finds his own coping strategy. Structural change is a case of individual choices, exploitation of new opportunities, even of the morality observed by the winners when taking possession of the new resources. The western development culture, meritocracy, has elevated as its heroes the proactive adapters and followers of external models, those who most unscrupulously exploit the new resources. Compared to high culture, ethnic cultures have been structurally independent or self-determining, and success of local man was not based on international imitation or succeeding in increasingly more centralized organizations.

The more local and self-determining the community, the more independently it modifies, adapts and interprets the common materials in the air in its own ethnic way. Although the map articles reflect Finnish historical-geographical research, the references are not intended as indications of when some custom has become known among the upper classes and begun to spread among the people. The same applies to references to old sources, such as the Antiquity. Historical information confirms interpretations of the general archaic nature of a phenomenon, it shows that before spreading to, for example, the Antiquity, the phenomenon was a part of the structures of early hunting communities or emerging agrarian cultures.

In the era of self-sufficient subsistence cultures, innovations, even new environmental technology, had to cross the local *significance threshold*, to offer fundamental new coping opportunities or solutions to the problems of new generations. Communities localized external influences or adopted from them the parts that suited their living environment and corresponded to their ideas about the order of life and future opportunities. The Folklore Atlas contains examples of how some custom or narrative of agrarian village culture has not spread to Savo-Karelia until it did so with structural changes, when swidden culture was replaced by the agrarian way of life, or as it spread, the message or subtext of the narrative has undergone an internal change of meaning. Folklore is also tied to the cultural system, like the art or entertainment of the time. The performer of folklore, an influential person in the local community, does not recount a 'traveling tale' but a dialogue, his own lines on the stage of the community, and adapts his message to the environment that constitutes reality for him and his audience. Cultural expressions, *intentions* or *representations*, must at least within certain limits correspond to the desires, explanations and interpretations of man operating in his own environment. In order to thrive, to be taken into use, folklore must in some way integrate into the internal structures of the ecosystem, into the tradition environment, the tradition landscape.

*Background writings: Sarmela 1974a; 1979a; 1984b; 1987a; 1989a; 1991c; 1994; 2004. The theoretical background of the Atlas is founded on cultural ecology, but the concept of environment differs from that in general cultural ecology. For that reason, I have used the term 'environmental-anthropological viewpoint' for the theoretical frame of reference; the environment consists of both the natural environment (habitat) and historical-social conditions, and adaptation is defined as adaptation to a constantly changing (future) environment. The viewpoint is close to the theories of the relationships between cultural choices and the environment of e.g. R. D'Andrade (1997) and B. Shore (1999). Techno-cultural periods or 'waves' e.g. Ribeiro 1968. Tofler 1870; 1980. In this context, it is not possible to refer to the debate within anthropology on the concepts of ethnic culture or ethnic identity (on definitions, see e.g. Eriksen 1993).*

**1.** Max Weber (1904-05); 1980, comments Green 1959. **2.** Steward 1955. Vayda – Rappaport 1968. Bennett 1976. Hardesty 1977. Bargatzky 1986. The term 'to delocalize' was used by Perti J. Pelto in 1973, when describing the dependence of Sami reindeer husbandry on external economic resources after the skidoo revolution. **3.** Here, I support Niklas Luhmann's (e.g. 1970; 1994 ) model of the structural change of the system, and not the reproduction interpretations (e.g. Sahlins 1985) of historical anthropology. **4.** I mean (elitist) sociological research into modernization, innovations and entrepreneurship. **5.** On Finnish diffusion explanations of cultural phenomena e.g. Vilkuna, K. 1960a. Valonen 1974. Vuorela, T. 1976, 9. Haavio 1939a. Talve 1971; 1972; 1990, 1997.

# CULTURAL SYSTEMS

## NORTHERN HUNTING CULTURE

### **Baltic culture circle**

**Aboriginal Finns.** The currently accepted view in archaeology is that the Finno-Ugrian peoples, or those speaking Uralian languages, inhabiting the northern coniferous forest belt between the Baltic Sea and the Urals were indigenous peoples; there is no knowledge of an earlier culture. The Proto-Uralians are believed to have been among the inhabitants of the late-glacial era (15000-10000 BC) in Eastern Europe. Thus, the Uralian parent language would have been spoken by the first fisher-hunter-gatherers, who after the Ice Age wandered to the coasts of the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland approx. 7000-4000 BC. Apart from them, Scandinavia was inhabited by the Proto-Sami, who evidently already lived on the coast of the Arctic Ocean towards the end of the last Ice Age (Weichselian period III). It is likely that the earliest coniferous forest cultures were already Finno-Ugrian, such as the Comb-Ceramic era, the area of which stretches east from Finland right up to the heads of the Volga, Oka and Kama. (1 The Finno-Ugrians are 'aboriginal Europeans'; the cultures of Finns, Karelians, Sami and their distant linguistic relations, particularly the Khant and Mansi (Ostyaks and Voguls) living beyond the Urals, have retained information about the world of the ancient fisher-hunter-gatherers of the continent, not revealed from archaeological finds in the rest of Europe.

In the Bronze and Iron Age (1500 BC - AD1000), the Gulf of Finland was an inland sea of the *Baltic-Finnic* people. The culture circle of the Gulf of Finland and Ladoga coasts consisted of the Baltic countries, Ingria, and the Finnish coasts from the Ladoga right up to the Gulf of Bothnia. Tribes formed within the Gulf of Finland culture circle, speaking various dialects of indigenous Finnish, later Baltic-Finnic languages.(2 Starting from the Baltic area, Baltic-Finnic peoples are the *Livonians*, whose original settlement was on the river Daugava (Fi. Väinäjoki) in present Latvia, the Estonians, and to the east of them the *Votyans*, *Izhorians*, *Karelians* and *Vepsians*, who lived on the east side of the Ladoga on the Rivers Volhov and Svir. The original settlement of the Karelians stretched from the far end of the Gulf of Finland, around the present city of St Petersburg, to the western side of Lake Ladoga to the provinces known in the Atlas as the Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia.

The northern side of the Gulf of Finland, present Finland, was a wilderness until late on, where mostly the Sami people traveled around; some of them were still living in today's Central Finland in the Middle Ages. When the Iron Age (500 BC - AD1000) cultivation culture became established in southwestern and southern Finland, the inhabitants of southwestern or 'proper' Finland (the Province of Varsinais-Suomi) became known as people of Häme [Fi. *hämäläiset*, Sw. *Tavastians*], and two tribes were formed on the

north side of the Gulf of Finland: the Häme Finns and the Karelians, with the boundary running across Finland roughly where the boundary of western and eastern Finnish cultures is established. The third main tribe in Finland, the *Savonians* [people of Savo, Fi. *savolaiset*], were originally swidden farmers around Lake Saimaa, who in the expansion period of swidden culture (AD1400-) spread to eastern and northern Finland, occupying the area between the Häme Finns and the Karelians.

**The first structural change.** During the first millennium, the Gulf of Finland became increasingly an area of commercial trapping or hunting for furs. Finland and Karelia became a fur periphery of the metropoles of the time: Byzantium, Rome, and later the Hansa trade. The Vikings' eastern routes touched the Gulf of Finland, and the ancient Bulgaria along the Volga traded furs with the Votyans, Vepsians, Karelians, and the Finno-Ugrian peoples of northern Russia. At the end of the first millennium, Karelia with its great wildernesses was annexed by Novgorod, and the same fate befell the hunter peoples of northern Russia; after the fall of Novgorod, its place was taken by Moscow. In the 12th century, trading posts of the German Hanseatic alliance were established on the Finnish coast. The race for furs made the peoples of Häme and Karelia enemies: Finland's numerous hill forts are evidently reminders of the fur trade, and even later the competition over hunting and fishing grounds led to tribal wars between the peoples of Savo and Karelia (cf. maps 80-81).<sup>(3)</sup>

Faced with the organized long-distance hunting of the Häme Finns and Karelians, the self-sufficient inland hunting-fishing communities were impotent and were destroyed or withdrew further to the north. At this stage came the fur taxes imposed on the Sami by the Swedes and in Finland the peasants of Häme (so-called *Pirkkalaiset*) in the 1200-1500s, which in reality meant subjugation of the Sami or making them vassals for procuring furs. By the beginning of the 1600s, the most important fur animals, the sable and the beaver, had been hunted to extinction in inland Finland and Karelia.<sup>(4)</sup> When northern Europe was depleted, the fur trade moved to North America.

Commercial fur hunting has influenced the culture of the hunting communities of inland Finland and Karelia in the same way as it did later the lives of North American hunter peoples. There is no authentic information on northern fisher-hunter-gatherers outside the fur trade. The last people to continue the life-style of inland hunting communities were the Sami communities (*siida*) of the inland parts of the Kola peninsula; one such group are the Suenjel Skolts, who were moved to Sevettijärvi in Finland after the Second World War.<sup>(5)</sup>

## **Structures of hunting culture**

**Environmental system of the hunting period.** In the Neolithic era, the Baltic-Finnic peoples obtained their livelihood from the natural environment, termed hunting-gathering in anthropology. In northern conditions, the hunting culture consisted of intensive fishing and hunting and trapping of seal, beaver, moose and deer, but also gathering many kinds of natural produce, such as nuts, birds' eggs, berries, and plants. In summertime, nature would provide plentiful plant-based nutrition, while in winter people used *pettu* made from the phloem layer under the bark of pine trees. Pine phloem was dried over a fire to reduce its resin content; it was also easier to transport in dry form. Pettu was added to fish and meat soup. According to Jacob Fellman, who described the living conditions in Lapland, pettu soup was still daily

food particularly for the fishing Sami in the early 19th century, and not for the lack of other food, but because it was nourishing, good for the digestion, and prevented scurvy, which in early spring plagued the reindeer-herding Sami people with a diet of mostly meat. (6 Pettu could be pulled from the pine tree almost at all times of the year, and it was evidently the foodstuff that secured fisher-hunter-gatherers' livelihoods in northern natural conditions. Later, agrarian Finns began to think of pettu as despised emergency nutrition they were forced to fall back on in years of poor harvests.

The lives of hunting era men were dominated by hunting trips; their world included hunting parties, the long multi-oared traveling boats of which are depicted in rock drawings dating back thousands of years.(7 On the Gulf of Finland coasts, destinations of the hunting trips by the boat parties were the large archipelagos of the Finnish coast, but also up rivers to salmon rapids and inland lakes. In inland Finland, for example in the Saimaa waterway area, it was possible to travel along lake routes long distances to the north, and Karelians of the Ladoga area traveled on their annual hunting trips right across Finland as far as the Gulf of Bothnia coast. Hunting communities living inland might gather in the autumn in winter villages, move in spring to fish for salmon, or disperse, each family group to their own fishing grounds; they moved around with fishing seasons and deer hunting (cf. map 88).

Hunter-gatherer cultures have their own ecological structures, of which much has been written in cultural anthropology. Their livelihood was based on (1) detailed knowledge of the living area, nature and animal behavior. Northern hunters possessed extensive knowledge of the geography of their environment and their hunting routes stretching to hundreds of kilometers. Hunting communities (2) adapted directly to their habitat, they (3) lived in the real time of nature and moved according to the seasons, fishing, hunting or gathering whatever was best available at the time. One of the basic elements of the culture was (4) mobility and social flexibility; families and kinship groups dispersed and gathered together according to the seasons or as natural conditions dictated, and were able to extensively and diversely exploit their living environment, eliminating the environmental crises caused by variations in plant and animal stocks.

Cultural anthropology has stressed the abundance of the lifestyle in hunter-gatherer cultures. At least in tropical conditions, gatherers have obtained their daily food with the least trouble. Hunter-gatherers need not worry about hunger or uncertainty over the future, sufficient food sources were always available, and in their culture, man did not need to store food for tomorrow.(8 In the Boreal coniferous zone, hunter-gatherers have been more dependent on hunting than gathering, they had to adapt to the winter and an environment where fish stocks and numbers of quarry animals may vary from one year to the next.(9 Nevertheless, Finnish wildernesses still held abundant quarry, and hunting communities were able to adapt to variations of quarry stocks, perhaps by moving over from hunting to fishing or storing (drying, souring and freezing in earth stores) fish and meat. Evidently, many plants and animals from nature have been utilized that were forgotten when grain cultivation became common.

There were numerous (5) catch-sharing and hospitality norms in hunter-gatherer cultures; the catch had to be shared among the camp and all those present. Sharing has also been a core element of the philosophy of life. Sharing of all food ensured the social security of the community, and the individual hunter or fisherman did not need to fear failure. Reciprocal sharing and hospitality also made possible the coexistence and social exchange of hunting communities. The hunter-gatherer (6) did not monopolize nature or make a systematic attempt to change his environment. Animals in nature ('wild animals') and natural plants could not be taken into private ownership by anyone, like cultivated grain or livestock ('domestic animals'). In nature, man had the 'right of enjoyment', as indicated by the old Finnish term, but no permanent right of ownership: even quarry animals belonged to man only when dead, when they had successfully been hunted down; when the supernatural owners of the animals had given them to hu-

mans.

After the advent of commercial fur hunting and fishing, the structures of self-determining hunting culture changed, as did man's relationship to quarry animals, the entire environmental philosophy. In the new cultural environment, norms such as those of sharing the catch lost their importance, increasingly only anything with trade value was utilized from nature, and hunting grounds were classified as private property, with, for example, houses in Häme and Savo staking out forest areas ('man's forests') at long distances in inland and northern Finland from the 15th century onwards. Remnants of a self-sufficient, collective hunting culture are found in the custom tradition of Savo-Karelian hunters, for example in the long-preserved norms of bystanders at the kill site and their rights to the catch of bear or moose.(10 It may also be seen in the patience with which the Sami and Karelians treated settlers, such as Finnish and Russian swidden farmers.

**Northern hunting community.** Hunting era man adapted to the fluctuating living conditions of the northern coniferous zone without attempting to change his environment. His buildings, turf shelters, kotas, fishing huts and food stores built on pillars blended in the natural landscape, as did the order of life of the hunting community. Old fishing huts, with the ends of wall timbers and roof joists sticking out at varying lengths, tools tied with thongs, boats sewn with roots, a culture of knots and nets, were governed by the same architecture as nature: they lacked the geometric regularity of the straight line and the square, the ideology of form differing from nature, which was characteristic of the built environment of the landed peasant in western Finland.

The hunting community was a society of kinship rights like the Sami culture, and later also the Savo-Karelian swidden culture. Hunting and fishing grounds belonged to the kinship group or kinship village, one of which was also the Sami *siita*, and within the kinship group and kinship village, they were shared according to need among families.(11 The right of enjoyment concerned the hunting ground or trapping path, not the land or nature. The hunting rights of kinship groups and families were reinforced by ritual sites, such as *seides* (map 2), perhaps also by rock drawings (cf. map 88) and at some stage also the graves of ancestors, evidently marked in inland Finland by rock cairns, 'Lappish ruins' (cf. map 7); it became customary to bury the dead in their hunting grounds in the same way as they were buried near their swidden clearings in the emerging cultivation culture. Catch rites were used to gain the rights to the environment and to define the boundaries of the areas with enjoyment rights; the right was based on kinship tradition, by nature, it was a right to the hunting culture of the kinship group.

Ritual sites and rock drawings may have reinforced common social hunting norms, the ecological order necessary for continuity of life. Traces of totemism have also been preserved in Finnish culture (map 1). In nomadic hunting cultures, the totemic ancestor created the social cohesion, like the village did in static agrarian cultures, or later the trade association. The totem was a symbolic ancestor, usually an animal from which members of certain kinship groups believed they were descended. Ancestral myths, taboos linked to the totem and other traditions united the kinship groups and created permanent, sacral ties among a larger group of people than could be conceptualized through kinship nomenclature (kinship terminology).

In northern hunting cultures, the focal points of social life were the migrations to annual hunting grounds, gathering in winter villages and markets. On the occasions of coming together, repeated annually at the same times, decisions were made on matters between the kinship groups, fishing sites and communal hunting agreed, marriages made. Ritual sites were perhaps places where people gathered to strengthen collective hunting, to perform young people's initiation rites (map 88) and to listen to answers concerning the future brought by the shamans from the world on the other side. The set timing of social

interaction and adaptation of the rhythm of life to the annual fishing, hunting and gathering seasons were the ecostructures of a way of life reliant on natural resources; in cultivating cultures, the cyclicity based on the natural calendar became even more dominant (cf. map 22).

Since in hunter-gatherer cultures an individual did not permanently own the resources of his environment, they also contained few status symbols and hereditary social inequality. Of all forms of society, hunter-gatherer communities were structurally the most equal, egalitarian and non-aggressive, with no organizational violence or militancy inherent in their atmosphere. Hunting community man was an individualist in the true sense of the word. All over the world, including in Finland, peaceful and unassuming hunting cultures have been displaced by organizationally stronger, more violent forms of society. Compared to ancient Scandinavian sagas, militancy and violence are almost totally absent from the archaic poetry of the Finnish people.

## **Spiritual heritage of the hunting era**

**Hunting era religion.** In hunting communities, ecological security depended on the permanence of the natural habitat, on nature restoring itself like spring follows winter or birth follows death. Hunting communities do not practise 'fertility magic': the relationship of the hunter with nature is different from that of the farmer. The basis of everyday faith and hope in the coping thinking of hunting period man was eternal return. Constitutive religious ideas included the immortal, reincarnating soul, the engine of life (map 7, 39), which is the key structure of the world view of the time and the basis of shamanism. In Finnish hunting communities, too, fundamental religious structures have included restoration rites, renewal of nature and its cycle. Examples of restoration rites are ritual bear-hunting (map 1) and catch rites (map 2); they sustained the faith in a secure future.

Northern fisher-hunters have undoubtedly been interested in all the forces that affected obtaining a catch and preserving the balance of nature. The hunting culture era is the source of the ideas that all natural sites had their own *haltia*: its supernatural original inhabitant, master, in the same way as animals had their own *haltias*, female progenitors, who took care of their own species (maps 62-70). The *haltias* of animals and nature also determined whether man received a catch, how successful the hunting or fishing was. The metaphor for a catch, *osa* [share], traceable to Finno-Ugrian languages, has evidently meant 'man's share'; corresponding terms in Baltic-Finnic languages are *kohtalo* [fate, destiny] and *onni* [luck, fortune].<sup>(12)</sup> The catch was man's share of what the *haltias* divided between the inhabitants of the natural environment on this side and the other side, and evidently a very common idea has been that man had to live in a reciprocal relationship with the supernatural owners and guardians of nature. Hunter-fishermen had to give a reciprocal gift, an offering, for all that 'nature gave'. Thus, the ritualization of hunting may be interpreted as supernatural exchange, and this thinking is in evidence, for example, in *seide* offerings (map 2).

Hunter-gatherers' religious role-holder was the shaman. Studies have emphasized the shaman's ability to enter a trance or a state of altered reality. The rite technique is not the essence of shamanism, but the function of the shaman in his own cultural system and the hunters' environment. The shaman must be defined as a religious role-holder who was believed capable of controlling the souls of men and animals. The infrastructures of the shamanistic system included the real, physical nature, and the invisible world

on the other side, where souls and supernatural guardians operated (maps 39, 62-68).

In myths and cosmological narrative, the world on the other side has three layers, or multiple layers. In the heavenly layers of the egg-shaped world (map 87) live the higher haltias, creator heros figures, souls of great men; from the heavens originated also the bear and fire (maps 1 and 41), and other primordial events also took place on the sky's canopy (e.g. map 88). The heavenly layers were supported by the cosmic pillar, which the original *sampo* evidently symbolized (map 93). The universe extended beneath the earth's surface: there was another, inverse world, in the various layers of which, beyond the Tuonela River or beneath the waters (or on their inverse side) were the souls of dead people and animals, and subterranean haltias. The positioning of the habitats of dead or returning souls (maps 7, 71-71), images of the cosmos and the other world belong with the concepts of soul; the cosmic view maintained cultural order, but also the power and status of the shaman in northern hunting communities. (Cf. Chapter 'Shamans, sorcerers and witches').

**Hunting community folklore.** In Finland, the ancient method of performing narration, evidently reaching back to early hunter cultures, is the song or *joiku* [chant], whereby the dramatic twists are expressed through set lines, dialogue or monologue (cf. map 1). The natural environment is involved in the narration, whether it be a case of a wedding song or a narrative about some event. Images of nature run alongside the plot or the events are experienced through nature, the symbols and metaphors come from surrounding nature, as if the narrator's consciousness, self or soul inhabited the same world as squirrels, pine martens, moose or birds. Finnish folk poetry, even later rhymed folk songs, describe almost nothing without nature or natural allegories. Nature reflects human feelings, it provides symbolic expressions for emotions, joy and sorrow; the human destiny always has its counterpart in nature.

An apposite structural formula of narration for hunter peoples is hunting: stalking the quarry, the chase, the eagle's strike at the prey, the duel between the hunter and the prey (map 88). One of the dominant themes of shamanistic folk narrative is the soul journey, the adventures of the shaman's soul in the various layers of the universe, now in the night sky, as in astral myths, now underground in the realm of dead souls, Tuonela (map 90). In soul journey narratives, the listener was transported to the other world, the virtual reality of the time. The chase and escape constitute a formula repeated in numerous contexts. The events are placed in the world of the souls, the dream world, the primordial space or the various layers of the cosmos, the night sky. In the domain of the souls, the heroes – shamans – travel, fight and hunt, endlessly transforming the habitus of their souls, fleeing and chasing in turns.(13 Man living in a natural environment has also been intrigued by his surroundings: the causes of natural phenomena, the origin of man and animals, even the origin of the whole cosmic order (map 87).

Primordial events (myths) are also placed in the world of souls, where the laws of nature in the world on this side may be broken and recreated. In images of the future in the narration, the central theme is often the secure order of the universe, the cycle of existence, reawakening of nature in spring, return of quarry animals to man's environment, migration of communities to their fishing and hunting grounds. The reverse side of the return of life is its demise, derailing of nature from its order, floods, destruction of animals and the earth.

The silver screen of hunting cultures was the night sky and the hero the shaman of their own community, whose footprints were still visible on the sky's canopy or whose travels were recounted in natural myths (cf. map 88). Breaching of everyday reality and transposing of events to a world of souls, away from the daily living environment, is a means of adding impact to the narration. It did not always signify belief in anything supernatural, any more than viewers believe the consciousness technology employed by modern film or other experience industry. The shamanistic thinking characteristic of Nordic hunter

peoples still shines through epic poetry in the old meter. Originally shamanistic warning runes are probably Väinämöinen's Journey to Tuonela and the Rune of Vipunen (map 90), and the basic theme of Lemminkäinen's Lament is also likely to be a description of a shamanic soul journey filled with danger. The plot pattern of the chase and transformation of the soul appears in the Stealing of Sampo (map 93); the basic formula of the Singing Match was perhaps originally a battle of two shamans (map 91). The heritage of the early hunting period is found in the myth of the Creation of the World (map 87) and in the hunter's runes (map 88); the myth of the Birth of the Bear has a common 'circumpolar' background (map 1).

Hunting community man had ample time for socializing. Narratives, songs, dances and other forms of expressive tradition held an important position in winter villages and shared hunting grounds. In later swidden and agrarian villages, traditions acquired new structures and content, but the oldest layer of Finnish folklore stems from the time when Baltic-Finnic peoples belonged in the same culture as the hunter peoples of northern Russia and even northern Siberia. Close counterparts of the folklore of this era are often found in the culture of northern Finnic hunter peoples: the Komi (Zyryans) and Ob-Ugric peoples, the Khant (Ostyaks) and Mansi (Voguls), but the same interpretations of the environment and interests in narration are also shared by other northern indigenous peoples.

**1.** Archaeology has abandoned the idea that the Finns would have migrated around the birth of Christ from their original homeland along a bend in the river Volga to the Baltic Sea; more commonly, the peoples of the Ugrian language group are believed to be the indigenous populations of northern Europe. Meinander 1984. Siiriäinen 1985. Nuñez 1997. Dolukhanov 1998. Cf. Fogelberg 1999. Wiik 2004. **2.** Korhonen M. 1981; 1984. Itkonen T. 1984; 1972. **3.** General accounts of early history of Finland, e.g. Huurre 1979; 1984; 1998. Kivikoski 1961; 1966; 1973. Kirkkinen 1984. Salo 1981; 1984; 1997a. Siiriäinen 1985. Suomen historia 1984-1985. Julku 1992. Hill forts: Taavitsainen 1990. On Finno-Ugrian peoples: Vuorela T. 1960; 1964. Hajdú 1975; 1976. (Flinckenberg-Gluschkoff 1992.) **4.** Virrankoski 1973, 73. Massa 1983. (1994). Jaakkola 1925. **5.** Nickul 1970, 17-. **6.** Fellman 1906 (1820-1831). **7.** Autio 1981. Kivikäs 1995; 1997. **8.** Lee – De Vore e.g. 1976. In cultural anthropology in general, e.g. Ingold – Riches – Woodburn 1986. Sahlins 1972. On evolutionist optimization models of hunting economies Smith E. 1991. The chapter is based on my writings Sarmela 1979b; 1984a; 1984b, 117-. **9.** On variations of natural ecosystems e.g. Lampio 1967. Hanski et al. 1998. **10.** Virtanen E. 1949. **11.** Nickul 1970. Vilkuna K. 1971. Carpelan 1987. Aikio 1994. **12.** Etymologinen sanakirja. Cf. Nelson 1983. On animal symbolism Ilomäki 1986. **13.** On poetry of northern hunter peoples Honko – Timonen – Branch 1993. Barthens 1986ab; 1994. References for folklore research are given in the map articles.

## CULTURE OF SWIDDEN CULTIVATORS

### ***Beginning of cultivation culture***

**Hunter-farmers of the coast.** Pollen studies show that grain was first cultivated in Finland around 2000 years before the birth of Christ, and equally old or even older traces of it are found in the fell area of inland Finland as well as the river valleys of the coast of southern Finland; it would seem that cultivation skills did not spread gradually from the south inland, but it was shared European cultural knowledge of the time, also known by northern hunters and adopted by them as required. Prior to cereal cultivation, at least the inhabitants of southern and southwestern Finnish coast have kept domestic animals: cows, pigs, goats and sheep, and cleared pastures for them by burning forests. Hunter-gatherers have commonly cultivated wild cereal plants, and in Finland, Neolithic people have probably also cleared space for nutbushes and burned forests to form feeding places for moose and also other game animals. Transition to a so-called sedentary form of production was hampered by cold climatic periods and the security of the fishing-hunting culture; in Finnish conditions, there was no pressure from population numbers or scarcity of food forcing cultivation, as is often suggested in anthropology.(1)

According to archaeological periods, cultivation began in the coastal areas of southwestern Finland and Satakunta during the battle- or boat-axe culture (2500-2000 BC) or at the latest during the Kiukainen or *hiidenkiuas* culture (2000-1300 BC).(2) The oldest cereal plants were various varieties of barley and wheat. The battle-axe culture has been thought of as pre-Germanic, and its area extends across a wide swathe of Europe. Typical of the *hiidenkiuas* culture were large cairns which were probably kinship graves and proof of permanent habitation. Basic cattle husbandry and cultivation vocabulary already occurs in the Volga-Finnic parent language, but it was only during battle-axe culture that the Finnish language acquired a lot of new Germanic cultivation vocabulary.(3) There is debate in archaeology and linguistics as to the extent of the migration of Germanic settlers into Finland at the time. The Germanic influence continued during the Bronze Age, when the west coast of Finland also received settlers from Scandinavia. However, the Gulf of Finland circle already held such a strong aboriginal Finnish population that it absorbed the newcomers from various quarters linguistically.

A structural characteristic of the emerging cultivation economy of the Gulf of Finland coasts was that coastal villages had hunting and swidden grounds a long distance away from the main house: for example, the fishing waters of Estonian kinship houses were in the Varsinais-Suomi archipelago. In permanent villages, swidden and hoe cultivation and cattle husbandry were practised, but in addition,

some of the inhabitants of the house, perhaps mainly young men, went off on seasonal hunting trips to the seal waters, fishing and hunting grounds of the kinship groups or villages. Swidden cultivation was also practised in the long-distance hunting areas, perhaps by clearing shared plots, and a member of the new generation might move to live there permanently. I have termed this form of culture *hunting-cultivation*, a cultivating hunting economy.

It has been suggested that at that time, villages around the Gulf of Finland formed a 'maritime power' with its center in the Daugava River delta. Opposite such a maritime power of the Vendi or Fenni would have been the Sveans' chiefdom in Sweden in the region of Lake Mälaren, and its domain would have included the Åland Islands, and partially also the coasts of Satakunta and Ostrobothnia. The 'tribes' on the Gulf of Finland would have been totemistic 'hunting organizations', with the chieftain's staff and the totem pole their emblems.(4 During the Iron Age (500 BC - AD 1300), cultivating habitation became established in western and southern Finland right up to the Karelian Isthmus. Inland, the Karelians continued the lifestyle of long-distance hunters, supplied Novgorod with furs, and accompanied the people of Novgorod on trading and pillaging expeditions to northern Russia. During the Hansaic trading period, hunters from Häme also began to push their way north, but in the 13th century the border between Häme and so-called Greater Karelia still ran roughly from the Kymijoki river via Lake Päijänne to the Gulf of Bothnia. As the fur trade dried up, the inland area was left as a settlement area.(5

The static village and long-distance hunting economy was an environmental strategy of the so-called Migration Period. Through long-distance cultivation of hunting grounds, it was possible to take possession of extensive areas of enjoyment and to push aside hunting communities that had moved around the area. It is possible to place in this period the heroic poetry in the old meter set in a maritime environment, such as the Sampo epic (maps 92-93). The social organization of long-distance hunters may have been similar to that in Viking boat companies, and hunting trips dominated men's lives, but in the village communities, a cultivation economy gradually meant a total structural change, transition to a new environmental system. The 'maritime' cultivation culture of the Gulf of Finland coast was different from the later inland swidden culture of Savo-Karelia. In the earliest slash-and-burn cultivation period, broadleaf forests in river valleys were swiddened, and the technique became hoe cultivation and gradually plow cultivation above all in southwestern Finland, where oxen and cows were adopted as draft beasts (draft ox culture area, see Part I of the Atlas, map 25).

**Boundary of field and swidden cultures.** Settlement in eastern and northern Finland took a new direction when a new variety of rye (*korpi-* or *juureisruis*) came into cultivation. This was a new eastern variety that succeeded in an acid spruce swidden. Swidden farmers from the area around Lake Saimaa, mainly from the administrative parish of Savilahti in the region of the present town of Mikkeli, began in the 1300-1600s to spread on the hills of eastern Finland, but also west to the wildernesses of Upper Satakunta and Central Ostrobothnia, areas which western field cultivators were unable to settle. After their place of origin, they were given the name *Savolaiset* [Savonians].

Swidden farmers spread to areas of forested hills and slopes. The Savonian swidden farmers took possession of eastern and northern Finland, inhabited northern Sweden or Norrbotten, moved to Värmland and elsewhere to the border regions of Sweden and Norway, the so-called Finnish forests. In the mid-18th century, the new settlements crossed the then border of Lapland and began to push further north into the last Sami areas.(6 Similarly, Karelian swidden farmers settled the north side of the Ladoga, North Karelia, and from the 1500s onwards, East Karelia. In the east, the Karelians encountered settlers from northern Russia, who settled on the east side of the Ladoga, and also shared with the Karelians the regions fit for cultivation around Lake Onega and Dvina Bay.

From the perspective of cultural ecology, the last Ice Age shaped the area around the Gulf of Finland and drew the boundary between the cultures of eastern and western Finland, even in the historical era. After the Ice Age, western and southern Finland were submerged, and as the land rose, clay-based flatlands were formed in the area traversed by rivers running into the sea; particularly in the coastal area, hills are solid bedrock were washed bare. More to the east, inland, is the so-called supra-aquatic area, where the highest ground remained above the surface of the water. Thus were formed the hills or *vaarat* typical in eastern Finland and Karelia, with their sides covered with (weathered) mineral soil and forested right up to the top, while the lower slope of the hill is often an ancient shoreline washed by water, and a bog or lake is situated at the foot of the hills. Thus, in ecological terms, Finland is divided into two main habitats. The clayey river valleys and flatlands of western and southern Finland are naturally suited for (so-called intensive) field cultivation, while the hill area of eastern Finland and Karelia is suited for (so-called extensive) swidden cultivation.<sup>(8)</sup>

A deep ecological cultural boundary runs between the western and southern river valleys and eastern hills, starting from the Karelian Isthmus and running diagonally across the area around Lake Päijänne to the top of the Gulf of Bothnia. Between Flatland Finland and Hill Country Finland evolved the boundary between plow cultivation and swidden cultivation. It is the boundary between western and eastern dialects, and roughly the same line also divides other western and eastern cultural elements visible in all aspects of the living environment of village communities, in buildings, tools, culinary tradition (see Part I of the Atlas, maps 46-60), but also in folklore and other spiritual heritage described by this Atlas. The boundary between agrarian and swidden culture continues across many European countries, and the ecology of Finnish culture throws light more extensively on the characteristics of the cultures of plains and mountains, the tradition environments of the west and east over thousands of years.

## Diverse economy of swidden hills

**Technique of slash-and-burn cultivation.** There were two main forms of swidden cultivation: cultivation of (1) established swidden lands (*aho*) and of (2) swidden cut into virgin coniferous forest (*huuhta*).<sup>(9)</sup> Actual swidden economy was burning and cultivation of *aho* lands in permanent use, which regrew a new broadleaf forest in 20-30 years. It was long-term, planned rotation cultivation that was adapted to the biohistory of northern coniferous forests and the limitations set by the growing conditions. Left to nature, northern forests have regenerated when lightning burned old, dead coniferous forests. The scorched earth first grows broadleaf trees, birch and alder, but over decades, pine and spruce become dominant, and in 150-200 years (the climax is 500 years) the forest again becomes a monolithic spruce forest. The soil of coniferous forests and the ash from fir trees is acid, and cereal crops such as barley and common rye can only be successfully grown in ash from broadleaf trees. The swidden farmers utilized the broadleaf tree phase and cultivated stands of alder and birch that grew on *aho* lands left to regrow. A special marker of good swidden lands has been the alder, the roots of which support bacteria nodules that assimilate nitrogen. On good *aho* land, the same swidden would yield several crops, when the soil was cultivated in between and the crops rotated.

Swiddening of coniferous forests, *huuhta cultivation*, was a settlers' clearing method and later used in large-scale production of commercial swidden grain, and it required its own technique of reducing the soil acidity. The earliest method, evidently typical of the Stone Age, achieved this by (1) drying the standing fir trees, whereby the needles dropped to the ground and rotted, while grass and broadleaf tree seedlings began to grow under them. The fir trees were dried by debarking (*pyältää, kolota*) them in stages from the foot, so that the passage of nutrients to the trunk was cut off; the dried and resinous dead trees could be felled by burning and the largest trees left standing. Drying of standing trees was also a method used when burning tar (Atlas Part I, map 5). The method was slow; the first crop was not harvested until 7-15 years from staking the swidden area. After adoption of the acid-tolerant (2) swidden rye variety (*korpi- or juureisruis*), the clearing stage was shortened and the first harvest was reaped 3-4 years from debarking the swidden. The swidden rye was a bushy variety with an excellent yield and it tolerated even the growing conditions of northern Finland, but on the other hand, *huuhta* swiddens usually only yielded a single rye harvest, after which swidden turnip could be grown, but mostly the land was left for aho-land to regenerate as broadleaf forest.

Swidden cultivation is a mountain growing technique, and in Finland, too, it was only successful on slope lands, on the hills of eastern Finland. There are two main reasons. Swidden clearings are difficult, even impossible to drain, and on level land the growth was threatened by excess moisture and grass growth. A condition of successful swidden cultivation was that the moss growth (*kuntta*) of the soil was burned off right down to the mineral soil. On hillsides moss growth is drier, and it is possible to scorch the earth by rolling burning tree trunks down the hill (*viertäminen, rovioiminen*). In Borealic forests, the problem of swidden cultivation was the acidity of the soil and the thick moss layer. Swidden hills were often very stony, but the stones did not hinder the growth, especially of bushy swidden rye; its seed was sown thinly anyway. The scorched earth absorbed warmth, which promoted the growth of grain especially in the early summer, and the stones acted as radiators, storing and evening out warmth and keeping the swidden moist. Swidden cultivations were not troubled by drought or brief night frosts that might occur in Finland during the growing season.

Aho-lands left to regenerate held an important position in swidden farmers' economy. Cattle was pastured in summertime in grassy swidden ahos, birch fronds were gathered there for winter fodder, timber and bark harvested for household implements; aho-lands were the best berry and game grounds. Pasturing of cattle in woodland was retained in eastern Finland and Karelia right up to the 1900s, and is shown e.g. in the maps on the supernatural loss of cows in the forest (maps 53-54). Swidden farmers lived in 'symbiosis' with their aho-lands and enriched the nature of their environment, its flora and fauna, they left behind healthy forests regenerated in a natural way. Without swidden cultivators who had adapted to northern natural conditions, eastern Finland would have remained a mainly monolithic coniferous forest. The peoples of Savo, Karelia and northern Russia possessed the skill of cultivating the harsh, acid coniferous hinterlands of Borealic forests, and the *huuhta* technique made them superior pioneer farmers, ecological winners of their time.

**Diversity of natural resources.** As man's ecosystem, swidden cultivation was (1) diversified economy based on natural resources. Many swidden clearings at different stages were kept in rotation in different parts of the forest, a little cattle was kept in the household, a few cows and sheep; a horse was an important domestic animal. Kinship groups and houses still had their fishing and hunting grounds with their saunas, where they lived for several weeks during the spring fishing. In the autumn, until snow fell, they kept traps in the forests, sometimes many hundreds along a single hunting track. In spring, as soon as the snow supported a skier, they hunted for moose and deer. The swidden farmer (2) utilized nature out-

side the house and village; his livelihood was scattered in the natural environment, and swidden peoples (3) did not usually recognize permanent private land ownership. A further basis of the subsistence strategy was (4) the freedom of controlling nature and the diversity of choices.

As a form of production, swidden cultivation was (5) very profitable; in favourable conditions the yield was greater than it was possible to obtain with any other cultivation technique of subsistence cultures. For example, a grain of swidden rye was small, but its growth was shrubby, with several, even dozens of stems growing from a single root, and a good swidden might yield a hundredfold harvest.(10 Swidden cultivation (6) did not necessitate great investments, such as heavy implements or draft animals. An axe was the only tool needed. In huuhta swidden cultivation, the seed was sown direct into the ash and covered with a besom made from the top of a spruce tree. Later, when swidden ahos were cultivated for longer, it was necessary to till the soil, but the tools, such as harrows made from tree trunks, were made on site, with the only tool taken along a light swidden plow (see Part I, maps 6-8). Swidden farming might be called 'axe cultivation' where early field cultivation was 'hoe cultivation'; in eastern Finland, a fully-fledged member of a communal swidden cooperative was actually called an 'axe'. On the other hand, (6) harvest fluctuations were great, and swidden farmers were not able to influence the uniformity of their annual yield in the same way as field cultivators. The greatest threat was a rainy spring, when huuhta swidden could not be burned at all.

A diversified economy secured people's livelihoods in eastern Finland and East Karelia right up to the 19th century, and in Savo-Karelia swidden was burned alongside field cultivation up to the early 1900s. The self-sufficient swidden culture was killed off by commercial cultivation in the same way as the hunting culture was destroyed by fur trade. When trade in grain began, private entrepreneurs, 'huuhta kings' and swidden corporations felled huge forest swiddens and crushed the ecological foundation of swidden culture. With the advent of the sawmill industry, swidden cultivation was banned, and after the general parcelling out of land, when private land ownership reached Savo, the freedom of swidden-burning ended. The banning of swidden-burning brought poorer living conditions especially to Dvina Karelia, and the final demise of the 'Kalevaic' form of culture.

## ***Structures of kinship society***

**Women's kinship culture.** Emerging cultivation cultures have often been matriarchal, and in the early villages of the Gulf of Finland coastal circle, too, women appear to have held a socially dominant position. While the men were absent all summer on long-distance hunting trips and on swiddens, the women took care of the daily work of the house, the cattle, crop-growing in the vicinity and fishing in the home waters, like Karelian women still did later. In extensive swidden communities, the habitat was divided into women's and men's areas. Women held the new cultural resources in their hands, they took care of daily life, the security of everyday living.

In swidden cultures, kinship terminology and inheritance may have been matrilineal, also in Finland.(11 A long-established custom in Karelia was that the kinship group equipped the bride for marriage, which in practice evidently meant that in the early stages of swidden economy, only girls had inheritance rights. The women of extended families owned and controlled their household implements, tools, clothing, even the cows and sheep they had brought into the family (map 21). Even after marriage,

women belonged to their own kinship group; they were not identified according to the husband. The gender hierarchy is seen in the division of space in a Karelian dwelling house. The heart of the *tupa* [kitchen hall], the fireplace side, belonged to women, while the men shared the same space as visitors.

In effect, it was women who maintained the kinship traditions of early agrarian cultures. In bear and wedding songs in archaic meter, even in the Sampo runes, it was the mistress who received any visitors to the house (maps 1, 16, 92-93). She was the matriarch of the kinship group and extended family, she ruled over the women's domestic community and the circle of houses. Lifestage rites from birth to death were the women's domain. Among themselves, the women took care of the birth rites, it was their duty to look after the deceased, the ancestral cult (map 7) and sacred trees (3); they matched young people in marriage and held the kinship weddings; washed and dressed the dead and escorted them to the other world. Women's social property included the laments and everyday poetry (maps 8, 100). Peasant village culture, intensive heavy field cultivation and the use of draft animals have ended the women's economy in Finland and Karelia, as was the case in other agrarian cultures.

The social institutions of Savo-Karelian swidden culture operated on the basis of kinship ties. Typical of the hill settlements of the swidden period, and evidently even of Iron Age conditions, were small kinship villages that grew around the pioneer house. During the period represented by the Atlas, the kinship system has been bilateral for a long time; kinship was determined on both the father's and mother's side, whereupon the central kinship groups became the *extended family* and the affinal kin group (*heimokunta*) formed through marriage by the groom's and bride's extended families and closest kin.

**Extended family of diversified economy.** The natural social structure of swidden culture was the extended family. As a concept, an extended family refers to a communal household consisting of several nuclear families and also unmarried members, usually relatives. The preserve of the institution of the extended family corresponds to that of swidden cultivation, and apparently extended families have earlier in the extensive cultivation period also existed in Häme and elsewhere in the Gulf of Finland coastal circle.(12 Extended families were usually formed by brothers by combining their families into a single household, but it may also have included daughters' families, unmarried and married uncles and aunts, foster children, even strangers, unrelated share brothers or partners, with whom a ritual kinship was formed. The largest extended families in Savo have contained several dozen nuclear families, even around a hundred people. Reminders of that era are the great Savo-Karelian houses, with enough room for all the members of extended families of many dozens of heads to live, eat and sleep in wintertime.

The extended family controlled the tax property jointly, corporately, living in the same household and taking their meals at the same table. The work was done together: everyone, including women and children, took part in swidden-felling and burning, as well as in hay-making and other farming jobs. Some jobs were allocated according to age and gender, for example children minded the cattle in summertime, the elderly and young boys took care of the trap track. Some women, daughters-in-law of the house, may have had their own areas of work, each doing the work at which she was best. As swidden culture became agrarianized, the extended family was transformed to some degree into a hierarchical working community, led by the couple chosen as the master and mistress of the house. They kept the communal coffers and represented the extended family outside, for example in court or in dealings with administrative authorities. Originally, however, the extended family was specifically a family with members who lived and worked together like family members.

The extended family was an institution adapted to its cultural environment in the era of diversified subsistence economy, when most of the work was physically light, and both the young and old were able

to participate in daily chores. In a diversified economy, nobody was ‘useless’ or ‘unproductive’. The family commune was always able to supply workers for the swiddens, fishing territories and to herd cattle, later even for logging work or other external employment.

In the Savo-Karelian swidden community, the status of the individual was determined by kinship, and social problems were also resolved by appealing to kin or by creating kinship ties. Kinship was recruited by methods such as setting up property companies and taking in foster children; written agreements of such transactions exist dating back to the 1600s.(13 It was a question of creating ties of social kinship. Foster sons and partners were taken by ordinary swidden farmers in order to cope with taxation and to retain their kinship rights to the house or to secure their old age, but the same steps were also taken by farms obliged to equip a cavalryman and inns, if they were unable to discharge their duties alone. While the agrarian communities of western and southern Finland were taking in outside labor, yearly servants, as early as the Middle Ages (map 23), Savo-Karelian communities resolved their manpower issues by taking outsiders into the kinship group or extended family.

A large extended family was independent and self-sufficient, and it realized the ideas of a kinship community of diverse human relationships and a secure life. The larger and more proactive the family and kinship group, the more prestige it acquired in the eyes of others. In the expansion period of swidden culture, before the tax system was set up in the 17th century, exploitation of nature was based on enjoyment rights, and the virgin forests were freely available for swiddening; even abandoned regrown swiddens could be taken into use by an outsider after a certain length of time. An extended family was able to take extensive control of its natural environment, and also coped with keeping a house liable to taxation better than a family with fewer members. On the other hand, no permanent social hierarchy was yet created in swidden communities. A person's status was based on his position in the kinship group and his personal qualities, not inherited land property.

The heyday of the Savo-Karelian extended family was particularly the 1700s and early 1800s, when self-sufficient swidden economy began to turn into commercial farming, and livelihood was improved by clearing more and more permanent fields. Private ownership of land (general parcelling out of land) and the advent of a cash economy quickly broke up extended families towards the end of the 1800s. Communal fields were divided among sons, as was other property; even large dwelling-houses were dismantled, so that each brother could build his own house. Farmhouse-centric thinking began to spread also to eastern Finland and Karelia.

## ***Religion of the swidden era***

**Ancestral cult.** The religion of Iron Age hunter-cultivators and Savo-Karelian swidden culture consisted of the *ancestral cult* and sorcery. In the emerging agrarian communities of the Gulf of Finland coastal circle, the dead were buried in *hiisi* woods near dwellings or on stony islets in the middle of field clearings. The deceased guarded their living environment even after death, and their cult sites gave his surviving family the right to cultivated land; the land belonged to the ancestors. The oldest marks of cultivated land possession are perhaps *cup stones* (map 3); *hiisi* woods were probably followed by the village burial grounds of Karelia and the *sacrificial trees* of Lutheran eastern Finland (map 4). A *primogenic offering*, the first share of everything yielded by cultivated land, forest and water, belonged to the ancestors. The

hiisi woods and sacred trees may have been visited on specific occasions by kinship groups to share a meal with their ancestors, as is still customary in Orthodox Karelia today, a couple of thousand years later (map 7). The ancestors influenced the life of the kinship group, new family members, babies born and spouses, were introduced to them, as they were to the supernatural guardians of the homestead, and possibly in Finland, too, the dead have been presumed to be reborn into their own kin (cf. map 91).

In emerging agrarian communities, the ancestors buried in the village burial grounds were judicially and socially important. One's ancestors safeguarded the rights of permanent cultivators to the resources of his environment, and maintained the order of the ecosystem. The ancestral cult was one of the core structures of kin-based society and kinship culture, it symbolized the pagan social order and world view the Christian church perceived as its main adversary. The medieval Catholic church invaded the hiisi woods in western Finland and took possession of the deceased by measures such as moving burial grounds to its protection; at first, the dead were buried inside the church. The ancestral cult was tenaciously retained nevertheless in, for example, burial customs and beliefs in supernatural guardians or *haltias*; in western Finland, the house *haltia* has evidently partially taken the position previously held by the ancestors (maps 62-68).

With the transition to cultivation culture, the environmental philosophy and religious thinking of hunting communities underwent a structural change. Ever since the swidden era, man has been interested above all else in growth of the land, fertility, and warding off the dangers threatening cattle husbandry. Alongside the supernatural guardians of the natural environment came the *haltias* of agrarian culture, who controlled success with grain and cattle. The bear, the sacred animal of northern hunters, became man's ecological competitor, a noxious animal that laid swidden cultivations to waste and killed cattle grazing in the forest (map 1). The swidden farmer's world view is like that of a man who casts his eyes around from his home hill, at his scattered swidden clearings, distant lakes, fishing territories and trapping tracks. His environment contained more and more unknowns and uncertainties. In order to feel that his life was secure, the winner of the time had to believe that he was in control of his environment and capable of repelling the outsiders who threatened his habitat, work, and his share of nature. With the advent of cultivation economy, religious thinking became totally unlike that of shamanistic fisher-hunter-gatherer communities; shamanism no longer worked in the everyday environment of the swidden farmer.

**Structures of sorcery.** The new interpreter of environmental relationships was the sorcerer, a specialist of magic rites, of sorcery, who dealt with the forces (in sorcerer terminology *väki*) at work in the swidden farmer's environment. The sorcerer knew the right effective technique, the *magic*, and was able to intone the effective words, an *incantation*. The fundamental tasks of the sorcerer were to protect the swidden economy, to control the forces of growth and fertility. Sorcerer rites focused on the turning points of life: the critical periods in farming and cattle husbandry, the rites of passage of community members. The sorcerer repelled the threat caused by malevolent forces, illnesses, *kateet* or the wrath and misfortunes sent by jealous people.

The swidden era sorcerer sent back beasts of prey from forest pastures, protected swidden crops from bears, and fish nets or trapping tracks from outsiders; the sorcerer prevented the fire from spreading at swidden-burning, raised the rain and wind, returned the cattle lost in the forest. The symbols and mental imagery of the sorcery tradition were also rooted in the swidden farmer's environment. The basic configuration of repelling rites is the magic fence, the iron fence of incantations, erected to surround man's niche, the living environment of man living in a diversified economy dependent on nature. The fence is the key vision. It arose from swidden fences, perhaps even from barriers of ancient hill fortress.

The sorcerer walked around, enclosed in a protective circle, swiddens to be burned, cattle pastures, wedding processions.

Sorcery is something fundamentally Finnish, like sacred trees of the dead (map 3). The people of Savo and Karelia had an incantation in old meter for almost every eventuality; more incantations have been collected from Savo than anywhere else in the world (maps 39-51). Finns were thought of as witches in the Nordic countries. In actual fact, the 'witches' were Savonian swidden farmers, with a culture including incantations and sorcerer rites; the fear of sorcery saved the inhabitants of Finnish forests in Värmland, northern Sweden, and other malevolent environments. Without sorcerers, the Finnish population of Värmland would have been decimated.

Influential rites worked in an environment where the threat was external, and this idea also transferred to social interpretations of evil. The misfortune had been caused by another sorcerer, a jealous competitor or enemy. The sorcerer acquired a 'white' and 'black' role. He was believed to be able to repel, to help, but on the other hand to avenge, to cause harm. As a religious role-holder, the sorcerer operated in a community invading its environment, where rite technique also became an instrument of social competition.

In the culture of the hunter-peasant, sorcery was the answer to the uncertainty of the ecosystem, in the same way as the extended family. They were not only threatened by wild beasts and forces of nature, but also by members of another kinship group or extended family. In distant swidden communities of the wildernesses, there were few legal channels for resolving social conflicts arising from the enjoyment rights of swidden and hunting territories. Seeking the help of supernatural forces provided a form of defence also to the inhabitant of an isolated house without the backing of a large kinship group or extended family. Swidden communities perhaps had their own ecological winners and heroes: efficient and powerful '*knowledge men*', who through their incantations and rites were believed capable of protecting the results of their work and the rights of their kin. Sorcery maintained social equilibrium and social order.(14)

The sorcerer layer is visible everywhere in Finnish-Karelian tradition, particularly in the maps concerning incantations and ancient runes. In the Iron Age, the first smiths arrived in the coastal villages; dating back to this period at the earliest is Creation of Iron, the narrative section of which is a realistic description of iron-making (maps 43-44); the swidden farmer had to control fire (41-42); healing rites (52) and healing incantations are also in most part pre-Christian sorcery (40, 45-51). The sorcerer tradition includes the rites for *forest cover* and releasing the cattle (maps 53-54), while in the agrarian community of the Gulf of Finland coast communal rainmaking and fertility rites gained a foothold: *Vakkove* festivals, animal sacrifices (4) and agrarian creation and rite runes, such as Sampsa Pellervoinen or Creation of Barley and Beer. They are part of Finnic-Baltic common heritage, as is maybe keeping *house snakes* (map 5). In the small villages around the Gulf of Finland, the burial grounds, *hiisis*, were also sacrificial groves, ritual sites similar to the sacrificial trees in Savo or village burial grounds in Dvina and Olonets Karelia (map 3); sacred woods have counterparts among agrarian Finnic peoples in northern Russia.

Effective rites could also be performed by people other than sorcerers, if one knew how to perform the rite and the correct formulas. Rites became a part of livelihood technology, applicable knowledge of the livestock tender and farmer. On the other hand, there were powerful sorcerers and healers, both men and women, whom people visited to seek help and advice also in personal matters. Sorcerers (herbalists) also possessed real empirical knowledge of the medicinal effects of wild plants; magic has even been thought of as early science. Sorcerer culture also started to become differentiated, and special sorcerers and interpreters began to operate in different areas of life. Female sorcerers and mistresses of houses took control of the ancestral cult (sacrificial trees), women's spheres of life (love magic, having

children) and the magic of their own area of work, such as cattle-tending rites. Male sorcerers protected particularly the cultivated environment, safeguarded the swidden lands and forest pastures, hunting and fishing, and repelled illnesses sent by outsiders. Women were kind of in charge of the interior of the house, men more of nature and public occasions, such as directing weddings (wedding rites).

Sorcery was already a religious doctrine or environmental philosophy, in which thinking, incantations and even rites have been largely similar in content in swidden- and horticultures in different parts of the world. In Finland, too, incantations may be deemed to have been religious texts with their set content and areas of distribution. However, the sorcerer culture never formed a social organization, a 'church', as did the religions of agrarian cultures. Through their rites, sorcerers maintained their status also in northern swidden communities, but they did not possess the same kind of cultural power as the religious role-holders of high religions. Some of the people of the swidden era believed in the power of the rites, others did not. The performing of rites has been largely symbolic, spiritual preparation; in their own natural environment the swidden farmers acted rationally. People sought safety in magic rites above all when it was a question of the future: in crisis situations, when starting some important phase of work or a new period in life, such as marriage. Rites afforded peace of mind. With them, everything possible was done and man could be free of such things that in the end could not be controlled, and leave the future in the hands of fate or higher forces (cf. the chapter on shamans, sorcerers and witches).

## ***Spiritual heritage of the swidden farmer***

**The culture of archaic poetry.** The predominant layers of ancient poetry are no longer tradition of early hunting communities, but their setting is the cultivating marine culture, perhaps precisely like the emerging agrarian communities of the Gulf of Finland coastal circle have been on either side of the birth of Christ. Narrative poetry in old meter lived among the men, on long-distance hunting trips, fishing territories and feasts to celebrate the catch; it was men's epic poetry. The rhythm used to perform the ancient epic runes sung by men may have originated in the fishing boats: the songs provided a rhythm for rowing, like the singing of the Vikings.(15)

The women's domain comprised laments, wedding runes and so-called lyrical songs, dealing with home life, daily work, and women's feelings about life. The lyrics often deal with women's worries, the heaviness of the hand-grinding stones, girls' hopes of finding a good husband, about being a daughter-in-law. In feminist research, the runes have even been thought of as proof of women's poor status in the masculine society of hunter-cultivators.(16) The songs are rather indicators of the different cultural spheres of the sexes. Women dealt with the intimate emotional side of human life, joy and grief. Only women were permitted to perform laments; in death rites and at weddings they had a right of self-expression which was downright forbidden for men. The men were bystanders, almost like guests in women's houses and women's rites. In emerging agrarian cultures, women possessed fertility, the forces of growth, the social heritage of kinship groups.

The scene of epic poetry in the old meter is a coastal village of hunter-cultivators, the Iron Age culture circle of the Gulf of Finland, different from that in Savo-Karelia or the great lakes of Dvina. The Formation of the Seabed (fishing waters) that is part of the rune Creation of the World (map 87), as well as Creation of Fishing Nets attached to the Incantation of Fire (maps 42, 92), are fishermen's myths. The Sampo

sequence, above all the Stealing of the Sampo and the pursuit (map 93) takes place in a maritime setting, as does the rune of the Great Oak (94-95). Many songs, such as the Creation of the Kantele (map 89) contain descriptions of a journey by boats with multiple oars. The principal heroes of the runes are the old sorcerer Väinämöinen (*vaka vanha Väinämöinen, tietäjä iänikuinen* [steady old Väinämöinen, the everlasting wise man]) and blacksmith Ilmarinen, and their environment is a peaceful, agrarian village with its log houses and cattle shelters, no longer a northern hunting community. Basically, a runic figure like Väinämöinen is a chief of a hunting company, an old, experienced coxswain of a large boat, who acted as lead singer for rowing and knew the sea routes and fishing waters; he is a sorcerer, singer and kantele-player, no longer a shaman (maps 89-93). The war-like layer of the Viking era is very slight; Finnish heroes fought with sorcerer's weapons rather than swords, and no chieftains or kings appear in Finnish epics, but human relations and social hierarchy are expressed using concepts of the kinship community. A tragic figure in the kinship society was the orphan Kullervo, last of his kin, abandoned or otherwise left without the security of his family, which has evidently been the original meaning of the term *orja* [slave].

**Tradition environment of the swidden era.** Right up to the end of the 19th century, kinship institutions were stronger than the village in Savo-Karelia. Cooperation networks evolved within kinship groups; even villagers' voluntary working parties are a late development (map 34). The social culture of Dvina Karelia included kinship traditions, such as kinship funerals and memorial events of their own deceased (map 7), kinship weddings (maps 9-21) and Prasnikas (map 22). The everyday culture of Savonian swidden peasants in particular is characterized by individuality, self-reliance and a workaday quality. The Savonian village was still constructed according to the natural conditions, with its numerous small store-huts and stables spreading around the compound with no specific order. In the same way, weddings and other celebrations in Savo were simple, spontaneous, lacking a hierarchical formula, which in western peasant villages gradually permeated all cultural structures.

Songs and incantations in old meter have thrived in the communities of swidden cultivators and seasonal fisher-hunters. As a form of performance, the archaic meter remained in use even in western Finland up to the Middle Ages and later in parts; for example the earliest legend and ballad poetry that had spread from Europe was still translated in the archaic meter (maps 97-99). During the last centuries, the culture of sorcerers and singers continued in Savo and Karelia and in the villages of Ingria. The most archaic epic poetry was found in the 1800s in the remote areas of Dvina, Olonets, North Karelia and Ladoga Karelia, where the old hunting culture was the nearest to daily life. The most enduring have been incantations in old meter; they were still used in the Savo-Karelian swidden culture.

In the east, songs were an essential part of social occasions, not so much narratives. Especially in Karelia and Ingria, ritual poetry in archaic meter – wedding songs, men's epic poetry or women's lyrical songs – were still used in place of ceremonial narration. Wedding songs and laments held a central part in the wedding drama for as long as the wedding ceremonies of kinship communities were preserved. Particularly in Ingria, girls performed archaic songs at dances and while promenading and singing on Sundays on the village lane, as did the girls in Russian villages (maps 22, 35). In the 1800s in Ingria and Karelia, the women maintained the archaic performance, while in the peasant villages of western Finland they had already been replaced by rhymed folk songs in the new meter and fiddler music.

Folklore collected in eastern Finland and Karelia includes relatively few structurally established motif narratives, the effect of which would be based on a surprising plot and drama-like performance, dramatic narration of the story. In Karelia and Ingria, the narration took place using the old code, epic and lyrical songs in old meter. In Dvinian villages, fairytales and legends took the place of western motif narratives;

in Savo, the place of the story-teller was taken by the speaker, the wordsmith. Savonian narrators competed in verbal skills; as a narrator, too, the Savonian was more an individualist than one to maintain concentrated, normative tradition. The subject matter of the narratives was also different in the east from that of the west. Savo-Karelian narratives lack the Christian-moralistic judgmental quality of the western agrarian community. In Savo and Karelia, no stories were told about anti-humans, witches (maps 54-61), or murdered children who revealed their unwed mothers (73-75). Eastern folk narrative was realistic, tolerant and individualistic.

Savonian hilltop villages and individual houses were often a long way apart: in the swidden culture area, dense groups of villages only existed in Orthodox Karelia. The Savonian made a visit into a ritual. He popped into his neighbor's house complete with his pipe and news; the greetings, sitting down on a bench, lighting his pipe, all was like an introduction to a social performance. The visitor dealt with the events of his environment, analyzed, interpreted, colored incidents using apposite words, proverbs and allegories. If a similar wordsmith happened to be found among the residents, the exchange of thoughts turned into an art, and practically no other decorative arts were practised in Savo. Savonian speech consists of expressiveness, verbal skill, searching for unique expressions. It is not performance of learned plot narratives like in the villages of western Finland, where even narration had to increasingly follow common formulas, a common order.

**Cultural area of the Savonians and Karelians.** In the period of the Folklore Atlas, swidden culture was the foundation of the culture of eastern Finland and Orthodox Karelia. The territory of Savonian swidden cultivators continues in the north into Norrbotten in Sweden and into the Finnish forests of central Sweden, Värmland, and the Finnish cultural area also stretches to Norway into Ruija, the originally Finnish inhabitants of which migrated mostly from Kainuu and southern Lapland.(17 The core area of ancient Karelian culture is Orthodox Karelia, which in its day covered all permanently inhabited Karelian areas, including the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria. The expansion of the Lutheran population begun in the period of the Sweden-Finnish empire in the 1600s narrowed the area of the Orthodox church, so that in the Atlas the Orthodox area only covers East Karelia (Dvina and Olonets) and the eastern parts of Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia (appendix map).

In many maps, southeastern Finland is seen as its own tradition area, comprising the whole of the Saimaa waterway starting from the Isthmus. Southeastern Finland was the scene of a period of rapid industrialization and local entrepreneurship in the 1800s. The sawmill and paper industries were concentrated on Lake Saimaa and the Kymijoki river, and as St Petersburg was under construction, rural trade of the area turned to the east. After completion of the Gulf of Finland coast and the Saimaa Canal (1856) peasants of the Saimaa waterway area also transported rural produce, especially timber, to St Petersburg on their sailboats, later steam barges.(18 St Petersburg was the economic center of the Isthmus and other southeastern regions until World War I. The southeastern tradition area pushed between the cultures of western and eastern Finland, but by then the boundary between field- and swidden-Finland had already become blurred, as field cultivation was gradually established everywhere, including Dvina Karelia.

At the time covered by the Atlas, Savo-Karelia had already become agrarianized into a field cultivation area with predominantly small farms. However, the era of swidden culture was still held in memories, present as a tradition. The economy of eastern Finland was still characterized by diversity and extensivity; a lifestyle of clearing small fields, draining lakes and bogs, lumberjacking work at timber companies' felling sites and log floating, trade in St Petersburg. In the north, men took paid employment in Ruija on the Arctic Ocean for the spring fishing season. Agrarian village culture gained a foothold especially in

South Karelia, which, like Ostrobothnia, was a socially egalitarian province, but features of peasant culture spread throughout the southeastern region.

In southwestern Finland, agrarian culture acquired some of the same structures as in Puritan villages in western Europe, while the village culture of the southeastern regions shares some of the features of the Baltic countries and more widely in eastern Europe. The further east one goes in North Savo, North Karelia and Kainuu, the closer is the ancient hunting and swidden economy. The most archaic cultural knowledge of all comes from Dvina Karelia. Historically, East Karelia has been linked to eastern Europe from the times of Novgorod, and the forerunners of many Karelian cultural features, such as the Karelian house, have been thought to have traveled all the way from the Byzantine Empire.(19)

In Dvina and elsewhere in Orthodox Karelia, the kin-centric lifestyle of the hunting and swidden communities was preserved. A person was first and foremost a member of his kinship group and extended family, as was also still the case in Savo in the early 19th century, and there were few common organizations in the villages. Many cultural structures of the pre-Christian era still survived in Orthodox Karelia: the ancestral cult and village burial grounds, kinship weddings and funerals, Prasnikas and other forms of interaction between kinship groups. Behind Karelian culture, above all in Dvinian tradition, the songs in the old meter, around forest cabins and fishing waters, are still found some structures of Borealic hunting culture, of shamanistic concepts of the world of man who lived in the forest, with counterparts in the tradition of the Sami and also other northern Finno-Ugrian hunter peoples.

*Background writings: Sarmela 1981a; 1984ac; 1987bc; 1989ac; 1995.*

**1.** *The beginning of cultivating culture in Finland: pollen studies Vuorela I. 1990; 1991. Simola 2006. In archaeology Tolonen – Siiriäinen – Hirvilo 1976. Debate, e.g. the anthology Julku – Wiik 1998. (On sedentism in anthropology, e.g. Rosenberg 1998.)* **2.** Salo 1984, 79-. Siiriäinen 1981. **3.** Koivulehto 1983; 1984. Häkkinen – Lempääinen 1996. **4.** Klinge 1984. **5.** On early history of Finland e.g. Jutikkala 1949. Kirkinen 1970; 1976. Voionmaa 1915; 1947. **6.** Soininen 1959. 1961. Vilkuna, K. 1960b. Wirilander 1960. Kaukiainen 1980. Pirinen 1982. Lappalainen 1970. Vahtola 1980. Keränen 1984. Massa 1983. Värmland: Broberg 1988. Tarkiainen 1990. **7.** Kuujo 1963. Saloheimo 1976-1980. Kirkinen 1963; 1970; 1976. Tšistov 1976, 18-. (Uino 1997. Nevalainen – Sihvo 1998. Saksa 1998.) **8.** *The impacts of the Ice Age on the crust formation (habitats) and cultures of different provinces are outside the scope of this exposition.* **9.** *Swidden cultivation as an ecosystem and cultural system is based on the writings Sarmela 1987bc; 1974a; 1981a; 1984a; 1989c; 1995. On literature on swidden cultivation in general Raumolin 1987, in Nordic countries Larsson 1995. Ethnohistorical studies Grotenfelt 1899. Soininen 1975. Vilkuna, K. 1948. Kortesalmi 1969. Heikkinen 1988. In addition, burning of bogs has been practised in Ostrobothnia: in drained bog areas, a layer of peat was burned every year, until the land was finally tilled to become a field.* **10.** Soininen 1975, 150-. Tvengsberg 1995, 112-. **11.** Cf. Harva 1938. Steinitz 1974. Voionmaa 1915, 367-, 481-. On matrilineality in general Murdock 1977. **12.** Voionmaa 1915, 387-. Piha 1964. From the perspective of cultural ecology Sarmela 1974a; 1979c; 1980; 1987a. **13.** Voionmaa 1915, 429-. TUOKKO. **14.** It has been suggested in anthropology (Clyde Kluckhohn) that so-called magic is used also in communities where man feels that he is no longer in control of his environment or able to resolve his social conflicts through rational (legal) means. **15.** The method of performing runes in the old meter has been thought mysterious: Enäjärvi-Haavio 1949. Virtanen, L. 1968, 14-. Leino 1974. **16.** Nenola 1986ab, 118-. Nenola – Timonen 1990. **17.** See e.g. Tarkiainen 1990; Ruija: Paulaharju, S. 1928. Kalhama 1982. (Saressalo 1996.) **18.** Karttunen 1945. Kerkkonen 1959. Kaukiainen 1970. Karste-Liukkanen 1968. **19.** Kirkinen 1963. References for folklore research are given in map articles.

## AGRARIAN CULTURE

### ***Cultural environment of the peasant***

**Ecosystem of the field cultivator.** By the Middle Ages, a peasant village culture of permanent field cultivation had formed in the river valleys and plains of western and southern Finland. The agriculturalists practising intensive, self-sufficient farming, plow cultivators, have lived permanently in their local communities (1) tied to their own living environment and its resources, separated from the wilderness. The ecological security of the agriculturalist depended on (2) how well he was able to control his cultivated environment, to influence the growth of grain or success with his cattle. Man of agrarian cultures (3) adapted his material and spiritual culture to his own immediate environment: his cultivation methods and grain varieties, domestic animals, external knowledge and skills. Locally adapted farmers have everywhere created the ethnic cultural environments, cultural provinces, cultivated landscapes of the villages, traditional building methods, developed their own animal breeds and grain varieties that thrived in local natural conditions.

In an agrarian culture, man's (4) ecological niche is his own permanent area of land and the surrounding village. The peasant's cultural space was more clearly demarcated from nature than the swidden cultivators' living environment, and outside the village were the other, strange villages, outsiders, the upper class of the feudal era; in the history of agrarian cultures, from outside the village has usually only come something bad that threatened the villagers' rights to the results of their work and land resources. In his own eco-niche, the Finnish agriculturalist, too, (5) sustained local self-sufficiency and the cycle of energy. The peasant household, fields and cattle formed an almost 'closed' ecosystem, in which use of external resources was extremely slight. For example in houses in western Finland, conifer fronds were chopped all winter long for cattle bedding (cf. map 26) and manure, clay or mud driven into the fields, the humus layer of the cultivated land was increased year on year; the distinguishing signs of a well-run house were a large compost and number of manure heaps, well-drained and fertile fields. In peasant villages, like in extended families of the swidden era, almost all the cultural instruments were home-made, such as tools, dishes and clothing; the ideology of self-sufficiency dominated all living, the whole ecological adaptation. Intensive agriculture (6) increased the work, wealth and opportunities of earning a living, it was able to tie a growing population to the location, to their own village. Agrarian cultures were also capable of creating the early dynasties and their great historical monuments.

In agrarian cultures (7) the work became heavier than in the swidden economy, but it also acquired a steadily greater social meaning. The peasant was the more prosperous, the more he worked, dug ditches and tilled the land, fenced the pastures, the better he timed the seasonal tasks of the cropping year. The concept of useful work actually originated in peasant society. The field farmer is (8) increasingly depend-

ent on the year's harvest, on the yield of the sources of food he grows; in agrarian cultures, man starts to look ahead from sowing to reaping. The peasant's environmental culture (9) is directed to the future, to controlling future times, development. While in hunting cultures man stored very little, in a peasant house in western Finland life focused more and more on building the future: clearing new fields, storing grain and other food, collecting clothing, goods and cash for a rainy day or one's old age, or to leave as inheritance to the next generations. The culturally intrinsic security was earned through perseverance, diligence and thrift. Agriculturalists (10) started the enduring changing of nature and implemented the idea of man's supremacy in their own local environment.

**Concept of time of the working year.** Farmers' rhythm of living is tied to the cropping year, which determines the daily work, the passage of time. Part of the eco-folklore of agrarian cultures is measuring of time, determining of the times for sowing and harvesting and knowledge of the weather: forecasting of future weather and annual yield, interpreting nature's signs. The calendars of cultivating cultures were not so much for timing of rites, but for timing phases of work. Starting farming jobs at the right time was vital for people's livelihood, and it was in agrarian cultures that complex calendars of favorable and unfavorable dates were created, laying down the dates when some job important for the future or a lifestage should be embarked upon. Finnish calendar tradition also contains normative orders and prohibitions on what work was permitted or forbidden on a certain feast day.(1) Sanctions for the prohibitions are for example losses befalling the annual yield or cattle, misfortune; not following the prohibitions has been likened symbolically to belittling the future, aimed at the ecosystem and through it at the whole community. Monitoring of weather signs in the winter months has kept people focused on the weather conditions of the farming season, the threat of drought or frost, the basic issues of the ecosystem.

Central in the tradition of cultivating communities are the religious rites of the cropping year, fertility and future magic, which belonged in the turning points of the year or critical periods, starting of new work (maps 3-4, 19-20, 25, 26). In the farmer's calendar the year moved on towards the harvest: it was the turn of the year of the peasant community, start of the new farming season. In the pre-Christian era, the new year in Finland, too, began in the autumn from *Kekri*, by which time the harvest had been brought in and the animals slaughtered. At the turn of the year, in Finnish *jakoaika* [dividing time], the agrarian fertility and future ritualism reached its peak. Then the year's yield was shared out, its fertility, and the energy of growth, grain and cattle fortune passed on to the following year; people, ancestors and supernatural guardians were all given their share (maps 3, 7 and 63). The annual festivals with their games and dances, tours, communal festival bonfires and swings (maps 24-33) were a part of village culture, through which neighborliness and the common lifestyle, a shared future, were reaffirmed, and at the same time any conflicts that had arisen during the year were defused. The village social life was also phased according to the agricultural year.(2)

## ***Culture of communality***

**Neighbors and fellow human beings.** In the ecosystem of agrarian culture, crisis situations were resolved through cooperation within the village, by creating networks of neighborly assistance; the village as a whole may be viewed as a system of reciprocal exchange. Economic and social cooperation has

been essential: it was one of the key structures of the cultural system, like the norms of sharing the catch in hunting communities. While in Savo-Karelia the men and women of an extended family of many dozens of people worked together, in western villages neighbors gathered in voluntary working parties to cut the rye, process the flax, help each other in all work of any magnitude that cropped up in the course of the year. At reciprocal working parties, useful work was combined with social intercourse (map 34). But above all, working parties eliminated the threat posed by the work piling up and helped overcome the bottlenecks of work in the life of the house, a certain work stage or organizing a feast. The idea of coping together bound the houses together, and within the village, neighborliness gradually became a more important frame of reference than kin. Especially in Ostrobothnia, weddings as well as funerals were village feasts, with neighbors participating in their organization (cf. maps 9-21). In densely populated villages, contact with the neighbors was a daily event, and various forms of reciprocal neighborly assistance, lending tools or exchanging farming knowledge, has continued in rural villages into the era of mechanical production economy.(3)

Village culture has been common participation, taking care of neighbors and the poor. The village was also duty-bound to take care of its social problems, the moral responsibility could not be passed outside the community. The villagers joined forces to look after the sick and old who had nobody to support them, creating the social services of their time. General participation also manifested in turning success or an individual person's joy and grief into shared commodities. At village weddings, the wedding songs and laments in archaic meter were replaced with fiddler music and dancing, collective socializing (maps 9-21). In Ostrobothnia and in places in Satakunta, even a village administration or the *oltermanni* system (Part I, map 1) gained a foothold, with the remit of watching over the villagers' harmonious community spirit, chaste living and church attendance.

The organization within the village also extended to youth. In Ostrobothnia and other parts of western Finland, youth became active as its own member and reference group and began to create its own tradition of getting together. Young people built communal village swings, organized evening games events, handicraft parties and their own village dances (maps 35-37). For the young, the village was a powerful reference group: in Ostrobothnia, village youth even operated like an organized group, maintaining their own initiation rites and monitoring young couples' courtships (map 37); their village-centeredness culminated in mass fights and sporting contests between villages.(4) Agrarian villages created a local organization culture that was alien to Karelian kinship communities. In western Finland, communal mills were built (see Part I, map 2), common sawmills and village dairies, and the cooperative movement also began there.(5) Economic and social organization were portents of new political and social structures, the organization culture of industrial society.

**Useful man.** A peasant farmhouse in western Finland has a clear-cut, often rectangular plan or order. The compound of a large farmhouse in Satakunta resembled a fortress, being built up and enclosed on all sides. It was a monument to peasant independence, self-sufficiency and labor. But this type of enclosed compound also proclaimed the social hierarchy of the village community, the value structure of a community tied to the land. The agrarian village community became the scene of increasingly hard social competition, which is characteristic of the entire western culture. Ownership of resources, financial success and useful labor determined man's worth ever more clearly. Farmers' wives had to be up at cock-screw, at voluntary working parties people worked in bloody competition, trips to church became horse-races for the honor of houses.

Labor became a value in itself, an instrument of social competition. In agrarian communities, even the coming of age of the young was measured by demonstrations of work skills and strength; the initiate's *karsikkos* (map 6) and *ikäkylpy* (initiation sauna) were replaced by work tests. Boys competed over their

manhood status at village fights, lifting *väkikivet* ['strength rocks'] and engaging in other sports of the time. Girls competed from an early age over who had the most pieces of their handiwork, *kapiot*, in their sleeping quarters, which boys came to inspect on their *yöstely* [nocturnal visiting] tours (map 37). Finally at the turn of the 1800-1900s, large houses in Finland, too, acquired a meal bell. Positioned at the gable end of a loft barn or the house roof, the bell was used to call the house folk together, the bell announced the precise times for work and meals like the factory siren in industrial villages; the daily routine of the house became public.(6 The day was more clearly divided into working hours and leisure, work and entertainment.

All work had to be done as well as possible for it to honor the worker; poorly discharged work was a sin, immoral, and its consequence was a religious punishment. Work, like human life, was compartmentalized and subjected to norms: the work of a Christian reflected his morals, how he respected the gift of life God had bestowed him. In the peasant community, the preconditions of a good life were harmonious family and neighborly relations, or as expressed in the language of the time: a faithful spouse, obedient children, and good neighbors. Children were brought up to work hard and to respect the adults' community, to live together with the neighbors. In densely populated villages, consideration of the neighbor was essential, as immorality and lack of discipline would have threatened the very existence of the community.

Agrarianization also made the living conditions of young children harder. The symbol of the child-rearing values of the peasant village community might be the wooden cradle on runners, which spread to western Finland and gradually, with agrarianization, also to eastern Finland, even as far as Karelia. In European societies, mothers no longer carried children with them as they went about their increasingly heavy work. In the most typical areas of agrarian culture, such as Ostrobothnia, mothers stopped sucking their babies after the critical period just after birth, instead, babies were kept in the cradle and fed artificial nutrition, rye gruel, even using a hard feeding horn. According to a contemporary account, this was in the belief that strong nutrition results in strong people with a high capacity for work; such child-rearing ideals are thought to have been responsible for the high infant mortality.(7 The cradle and feeding horn gave the mistresses of houses the opportunity of handing childcare to older siblings or young serving girls, and they themselves had more time to look after the house, to do useful work. From the agrarian era also date tales of heroic mothers who gave birth "in the ditch by the rye field" while at work, or rose from their childbeds immediately to take care of their chores.

In European agrarian societies, children were increasingly socialized into the organization, to accept discipline and to obey those in authority. It is a short leap from the peasant heroism of labor to the western performance society that strives to produce more and more, to develop the perfect human being; where only achievement, winning is culture. The ideals of diligence, thrift and self-developing man, the faith in the leader (good master) who takes care of everything, the ethics of good manners, caring, and morality, appreciation of one's own country and ethnic culture, the national ideal (national romanticism) and patriotism are all facets of the heritage of agrarian culture. In the delocalized industrial society, mass culture, they have clashed with the new structural change and are gradually losing their importance.

## ***Religion of the village community***

**Christian revolution.** In Finland, as in other parts of Europe, the religion of the agrarian cultural era was Christianity. High religions, such as Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, are village religions and no longer kinship cults, they evolved alongside agrarian cultural development, and their ethical norms are very similar, moral codes essential for village communities. As social institutions, high religions define a good community and the right way of living among people. Roman Catholic conversion work in Finland, and Greek Orthodox in Karelia, progressed in Iron Age agrarian villages, while inland swidden cultivators and northern hunting communities were left outside Christianity for several more centuries. To the kinship communities of the Viking era, Christianity evidently brought a message of a new society of peace and humanity: the message of the church equalled the expectations of local community man about coping together, neighborliness, and caring for one's fellow man.

The power of the Christian local community is proclaimed by the massive greystone churches of southwestern Finland (cf. map 22). On the other hand, the Christian church became the first centralized system, and in this Atlas, I view Christianity, mainly the Lutheran church that became established in Sweden-Finland after the Reformation, as a *meritocracy*, which gradually took under its control the entire peasant culture and its environment. A meritocracy is a social utopia or power system constructed by the learned or meritocrats of their time, with ideology as its constructive core. A social meritocracy defines a common good culture and inevitably also its opposite, anticuture. Increasingly, culture consists of boundaries through which the right faith or right development is distinguished from anticuture. The power of meritocracy is vested in translocal authorities, and meritocrats succeed as an elite class by imitating ideological uniformity, constantly reinforcing authorities, cults of performers and organizatorial hierarchy sanctified by the system, and naturally by nurturing their ideological tradition.

Like later ideological meritocracies, the church at the time also formed a uniformly operating international power system, in the hegemony tradition of which the opposite side was the realm of the Antichrist, paganism, wrong faith or false religious groups. Religion was transformed from a new, liberating ideology into a centralized church, within which 'the true doctrine' was mystified to become an instrument of Christian environmental competition. The ecological winners of ecclesiastical organization culture defined in increasing detail the boundaries of existence, the Christian and Antichristian. In common with all centralized systems, the church started to produce its members, the Christian man, and to eliminate anti-humans. Gradually, the church monopolized the transmission and reproduction of culture: in order to exist socially, each new generation had to belong to the church and fit in the shared Christian environment.

The principal ideological adversary of Christianity was the ancestral cult and sorcery. The medieval Catholic churches, both Roman and Orthodox, were still adapting to local circumstances and assimilating elements of the old faith. The churches built their own temples on sacred pagan sites, took possession of the dead, literally, into the shelter of the church, and transformed religious rites into public Christian services (map 3). Sorcerer rites were christianized, for example in incantations, patron saints replaced pagan supernatural guardians and female progenitors of animals, and mythical cosmic narratives were gleaned from the events of the New Testament (maps 45-50). In the Middle Ages, sacrificial feasts became church masses or memorial feasts of the patron saint of the church, with the offerings brought to the church altar (map 22). This layer of medieval folk church is discernible in many of the maps in the Atlas, but it was gradually obscured by the Christian tradition of the so-called period of Lutheran Orthodoxy, based on the ideological authoritarianism of the meritocratic church.

Inevitably, the structural history of centralized systems includes a totalitarian phase. After the evolution of Christian village culture in the 1500s and 1600s, European churches also created an ideology of control, using its doctrines of sin, the devil and witchcraft to define the internal enemies of the system, anti-humans: the apostates, nonconformists, dissenters. The anti-humans labeled as servants of the Anti-christ were necessary for the internal power struggle of the ecclesiastical system, but accusations of

witchcraft also spread to peasant villages (see chapter Shamans, sorcerers and witches). In Finland, the witchcraft doctrine gained a foothold within western agrarian culture, but did not spread in such extreme form to the Savo-Karelian sorcerer area; the devil was involved specifically in the ideological competition of agrarian 'high cultures'.

In Sweden-Finland, Lutheran totalitarianism strengthened religious culture and the new state administration. Lutheran social policy culminated in the ecclesiastical law of 1666 and the state law of 1739. Their moral background was the Mosaic Law based on the Old Testament, and severe punishments were meted out for, for example, crimes of sexual morality, even the death sentence.(8) Clergy aspiring to religious power competed in the destruction of paganism, condemned remembrance of the dead, Vakkove rites and sacrificial feasts, bear's 'funerals' or *peijaiset* (maps 1-4, 7). They also created an example for Christian laymen. Condemnation of the customs of the people became a particular social merit, and all new cultural phenomena that spread into Finland, from folk songs in new meter to young people's courtship customs (maps 35, 37 and 38), took their turn as targets of moralistic attacks.

**Religion of the peasant.** Thus, during the period covered by the Atlas, Christian folk culture, also called the first uniform culture, was prevalent in Finland and Karelia.(9) The church took over the community culture. Under its auspices, man's lifestage rites were christianized; from birth rites on, the church took possession of individuals, absorbed them into the parish, gave their members Christian names, identities. In Christian agrarian communities were molded ecclesiastical adulthood rites, catechism school and confirmation, and the village wedding tradition with the reading of the banns and wedding ceremonies (maps 13-21), but also the patriarchal idea of marriage and family, which has also been more widely typical of old plow cultivation cultures.(10) The church even took control of time, the order of events. It determined the working week and days of rest, established the visits to church every Sunday and the annual holy days, and modified the pre-Christian farming calendar into one observing Christian high days (maps 22-31).

The Christian hegemony tradition, above all the doctrines of sin and the devil, pervaded the world view, thinking and interpretation of the environment of Christian village communities. The most important figure of belief in the peasant tradition environment was the devil: it displaced other supernatural beings and began to dominate almost all narration concerning the secret or threatening world on the other side (e.g. maps 52-61, 71-72, 76-78). With the aid of the hegemony tradition, the church changed the ideas of the deceased (map 7) and sorcerers. The Christian tradition environment provided the structure and content to peasant folklore: moralistic tales of destiny and example (maps 73-77), Christian horror stories of the haunting dead, the evil of witches, the death of sinful man (61). Limited to western Finland were the beliefs about witches, *trullis*, who on Easter night forced their way into byres to steal cattle fortunes, or flew at Easter to '*horna*' for debauchery at the devil's feast (maps 55-57). Religious moralism and communality distinguish narratives from western Finland and those from Savo-Karelia. In western Finland, even the supernatural guardians, *haltias*, of houses had become puritanical human images, watching over the decency and diligence of the house folk (maps 64-68).

The folklore of western Finland supported the order of the peasant ecosystem and its ideas of a good Christian village man who lived blamelessly, in harmony with his environment and community. In peasant villages, witches were not only the devil's servants, but anti-humans in a more general sense, of which the community disapproved: they were jealous, avaricious, grabbing riches with he devil's help, like the trulli mistresses of the narratives (maps 55-57) or mistresses who used their devilish means to give birth to a ghost creature, *para*, to bring them butter and milk or other goods (58-60). In agrarian village communities, the witch breached above all else the commandments that forbid coveting and envying the property of a fellow man, forbid breaches against neighborliness. The devil's servants were also those

who had settled outside the village community, dissidents who had turned their backs on the system, such as eccentric lords of manors or freemasons (map 62). The devil with its servants was a symbol of a counter-culture, the scapegoat and menacing vision, embodying the life fears of the clergy, but also of the peasant.

The difference between the west and east remained also in the period of Christian folk culture. Lutheranism had become an organizational church of public servants intent on participating in all social life. The Orthodox church of Karelia was more tolerant, and absorbed many forms of folk belief, such as the ancestral cult, into its own tradition (maps 3, 7). In the remote regions of Dvina, Orthodox priests were often themselves men of the people and not members of the class of academic functionaries, like Lutheran priests. The Lutheranism of western Finland and the religious folk movements that operated within it represented peasant puritanism. The *körttiläinen* of Ostrobothnia or the revivalist of Satakunta respected the Christian order of living, diligence, moderation: his outward appearance, black suit and solemn demeanor in effect were the epitome of the strife of European village man towards discipline and order. In the east and north, revivalist movements were different, spontaneous, less organized; the believers sought from them ecstatic experiences, trance states, like the Laestadians of Lapland, self-flagellators of Karelia, and originally also the revivalists of Savo.(11 Religion, too, is divided into the organizational, rational west and spontaneous, mystical east. The peasant organized his environment, also his village religion, created the ideological setting where the doctrines of benefit and development, from mercantilism to socialism and capitalism, obtained their strength.

## Critical change of community culture

**Private land ownership.** In agrarian cultures, arable land ownership changed from collective to private, and a social hierarchy based on ownership of land resources was created in communities. In western and southern Finland, villages controlled and cultivated land communally right up to the 1750s. In the era of the old strip farming, fields and meadows were divided up among houses according to the number of men and taxation, while the village forests were in communal use. At that time, densely populated so-called group villages (*ryhmäkylä*) sprung up in western and southern Finland, with fields surrounding the houses and cultivated jointly. The built-up group village is a collective production structure, the basis of community culture. In Finland, too, the authorities began the implementation in the 1750s of the general land repartitioning, whereby village lands were shared out to houses into hereditary private ownership. The land repartitioning was begun in western Finland from Ostrobothnia, spreading gradually into eastern and northern Finland; all in all, the operation took about 200 years.(12 In the area of eastern swidden culture, private land ownership materialized at the close of the 19th century and the start of the 20th century. Across the Russian border in Dvina Karelia, communal ownership by kinship groups and villages was preserved until the social turmoil of the 20th century.

After the land repartitioning, class divisions based on land ownership gradually evolved in peasant villages. The highest class of farmers were the owners of original estates and farms obliged to equip a cavalryman (*rusthölli*), below them were the owners of smallholdings, followed by tenant farmers or crofters and the landless population, which at the end of the 1800s already accounted for the majority of village inhabitants in the parishes of southwestern Finland. The landless class was itself subdivided into several groups. *Itselliset* (the self-employed) lived in their own cabins and their occupations were the crafts.

Large houses had their own laborers' accommodation where farm laborers with families (*muonamiehet*) lived; servant girls and farmhands hired for a year at a time lived in the farmhouse kitchen halls.(13)

In southern Finland, there were manor houses owned by (Swedish-speaking) aristocratic families, but an actual feudal society never developed in Finland, and during the Russian reign, the serf system was limited to a few parishes on the Karelian Isthmus. The upper class of rural parishes consisted of so-called gentlefolk, who were the clergy and civil servants, and the owners of manor houses. The gentlefolk spoke Swedish and copied their lifestyle from Sweden or the centers of continental Europe. The influence of the gentry on folklore is not under scrutiny in the present study.

The divisions in the village community were not very important as long as the farm owners did the same work, ate at the same table and in general led a similar life to those of their underlings. The crofter system gave the young an opportunity of acquiring land, and in peasant communities, especially in Ostrobothnia, the main house and the crofts formed a tight-knit network of cooperation for a long time. When the timber industry was established in the 1870s, the value of forests rose and even the rural areas embraced the cash economy. Now the gulf between the landed and landless widened sharply, and in southwestern Finland a type of village community evolved that in this Atlas is referred to as landed peasant culture. Owners of large farms, landed peasants, held the most important resources of the villages, and the wherewithal to adapt to the new technical development in agriculture and the emerging consumer culture.(14)

The general land repartitioning was supplemented (1848) with a decree making it possible to combine the arable lands and forests of farms into a single block. The large-scale implementation of this so-called *new repartitioning* only got underway at the end of the 1800s and the early 1900s. When the new repartitioning was carried out, farm buildings were moved to their own land and the densely built peasant villages disappeared. The single house located in the midst of its own fields, the farm, was a new production structure that fitted in with the requirements of the market economy, the new delocal environment. The peasant became a private farmer, in the production environment of whom it was no longer rational to invest in the village social life but in machinery, farming technology.

**Culture of social classes.** In the village communities of western and southern Finland, the landed house was also the focus of social thinking. Farm ownership divided villagers into classes that were not to be known in the Savo-Karelian kinship community for a long time to come. The farm gave a person his identity, and particularly with the growth of class differences in the 1800s, it defined his position in the village community. In western Finland, the name of the farm came to be used as the owners' surname, and even men who had come from outside to become masters of a house changed their surnames when they took possession of the farm.(15) The peasant house was more permanent than kin. While in Savo-Karelia the community was for a long time defined through kinship categories, in western Finland the social distance and the subordinate relationships of people were more and more precisely expressed by class names and deferential forms of address; in the area of landed peasant culture in Finland, even children addressed their parents deferentially after reaching a certain age.

The class divisions intruded in social interaction of the young (map 37) and gradually led to the breakdown of the community spirit of the village. Semi-professional mediators, spokesmen (*puhemiehet*), arranged the marriages of daughters and sons of landed peasants (map 11). Marriages agreed by the parents, for example child betrothals, did not take place in Karelian kinship communities, but only in western Finland. Particularly in the landed peasantry culture area of Satakunta and Häme, weddings began to feature hierarchy rites that reinforced and regenerated the social rank order within the village over and over again (maps 17, 18 and 21). In the landed peasantry society of southern Finland, feasts came to be held by invitation only, and weddings or funerals no longer united the villagers like the collective village

feasts of the past. In an individual's life, both at entering marriage and in death, it became more and more important what kind of a house one came from, no longer the kinship group of which one was a member. The social classes of the village functioned increasingly separately and organized their lives according to their own resources.

In western and southern Finland, the landed peasantry class created its own lifestyle, and inequality became more evident in everyday life, in work, dress and conduct. Wealthy farmers imitated the customs of the gentry more and more, absorbed new guest customs, foods, cutlery and luxury items for their weddings, items that in the world view of the bourgeoisie indicated the level of refinement of the house.(16) In the prime of landed peasantry culture at the end of the 1800s and early 1900s, farms in western and southern Finland built ever more handsome single or two-storey farmhouses, with a separate dining hall for guests complete with a guest entrance and quality furniture (Part I. maps 35, 38-39, 63-66). The halls were for feasts; worthy visitors were shown in through the guest entrance, while lowly visitors and servants always used the kitchen entrance. The living environment was split in two: rooms for daily use and special occasions, areas for the owner's family and the servants. The hierarchy of the rooms began to manifest in social intercourse, feast tradition, and gradually also in the daily life of the house.

Social hierarchy permeated all the structures of the culture of western Finland, and culture separated the social classes from each other more and more permanently. The relations between the house owners and the servants were reflected in the songs, narratives and other folklore. In the narratives of the landless class, the hero was a farmhand who defied the mean, avaricious and self-important master. Western phenomena are Robin Hood narratives about 'equalizers' or forest thieves who were said to steal from the rich to give to the poor, and in the folklore of prosperous western Finland in general, worry over property, poverty and theft is a common theme (map 41). In western and southern Finland, social conflicts led to a civil war in 1917-1918. However, the uprising of the landless class was limited to the area of landed peasant culture; had the same agrarian development already taken place in Savo-Karelia, the so-called workers' revolution would have been on a different scale also in Finland.

Agrarian villages were also the scene of the youth rebellion against the prevailing values. The new-meter or rhymed folk song spread into Finland in the 1600-1700s, at the same time as dance music. Rhymed songs were used at weddings to accompany group dances, and in the 1700s and 1800s they became youth tradition, pop culture, which along with village dances spread rapidly right down to the furthest corners of Dvina (map 35). The young people's songs in the new meter protested against 'class marriages' and emphasized emotions, love (map 99).(17) The young wanted to choose their spouses themselves and to arrange their own wedding celebrations, to create their own culture (cf. maps 11-15, 22-38). Youth found new idols and heroes of songs capable of breaking down the spiritual power structures and moral norms of the village. Youth culture portended new social processes in other ways, too. With the spread of new dance instruments at the end of the 19th century, the music was taken over by fiddlers or accordion players and finally by professional performers, entertainment artistes.

Organized association culture also began in western Finland at the turn of the century. The first farmer's associations were established in Ostrobothnia in the early 1800s, and the youth association movement spread to Ostrobothnia towards the end of the century.(18) The associations, new book learning and economic development were at first adapted to the familiar village environment. Almost every village set up its own elementary school and an adjoining village library. Rural shops were village stores, and in larger villages, local associations, youth and workers' associations and later Civil Guard associations used voluntary labor to build village halls and sports fields. Economic progress was shown by the arrival of a dairy or sawmill in the village. The village remained the basic community in rural areas right

up to the 1950s, losing its importance only with the new structural change, as Finland began to adapt to the delocal environment.

## Society of order

**Culture of hard bread.** In farmhouses in western Finland, it became customary to make bread only a few times a year and to hang the loaves up to dry on poles fixed to the ceiling of the main room. Long bread poles were a sign of the prosperity of the house, but they also mirrored the landed peasant's world view, thrift and hard work. In prosperous agrarian Finland, people ate hard bread and salted herring, while in Savo-Karelia soft bread was baked almost daily (Part I, maps 47-49). Soft bread and buttery pies belonged to the soft lifestyle of Savo-Karelians, the thinking of a kinship community. The severely formal Christian revivalist movements of western Finland, strict child-rearing and rigid social order and class division, the mighty enclosed farmsteads of the landed peasantry and ruler-straight drainage ditches around the fields are elements of the same environmental system as the tough bread with the hole in the middle. In the village of landed peasantry, life had to be in order, each person in his own pew in church, his own place at weddings and funerals, the work done on time and well, food and goods in the storage barns for the days to come.(19)

Even today, the boundary of the culture of order runs between western and eastern Finland. In western Finland, agricultural machinery is kept in designated places in sheds, and discarded implements are stored in the cowhouse loft. In eastern Finland, the machinery, carts and farm tools are often left outdoors in some place in the compound, and abandoned implements and vehicles from the horse-drawn era are lying around the corners of barns or at the sides of fields, wherever they happened to be.(20) Ever since agrarian cultures, human life increasingly consisted of performing, proving oneself, comparisons to the lives and achievements of others. The roots of the industrial competition and consumption society lie in the West-European agrarian village. They raised the first generations to conform to political mass movements, million-strong armies, centralized culture.

Form and order extended to customs and performing tradition. Special occasions in western Finland emphasized the order and etiquette of the events, correct performance. The ritual singers performing runes in the old meter were replaced by narrators, conversation leaders, wedding entertainers and ceremonial spokesmen (maps 11-21). As for folk narrative, there are many structural differences between western and eastern narratives. Within the village culture, motif narratives about supernatural beings or events gained a foothold, with narratives featuring giants, the devil in various guises (maps 76, 79), bloody ghost animals, as in treasure narratives (83-86); the events are placed on a stage of horror, above all in a Christian fantasy world.

An important aspect in the tradition of agrarian culture was the correct form of the narrative; narration was a performance, art, becoming immersed in the roles and dramatic events of the narrative. The environment of the folklore of landed peasantry is the village community; the house and its compound, the master's family and neighbors start to dominate man's imagination. Examples of narration from western Finland are tales about supernatural guardians of houses and boundaries, who took care of the house and its boundaries, worked for the good of the house (maps 62-68). In dramatic plot narratives, the devil and other beings from the other side acquired a more and more material form, even becoming

incarnate and turning into role-holders in the world of the narrative. Peculiar to the western provinces is a moralistic form of folk narrative, used to maintain Christian norms and discipline in the village.

**Cultural heritage of western Finland.** The core areas of communal agrarian culture have been southwestern Finland and Ostrobothnia, above all South Ostrobothnia. The cultural landscape of the province is characterized by flat, wide expanses of field cultivations, densely built villages, mighty two-storey farm-houses and galleried loft barns. The Ostrobothnian way of life has been village culture of landed peasantry, which remained homogeneous even at a time when communality was already disintegrating in southwestern Finland. Ostrobothnia is a province of independent houses and people who are equal in many ways, and where the individual had the opportunities of building their future. The manor house institution never reached Ostrobothnia, the plains provided land for new settlement for a long time; the landed peasants' sailing and emigration to America saved the province from the many social problems of the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The salient features of Ostrobothnian culture are village-centeredness, communality, and a puritanical outlook on the world. Ostrobothnia was the only province in Finland to have acquired an organized Christian village administration in the 1700s. Ostrobothnia is particularly renowned for the inter-village group fights that manifested the community spirit of the villages. In the maps of the Atlas, Ostrobothnia is a cultural environment where many 'village customs' were prevalent, such as communal village weddings, new youth culture and folk music. In common with village cultures, the Ostrobothnian character also involved showing off and competition. The Ostrobothnians built 'the world's biggest' wooden farm buildings, competed as workers, village fighters and knifemen (*puukkojunkkarit*) in order to be acknowledged as heroes of stories and songs. It was particularly Ostrobothnian folklore that most forcefully produced the new heroes and youth idols of the landed peasant community.

The roots of Finnish organization culture are in Ostrobothnia. The first farmers' and youth associations were set up there, and it was there that patriotism and nationalism also gained the strongest foothold. Ostrobothnian Pietism, even the outer appearance of the Pietists dressed in black, epitomized the severe and normative nature of the landed peasants' religion, the respect for hard work, a chaste life, good neighborliness and one's fellow human beings.

The southwestern provinces, Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta and Häme, comprise the oldest field cultivation area in Finland, where a permanent village culture evolved as early as the pre-Christian era. Reminders of the ancient economy of the river valleys and flatlands of the region are draft oxen and old farming implements (Part I, maps 6-11, 25), densely built villages, and medieval mother parishes with their mighty greystone churches. The tradition of southwestern Finland is founded on the same peasant communality and neighborliness as in Ostrobothnia, but in the old provinces the centralization of land ownership, industrialization and social differentiation began earlier than elsewhere.

During the period covered by the Atlas, southwestern Finland was characterized by the coming to a head of the land ownership situation, the manor house and crofter system, social disharmony, all of which reflected on the life of the village and interpersonal relationships. The different social classes began to form their own distinctive ways of life and cultures. In the Atlas, too, landed peasant culture with its festive customs, guest ceremonies and hierarchy rites are in most evidence in the southwestern areas, but on the other hand villages were still local communities where villagers lived, worked and consumed together. The houses took care of their tenants, and in many other ways, too, the villagers were dependent on each other.

Thus, the Atlas shows above all else the differences between the western village culture and eastern kinship culture, the intensive landed peasant society and extensive swidden community, the organizational, rational, reformist west and the non-hierarchical, joyful, mystical, Orthodox east.(21 This also deter-

mines the scope of the Atlas. The Atlas endeavors to describe the realities of the east and west, the nature of the spiritual structures of the great environmental systems, to explain what the maps reveal about the cultural philosophy and interpretations of life of the Finnish hunter, swidden farmer, and landed peasant.

*Background writings:* Sarmela 1979b; 1984bc; 1987bc. *Ethnographic overviews of Finnish peasant culture:* Sirelius 1919-1921. Vuorela, T. 1975. Talve 1990; 1997. **1.** On Finnish calendric tradition, e.g. Hautala 1948. **2.** Vilkuna, K. 1946; 1963. Sarmela 1969; 1979b. **3.** E.g. Roberts 1984. **4.** Haavio-Mannila 1958. Stejskal 1954. Sarmela 1969, 187-. **5.** Aaltonen 1939; 1944; 1964. Laine 1948. Simonen 1949. **6.** Vuorela, T. 1975, 297-, 403 (meal bell). **7.** Lönnrot (C. D. von Haartman 1844) 1992. Päivärinta 1905. Reinilä 1978. Hämäläinen-Forslund 1987. On distribution of the cradle Sammallahti 1980. **8.** Nieminen 1951. **9.** Kuuliala 1960. Laasonen – Raittila 1985. **10.** E.g. within cross-cultural studies Stephens 1963. **11.** On revivalist movements e.g. Haavio, A 1965. Siltala 1992. **12.** Jutikkala 1958. Soininen 1975. Anttila 1974. Suomen maatalouden historia 2006. Maanmittaus Suomessa 1633-1983. **13.** Gebhard 1913. Haatanen 1968. Rasila 1961; 1985. Soininen 1975; 1980. Valkonen 1985. Peltonen 1992. **14.** In history e.g. Saloheimo 1984. Mäntylä 1985. Jutikkala 1983. Aaltonen 1951. Vilkuna, K. 1980. **15.** Mikkonen – Paikkala 1984. **16.** Suolahti (1913) 1993. Cf. Frykman – Löfgren 1979. Nieminen 1951. **17.** Asplund 1972. **18.** The first youth association was founded in Ostrobothnia (Kauhava) 1881. Numminen 1966. Hästesko 1931. **19.** Sarmela 1984c, 21-. **20.** E.g. pictures in Sarmela (ed.) 1984c. **21.** On differences between the cultures of western Finland and Savo-Karelia in general Sarmela 1969, 244-; 1974a; 1984c; 1987c; 1989a. Kovalainen 1979. Sallinen-Gimpl 1982; 1989. References for folklore research are given in map articles.

## THE POSTLOCAL ERA

### ***Culture of global technosystems***

**Structural change in a non-local environment.** When the Finnish provincial cultures evolved, the inhabitants of Häme, Savo and Karelia lived in their communities, adapted to their own geographical environments and created their cultural solutions that functioned under their local natural conditions. Ethnic man built his own village landscape, and the frame of reference of both his social values and religious explanations was the surrounding reality. He spoke his local language, his dialect, analyzed his environment using local concepts and terms, attached narratives to places or people in his locality. Culture consisted of shared events, weddings and funerals of villagers or relatives. Self-sufficient local communities adapted even alien influences to their living conditions, and created the various ethnic cultures and cultural landscapes that have existed on Earth.

Finland is also a country that exemplifies the birth of a local-technological industrial culture. The old iron works, sawmills and, at the end of the 1800s, the papermills were built at rapids, and a local community, an industrial village, grew around the factory. The factory owner built his manor house residence and workers' housing in the village, established schools, had fields cleared and farmed in order to keep the factory community self-sufficient; many industrial establishments even had their own currency. Right up to the Second World War, the factory communities were local in many ways. The factory maintained kindergartens, schools, sports clubs, healthcare, the services provided today by a modern welfare state. In rural areas, the thinking was village-centered for a long time. The entrepreneurs of the time wanted to set up their businesses in their own village or at least in their own parish. Every village of any size had its own dairy, sawmill, brick factory, metal works or some other local production plant. The villages built village schools, they had a post office, a bank and other services, the villages established their own farmers' associations, youth associations, workers' associations, civil guards, who built their village halls in voluntary working parties, set up study groups and organized shows and dances where the villagers themselves provided the entertainment. The essential feature was the ideology of local independence and self-sufficiency: a person belonged in the village and it was assumed that he would spend his life in his own locality. When the great structural change began and a society designed to depend on road traffic evolved in the countryside, the whole operational environment of the villages became non-local. The village communities and their economy, the whole old village-level industry stopped working; the village dairies have disappeared, leaving only two international dairy groups; village shops have closed down,

village schools have almost all been abandoned. Centralization is now threatening the municipal system, and if this development continues, nothing will remain of the old local social structures.

The great structural change, the demise of locality, began after the Second World War, when the technological environment and cultural resources of Finland also became *delocal*. The living environment of cultures is no longer the geographical location where people live, but international economic and scientific-technological development. Since the times of the Atlas, the actual environment of Finns has become delocalized, and the delocalization is continuing. The effective cultural environment is becoming one without location, *postlocal* (global, universal, planetarial). The basic element of the delocal cultural system is no longer the local community, but the *technosystem*. Almost all areas of human life are operated by their economic, social and cultural technomachinery that produces the scientific-technological knowledge and future of its field. The concept of a technosystem is here defined as a technological-economic-social organization governing some area of culture and creating its own cultural environment. It may be an environmental-technological entity that exploits certain natural resources or produces certain technological products, but areas such as healthcare, science, art and the media also form their own technosystems. The culture is produced by the actors of the technosystems, *meritocrats*, professional or learned people who have received external training and education, and whose status is based on their merit in some organization. Modern man belongs primarily in some technosystem that forms the framework of his life and provides him with opportunities for the future. People are united by the technosystem of a certain production sector, not their place of residence or social class.

The structural change also extends to cultural values, world views and ideologies. The ethic of common good is no longer sustained by communality or Christianity, but a religionized idea of development. Belief in development has become an ideology comparable to religion, directing the functioning of technosystems and defining the relationship of society to its environment, including the surrounding nature. Belief in development provides fundamental, self-evident answers to the question of the hierarchy of cultural values and goals, the highest rationality. Like religions, the cult of development has its own myths and rites, and its scientific-technological doctrine of salvation, which justifies the taking control by technosystems of their whole environment, the universe and human life. The cultural law of the postlocal world is *centralization*. In the eschatology of the belief in development, the goal is an imagined scientific-technological perfection, a perfect society and culture. The environment of the future is already in sight. The destination of scientific-technological development is *finalization*, a global, universally functioning standardized culture, where man and nature are totally under the control of technosystems.

**Delocal culture.** The delocal cultural system evolved with the great structural change that began after the Second World War, also called the industrial revolution, when western society became industrialized and urbanized, or modernized in development jargon. The Finns, in common with the majority of the world's nations, has made the transition to a (1) delocal culture, the real effective environment of which lies outside local communities. The cultural (2) resources are non-local: international knowledge and technology, international raw materials. The technological basis of modern development has been above all utilization of fossil fuels and mechanical technology (the engine), and serial production (the conveyor belt) based on them. The new technology has completely transformed the modes of production, the cultural environment and people's ways of life, the nature of work, use of time and the rhythm of life. Human life has become delocal. Industrial production is a process that splits into thousands of different work stages, job descriptions and occupations, and that must roll day and night, regardless of the changing seasons or the religious calendar. The rhythm of life has become differentiated into periods directed externally, times of work and leisure; earning one's living is not a way of life but a career, and work is no

longer done at home in the house, with the family, but in the workplace, outside the living environment. The (3) 'community' of a delocal culture is the nation state, it is designed to be the citizens' own collective enterprise with a common national economy, with the results of its work, the national product, shared among the members of the state community. The idea of the Nordic welfare state has been that the state takes care of its citizens' lives: education, healthcare, and if necessary, also their livelihood. The national (4) economy has been forced to adapt to competition between countries, to create the cultural answers that function in an international, delocal environment. The state culture has become an all-pervading organization: its elements are (5) centralized economic, social and cultural organizations, corporations, unions, in other words technosystems that produce the culture of the various spheres of life, consumer goods, government, civic services, education of new generations, science, art and entertainment. Centers are the structures of modern Finland: central corporations, central offices and central organizations; municipal centers, service centers, sports centers and cultural centers. Organizations have replaced village communities, local economy and ethnic institutions. Development governed by meritocracy – community planning, construction planning, food and clothing industries have displaced local building customs, culinary tradition and ethnic dress, universal language has displaced dialects, the entertainment industry has displaced folklore. The provinces of the people of Häme, the Savonians and Karelians have become delocalized and integrated as part of a general centralized state culture and scientific-technological meritocracy. The diversity of delocal (6) culture consists of variations of intra-technosystem imitation, commercial fashions, trends, brands. Cultural provision must adapt to consumer expectations and serve even man's most primitive needs. If ethnic differences still exist, they originate from the era of locality, when culture adapted to the surrounding natural environment.

After the disintegration of local communities, the moral values of (7) agrarian cultures, their whole ethical basis, has lost its significance. The ethics of neighborliness and humanity: respect of the parents, helping one's neighbors, good manners, which in local cultures were considered to maintain the community spirit and a dignified human life, have turned into counter-structures of a modern, urban society. The concepts of honor, shame and conscience have become secularized with Christianity; the use of alcohol and other intoxicants increases constantly; the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s transformed the ideas of chastity, the ideals of sexual behavior. Girls of the new free generation have embraced sexual equality, using alcohol and other drugs and seeking sexual experiences in the same way as boys of the same age. In a delocal living environment, (8) the social institutions of local communities have stopped functioning and disappear. Communal weddings, funerals and other village festivals, young people's village dances, have stopped; ordinary people's lifestage rites have become privatized and commercialized. Especially in cities, marriage has turned into an increasingly brief relationship. Viewed from the perspective of cultural anthropology, the prevalent way of life in the western countries is actually already an absence of sexual norms, promiscuity, and a kind of serial polygamy characterized by sequential marriages or partnerships, or casual relationships.

The nation state is (9) an education society, where the raising, socialization and enculturation of the young has become organizational people-production. The ideal of child-rearing is not a good villager but an achiever, a meritocrat, who assimilates the knowledge and skills produced by technosystems and does well in a production organization of his own field. The meritocracy takes possession of its citizens from birth; measures, classifies and adapts into international expectations. In nation states, (10) national technosystems also produce the culture; it is nationalized science, art and entertainment, externally directed experiences, economic and social manipulation, influencing the consciousness and thinking of others. Folk culture, new folklore, is commercial consciousness industry produced by the professional achievers of the sector, consciousness technicians and mind engineers. With the development of enter-

tainment technology, young people's village dances and evening sittings have swollen to become mass events of mammoth proportions, rock concerts; music, the songs, new folklore have become common broadcasting of world radio and world television, a common consciousness industry of the world's peoples. A villager who lived in a self-sufficient, self-made environment has become a consumer for whom techno-machineries produce cultural instruments, services and experiences. Culture is consumption, production of goods and consciousness industry; living standards and entertainment.

The translocal, commercial cultural environment has spawned (11) a hegemony of freedom that has permeated the whole society from child-rearing to manners; the intrinsic values of culture are the citizens' freedom, independence, democracy, individuality. The young grow up into a 'free world', modern art, literature, films, the entire western consciousness industry lives off moral freedom: sex, pornography and violence – from the viewpoint of local cultures the western mass culture positively competes in selling hedonism and decadence, selfishness, evil and degeneration. The neo-liberal, commercial consciousness industry has made objects of ridicule of the human ideals of local communities, and molded the new models of 'free', 'individual', 'rebellious' mass human beings. In local cultures, (12) a person had obligations towards others, the social ethics of a delocal nation state define the rights: citizen's, human and individual rights. Obligations have been replaced by individual rights: they give everyone the right and obligation to fulfil their own goals, careers, to utilize their potential.

The (13) village religions of agrarian cultures have become secularized, they have become modern technosystems in their own field, providers of religious services and religious entertainment. An increasing number of neo-religions have appeared alongside them, offering otherworldly experiences, mysticism, therapy, supernatural phenomena, things that science cannot explain. The reality and future of western culture is directed by (14) a hegemony of faith in development: the doctrine of scientific-technological salvation and the eschatology of perfect development, a belief that science and technology will save the Earth and resolve all the problems of mankind. Man is a species that has made man a god. True culture is control of the environment, maximal exploitation of natural resources, development of society; subsistence, self-determination and locality are counter-forces of true culture, anti-development. The (15) hierarchy of village communities has been superseded by national achievers and elite classes; national heros-figures, 'great men' of various fields, around whom clusters the national worship of development, history and culture. Western society has made worship of the person the core and driving force of the entire culture.

In the hierarchy of modern nations, Finland is one of the world's wealthiest and technologically most advanced welfare states, where the state takes care of its citizens and culture. Finland is one of the model countries in the field of education, with every young person having the right to free studies; the country has proportionally the highest number of universities and highly educated people, and the majority of Finns in employment have a higher professional or vocational qualification. As growth, development and life have become more complex, social problems have also increased. The citizens are cared for by a growing body of professional helpers, doctors, therapists, counsellors; the technomachinery produces more and more life management, identities, doctrines of child-rearing and teaching, marriage, family and sex counselling. Postlocal (16) man is no longer able to cope in his environment without the guidance and care of the omnipresent technomachinery.

The national welfare state is now under threat from global commercial culture, the world system. Finland's postlocalization began in the 1990s, when 'capital was freed' and international investors were given the right to freely acquire Finnish companies. Within a few years, a large proportion of Finnish industry, national economy or national wealth, was taken over by transnational corporations or international capital. At the same time, state-owned industrial production and also many service organizations were

adapted to their international competitive environment: they were privatized to become public companies or sold to foreign owners. Finland has become a part of the global world economy; as a nation, the country is now centralized in metropoles, it is involved in the European Union, building a new continental state. In the postlocal world of the future, small nation state cultures will evidently degenerate, and all the current cultural structures in Finland will also in their turn cease to function.

**Postlocal future.** A supreme power of global economy and technology has evolved in the world, a *cultural imperialism*, which standardizes production, the environment and social structures all over the world. If globalization continues, (1) all nations will be forced to adapt to a universal scientific-technological cultural environment in which perfect productivity, know-how and information control prevail or should prevail. The new structural change will be brought about above all by digital technology, allowing control of the planetarian environment, global economy and transcontinental societies. Digital technology is a resource, the control and possession of which has created a new hierarchy on Earth, new elite classes and supreme cultural goals. The future postlocal culture is (2) a structurally uniform world system with 'communities' that are global or planetarian technosystems. They have definitively monopolized the technological control and future of their own sector, and produce everywhere the same cultural instruments, the same scientific-technological civilization and uniform human life. The world economy can no longer be steered by nation states, but their functions are transferred to (3) continental states, or 'world governments' which regulate the operation of technosystems and the mutual competition over the Earth's resources. The centralization of the environment will continue, (4) postlocal people will move into gigapoles that have larger populations and are economically more powerful than small states; they are the new 'global villages'. Outside habitation, (5) the natural environment will be controlled by production and protection machinery, and for world citizens nature is nothing more than virtual experiences, natural history films – digital technology. The inhabitants of metropoles will have no contact throughout their lives with scientific-technologically recreated production animals or biotechnological food production; the agro-industrial areas and the whole techno-nature will be excluded from the sphere of ordinary people's experience.

The future (6) ecological winners will be world-class people who have received an universal education in their field and can live in their own technosystem in various parts of the world. During the creation of a nation state, centralized educational organizations needed to produce good citizens able to serve their country. In a postlocal world, national civilization will lose its importance; the technosystems will produce international achievers who should be able to cope in multinational mega-organizations, to adapt to the common future of mankind, a limitless competitive environment and total productivity; the demands of working will also be finalized. Postlocal man will live all around the globe, constantly changing his living environment, his ego-culture. Work will consist of projects that are not located anywhere. Consequently, (7) social services must also function all over the world. Planetarian living demands new production, social and service structures; an entirely different technoculture from that in the era of nation states. The life of a world citizen will evidently be increasingly momentary, (8) with his existence and environment dominated by constant change and constant demands for development: human existence will be interpreted as incidental, like the evolution of the universe.

In a postlocal culture, the (9) human ideal is no longer a good citizen, but an achiever who grabs his opportunities and insists on his rights, a consumer focusing on himself to the point of narcissism, an ego-person who has beaten down his fellow men and lives for his own career, in his own techno-world. When permanence and communal – family, school, work and residential communities – are irrevocably lost from a person, what remains is a postlocal individual with no obligations, no fixed commitments, and no

long-term contact with other people either. The (10) moral norms of local cultures, marriage and family disappear irrevocably. Morality, if one should still wish to define it, consists of institutionalized explanations internal to technosystems, public double standards. Global sexual life is casual sexual and relationship experiences, heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual or virtual unions in various parts of the world, but the family, as it was during local cultures, has lost its significance. The (11) procreation of mankind is also taken care of by a technosystem that is in total control of scientific-technological reproduction, producing a new human species. Biotechnology and constant development of man's mental and physical qualities produce top-class humans, required by global competition. Human selective breeding, eugenics or species-hygiene inevitable raise their heads again: postlocal development is led by a compulsion of perfection, man's scientific-technological finalization.

The (12) administrative ideology of a global cultural system is apparently religionized evolutionism and a doctrine of saving the Earth. The development texts are dominated by the scientific-technological salvation of all nations. The morality of high religions is replaced by evolutionary ethics, the ideology of supreme man or a biological doctrine of morality; what is ethically wrong, a sin, is consumption of natural resources in excess of the permitted norms. An individual person's ethical behavior and lifestyle is weighed in relation to nature and development; the relationship with deity is replaced by one with nature and the individual's relationship with his own development. Cultural research is also governed by a biological paradigm, an evolutionist-psychological or species-historical doctrine of evolution man, who is similar everywhere and fulfils the requirements of scientific-technological world control. The cult meritocracy will mysticize nature, the globe, the entire universe as if into a supernatural, effective, functional or living organism, the eternal laws of which govern the oneness of mankind and the future of the Earth. The environment, nature, cultural explanations, and utopias of the future, the whole folklore of the time, will again form a structurally and contentually uniform system.

With the demise of community control, the (13) order of the global culture is maintained by all-pervasive, ubiquitous scientific-technological surveillance. Digital technology is intrinsically a control technology, but in a planetarian environment control becomes essential; without it, a world system cannot be created or function. The living environment of local community people knew no locks or iron bars; in Finnish villages the doors were always unlocked. In a postlocal culture, trust between people is lost; criminality, terrorism and insurgent movements also become global. Only total scientific-technological control of society and the environment can create security and prevent the spread of anarchy or normless behavior. In a final culture all eventualities must be technologically secure and predictable.

World computer centers, the world brain, gather, process and store ever more detailed information on people and human environments; technosystems controlling their own sectors archive ever more minutely the data necessary for their functioning, security and future. A citizen's identity, creditworthiness, employment history and future must be accessible in real time all over the globe. Personal surveillance equipment, bio-identifiers, global personal data systems are necessary, they contain the personality of world citizens, and their existence at some point on Earth. Future development consists of the growth of external surveillance technology. Public and private spaces, city centers, residential areas and citizens' homes are protected by recognition and surveillance equipment, security cameras; without his identification code, a person cannot move around even in his daily environment, enter his workplace or his own smart home. The utopias of technological development include automation and robotics that steer everything going on, traffic, consumption, take care of production, caring for the sick and the old, the whole human life. People themselves also collect data on their own lives and persons; various microchips, smart cards, health equipment and safety clothing will constantly monitor people's physical condition and

way of life. Ubiquitous surveillance will replace moral norms and ethics, the conscience becomes the surveillance camera.

The limitless growth and development of future imperia is threatened by the finiteness of the Earth and its natural resources. The global economy is incapable of correcting the system itself, but the world government is limited to controlling the consuming man. Averting the climate change and saving the Earth become an environmental dictatorship, the administrative ideal of which justifies controlling of citizens' consumption, to measure their ecological footprints, to apportion blame and eliminate dissenters, the enemies of nature. Ever since the times of the hunter-gatherers, social control systems have grown and organizational force increased. Postlocal culture may apply many times over the 'legitimate violence' employed by centralized nation states in order to maintain ideological discipline and to eliminate those defined as a danger to society by the ruling meritocracy.

Postlocal (14) culture is produced by centralized technomachinery of art, science and entertainment, with their future dictated by their adaptation to the demands of universal development. The consciousness industry concentrates on the experiences of the free world man, on describing, interpreting and directing his limitless life. In cultural terms, most important is to influence the masses: consumers, viewers, to fulfil even the most primitive needs of the human species. The *primitivization* of culture also becomes more complete. Global development culture consists of innovations and technological development marketed by technosystems, standardized mass culture operating in all geographical settings.

If the development continues as it is now, (15) postlocal society will be a total *eminence culture* where only the most prominent is culture. All 'ontological reality', present and past, will be placed in a global hierarchy of development and magnitude, ranked according to visibility. In a planetarian future, national influential figures are replaced by international supreme individuals, global achievers, world heros figures; all events, media and history are concentrated around them. Global folklore deals with superheros figures, with the life events and heroic deeds of whom mass people can identify and experience the unity of all the world's nations in their media rituals. As the cultural hierarchy becomes increasingly total, polarization becomes more marked and the distance of ordinary people from the centers of power becomes global. The (16) polarity of culture, culture of winners and losers, development and antidevelopment, perfection and primitiveness are mutually complementary. More and more people drop out of the competition and become marginalized; western societies already contain a growing number of those who want to destroy their own lives, their future, who have nothing to live for. Culture operates on the one hand on the strength of personality cults and development worship, on the other of therapy machinery, drugs and control systems. The *sampo* mill of the meritocracy, the Paradise machine, produces endless development and endlessly repairs the results of development both in nature and in human communities.

The growth and technological development of the global economy produces new utopias, Paradise images of the future about the abundance of material life. A rich life consists of acquiring new technological implements, constant buying of cultural experiences, one's own projects and hobbies, worshipping one's body, constantly changing experiences of interpersonal relations, adventuring in the virtual world created by mind engineers. What is real and significant is the culture industry, which is bought all over the world. In the postlocal culture, the same products of the consciousness industry are marketed to everyone, the same global imitation and uniformity of consumption. In such a world, culture no longer consists of the lives of ordinary people, the life of villages or the self-built environment, self-sufficiency or independence. The future utopia of the development meritocracy is a perfect world culture: according to its political doctrine it implements the equal rights of all nations and a global democracy. The growth and development of the new utopia is hindered by everything that is national: the defence of national production, protectionism, the public services of a welfare state, a national army, own national language and

civilization, patriotic ideologies and utopias. When creating the nation state, locality hindered development; in the creation of a global system, the nation state in turn is becoming a memorial of backwardness and stagnation. There is no greater and more creative period than that of building new imperia.

## ***Will national cultures die out?***

**Globalization of agrarian culture.** After the onset of delocalization, local agrarian cultures have disappeared in a few decades. In Finnish agriculture, (1) the first structural change of industrial working techniques began towards the end of the 1800s, when the earliest manufactured implements came into use and the dairy industry was born. Nevertheless, right up to the 1930s, 'horse-drawn' agriculture was based on local energy, farms were unspecialized and for a long time still self-sufficient; the harrowing, mowing and threshing machines just kind of brought improvements to peasant working methods. As industrialization progressed, agriculture as an occupation also began to become delocalized and to move over to cash economy. The landed peasant's fields and forests turned into commercial resources, and the peasant himself became a farmer, a representative of a certain occupational class, who was increasingly forced to adapt to external markets, a state-centered national economy.

A total structural change of agriculture, and of the whole western culture, took place after the Second World War, which marked the beginning of (2) the era of production cultivation; the structural change of that time may be called modernization or the actual scientific-technological revolution. Defined in the terminology of this work, the cultures became delocalized. As a nation state, Finland, too, began to adapt to so-called modern international economic and technological development, the world markets; an environment above societies and increasingly also above states. As a culture, production cultivation is technology, knowledge and skills, produced mostly in external technosystems, industrial planning departments, agricultural research centers, and farmers' trade organizations. Agricultural culture consists of the growth and development of the technosystem of food production; land, animals and even people are 'material' to be improved, from which maximal gain in terms of market economy must be obtained. Finnish agriculture, too, acquired a new development language of meritocracy, used to justify the inevitability of the future, the conveyor belts of livestock, caged battery hens, the whole scientific-technological intensive production.

The survival conditions of industrial agriculture are already totally determined outside locality: the new technology is based on non-local energy, artificial fertilizers, fossil fuels. In the food production technosystem directed by nation states, the farmer became a producer: his farm is a production plant modeled on the industrial production process, the conveyor belt. The survival of farming depended on efficiency and growth of production. The agricultural technosystem develops more and more efficient machines and breeds cereal varieties and cattle that produce maximal yields. The new farm machinery, tractors and combine harvesters changed all the stages of the farm's production process, even the farm buildings had to be rebuilt and redimensioned. In the environment of the agricultural producer, the idea of development defines the rational and the irrational, culture and anti-culture.

In the postlocal world, the environment of the Finnish production farmer has become globalized: he must cope in (3) a worldwide technosystem of agro-industry, within which the structures of production

grow, centralize and become automated. The number of farms has steadily declined in Finland, and current debate questions whether cereal-growing will continue here in the northern reaches of the globe, or whether inland Finland, once settled by swidden farmers, will turn into boreal commercial forest, a field of trees, or taiga. Today, the Finnish farmer tries to find survival strategies within his network of rural entrepreneurs from organic farming, bioenergy production, or some other secondary occupation. As the climate warms, agriculture is likely to continue, but it is facing a new total structural change.

In a global environment, only global structures will succeed. It is likely that traditional family farms will be replaced by digitalized agro-industry. International groups will acquire the arable lands in Finland and transform them into mass production plants where cultivation and cattle husbandry are automated; in agriculture, too, robots will be competing over production. The swidden cultivator, landed peasant, farmer, agricultural producer and rural entrepreneur have all operated in structurally different cultural environments. The ideas of cultivated land, nature, community and a good life of each era have been different. From the perspective of cultural ecology, all the forms of utilizing nature: hunting, swidden cultivation, peasant economy and scientific-technological intensive farming, have been destroyed by the maximization of commercial gain. Agriculture continues to centralize and a boundless competition has begun over the resources of the globe.

**What is the finalization of culture?** After the state cultures, it seems that continent-wide systems are evolving: continental centers, postlocal global culture, the world brain. The environment is boundless, it is above all locality. Postlocal reality is produced by supertechnology: global communications networks, world computers, robotic systems capable of controlling ever larger entities and human masses. The organizationally efficient scientific-technological culture will finally centralize to become universal. Only global technosystems are still capable of producing new innovations, new environmental technology and everyday culture, folklore of world channels. Only billions are culture.

The environment of technosystems will be analyzed and controlled through numbers, computer software, and even man as an individual is a microchip or a number in the labor, social and consumption statistics and forecasts for the future, of the continental culture. In the new environment, the one to thrive is the postlocal man, the world-class meritocrat, capable of adapting to the uniform, universal demands of his own technosystem, to common know-how. Culture no longer adapts to its local natural environment, rather the contrary: nature and man are forced to adapt to the demands of the technomachinery.

The life experiences of postlocal man are produced by international service technology and structurally uniform experience, consciousness and illusion industry. Man lives increasingly attached to the media environment, telecommunications networks, information rites of sky channels. Local narratives have become world narratives, with heros figures who are top achievers, TV shamans, human gods. The cult meritocracy ceaselessly produces supernatural beings of its own technosystems: supreme human beings, over-people; primordial myths of its own development, technological perfection and utopias of the future. All areas of culture must have their supernatural persons who are worshipped; culture consists of personal rituals that bring commercial success. Shamans and sorcerers have been replaced by consciousness technicians and mind engineers. Folklore comprises the production of the consciousness of humankind, world religions, universal experiences, the boundlessness of the human spirit. Culture is no longer living together, but controlling people; its function is rather to remove the person from his own physical life to a second or third reality, cyberspace, a virtual environment, metaculture.

Global consciousness industry is threatening to replace everyday reality; an ordinary person can identify with an artificial environment, consume technologically ever more perfect mental experiences, therapeutic doctrines and explanations of existence. Cultural richness is production and consumption of

experiences, opportunities of experiencing the future. Man is permitted to entertain himself, to consume more and more liberties, sex, violence, and intoxicants. He learns to construct himself, to practise self-medication, self-religion, self-love. Ethnicity, communalism, as well as nature, may be experienced in the media world or in one's own life. Postlocal man is able to transfer from one culture to another at will, from one history to another, to listen to the folk songs of all peoples, to organize different wedding rituals during his lifetime, to provide himself with various ethnic experiences, perfection.

Experience production must grow constantly. In the environment of technosystems, a person's birthplace, domicile and burial ground have lost their significance, the sacred tree of his own kin perhaps exists in some virtual reality. Cultural development is development of consciousness and control technology. Personal consciousness instruments accompany consumers everywhere: the events of the living environment are directed by smart cards, micro- and nanochips; the daily lives of citizens are supervised by the ubiquitous techno-intelligence.

Western meritocracy is already fully adapted to the future and incapable of producing anything other than development. A constantly increasing part of technosystems incessantly takes possession of the future: planning, developing, coordinating, harmonizing and fusing. The end point cannot be anything other than a perfect culture.

What is a final culture, how is it defined? The study of the future is full of utopias of scientific-technological development. Should one now believe that science and technology are capable of resolving all the problems of society, that technosystems will produce the complete human being? Will the culture of the future consist of perfectly planned controlled environments, total consciousness industry? But why talk about the triumph of technology or techno-intelligence? I would rather visualize the nature of the inner power of final culture, its mental reality.

Complete development is (1) *oneness*. Mankind is a oneness, it has one culture and one common development. Each area of life only has one technosystem that maintains its own future. The instruments of culture are produced in automated global information industry, goods industry, service industry and future industrial production networks, only one of which is necessary for each area of life.

Complete culture is (2) *limitless*. As media networks and consciousness industry develop, mankind achieves a limitless unity. Common information networks, the world brain, unite people living in different technosystems; another human being is always present in the consciousness network. Through his personal consciousness instruments, the world citizen is at all times in contact with the cyber space centers of the universe, postlocal reality is boundless visions and media interfaces, cosmic consciousness texts, boundless experience science.

Completeness is (3) *inexhaustible*. It constantly regenerates innovation. Postlocal man is able to endlessly select new contents for his consciousness and life experiences, personal styles, final explanations and interpretations of limitless existence. If he so desires, he can reconstruct his social habitus and communications network, his own subculture; reflect new manhood and womanhood, perfection. The technomachinery produces global level multiethnic experiences for him, more and more new traditions, rites of passage, localities, inexhaustible polyculture.

**Will local culture return?** Postmodern utopias anticipate that the chain of structural changes will break, the forward-rushing 'western time' would kind of stop, and the ordinary human being would again be able to control his environment and his own life. More and more people are expecting the reign of science and technology to end, that the Internet and other 'free information networks' will give so-called ordinary people the opportunity of opposing the culture of technosystems directed from above and the control by states. Modern science and art have been involved in constructing a state that has taken control of the

whole life of its citizens, even monopolizing human exploitation and violence. As globalization marches on, it is fashionable to condemn the nation state and to believe that with the demise of state cultures we will return to a citizen society, networks of autonomous citizens, new types of ethnic communities, a culture of tribes.(1)

At the same time, nation states will be replaced by a new centralized imagined state community, a continental culture. Simultaneously, technosystems of goods production produce development that is more and more technically complex, but increasingly uniform in terms of cultural structures, centralize the hierarchy of thinking. In all areas of life, an increasingly universal scientific-technological imitation culture of meritocrats is being created, and the ecological winners are taught more and more effectively global technology, common cultural history, the common symbols and goals of the western character, and the common enemies of western culture. In the environment of technosystems, man is increasingly only necessary as a global-level achiever, a continental citizen, and a consumer of global culture.

The present and the future do not juxtapose the modern and the imagined postmodern, but local and non-local culture, local communities and global technosystems; already juxtaposed are the national civilizations of small nations and global control systems of the consciousness of the whole mankind.

In cultural anthropology, optimists believe that national identity will survive. Ethnicity, like kinship, is *primordial*, a deep *belonging* to something, neither can the national memory of states be eradicated. The Finnish people have been united by their destiny over millennia, their own ethnoscapes.(2) Ethnic identity would be like a mental construct rooted in the Finnish heritage, which would also survive in individual world views and interpretations, and contextualize in choices such as Finnish TV programs. In the final instance, the imperialism of global consciousness technology would not be capable of destroying national differences. On the other hand, some ethnic idealists hold the view that nations and ethnic groups constantly *reproduce* their own culture and identity, or their *mentality*. Culture has never been monolithic uniformity, but the shared cultural development of peoples and tribes has always had scope for co-existing high- and subcultures; the keywords of ethnic idealists are the meeting of cultures, reciprocity, bipolarity, parallelism. The world is still polycultural and *multiethnic*, global uniformity is *metaculture* that is secondary, external to everyday culture.(3)

Students of modern culture view man as first and foremost a consumer, with a culture that is individual and subjective, with his own life projects, public displays of his own existence, performances, self-interpretations of his autonomic spirit, self-reflection, creation of his own style. The personal world of individuals revolves around their own bodies, and after the demise of communities, the narcissistic ego-man would build his own body, his own image or self-images, reflecting his life history in his own body. The key word would be style, through which international people would express their belonging to some group, perhaps in the future also belonging to some ethnic tribe or nationality. However, the ethnic identity would be situational, like all social communication or cultural exchange.(4)

Modern *intraculturalists* or *ethnomethodologists* argue that what is real is the everyday life of ordinary people, the common daily life dictated by production processes and relationships within society. Cultural diversity, a new identity, is found in the daily lives of different groups of people, in the heroism of the daily life of the Finnish person, in common coping strategies, in producing their own cultural networks. One of the key words is *resistance*; modern metropoles are full of neo-ethnic coping communities, networks that fragment and reorganize the life homogenized by state culture.(5)

And finally: *constructivists* believe that ethnicity still exists in today's commercial world, but it will be consciously created and remodeled like any other market commodity.(6) Ethnic ideas, stereotypes, are necessary in many areas of international trade and culture industry, such as the technosystems of tourism or sport, and continue to be so also in the ethnic politics of minorities or as different nationalities cre-

ate their networks in growing multinational megapoles. Nationality would still be a viable weapon as groups of people compete over the dwindling natural resources of the globe, for ecological space. *Ethnogenesis* will continue! But ethnicity must also adapt to the cultural environment of the time; as a market commodity it exists on par with other cultural phenomena of a fully capitalized world economy. In future maps, the differences between eastern and western Finland may be created in media networks and perhaps even quantified by consumption figures; Finnishness would be an advertising product, a logo or trend, visible in numbers in the statistical comparisons of global culture.

In the final instance, everyday culture is a question of whether consciousness industry can replace the life of an ordinary person, of whether in a global perfect meritocracy, only achievers, perfect people are significant. Will culture serve the same purpose as intoxicants: the destruction of reality? Locality cannot be reborn unless global markets cease to function – with the drying up of global forms of energy – and communities return to live in their own local environment, relying on their real local resources. For the young, their own culture is the one in which they grow, and the heritage of each generation must give way in turn. Perhaps man still wants to live somewhere, in some place or social space, and travel through his lifespan, make his marriage and seek out his own community; to watch and hear for himself how the story is told.

Sarmela 1977b; 1984bc; 1989a; 1991c; 1996ab; 2000; 2004; 2005. This chapter is based on my book '*Structural change into future. Postlocal culture and Finland*' (1989a, in Finnish) and my articles '*What is Cultural Imperialism*' (1977b) and '*Postlocal Culture*' (1991c). The concept 'postlocal' has no connection with the world system theories of economic history: I consider the nature and future of ethnic culture (folk culture) or the everyday culture of an 'ordinary person'. The term 'meritocracy' was coined by Michael Young (1958), mainly as the opposite of a society based on the rule of aristocracy. The term 'consciousness industry': Enzensberger 1974. 1. E.g. Rosenau 1989. Crook – Pakulski – Waters 1992. Tylor – Winquist 1998. Clifford – Marcus 1986. Clifford 1988. Anderson B. 1983. 2. E.g. Appadurai 1996. Tomlinson, J. 1991. 3. E.g. Featherstone 1990. Robertson 1992. Featherstone – Lash – Robertson 1995. Lash – Friedman 1992. Eriksen 1993. Friedman 1994. Dissanyake – Wilson 1995. 4. E.g. Hebdige 1979. Turner, B. 1984. Tomlinson, A. 1990. Featherstone – Hepworth – Turner 1991. Lash – Urry 1994. Kanter 1995. 5. E.g. Burawoy et. al 1991, in anthropology John and Dean Comaroff. 6. Roosens 1989.

**Table 1****CULTURAL SYSTEMS**

<b>HUNTING CULTURE</b> 7000 BC–	<b>SWIDDEN CULTURE</b> 1000 BC–	<b>PEASANT CULTURE</b> AD 1000–
<p>Living in nature</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- fishing</li> <li>- hunting</li> <li>- gathering</li> </ul> <p>Hunting grounds, winter and summer villages</p> <p>Hunting rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- bear rite</li> <li>- seides</li> <li>- haltia offerings</li> <li>- catch karsikkos</li> </ul> <p>Shamanism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dealing with the soul</li> <li>- reincarnation</li> <li>- the world on the inverse side of nature</li> <li>- cosmic order</li> </ul> <p>Totemism</p> <p>Folklore</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- natural myths</li> <li>- astral myths</li> <li>- soul journey</li> <li>- hunting folklore</li> <li>- rock paintings</li> </ul>	<p>Diverse economy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- swidden cultivation</li> <li>- cattle husbandry</li> <li>- fishing, hunting, gathering</li> </ul> <p>Kinship culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- kinship villages</li> <li>- extended families</li> <li>- kinship weddings</li> <li>- kinship funerals</li> </ul> <p>Ancestral cult</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ancestors' groves</li> <li>- sacrificial trees, sacrificial stones</li> <li>- ancestral offerings, memorial events</li> </ul> <p>Sorcery</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dealing with forces</li> <li>- incantations</li> <li>- fertility rites</li> <li>- repelling rites</li> <li>- healing rites</li> <li>- injurious rites</li> </ul> <p>Cultivation rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- calendar rites</li> <li>- animal sacrifices</li> </ul> <p>Poetry in old meter</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- wedding runes</li> <li>- men's epic poetry</li> <li>- lyricism</li> </ul> <p>Narration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- kinship folklore</li> <li>- man and natural environment</li> <li>- everyday realism</li> </ul>	<p>Permanent location</p> <p>Local resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- permanent fields</li> <li>- plow cultivation and cattle husbandry</li> <li>- subsistence year, periods of work</li> </ul> <p>Local communities, local order</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- village community</li> <li>- house-centeredness</li> <li>- neighborliness</li> </ul> <p>Community culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- village administration</li> <li>- local festivals</li> <li>- village weddings</li> <li>- village funerals</li> <li>- voluntary working parties, neighborly help</li> <li>- communal hunting (parish hunting officer system)</li> </ul> <p>Village religion, Christian church</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- churches and chapels</li> <li>- Christian calendar</li> <li>- Christian rites of passage</li> <li>- ethics of fellow-man</li> <li>- witch hunts</li> </ul> <p>Community tradition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- village festivals, feasting tradition</li> <li>- youth culture</li> <li>village swings, village dances, village fights</li> </ul> <p>Community folklore</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- singing in new meter</li> <li>- dance music</li> <li>- moralistic narration</li> <li>- localization</li> <li>- local heroes figures</li> </ul>

**ERA OF LOCAL INDUSTRY**

1850–

- Local environment,  
own municipality, village
- Local energy (rapids, wood)
- Local technology (steam engine)
- Village-centeredness
  - agrarian villages
  - industrial villages
  - church villages, towns
- Class division
  - landed peasantry
  - laborers
  - gentry, aristocracy
- Local development ideology
  - village industry (village dairies, mills, sawmills, smithies)
  - village schools, village libraries
  - village stores, post office, banks
  - community halls, sports grounds
- Local organizations
  - local cooperative activity
  - youth associations
  - farmers' and workers' associations
- Local activity
  - evening shows, dances
  - village and parish festivals
  - enlightenment and educational work
  - local performers
  - amateur culture (art)

**DELOCAL CULTURE ERA**

1950–

- Centralizing national environment
- National economy
- External resources
  - fossil energy
  - mechanical technology (combustion and electric engine)
- International development
  - scientific-technological know-how
  - occupational differentiation
  - meritocracy
  - organizational hierarchy
- Technosystems
  - production sectors
  - mass industry
  - conveyor belt technology
- National centralization
  - central government
  - central organizations, corporations
  - groups of companies, industrial centers
  - municipal centers
  - shopping centers
  - educational centers, cultural centers
- Religionized development
  - national development ideology
  - national development ritualism
  - political sociodramas
  - national heros figures
- National culture industry
  - professional culture services
  - media culture (TV)
  - mass events (festivals)

**POSTLOCAL CULTURE**

- Planetarial environment
- Global resources
- Universal knowledge and education
- Digital technology
  - automation, robotics
  - space technology (satellites)
  - internet, global networks
- Global production structures
  - universal technosystems
  - global data banks ('world brain')
  - scientific-technological control of environment and nature
  - international meritocracy
- Transnational centralization
  - continental states
  - global organizations
  - universal groups of companies
  - gigapoles, global migration
- Finalization
  - ideology of perfect development
  - scientific-technological security society
  - ubiquitous surveillance of environment
  - universal salvation ideologies
- Global consciousness industry
  - scientific-technological mind control
  - unique audio-visual world of symbols
  - representations of world culture
  - transnational heros figures
  - global media culture

## Chronology

**Table 2.**

### CHRONOLOGY OF ATLAS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIOD	LANGUAGE PERIOD	TRADITION PERIOD
Suomusjärvi culture 7000-4000 BC - Littorina Sea coasts - hunter-gatherer culture	Uralian protolanguage	Northern hunting culture - ritual bear-hunting - catch rites (seides, catch karsikkos) - nature haltias, animal haltias - belief in return and reincarnation - belief in soul, soul world - shamanism - totemism - cosmogonical myths (origin of the world) - astral myths (origin of fire, birth of the bear) - initiation rites
Early Comb-Ceramics 4000-3300 BC	Finno-Ugrian protolanguage	
Comb-Ceramic culture 3300-2500 BC - Area between Baltic Sea and the Urals - northern hunting culture	Finno-Permic protolanguage	
Corded Ware or Battle-Axe culture 2500-2000 BC - Gulf of Finland and Ladoga culture circle - animal tending and slash-and-burn - Baltic contacts - Pre-Germanic influence - coastal and inland cultures separate	Finno-Volgaic protolanguage	
Kiukainen culture 2000-1000 BC - Gulf of Finland and Ladoga culture circle - slash-and-burn, hoe cultivation and hunting	Early proto-Finnish	
Scandinavian Bronze Age 1000-500 BC - Gulf of Finland and southwestern Finland coasts - Scandinavian influence begins	Proto-Sami Proto-Finnish	Cultivating hunting culture - ancestral cult (hiidenkiukaat cairns) - emerging sorcery - cultivation and ownership rites (sacrificial stones, cup stones, burning rites) - custom of singing in old meter and early epic poetry - shamanistic epic poetry (Journey to Tuonela, Lemminkäinen) - cosmogonical and cultivation epics (Creation of the World, the Great Oak 1, Sampo 1) - incantations in old meter (Birth of the Bear, Origin of Fire, Väinämöinen's Knee Wound) - kinship gatherings, local markets
Iron Age culture 500 BC-(AD 800) - Gulf of Finland culture circle divides - permanent village habitation established - swidden and field cultivation and cattle husbandry principal means of livelihood - horse and ox as draft animals - iron tools, axe technique - log building, house dwellings - grain foods and drinks (beer) - commercial hunting for furs begins - Slavic influence	Proto-Finnish dialects - northern - southern - eastern	Swidden culture - kinship and extended family institutions - ancestral cult (hiisi woods, sacrificial trees) - sorcery (protection and injurious rites) - livelihood rites (animal sacrifices, sacrificial feasts, festival bonfires) - kinship culture (Prasnikas, kinship weddings and
	Häme Karelian Vepsian Votian Estonian Livonian	

## Chronology

<p>Period of Viking raids and the Crusades AD 800-1100</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- commercial hunting for fur and taxing of the Sami</li> <li>- village cultures of Varsinais-Suomi and Häme</li> <li>- village culture of Ladoga Karelia</li> <li>- long-distance hunting of Häme people</li> <li>- long-distance hunting of Karelians</li> <li>- South Savonian cultivation culture</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>wedding songs in old meter</li> <li>- sorcerer epics (Singing Contest, Antero Vipunen, Kantele, Sampo 2)</li> <li>- agrarian epics (Great Oak 2, Giant Ox, Sampsa Pellervoinen, Origin of Barley and Beer)</li> <li>- sorcerer incantations (Origin of Iron, Blood-Stanching, Sting)</li> <li>- Viking era epics (Ahti and Kyllikki, Kaukamoinen, Sampo 3)</li> <li>- late period epics (Maid of Vellamo)</li> </ul>
<p>Medieval culture AD 1100-1500</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Roman Catholic Häme</li> <li>- Orthodox Karelia</li> <li>- local government by the church</li> <li>- permanent settlement of eastern and northern Finland begins</li> <li>- swidden culture of eastern Finland evolves</li> <li>- hunting culture of inland Finland dies out</li> </ul>	<p>Savo dialect Ostrobothnian dialects</p>	<p>Medieval peasant culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- cult of saints</li> <li>- patron saints' days and church masses</li> <li>- Christianity-based incantations (Incantation for Blood, Incantation for Sprains)</li> <li>- re-creation of runes in old meter (Golden Wheel Oak, Väinämöinen's Judgment)</li> <li>- legends of saints (Life of the Savior)</li> <li>- ballads in old meter</li> <li>- Christian moral tales (stories of the dead)</li> <li>- calendric tradition (games events, tours)</li> <li>- name-days</li> </ul>
<p>Class society culture AD 1600-1800</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the Reformation, Lutheran orthodoxy</li> <li>- centralized ecclesiastical power system</li> <li>- hereditary class divisions</li> <li>- creation of private land ownership 1750-</li> <li>- peasant class division based on land ownership</li> <li>- manifestations of peasant wealth</li> <li>- village-centeredness, local integration</li> <li>- social class culture</li> <li>- differentiation of occupational and age groups</li> <li>- dispersal of village habitation 1880-</li> <li>- creation of individual production farms 1900-</li> </ul>	<p>local dialects</p>	<p>Agrarian village culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- church holy days, institution of church-going</li> <li>- anti-Christian rites (witchcraft, trullis, para)</li> <li>- devil tradition, church hegemony tradition</li> <li>- house haltias, boundary haltia</li> <li>- community culture (village weddings, -funerals)</li> <li>- voluntary working parties (handicraft games, malt saunas)</li> <li>- local gatherings (markets, kihu holidays, hiring holidays)</li> <li>- dramatic plot narratives</li> <li>- folk songs in new meter</li> <li>- fiddler music, dancing</li> <li>- youth culture (village dances, village swings, night courting, village fights)</li> <li>- erotic songs, narratives and jokes</li> </ul>

**Table 3. STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CULTURE AREAS IN THE 1800s**

	<b>Culture of western Finland (western and southern Finland)</b>	<b>Culture of eastern Finland (eastern and northern Finland, Savonian area)</b>	<b>Karelian culture (Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia)</b>
<b>Economic and social background</b>			
Basic economic structures	<p>Intensive farming and cattle husbandry</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- field cultivation</li> <li>- plains cultivation</li> </ul> <p>Peasant products</p> <p>Field cultivation tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- sod plow (lea plow)</li> <li>- harrows</li> <li>- western Finnish sleigh</li> </ul> <p>Plains and riverside villages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- private land ownership</li> <li>1750- (inherited farms 1723)</li> <li>- landed peasant houses, crofts</li> </ul>	<p>Extensive farming and cattle husbandry (diversified economy)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- swidden cultivation</li> <li>- hill cultivation</li> </ul> <p>Forest products (game, tar)</p> <p>Swidden cultivation tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- swidden plow</li> <li>- tree branch harrow</li> <li>- eastern Finnish sleigh</li> </ul> <p>Hill and fell habitation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- swidden enjoyment rights (general land repartitioning end of 1800s)</li> <li>- kinship hills, habitation fields, separate houses</li> </ul>	<p>Extensive farming and cattle husbandry (diversified economy)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- swidden cultivation</li> <li>- lakeside cultivation</li> </ul> <p>Fishing, hunting, door-to-door selling</p> <p>Swidden farming tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- swidden plow</li> <li>- tree branch harrow</li> <li>- eastern Finnish sleigh</li> </ul> <p>Lakeside villages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- common field ownership (village)</li> <li>(swidden enjoyment rights)</li> <li>- right to live in cluster village or separate houses</li> </ul>
Basic social structures	<p>Class society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- large landowner peasantry</li> <li>- landed peasantry</li> <li>- crofters</li> <li>- self-employed</li> <li>- farm laborers</li> </ul>	<p>Kinship society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- extended families</li> <li>- housing companies</li> <li>- fostering system</li> <li>- landless swidden cultivators</li> <li>- farm laborers (late social class)</li> </ul>	<p>Kinship society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- extended families</li> <li>- fostering and godchild systems</li> </ul>
Built environment	<p>Village-centeredness</p> <p>Cluster villages, ribbon villages</p> <p>Structured homestead</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- enclosed courtyard</li> <li>- 2-storey buildings (Ostrobothnia)</li> <li>- loft granaries</li> <li>- stone cowhouses</li> <li>- dinner bells</li> </ul>	<p>Kin-centeredness</p> <p>Scattered houses, kinship clusters, settlers</p> <p>Free-form homestead</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- scattered buildings</li> <li>- chimneyless type buildings</li> <li>- individual granary cabins</li> <li>- separate stables and cowhouses</li> </ul>	<p>Kin-centeredness</p> <p>Cluster villages</p> <p>Karelian house type</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2 or 1 storey</li> <li>- living quarters, cattle shelters and stores in same buildings complex</li> </ul>
Housing symbols and manifestations	<p>Manifestations of class society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- guest porches</li> <li>- best parlors, guestrooms</li> <li>- period furniture</li> <li>- ornaments, wallpaper, textiles</li> <li>- crockery sets</li> <li>- painted houses and furniture</li> </ul>	<p>Manifestations of self-sufficiency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- large living kitchens</li> <li>- many separate buildings (granaries, stables, forest saunas)</li> <li>- few symbols of wealth</li> <li>- home-made tools and furniture</li> <li>- no ornaments</li> <li>- unpainted buildings</li> </ul>	<p>Manifestations of self-sufficiency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- house size (number of windows)</li> <li>- ornamental gables and eaves, covered stairs</li> <li>- few symbols of wealth</li> <li>- home-made tools and furniture</li> <li>- women's handicrafts</li> <li>- unpainted buildings</li> </ul>
Reference groups	<p>Social groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- social classes</li> <li>- youth and adult groups</li> <li>- interest groups, peer groups</li> </ul>	<p>Kinship groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- blood kin and kin through marriage</li> <li>- age groups, gender groups</li> </ul>	<p>Kinship groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- blood kin and kin through marriage</li> <li>- age groups, gender groups</li> </ul>
Organizational forms	<p>Village organizations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- economic cooperation</li> <li>- working parties, cooperatives</li> <li>- social cooperation</li> <li>- village weddings, swings,</li> </ul>	<p>Kinship and village organizations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- intra-kin cooperation</li> <li>- neighbor-centered cooperation</li> </ul>	<p>Kinship organizations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- financial kinship aid, family seine nets, fishing huts, shared swidden, communal hunting (deer hunts)</li> </ul>

Social competition	<p>dances, fights, catechism meetings - formal cooperation village elder (oltermanni) system, youth and farmers' associations, political movements</p> <p>Inter-house competition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- manifestations of wealth amount of real estate and fields, size of harvest, cattle numbers and yield, ostentation of buildings and furnishings, superiority of horses, ornamentation of vehicles, orderliness of house, number of servants, sound of dinner bell</li> <li>- manifestations of work and skill demonstrations of capacity for work and diligence: work competition at voluntary working parties and other cooperative events, early rising (mistresses and masters), length of working hours, samples of handicraft skills: girls' stocks of clothing and trousseaux (granaries), boys' bridal gifts</li> <li>- men's games, shows of strength (power stones), village fights</li> </ul>	<p>Little general social competition</p> <p>Inter-kin competition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- size and prosperity of extended family</li> </ul>	<p>- social kinship culture Prasnika system, reciprocal visiting, girls' ativo visits, kinship weddings, memorials feasts for family ancestors</p> <p>Little social competition</p> <p>Inter-kin competition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- size and prosperity of kinship group</li> <li>- social esteem of kinship group</li> </ul>
Livelihood rites			
Rites, offerings	<p>House rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- offerings to house haltias</li> </ul>	<p>House and extended family rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- house sacrificial trees and stones</li> <li>- house snakes</li> <li>- offerings to haltias of homestead</li> <li>- family sacrificial lamb offering</li> </ul> <p>Hunting rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- bear rites</li> <li>- offerings to nature haltias</li> <li>- hunting and fish catch karsikkos</li> </ul> <p>Pre-Christian and Catholic sorcery</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- socially acceptable</li> <li>- consulting haltias (saints) or influencing haltias</li> </ul>	<p>- singing ability</p> <p>- kyykkä game</p> <p>Kinship and village community rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- offerings to ancestors in village burial grounds</li> <li>- offerings to patron saints in village tsasounas</li> <li>- village sacrificial feasts</li> </ul> <p>Hunting rites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- offerings to forest and water haltias</li> <li>- hunting and fishing catch karsikkos</li> </ul> <p>Sorcery</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- socially acceptable</li> <li>- influencing nature haltias</li> </ul>
Role-holder	<p>Antichristian agrarian witchcraft</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- socially condemned</li> <li>- serving the devil</li> <li>- receded into narratives</li> </ul> <p>Witch (trulli)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- in pact with the devil</li> <li>- positioned outside society</li> <li>- supernatural abilities from devil</li> </ul>	<p>Sorcerer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- knows incantations and rite techniques</li> <li>- exceptional mental abilities</li> <li>- ordinary person who has acquired knowledge</li> </ul> <p>Protecting swidden economy (cattle)</p> <p>Healing sickness</p> <p>Fertility, wedding rites</p>	<p>Sorcerer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- knows incantations and rite techniques</li> <li>- wise elder</li> </ul> <p>Protecting swidden economy</p> <p>Healing sickness</p> <p>Obtaining luck in marriage for girls</p> <p>Wedding rites</p>
Main operational area	<p>Increasing wealth (para)</p> <p>Stealing cattle fortunes (trulli)</p> <p>Clearing up theft</p> <p>Fertility</p>		

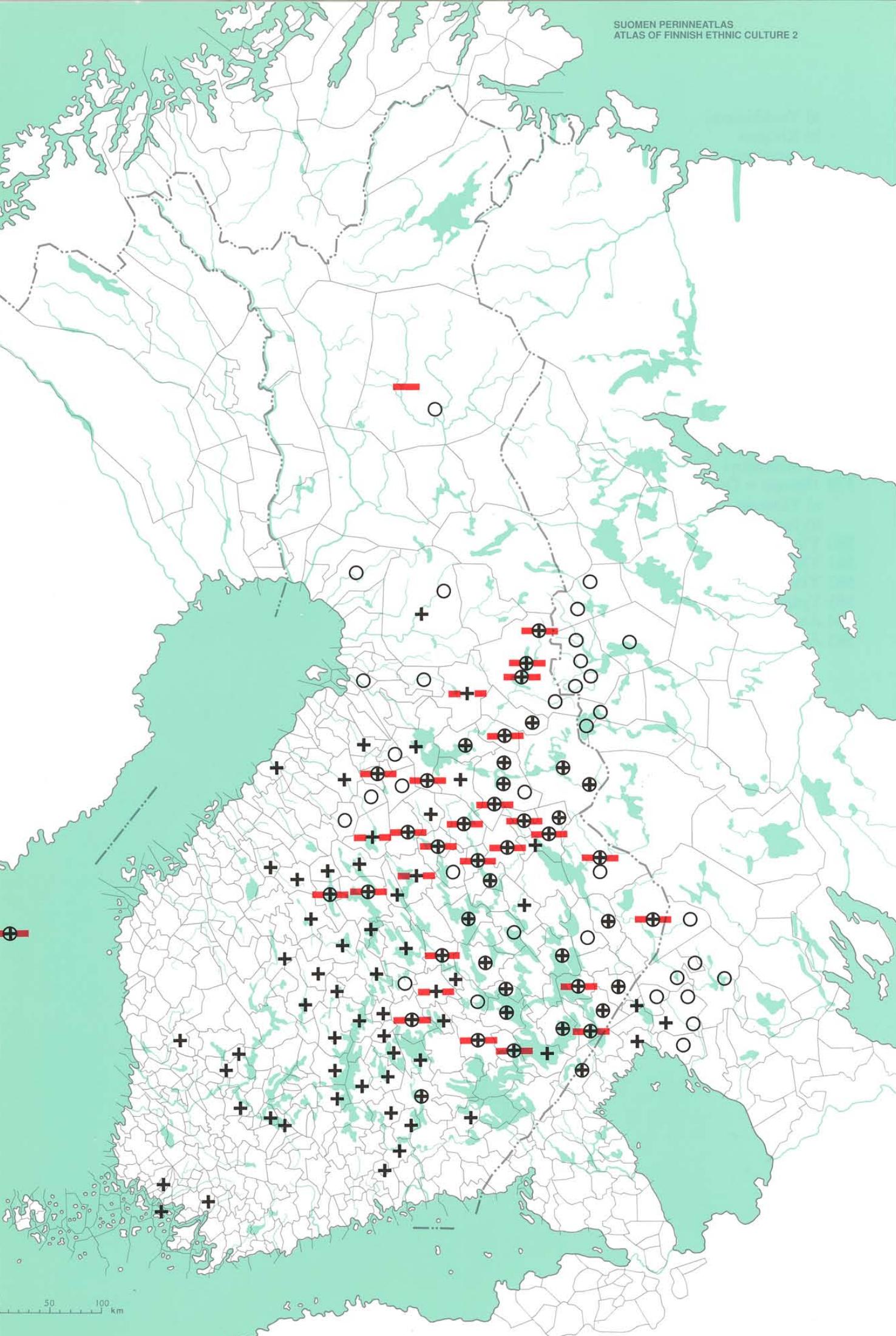
Incantations	Christian-themed incantations Blood-Stanching Injunction (western type) Incantation for Sprains Rational incantations Hiccups, Stings	Incantations in old meter Shamanistic incantations Origin of Fire Birth of the Bear Sorcerer's incantations Origin of Iron Blood-Stanching Injunction Shooting a Sting	Incantations in old meter Shamanistic incantations Origin of Fire Väinämöinen's Knee Wound Sorcerer's incantations Origin of Iron Blood-Stanching Injunction Shooting a Sting Incantations in old meter preserved
Supernatural guardians (haltia)	Incantations lost or abbreviated into wishes or invocations of a few lines	Prolific incantations of origin and invocation	Nature haltias - supernatural resident of site/homestead - approves/disapproves of actions of house folk - favors/disfavors house (person) - share for haltia of site
<b>Individual's life stages</b>			
Youth	House haltia - first owner/ancestor of house - maintains wellbeing of house - maintains order/morality - feeding the haltia (calendric offerings)	Only individual attention to reaching adulthood, sauna-rites  (- confirmation school)	Only individual attention to reaching adulthood
Socializing of youth	Village youth groups (Ostrobothnia) - youth group initiation ceremonies - demonstrations of capacity for work (- confirmation school)	General village festivals and events - weddings - voluntary working parties - calendric festivals - church holy days, hiring fairs	Inter-kin interaction institutions - Prasnikas - ativo visits (girls' visits to relatives) - proposal dances (- sheath proposal)
Marriage	Youth association shows and dances	Young people's own evening sittings and dances	Young people's own evening sittings and dances
Communal nature of marriage	Institution of agrarian society Contract between houses - transfer of real estate - continuity of social order	Institution of swidden cultivators' society Contract of individuals - future of the young - continuity of extended family or house	Institution of kinship society Contract of kinship groups - new kinship system - future of kinship groups
Selection and esteem of spouse	Young couple's own choice - land ownership, social class - love romanticism	Young couple's own choice - security of livelihood - work capacity and health	Kinship authority - interests of kinship groups - livelihood, health
Spokesman, marriage broker	Professional spokesman (upper class)	Friends, neighbors	Mother, father, godparents and relatives
Wedding drama	Village wedding - community feast - wedding drama - feast for guests, class rite	Socially modest village wedding - feast for relatives and neighbors - occasion for get-together, dancing - attention rite for young couple	Kinship wedding - feast for kinship groups - singing drama, wedding laments - inter-kin rite of passage

Role-holders, manifestation	<p>Status group members, professionals Community status of house - different weddings in diff. social classes Wealth of wedding house - duration of wedding, several days - quality and quantity of food - number of guests - wedding decorations - attended by gentry Social hierarchy of community - guests invited - guest status rites order of arrival, seating serving food, speeches starting dancing, progression etc. - competition in giving wedding gifts</p>	<p>Peer group and kin, neighbors Wealth of wedding house - quantity and quality of food - number of guests</p>	<p>Relatives, sorcerers; lamenters Community status of kinship group - inter-kin competition during wedding ceremonies - representatives of kin coping with wedding role - number of reciprocal gifts - mutual hospitality</p>
Principal plot	Transition of young couple to their class	Social hierarchy of community - order of service - competition in giving wedding gifts	Kinship hierarchy - parental authority - status of daughter-in-law and other relatives
Death	Village funeral - status rite of the deceased - confirming social hierarchy - grave monuments - prohibition of ancestral cult	Transition of young couple to the group of the married  Socially modest village funeral - escorting the deceased to cemetery - karsikkos for the dead - sacrificial trees dedicated to the dead	Transition of bride to groom's kin  Kinship funeral - memorial event for the deceased - taking care of the deceased - village burial grounds, no monuments - ancestral cult preserved
<b>Social interaction</b>			
Local gathering	Regular gatherings - going to church Calendric local gatherings - parish holidays, kihu holidays - berry fairs - markets and fairs	Calendric gatherings - church holy days - hiring fairs - markets and fairs	Visiting by kinship communities - Prasnikas - girls' ativo visits
Calendric gathering	Village tradition linked to agrarian calendar year - Easter swings - spring bonfires and games - fall fires (Kymijoki valley) - fall season working parties, handicraft events - Xmas season mumming tours - Shrovetide drives - children's spring touring	  - Midsummer bonfires - fall season working parties, handicraft evenings - Kekri season mumming tours (- Shrovetide drives)	Little old calendric tradition  - Easter palms (virpominen) - Midsummer bonfires - Xmas season mumming tours  Interaction concentrated on Prasnikas
<b>Performance tradition</b>			
Narrative tradition	Supranormal plot narratives (dramatic narration) - witchcraft (trulli, para)	Supranormal narratives and stories - nature haltias, site haltias - haunting dead	Supranormal narratives - nature haltias, site haltias - the dead

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- house haltias</li> <li>- haunting dead (dead child)</li> <li>- giants (stoning the church)</li> <li>- earth dwellers</li> <li>- devil (Big Mouth narrative)</li> <li>- supranormal treasure narratives</li> </ul> <p>Fairytales</p> <p>Local narratives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- historical narratives (around the local church)</li> <li>- narratives of local persons</li> </ul>	<p>- devil and clever human</p> <p>Fairytales</p> <p>Local narratives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- historical narratives (raider stories)</li> <li>- narratives of persons (tricksters, great liars)</li> <li>- realistic treasure narratives</li> </ul>	<p>- the devil</p> <p>Fairytales</p> <p>Legends</p> <p>Local narratives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- historical narratives</li> <li>- narratives of persons (Vorna)</li> </ul>
Effects for impact	Supranormality Moralistic nature	Realistic nature Comic nature	Fairytale-like quality Lucky turn of events
Singing tradition	<p>Songs in new meter (love songs)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Scandinavian ballads</li> <li>- round game songs of the young</li> <li>- dancing songs of the young</li> </ul> <p>Fiddler music (Scandinavian) Accordion (1800)</p>	<p>Epic poetry in old meter (fragments)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- hunting runes (bear songs)</li> <li>- wedding songs</li> <li>- women's lyric poetry</li> <li>- incantations</li> <li>- proverbs in old meter</li> </ul> <p>Young people's round game songs in new meter</p> <p>Fiddler music Accordion (1800)</p>	<p>Poetry in old meter</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- shamanistic songs</li> <li>- runes of origin</li> <li>- hunting epics</li> <li>- Sampo epic</li> <li>- Viking epics</li> <li>- women's lyrics</li> <li>- wedding songs</li> <li>- incantations</li> <li>- legends in old meter</li> <li>- ballads in old meter</li> <li>- proverbs in old meter</li> <li>- laments (Orthodox area)</li> </ul> <p>Russian songs in new meter Young people's songs in new meter</p> <p>Fiddler music (eastern) Accordion (1800)</p>

I.

# LIFE AND DEATH



## 1. Karhuriitit Bear Rites

Rituaalinen karhunmetsästys  
Ritual bear hunting

1. Karhun kaato  
Killing the bear
- Toisintoja kaato- ja peijaislauista:  
Variants of hunting and feast songs:  
Karhun synty Otavassa  
The birth of the bear in the Plough  
Opastuslaulu  
Leaving for the den  
Herätyslaulu  
Waking the bear  
Kuoleman selitys  
Excuse for the death  
Kuljetuslaulu  
Escorting the bear  
Vastaantottolaulut  
Welcoming songs  
Aterian alkaessa  
Beginning of the meal  
Metsästäjien ylistys  
Hunters' praise

2. Karhun palautus  
Returning the bear
- Toisintoja palautuslauista:  
Variants of returning songs:  
Karhun pään syönti  
Eating the bear's head  
Saattolaulu  
Carrying the skull  
Kallopuun laulu  
The skull tree verse

3. Kallopuut  
Bear skull trees
- Tietoja kallopuista tai karhun kallon kuljettamisesta puuhun  
Records of skull trees or a bear's skull placed in a tree

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

# 1. BEAR RITES

## **Northern bear cult**

**Ritual bear hunting.** The ancient bear rites and beliefs of European, Asian and North American hunter peoples share so many similarities that they must be founded on a common heritage, perhaps the oldest known religion in Euro-Asia.(1 Bear skulls and rock drawings found in Southern European caves, with roots reaching to the Palaeolithic era, have also been thought to refer to this same bear cult.(2 The nearest equivalents to the Finnish bear rite and birth myth are found in the tradition of Obi-Ugric linguistic relatives, the Khant and Mansi (Ostyaks and Voguls), as if they were relics of Uralian connections of millennia ago.

In Finland, ritual bear hunting took place in three main stages: 1. Slaying of the bear at the winter den, 2. Feast (Fi. *peijaiset*) in honor of the dead bear, and 3. Reincarnation of the bear; returning the bear skull and bones back into the forest (skull rite). Each stage of the Finnish hunting drama has had its dedicated songs in the old ('Kalevala') meter, and its plot may also be construed on their basis.(3 Bear songs progress as dialogue, in common with old wedding songs. The course of events is described through a dialogue of question and answer. The recorded bear runes are principally folklore of the swidden community, but the songs contain numerous details connecting them with the cultures of other Nordic hunting peoples.

### **Ritual bear-slaying**

#### **1. Slaying the bear**

Stages	Songs
Preparations	<i>Birth of the Bear</i>
Departure for den	<i>Guiding song</i>
Slaying the bear	<i>Awakening song</i> <i>Explaining the death</i>
Escorting the bear	<i>Carrying song</i>

#### **2. Bear's feast**

Stages	Songs
Reception of the bear	<i>Arrival songs</i>
Bear feast	<i>Bringing the meat</i> <i>Praising the hunters</i> (Peijaiset songs)

#### **3. Returning the bear**

Stages	Songs
Cleaning the skull	<i>Breaking the teeth</i>
Carrying the skull and bones	<i>Escorting song</i>
Hanging the skull in a pine tree	<i>Skull tree song</i>

One of the oldest and almost the only coherent description of the bear rite is the so-called Viitasaari text. It was probably written by a clergyman staying in the parish of Viitasaari at the end of the 1600s or the beginning of the 1700s.(4) The manuscript contains an account of how the hunters prepared for slaying the bear and how a feast, 'bear's wedding', was held for the slaughtered bear, during which the bear's teeth were detached and shared among the men; finally, the bear's skull and bones were carried in solemn procession to the forest and the skull suspended from a special tree, a bear skull pine.

**Slaying of the bear.** The song on leaving for the den describes the hunters' progress skiing to a forest islet or hillock where the bear is hibernating. Ancient pines with red trunks and silver branches glow there. The leaving songs often refer to Hongotar, the bear's supernatural guardian or protector, who is beseeched to grant the hunters a catch. The bear has a mythical bond with the pine in particular, and Martti Haavio has thought Hongotar ['mistress of the pine'] to be the name of the bear's progenitrix or supernatural guardian, referring to the first mythical skull tree. It is the original tree in which the bear skull has been placed at the dawn of time during the first hunting drama.(5)

### 1. Slaying runes

Hunting culture:

#### Karhun synty

"Missä on ohto synnytetty, mesikämmen käännytetty?"

"Tuol on ohto synnytetty, mesikämmen käännytetty: kuun sivulla, tykönä päivän, Otavaisen olkapäillä."

"Missä se alas laskettiin?"

"Hihnassa hopeisessa, kultaisessa kätkyessä."

#### The Birth of the Bear

"Where was Bruin born, honeypaw turned around?"

"That's where Bruin was born, honeypaw turned around. High up in the heavens, on the Great Bear's shoulders."

"How was he let down?"

"By a silver chain, in a golden cradle."

#### Opastuslaulu

*Lykkäään lylyn lumelle, saatan sauvan suoverolle.*

*"Lähes, neiti, tien nenäksi, orpo matkan oppahaksi! Olepa sinä orpo opassa, armotoinen kumppanina. Sille kummulle kuleta, jossa puut punassa paistaa, hopeassa hongat oksat.*

*Saata sille saarekselle, sille kummulle kuleta, jossa on onni leikin lyönyt, hopea ilon tekenyt.*

*Saata sille saarekselle, sille kummulle kuleta, jossa saalis saataisiin, erätoimi tuotaisiin.*

*Mielly metsä miehiisi, kostu korpi poikiisi!"*

#### Guiding Song

(Leaving for the Den)

*I shove my ski in the snow, set my ski pole in the drift.*

*"Come, Maiden, be the tip of the road, orphan be the journey's guide! Orphan, you come lead the way, pitiful one be our companion. Take us to that hillock, where the pines gleam red, silver the fir tree branches.*

*See us to that small island, take us to that hillock, where fortune plays, where silver frolics.*

*See us to that small island, take us to that hillock, where we could catch our prey.*

*Forest, favor your hunters, fetch our wild booty, foster your backwoods men!"*

In the awakening song the bear is encouraged to rise, and it is shown the way in celebratory procession to the hunters' home. A hibernating bear must not be killed in its den, but it had to be woken.(6 This is apparently founded on a shamanistic concept of soul. While asleep, the bear's soul may have been on a journey outside the body; at such times rites would be ineffective, and the bear's soul would become an evil or restless spirit seeking reincarnation. The soul-concept is also likely to be behind the rule that when marking the bear's den in the autumn, the circle could not be closed fully, but a gap had to be left at some point, as if the soul should not be imprisoned inside the circle. The refrain of the leaving song requests an orphaned girl to guide the hunters. There is information from Kainuu (northeastern Finland) that the hunters would be accompanied by a young girl, evidently symbolizing the bear's bride, or the function of the girl was to entice the bear's soul to return into the bear sleeping in its den.

### **Herätslaulu**

*Nouse pois nokinen poika, nokiselta nuotiolta, havuisilta vuoteilta, pihkaisilta pään aloilta!*

### **Awakening Song**

*Get up, get out sooty fellow, get up from the sooty fire, your fir branched bed, the tar pitch place you rest your head!*

### **Karhun kuolema**

(Kuoleman selitys)

*Terve ohto tultuasi!*

*Anna kättä käyrön poika, anna kättä kämpyrille, hongan oksalle hotaise! En minä kovan kokenut eikä toinen kumppanini. Itse hairahdit haolta, itse vierit vempeleeltä, läpi marjaisen mahasi, rikki kultaisen kupusi.*

### **Death of the Bear**

(Explaining the Death)

*Greetings, Bruin, welcome!*

*Reach out your hand, gnarled one's son, give your hand to the crooked bough, slap at the pine tree branch! It wasn't I who met the bear or any the rest of my mates. You, yourself, fell off the spruce, slipped from the bent bough yourself, pierced your berry-filled belly, shattered your golden maw.*

### **Kuljetuslaulu**

*Nouse kulta kulkemaan, hopea vaeltamaan, kultaista kujaa myöten, hopeaista tietä myöten, maata maksan karvallista!*

*Hongotar hyvä emäntä, katajatar kaunis vaimo veistä pilkat pitkin puuta, rastit vaaroihin rapaja, josta vieraas tiensä näkisi, uros outokin osaisi.*

### Carrying song

*Get up to go golden one, silver one to wander, along a golden lane, along a silver road, on liver-colored ground!*

*Hongotar, good pine mistress, juniper, beautiful wife, hew the trees with marks, strike signs on the hill, so a stranger could see his way, even a hero new here would know!*

When the bear was killed, or possibly not until the pejaiset, the bear's death rune was performed. In it, the slayers say that the bear has died after falling from a tree, it has caused its death itself, or the death is labeled an accident, for which the hunters are not responsible. Explanations of the death are also found in the lore of other Arctic hunting peoples. Some Siberian peoples have blamed the killing on strangers, usually Russians.(7 Killing a bear was like a deed that would bring a blood feud on the hunters, in the same way as when killing a human being, and perhaps brought about the revenge of the bears' kin.

**The bear's feast.** The slain bear was carried from the den accompanied by singing, and according to some records, marking the route by slicing off slivers of tree bark. The songs for carrying the bear contain similar runes to wedding reception songs, sung when the wedding procession arrived at the house of the groom. In the yard, the hunters announce the arrival of a great guest, and boys and girls are asked to make way. There are records that women (of childbearing age) had to flee out of sight when the bear was brought home. In a version of the arrival song, the hunters ask where they should take the guest, and reply that they will accompany the bear to the furthest corner of the main room of the house, *tupa*. The furthest corner of the room, opposite the door and at the top of the table, where the benches along the side and back walls met ('at the join of two boards') was the place of honor. In the furthest corner were placed the family's sacred objects, in Orthodox houses the icon. Like any specially respected guests, the bear was taken to the place of honor under the 'family altar'. According to some variants, the mistress of the house, the matriarch, received the bear-slayers in the same way as in the wedding drama; the extended family of the swidden era was ruled by women. There are variants of the dialogic runes between hunters and the people of the house, where the latter greet the slain bear and inform him that a feast has long been prepared for the guest: beer brewed, the benches washed down with *sima* [sweet mead], and that the guest had been eagerly awaited, like a maid waits for his groom.

The Viitasaari text describes *kouko's päälliset* [funeral] and the wedding that was held in the bear's honor. Kouko means 'ancestor, elderly person'.(8 Thus, the *pejaiset* feast might mean the funeral or wedding of the kinship group's or forest's ancestor, during which the bear was feasted like a bride or groom who had joined the kinship group. Another expression used has been the bear's *vakat*. The *vakka*-feast or *vakkove* referred to a feast of the rite circle, a local community or maybe the kinship group, for which beer and food provisions were assembled jointly (map 4).(9 The name of the feast comes from *vakka*, the basket in which shared sacred objects were kept. In honor of the bear, a boy was designated the groom, a young girl was chosen as bride and dressed in local bridal attire. The main meal was a pea soup made of the 'own flesh of the deceased'. First to be carried out of the cooking hut was the bear's head placed on a dish and then the rest of the meat. When the bearer of the head reached the threshold of the anteroom, he had to say the words: "*Pois olkoon pojat porstuasta, piiat pihtipuolisista, hyvän tullessa tupahan, autuaan sisälle astuessa!*" [Boys must leave the anteroom, girls from the doorway, as the good enters the house, the blessed steps inside!] The comments to the text explain that this was to emphasize the sacredness of the bear head and the solemnity of the rite. There are also records that the

soup for the peijaiset was made from the bear's head and paws, as they were the body parts containing the bear's power.(10)

## 2. Feast songs

### Tulolaulut

Emäntä:

*"Mistäpä mieheni tulevat, urhoni hiihtelevät, kun laulaen tulette, hyräellen hiihtelette?  
Metsäisenkö antoi metsä, ilveksenkö salon isäntä?"*

Metsästäjät (samaani):

*"Pois pojat porstuasta, piiat pihtipuolisesta, ohdon tullessa tupaan!"*

Emäntä:

*"Terve ohto tultuasi, mesikämmen käytyäsi! Niinpä sinua vuotin niin kuin neito nuorta miestä,  
punaposki puolisoa, suksi uutta lunta, jahnus hankea jaloa."*

Metsästäjät:

*"Onko, piiat, pirtti pesty, lattiat vesin lakaistu tulevalle vieraalle?"*

Emäntä:

*"Viikon täällä on viinat pantu, kauan ohraiset oluet. Mesin täällä on penkit pesty, mesin lattiat la-  
kaistu tulevalle vieraalle, saavalle käkeävälle."*

Metsästäjät:

*"Kunne vienen vieraani, kunne kuuluni kuljetan? Oven suuhunko orren alle? En vielä siihen-  
kään. Vien penkille perään, kahden laudan katkimille."*

Emäntä:

*"Annapa vastakin Jumala, toistekin totinen Luoja, elääessä tämän emännän, tämän auvon  
astuessa."*

### Arrival of the Bear

Mistress:

*"Where are my men coming from, my heroes skiing from, skiing as you come, humming as you  
ski? Did the forest give its own, the master of the wilds a lynx?"*

Hunters (shaman):

*"Boys out of the hallway, girls from the doorframe, as Bruin is coming in!"*

Mistress:

*"Hello, Bruin, welcome honeypaw you've arrived! You've been awaited here, as a girl awaits her  
suitor, her red-cheeked mate, or the ski new fallen snow, the lead ski hardened crust."*

Hunters:

*"Girls, is the room washed clean the floors swept with water, for the guest's arrival?"*

Mistress:

*"A long time the liquor's been ready, a great while the barley beer. The benches here washed  
with mead, the floorboards drawn wet with honey, for the coming guest, the one arriving, want-  
ing to come."*

Hunters:

*"Where shall we take our guest, carry our far-famed one? Beneath the doorstand beam? Not yet just there, I'll take him to the far bench where the two wall seats meet."*

Mistress:

*"Give another time again, God once more, Solemn Creator, in the lifetime of this lady while this lucky one yet walks."*

### **Lihaa tuotaessa**

*"Joko on lautaset ladottu, joko lusikat luettu?"*

*"Jo on lautaset ladottu, jo on lusikat luettu. Metsolan metinen muori, metsän kultainen kuningas tule nyt häihin härköihisi, pitkä villa pitoihisi!"*

### **Bringing the Meat**

*"Are the dishes already stacked, are the spoons already counted?"*

*"Yes the dishes are stacked, the spoons already counted. Forest realm, honeyed mistress, golden forest king, come to your ox's wedding, the feast of your long wooed one!"*

### **Metsästäjien ylistys**

*Ei ole kaikista uroista eikä pojista puolistakaan!*

*Siihen urhoja uskotaan, siihen miehiä valitaan: metsän hirven hiihdäntäään, korven karhun kaa-dantaan.*

### **Hunters' Praise**

*Not everyone is a hero, no not half the boys!*

*Only heroes will do here, here only men are chosen, to ski for the forest elk, to slay the back-wood's bear.*

At the meal, the skull dish was placed at the top of the table, and then other dishes of meat in order. Then people sat down at the table, with the bride and groom at the end of the table. The wedding guests feasted on the special dishes until they were sated. Not one bone was permitted to be discarded, but they were collected in a dish. The bear's head was picked clean during the peijaiset and its teeth detached to be shared between the slayers. After the meal, people rested a while and sang runes, according to the Viitasaari description, and then began the breaking off of the teeth. Two or more men went up to the clean-picked skull still lying in its dish on the table, and began to loosen the bear teeth by hand, and recited while yanking out its incisor: *"Joko otan ohtoani, alan ampulintuani, repäisen leukaluusta?"* [Am I taking my bear, setting upon my catch, tearing at his jaw?] Powerful sorcerers are said to have broken up the skull bones with the power of their word, untouched by hand, with the bear's teeth clattering down onto the dish...

### **Karhunpään syönti**

(Hampaiden hajotus)

Metsästyskulttuuri:

*"Joko otan ohtoani, alan ampulintuani, repäisen leukaluusta?*

*Veitsen vyöltäni vetäisen, tupestani tuiman raudan, jolla otan ohtoani. Otan turvan ohdoltani omaksi turvaksi, turvan entisen lisäksi, vaan en aivan ainoaksi. Otan korvan ohdoltani*

*omakseni korvakseni, korvan entisen lisäksi, oman korvan kuullakseni. Otan silmän ohdoltani silmän entisen lisäksi, vaan en aivan ainoaksi, oman silmän nähdäkseni."*

Tietäjäkulttuuri:

*"Otan nenän ohdoltani, vainun tuntemattomaksi, otan korvan ohdoltani, korvan kuulemattomaksi, otan silmän ohdoltani, silmän näkemättömäksi."*

### Eating the Bear's Head

(Breaking the Teeth)

Hunting culture:

*"Am I taking my bear, setting upon my catch, tearing at his jaw?*

*I drew the knife from my waist, the sharp blade from my sheath, with which I'll take old Bruin. I'll take old Bruin's snout for my own snout, along with the snout before, but not to be the only one. I'll take old Bruin's ear for my own ear, along with the ear before, to sharpen my own hearing. I'll take old Bruin's eyes along with the eye before, but not to be the only one."*

Sorcerer culture:

*"I'll take old Bruin's nose and leave him with no scent. I'll take old Bruin's ear and leave him with no hearing. I'll take old Bruin's eye and leave him with no sight."*

There are two versions of the head-eating rune. The original is likely to have been the idea that the skull-eaters took the bear's sense of smell, sight and hearing for themselves, in order to possess the bear's senses, and the power of his paws and sharpness of his claws in addition. Thus, the slayers assumed the bear's power in the natural environment surrounding the hunter. In the eating rune of the cultivating community, the bear is deprived of its senses of smell, sight, hearing and the sharpness of its claws, so it could no longer pose a threat to cattle. The bear was rendered harmless. Consuming the bear's head has been a special part of the shared sacrificial meal or convivium. It is possible that eating the bear's brain and drinking beer from the bear's skull have been rights assigned to men and served to reinforce the unity of hunters; at the bear's feast the mutual hierarchy of the hunters was renewed. Detaching the teeth, on the other hand, recounts how tooth amulets were divided evidently already in the communities of the hunting era. The slayers or revered men who were present detached the teeth, but they may have also distributed them to their family members. Eating the bear was a so-called sacrificial meal, during which the community members shared the bear meat, but also its power; the bear's teeth remained as a sign of unity among those who had participated in the feast.

The models of bear peijaiset that have been preserved in Finland are thus from rites of passage, funerals and weddings, or from rite celebrations of the local community, characterized by collectivity and symbolic dramas. In inland (winter) villages peijaiset were feasts at which villagers gathered to eat and drink together. The fare consisted of abundant quantities of bear meat and other foods, too, and copious amounts of beer and spirits were drunk. It is also known that the participants sang and took part in various amusements. They are founded on celebrations similar to the bear peijaiset of Obi-Ugrians, described by A. Kannisto.(11 At the feast lasting several days, the bear was the guest of honor, seated in a place of honor wearing festive clothing. Every participant had to perform a party piece for him: a song, story or joke, whatever he knew; the number of turns may have been dozens, even hundreds. At peijaiset of Nordic peoples, many kinds of symbolic dramas have been performed in honor of the bear, a bride may have been chosen for him and a wedding held. Such imitation dramas were apparently also referred to by the well-known observation by the Bishop Rothovius in 1640, that at the peijaiset, men drank beer from the bear skull and growled like bears, believing that this would bring them luck in hunting.(12

**Return of the bear.** The Viitasaari text describes the burial of the bear's bones and the skull rite as follows: When the final scene began and the bear skull was taken outside, all the guests rose. At the head of the procession were the groom and bride side by side, then a man bearing a tankard of beer, next a rune-singer and following him the person carrying the head and bones on a dish; they were followed by the rest of the folk who wanted to join in. When they arrived at the skull place, whence the skulls were always taken, the skull was suspended from a branch of a pine tree and the bones buried at the roots. To bid farewell, the beer brought along in the procession was drunk, and then everyone returned in the same order, but silently this time.

The bear skull and bones were carried to the burial site in a rite procession resembling a funeral procession or also a wedding procession. The manuscript adds that in the 1600s, the custom at the Viitasaari chapel parish in Kivijärvi had been to ring the church bells when the bear skull was carried away. One parish report from 1754 gives an account of the skull being hung from a tree, filled with beer, and the hangers would bow, greet it, and make merry while the beer ran out of the small holes left in the skull.(13 Thus, the Finns have also feasted and appeased the bear's soul while accompanying it to the hereafter.

### 3. *Returning songs*

#### Kallon kuljetus

*Lähde nyt kulta kulkemaan, raha armas astumaan, kultaista kujaan myöten, hopeaista tietä myöten!*

*Ei tästä etääälle viedä, viedään mäntyyn mäelle, petäjään pellon päähän. Siihen tuuli turvan tuo, aalto ahvenen ajaa. Sivullasi on siikasalmi, luonasi on lohiapaja.*

#### Escorting Song

(Carrying the Skull)

*Golden one, get on your way, money precious get moving, along the golden lane, along the silver road!*

*You'll not be taken far from here, just to a pine tree on a hill, a juniper at the field's far edge. There the wind will meet your needs, the wave will drive you perch. On one side a whitefish strait, nearby the sweep of a salmon sein.*

#### Kallopun laulu

*"Minne saatit saaliisi, ennätit hyvän eräsi? Oletko jäälle jättänyt, vaiko tielle tellänyt, uhkuun upottanut?"*

*"En ole jäälle jättänyt, uhkuun upottanut, enkä tielle tellänyt. Panin puuhun puhtaaseen, petäjään pienimpään, honkaan havusataan. Panin kuuta katsomaan, Otavaa oppimaan, päivää tähytämään."*

#### Skull Tree Song

*"Where did you send your catch, take your fine booty? Have you left it on the ice or tossed it on the road or drowned it in an ice pool?"*

*"I didn't leave it on the ice or drown it in an ice pool or toss it on the road. I set it in a pure clean tree, right in the smallest pine, a fir tree with a hundred sprigs. Set it there to watch the moon, to know Otava, the Great Bear, to fix its eyes on the sun."*

The skull tree was a pine or spruce. Many other Nordic hunter peoples have hung up the skull from a tree or the end of a pole in the same way.(14 Information on skull trees has been preserved in Häme, and even up to Varsinais-Suomi. In the Lake Päijänne region, historical sources also mention bone graves. On the island of Pääsaari of Jääsjärvi lake in Hartola, it is said that there was a bone grave at the foot of an old skull tree, containing a lot of bones and dozens of bear skulls. In Varsinais-Suomi, e.g. Ohensaari in the parish of Masku, there would appear to have been a site of bear worship, according to historical sources.(15 Similar oral tradition about rocky promontories and islands also exists in Sweden, from areas where swidden farmers from Savo had settled.(16 Bone graves have also been discovered in the Sami areas of northern Sweden. At digs, bones from dozens of bears have been found in the graves. The finds are dated mainly in the 1600s, but particularly further south the graves have naturally decomposed over the centuries.(17

The runes of the skull rite progress as dialogue, in common with other bear runes. First, the bear is urged to set off 'along a golden lane and silver road'. This initiation has also been performed in other situations where the bear has been carried, such as when leaving the den. The attached Skull rune describes the bear's new abode: it is taken near water and salmon grounds. This poetic image is also apparently part of ancient Arctic tradition. In the same way, Obi-Ugric (Khant-Mansi) peoples have described the slain bear's new domains, to which the hunters guide it.(18 The second redaction, the Skull Tree Rune, is more archaic in its metaphors and also more common in Finnish folklore. It begins with the question: where has the hunter taken his catch? According to Haavio and other scholars the dialogue is between the bear's female guardian spirit and the bringers of the skull; the bear was returned to its supernatural guardian.(19 The response repeats the question; the hunters assure that they have not forgotten the slain bear at the roadside, nor left him on the frozen lake or sunk him in the swamp. Thus, the hunters gave an assurance that they had treated the bear they had caught honorably. The catch has been brought into the forest and placed in a pine tree to look towards the moon and the Plough. The bear's skull had been returned to the pine tree, into which it had been lowered from the heavens according to the myth of the birth of the bear.

**The bear's time.** In communities of the hunting era, the bear was slain at its winter nest. The bear searching for a den in which to hibernate was tracked in the autumn at the time of the first snows, and the den or 'bear round' was marked by slivers of bark sliced from trees.(20 Marked in this way, the hibernating bear became kind of the property of the man who had rounded it up, in his possession. When hunting from the winter nest, bear-slaying may have become formalized as a uniform hunting rite, performed at a certain time. Bear-slaying was embarked upon in the late winter when the snow surface was hard and a man on skis able to move around easily; at the same time, hunters also began to drive or ski after forest reindeer and moose (map 88).

Before setting out, Finnish bear hunters had to gather their strength and cleanse themselves: they had to take a sauna and dress in clean clothing. Sexual intercourse was forbidden and women had to be avoided in general. According to preserved records, hunters leaving for the bear-slaying usually gathered in the house of the person who had found the den, and a plentiful meal was taken there, particularly of meat. There are also some references indicating that the meal was taken at the bear's den before rousing him. Cleansing rituals may also have been performed at the bear's den, such as leaping through fire.

The preparations have also contained sorcerer traditions: the iron of the spear was ritually hardened through incantations to make it effective against the bear, or the hunters took along 'the power of iron', e.g. an old sword used in war.

Bear runes include references indicating that only a group of a few men would go to the bear's den, two or three men, who in the hunting drama were named as the slayers. The bear was usually killed by stabbing with a heavy bear spear, while Sami people have also killed bear with poles and an axe.(21 In such instances, the slayers would include two experienced pole men who positioned themselves on either side of the den entrance and pushed their heavy poles across each other above the entrance; the ends of the poles were sharpened, and they were pushed into the ground at an angle. A beam or tree trunk was placed under the entrance to the den, and when the bear emerged, the pole men pressed its head against the beam and a third man killed the bear with an axe. Wooden poles may have been used when the bear had dug a den in the earth. According to the Viitasaari text, the bear was skinned in the forest, the pelt with the head and the meat were taken into the village, and at the same time the day of the peijaiset was named. Sometimes, due to the distance, the bear was not transported home, but it was skinned at the nest, and only the bear's head, pelt, claws and fat or bile, used to cure disease, were taken along.

Once the bear had been speared, its muzzle ring or claws were cut off. The bear's soul was removed, rendering it finally dead and in the possession of the hunters. Certain customs related to bear-slaying have also remained that stem from hunting community norms of dividing the catch.(22 If some bystander came to the nest before the muzzle ring was detached or before they had time to light a camp fire, he had an equal share to the catch with the slayers. Detaching the muzzle ring has been a visible sign of ownership and its roots lay in the conceptual world of the hunters; it gave the right to the catch to the person in possession of the bear's soul. It seems that slaying a bear at a winter nest was not considered particularly dangerous, more so was skiing after forest reindeer or moose, as they would often attack its persecutors once the hunters finally caught them up.(23 Bear meat was not generally considered delicious, it was perhaps not hunted for meat like wild reindeer. Bear-eating has been more ritual. Skull trees and bone graves prove that both among Samic and Finnish peoples, bear rites have been performed at certain sites for decades. The bear has been a cult animal that was slain every winter; the bear was not hunted, it was slain. Spring was the bear's time; it was the start of a new hunting season, and nature was also gradually reawakening and coming back to life.

**Religion of bear rites.** In the mythologies of many Nordic peoples, the bear was believed to be of celestial origin, even the son of a god, who because of a breach of taboo was sent down to earth. The bear appears as the original hero of nature, with kind of a special position among other animals, or it has been the embodiment of the supernatural guardian spirits of the forest, the forest itself, as the Finns have said. Ritual bear hunting is likely to have begun from a myth of the bear's birth, which in Finland has survived as runes in the old meter. The birth myth justifies the plot of the rite, returning the bear back on high, but it also gives the hunters power over the bear. Recorded Finnish birth poems are usually brief, but contain the most fundamental motifs of the narrative: the bear was born in the heavens, in the Plough, and sent down to earth. Some variants describe how the bear was lowered to the top of a pine or spruce tree in a cradle suspended from golden chains.

The Finnish Birth of the Bear belongs to a widespread transnational myth complex. Narratives of the bear descended or evicted from heaven are also found with Siberian hunting peoples. One of the closest equivalents of the Finnish bear birth poem is the Khant myth narrative. In the beginning of time, the bear lived in the heavens. Defying the orders of the master of heaven or supreme god *To'rom*, it wanted to

take a peek at earth and was enchanted by the land of the Khant. By defying the order, the bear committed a 'deadly sin' and as punishment, the supreme god ordered that it should be lowered in a cradle by golden chains onto earth.(24) In accordance with shamanistic world order, the heavens were inhabited by gods, and great souls were also admitted there. In birth myths, the bear is made equal to gods or even the son of the supreme god, who has breached a taboo and as punishment was condemned to be killed by humans. At Khant and Mansi peijaiset, performance of the birth myth was a solemn act, performed by the shaman, if one was still available, and the performance was different from all the improvised songs and comic plays otherwise performed at peijaiset in order to 'amuse the gods'.(25) The myth was a sacred text that explained why man was permitted to slay a bear, to fulfil the bear's destiny.

The ritually slain and resurrecting bear has been compared to the slain and resurrecting sons of gods of the southernmost cultures: Osiris, Dionysus or Jesus.(26) According to M. Kuusi, consumption of the bear may be compared to the sacrament of the Eucharist or rituals of god-eating.(27) Hunters would have invested their hopes in the bear who was born high in the heavens, descended to earth, died and was buried, but would be resurrected to live again as the first among all game animals or perhaps of all creation. The bear living in heaven had to descend and die, like people and all creatures on earth.

The bear cult would thus manifest early hunters' ideas of immortality, the continuation of eternal life. Each bear-hunting drama would recreate the primaeval mythical event and reinforce the order of life determined at that time, the natural cycle of life. Bear rites would also reinforce again and again the fate of forest game, and man's right to act as perpetrators of game animals' resurrection and maintainers of the eternal cycle. As a totem and man's relation, the bear would also represent man, or maybe we may think like evolutionists that among hunter peoples, there was no great distinction drawn between man and animals. The bear may also have been the redeemer of man's resurrection. The hunt drama would reflect man's struggle to solve the mystery of life and death.

The return of the skull and bones is undoubtedly a part of the earliest layers of the bear rite. The return of the catch is a rite of hunter communities. As a large predatory animal, the bear has perhaps been assigned the importance of the firstborn. In the death and resurrection of the bear, the reincarnation of all game animals killed by man is executed.(28) The bear skull tree is associated with fundamental events in the destiny of the bear, it is the tree via which the bear steps down to join the natural environment on earth, and returns back to the world on the other side.

It is possible that bear rites have also been significant in ecological terms. Rituals serve to reinforce something that is fundamental to the functionality of the ecosystem, and religion must also fit in with the experiences of man of the time in his own environment. For Nordic hunters, the bear was one of the nutritional resources of late winter. A known bear's den was a living meat store and one of the alternative sources of nutrition that hunting communities always had in reserve in their own living environments. But in the hunters' ecosystem, the bear was a critical natural resource, the slaying of which would easily have become anarchy. To experienced hunters bear-slaying was easy, and bear dens were common knowledge in the community from the autumn. By ritualizing bear-slaying, resources important to the hunting community were taken under religious control; the bear was transformed from a private entity into a public one.(29)

Bear feasts meant more than sharing the meat or teeth among the members of the community. Collective bear-eating reinforced over and over again the norms of sharing the catch, ecologically essential in the hunter-gatherer culture, and at the same time, communality was renewed among those who shared the slain bears. On the other hand, bear rites were kept alive by uncertainty as to what would happen if communality was to end, as was to happen later in the era of commercial hunting. Slaying a bear without shared celebrations and public restoration rites threatened the order of the culture, the fu-

ture of the community. Rituals served to deter disorder and to reinforce the game rules which man had to observe in nature.

The basis of everyday faith in the coping thinking of hunting cultures was the eternal return, restoration of nature to its former state, transformation of all that exists from one form of existence to another. Human life was the more secure, the more unchanged nature reawoke. One of the key structures of the faith in the future of the time was the immortal, constantly reincarnating soul, the 'engine' of life. It symbolized the eternal cycle of nature. Through the soul technique, the shaman of hunting communities was able to obtain information on matters significant to hunting communities, on nature and the future, which were controlled by inhabitants of the world in the hereafter, the deceased, supernatural guardians of animals, 'gods'. The shamanistic drama has influenced those present by suggestion, provided them with assurance that the shaman is capable of his task, capable of capturing the bear's soul, its mind, and subjugating it in death. As cultural influencer of his time, the shaman ritualized reality, took into his possession the imagined bear knowledge behind the everyday environment. Each time the ritual bear hunt was performed, the shamanistic interpretation of the environment was reinforced and the power of shamans renewed.

## ***Kin of the bear and man***

**Bear's woman.** C.-M. Edsman has examined a narrative recorded from Sami people in the 1750s about the bear's bride and its relationship with the protocol of the peijaiset.(30) The main schema of the narrative are: A girl had three brothers who treated their sister so ill that she fled into the wilderness and, exhausted, happened on a bear's den. The bear took the girl as his wife and she gave birth to a son. When the son had grown up and left home, the bear one day told his wife that his lifetime was spent and that in the autumn he would allow his wife's brothers to round up the den and to slay him. So it happened, although the wife tried every means of stopping the bear. Before the brothers arrived at the den, the bear asked his wife to fasten a piece of brass on his forehead, to distinguish him from other bears and so the son would not kill his father by mistake. The bear also laid down how he should be treated after death, and finally asked his wife if all the brothers had been equally evil towards her. The girl replied that the youngest had had more pity than the others. When the brothers arrived at the den, the bear bit the two elder brothers, but allowed the youngest to shoot him.

The narrative continues with many twists and turns. When the girl saw that the bear was dead, she sat down on the ground and covered her face, not to have to see her dead spouse, but yet peeped through one eye. In the same fashion, at Sami peijaiset women were only allowed to look at the bear through a brass ring. When the bear meat was being cooked, the girl's son came along and demanded his share of the catch, because the piece of brass on the bear's forehead proved that it was his father. If not, the son threatened to bring his father back to life by beating his pelt with a switch. Around a hundred years before, Schefferus's *Lapponia* recounts that as the slayers went to the bear's den, the band was led by the man who had rounded up the den, with a stick in his hand and a brass ring on it, followed by a person beating the shaman's drum and then the bear-slayer. When the bear had been killed and the thanksgiving song performed, the bear was beaten with switches.(31) Thus, the narrative and hunting rites are

closely interconnected. The hunters fulfilled the bear's wish, but the narrative also includes the prohibition that the bear's descendants were not permitted to kill it. The narrative is, in effect, a text explaining the significance of brass rings, switches and other rite objects, and why women and men had to follow the game rules of the peijaiset drama. But the background may be an even older narrative on how the bear became the ancestor of the kinship group.

Among Skolt Samic people, the idea has persisted that the Skolts are descended from a girl who spent a winter in a bear's den.(32 Such a narrative is an origination myth of a totemistic kinship connection. The bear has been one of the totem animals of the Obi-Ugrians, and traces of bear totemism are also found in ancient Scandinavian sagas and kinship narratives.(33 The narrative of the bear's woman (or 'bear's marriage') also belongs to a transnational complex of myths, found in the lore of European and Asian peoples.(34 Among Nordic peoples, the myth explains how the bear's kin has originated, but also how the bear itself has given people the right to kill it and determined how the peijaiset must be conducted, in order for the bear to return to life. The myth may also have changed its meanings. On the one hand, it may justify the connection between certain kinship groups, but on the other give the right to ritually slaughter a totemistic ancestor, for example when the bear was becoming seen as a harmful animal.

In recorded Finnish bear folklore, too, women have a special relationship with the bear. At bear peijaiset, women and especially pregnant women had to avoid the dead bear. They had to move aside as the bear was carried from the forest into the house, and as the bear meat was carried to the table. Such prohibitions are deemed to be based on belief in reincarnation. In the same way, women of childbearing age had in certain situations to avoid dead people and burial grounds, where the souls of the deceased were believed to reside. Prohibitions concerning women would be necessary in order to prevent the bear's soul from seeking an opportunity of reincarnation in them.(35 Thus, the bear has been believed to be capable of embodiment in human form, too, like gods descended from the heavens.

In Finland, the idea has been fairly common that the bear would not attack a woman, provided that it recognized her as a woman. For that reason, when meeting a bear, women had to show their genitals, stick out their bottoms or raise their skirts; then the bear turned away. The exception was a pregnant woman carrying a male child in her womb. The bear wanted to tear apart an unborn male child, because it knew it would grow into a new hunter. Thus, the bear was believed to spare women. Was this because in totemistic myths, a sexual bond has existed between the bear and women? The beliefs may have a different foundation. In hunting incantations, the supernatural guardian of the bear, and also of other game animals, is female, as is the mistress of the forest itself. The natural environment of hunters was ruled by women.

**Elk (moose) and bear people.** The Roman historian, Tacitus, at the end of his work *Germania* of AD 98, describes peoples living to the north of the Germanic people; in the final paragraph, he mentions the Fenni among others, at that time still meaning Lapps. The work ends in an enigmatic sentence about hel-lusios and oxinas (*helluseios et oxinas*). Tacitus considers information about them to be lore, but mentions that they are said to have human faces and features, but the body and feet of a wild animal. Tuomo Pekkanen has proposed a new explanation for the mysterious terms.(36 Oxinas may derive from the term *oksi* (*otso, ohto*) meaning 'bear', which has been preserved in various parts of Finland and Karelia, for example in place names (Oksjärvi, Okslahti etc., Ohensaari, Estonia's Ohesaar). The word may be traced at least to Permic languages. Hellusios on the other hand would be rooted in the word *e/g*, elk, (Greek *ellós*), still found in many languages (Lithuanian *élnis* etc.). The oldest written record of Finland would mean that in addition to the Fenni or Samic people, the North was inhabited by a people of bears

and elks, of whom only fabled information was available to the author. The human head with an animal body and feet would describe certain rites, during which the clan members would dress in the skin of the animal in whose kinship group they belonged. Transformation into an animal has been common also in imitation dramas of Obi-Ugric peoples.

In an area from Scandinavia right up to the Urals – the area where Nordic Fennō-Ugric peoples have moved around – Stone Age artefacts depicting bear and moose heads have been found. Of them, of particular note have been stone bear and moose head clubs (axes) recovered especially in Finland and Karelia. With reference to the bear and moose head axes, Matti Kuusi has suggested that the population living in Finland at the time may have been divided into two clans, one of which worshipped the bear as its ancestor, the other the moose (elk).<sup>(37)</sup> In his view, bear peijaiset would be a remnant of the times when the unity of the destiny of man and beast was conceptualized as so close that the bear was seen not only as son of the heavenly god, but also as the primordial ancestor of the human race. It is unlikely that the bear has held such a central position in Finnish mythology and researchers have been confused by the fact that no regional differences exist between finds of bear and moose artefacts, although bear head clubs have primarily been made from stone from the Onega region, or Karelia.<sup>(38)</sup>

However, it is possible that bear and moose clubs have been totemistic rite objects or gifts exchanged between trading partners and insignia of alliances, maybe similar to the ritual gifts circulated in the well-known Kula circle.<sup>(39)</sup> If they are reciprocal contractual gifts, regional differences would not be found, but it must also be remembered that hunting communities did not inhabit specified areas in the same way as cultivating peoples. The totem has served to distinguish kinship groups that have moved within the same regions.

In Finnish bear lore, it is noteworthy that the Karelians have known neither bear rites nor rite poetry associated with bear hunting. Nor is there any knowledge of Dvina and Olonets having had bear skull trees, which after all have preserved the last memories of bear rites as far as western Finland (map). The Birth of the Bear has only been used in Karelia as an incantation on letting out the cattle. The knowledge of hunting collected from Dvina has been obtained from singer and hunter kinship groups that have moved from Finland. On the other hand, the rune *Hiiden hirven hiihdäntä* [Skiing after Hiisi's Elk], classed as belonging to moose myths, has only spread across the Karelian rune area, starting from Ingria and ending in Dvina (map 88). In Finland, scarcely any folklore on deer or moose hunting has been recorded. The bear and the moose appear to divide Finland and Karelia into two cultural regions.

In Dvina Karelia, even at the beginning of the 1900s, it was generally believed that the bear was ‘human kin’, and its meat was not eaten. When using expressions of Christianity, the bear was said to be a human being cursed because of his sins, and consuming its flesh resulted in *räähkä*, sin; a similar legend is found with the Komi (Zyryans). Thus, eating bear meat polluted a human being. According to folk explanation, bear meat was not eaten because when skinned, the bear resembled a man, missing only the thumbs; bear meat was also considered to be of poor quality, black and unpalatable. However, it is likely that the prohibitions of consumption date back to pre-Christianity. During last century, travel writers who visited Dvina appear to have been surprised by the reluctance of local hunters to kill bears, even though they often savaged cattle. Dvinian people would rather rely on sorcerers.<sup>(40)</sup> Thus, Dvina and Olonets Karelians appear not to have hunted bear. At some point in ancient times, slaying a bear and eating its meat may have been prohibited at least among some kinship groups living in Karelia. It was a breach of taboo.

Thus, it would seem that the people of Häme have been moose or elk people, while the totem of the Karelians was the bear. What, then, is a totem? Totemism has been deemed to be a religious phenomenon, reflecting the thinking of primitive man, according to the evolutionist view. Today, the social and

symbolistic nature of totemism is emphasized. The totem is a symbol which apparently helped members of a community to identify with some larger group than that defined by genetic kinship lineage and kinship terminology. The symbolic ancestor is often an animal, but it may also be a plant or an insect, or an event felt to be shared. Characteristics of a totemistic kinship alliance are a shared ancestral myth and shared taboo prohibitions, most commonly in fact prohibitions of consumption. The clan members also believed that the mythical ancestor gave them special attributes, supernatural abilities.(41 The descendants of the bear were unlikely to literally believe in their shared origin any more than in the myths about the birth of the bear. But prohibitions of consumption distinguished bear kinship groups from those who hunted bear and consumed its meat. The totem tradition defined social groups in the same way as land ownership, occupation or some other shared interest in later societies.

**The bear as relation.** Among a number of Nordic peoples, the bear has been called by names that denote kinship.(42 As well as a totemistic ancestor, the bear has also been seen as a relation whom people wanted to include in their own kinship group. A slain bear was addressed at peijaiset using honorary names, it was an ancestor or patriarch whom the slayers wanted as their relation. At Kouko's weddings, the kinship bond between bear and man has been symbolically renewed by entering into a marriage, by bonding the bear as a relative through marriage. The use of kinship terminology is a means typical of kinship communities of categorizing members of the community and expressing social relationships; the hierarchy of gods and their relations with people were also expressed through kinship concepts, such as 'god the father' or 'son of god'. A greater name of honor could not be bestowed on the bear than patriarch or ancestor, and there scarcely existed any other concepts denoting social hierarchy.

Particularly in societies of the swidden era, creation of kinship bonds through the ritual or marriage has been a means of creating legal alliance relationships also in Finland. For example, in Savo it was common for livelihood and manpower problems to be solved by admitting outsiders into the kinship group, as foster children and members of the extended family. The social models that secured the living and worked in the ecosystem were also transposed to symbolic level, to the institutions through which man organized his relations with the world hereafter. When the bear was married into the kinship group or adopted as its member at peijaiset, it signified that the community wanted to take as good care of its soul as of its own deceased. As relatives of the bear, hunters would obtain the bear's knowledge and gain a special position in the surrounding nature; the bear rites served to obtain the benevolence of 'the forest'; living nature was not hostile towards huntmen.

The totemistic clan was unilinear, descendancy was counted either on the father's or mother's side. It has been thought that the kinship system of the Fenno-Ugric peoples has also been unilinear, in common with most of the world's cultures, and possibly matrilineal.(43 Along with kinship descendancy becoming bilinear, totemism would have disappeared for the simple reason that a bilateral kinship group cannot trace its descendancy from a specific common ancestor. However, family names based on animal names could be results of ancient totemism: Karhu or Karhunen [Bear], Peura [Deer], Hirvi or Hirvonen [Moose] and Kettunen [Fox], Jänis [Rabbit], that are typical in Savo and Karelia. They are found in the earliest historical sources on Karelia. Karhunen was also the name of the head of a kinship group which according to a document from the 1400s ruled extensive hunting, fishing and swidden grounds in Dvina, right up to 'Wild Lapland'.(44 The Karhunens were one of Karelia's founding families.

## **The bear in the swidden farmer's environment**

**The ill-born bear.** In the swidden economy, the sorcerer's fundamental tasks were to protect livestock from beasts of prey and swidden crops from bears. In accordance with sorcerer thinking, an extraneous danger had to be annulled, stopped and turned back; the origin of evil and its influence were also reversed. In incantations of the sorcerer era, the birth of the bear was removed from man's environment; it was classified as belonging to some other place. In the birth incantations, the bear would have been born in dark Pohjola [Northland], its dam would be the wife or girl of the North, often labeled a slut for good measure. The Pohjola of the incantations meant the cradle of evil, the place to which diseases were banished. The incantations for the bear include many elements of the hunting era, even a schema of set lines, but the metaphors have acquired an entirely new content. Many incantations of the sorcerer era also mention the bear's supernatural guardian, Mielikki, the mistress of the forest, or the female supernatural guardian of the bear, Hongotar, occasionally also the old man of the forest. The bear is still associated with the pine tree, the skull tree, but also with an ant hill or deep forest in general. The backdrop is the bear's life environment.

The bear's supernatural guardian or female ancestor also appear in incantations in which they are beseeched to keep the bear away from the cattle ("Hongotar, kind mistress, Tapiotar, pretty woman! Come, look after your livestock, your son is in bad ways, your child quite spoiled..."). Birth incantations of the sorcerer era erect a wall between the life environments of man and bear. The boundary is made unviolable. The bear's mother and its place of birth are removed to an extraneous world, as in birth incantations of Nordic hunter peoples, but the idea is opposite to that in the myth of the celestial bear. The bear's world had to be totally separated from man's world, and the bear must not be reincarnated, but it must stay where it had been born.

### **Karhun synty**

Kaskikulttuuri:

"Tiedän sukus, tiedän syntys!"

"Missä on ohto synnytetty?"

"Suojapuolella kiviä, pohjapuolella mäkiä, pohjan tyttären sylissä, pohjan ämmän helman alla."

"Metsän tytti, metsän neiti, metsän kuuluusa kuningas! Kätke kyntesi karvoin, hampaasi ilkiät aseta!"

### **The Birth of the Bear**

Swidden culture:

"I know your origins, I know your kin!"

"Where was Bruin born?"

"On the sheltered side of the stone, on the north side of the slope, in the Northland daughter's lap, neath the old North woman's skirt."

"Forest girl, forest maiden, famous forest king! Hide your claws in your fur, still your nasty teeth!"

In the swidden farmer's society, origins, incantations and poetry were adapted to the environment of cultivating man, and hunting rites also acquired a new meaning. The bear was removed to 'better hunting grounds', away from the vicinity of man, or it was rendered incapable of killing cattle belonging to man. Recorded bear runes from the 1980s juxtapose the hunter's and settler's world views. Although sorcerers apparently used the elements of shamanistic bear myths, the intentions and manifestations of peijaiset were different, even contrary to those in the culture of Nordic hunters.

**Raising the bear.** Of shamanistic origin in Finnish sorcerer belief, too, is possibly the idea that a powerful sorcerer was able to 'rise into a passion', get a fit of fury or to concentrate his spiritual powers and to impact on nature, particularly on animals. A powerful sorcerer was believed to be able to lift a bear on top of another, or to dispatch it to maul his enemies' cattle. A bear that had turned up suddenly or rampaged in a herd of cattle uncommonly ferociously was interpreted as 'raised', sent by someone; a raised bear was under a 'spell', as if its soul was in the power of a malevolent person. By the strength of his spirit, a powerful sorcerer could whip up his powers and stop a raised bear or snake in its tracks and dispatch it back to attack its sender.

The thought structures of sorcery are dominant in the raised bear narratives recorded in the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society.(45) The bear may have been raised to attack the cattle of another house by imitating a mauling beast or by torturing the bear until it became enraged. In the course of the dispatching rites, the sorcerer has gone (naked) in among the cattle of the neighbor whom he has wanted to harm, and growling like a bear, torn at the earth with his nails or with a dead hand, a hand bone collected from the burial ground. The torturing technique consisted of dealing with a bear's or cow's tracks or secretions in such a way that the bear was irritated. The sorcerer has mixed up his victim's cows' and a bear's cut-out tracks, or hair from the cows and bear, dung etc. was placed in an ant hill inside a bear's thighbone or an alder box. This would cause the bear's character to be confused, or it would be finally tortured to become so angry that it attacked the cows, blinded with rage. Raising the bear has also been done using the appropriate 'words', incantations, the most common beginning with the curse: "Rise up, bear from the wilderness, devil from the fire of hell, long-tooth from the fir trees..."

Through repelling rites, the bear was turned back against his sender or into his own cattle. The raiser was revenged in equal measure or better still, in double measure; the savior became a greater sorcerer than the sender of the bear, and beat his adversary. In counter-rites, the sorcerer may have reformed the bear's character, for example, by taking meat from a cow it had killed and putting it in an ant hill, wrapped in birch bark under a camp fire, in a cavity in a tree etc. Then the bear has returned to maul the cattle of its raiser. The piece of meat had to have traces of the bear's teeth; the idea is that when something belonging to the bear, such as its secretions, are handled in a 'place of torture', it is caused to turn against its sender, maddened with rage. Powerful sorcerers with characters tougher than that of the bear-sender might bite at the meat killed by the bear – like beasts – and cast a spell to turn back the raised bear, 'the dog back to its home'.

In shaman narratives, the shaman was capable of controlling animal souls and assuming the form of various animals, such as the snake. In sorcerers' hegemony tradition, a powerful sorcerer deals with animals using a rite technique, but also through his own spirit. He was able to concentrate his powers, to whip himself up into a 'frenzy of anger' and cast a spell to remove the bear in the same way as when exorcizing forces of evil, illnesses, or when stopping a haemorrhage. However, the cognitive models are different, and the conceptual world of the shaman no longer worked in sorcerers' traditional environment.

**The domain of man and bear.** The bear lore recorded in Finnish folklore archives is mostly sorcery related to releasing cattle. Damage done by the bear and other beasts of prey has been repelled by protecting the pasture or the cattle when the cows were first let outdoors in spring. In protecting the pastures, the cognitions of sorcery were in operation. The pasture may have been 'locked' or fenced from bears by circling the forest pasture and by marking it by slivers cut from trees in the same way as when rounding up a bear's den. The person rounding up the cow pasture may have carried a bear skull, reserved at the peijaiset for the purpose. In driving away beasts of prey, the powers of water, fire and iron were used. Seal blubber was smeared on trees, markings burned with substances such as burning tinder, or by affixing iron onto trees, particularly 'corpse nails' or nails taken from a coffin. Finally, repelling rites have included various chemical substances that beasts were thought to avoid, such as 'devil shit' (*Ferula asafoetida*) and bear bile. Supernatural power resided in various substances, in the organs (gallbladder) of large beasts, but especially in iron and iron implements, the adoption of which transformed the living environment of emerging cultivation communities in the Iron Age.

The bear has been kept away from pastures by turning its tracks in the same way as in various hunting rites. The tracks have been cut out of the earth and turned away or towards the north; the tracks may have been burned with tinder, and in an exorcism incantation the bear was told to go to Pohjola or to some other region where there was no cattle, outside man's living environment.

The basic elements affecting nature were also present in the rites of letting out cattle. The most effective means against beasts of prey have been thought to be iron or bladed implements. On letting out the cows from the byre, a bladed implement, such as a scythe, knife or sheep shears were placed below the threshold. A bladed implement is a common object in repelling rites, as it has been capable of repelling all evil forces surrounding man. In the use of water or substances associated with water, such as aquatic creatures, the background is evidently the idea that the power of water is a counterforce to the power of the forest. The most potent substance in protecting cattle, too, has been the power of death, corpse-washing water or earth from burial grounds.

The rites of letting out cattle also show the association between the bear and woman. Cattle has been let out of the byre through the legs of the mistress of the house. The mistress or some other woman has been positioned above the byre door, legs apart, and the cows driven out beneath her. The mistress had to have her skirts hitched up, or be naked, and the rite was most effective if the cows touched her sexual organ as they passed under her. On letting out, cattle has been wiped with a substance that was in some way associated with female sexuality, such as a rag the mistress had used to wipe her genitals, perhaps after coitus, menstrual blood, a *vihta* [bunch of leafy birch twigs used in the sauna] used in bathing a woman while giving birth, or the pasture may have been circled with a vihta used to bathe a newborn female child. The woman's power has repelled the bear. The environment of the swidden culture comprised the cultivated and uncultivated nature, that which belonged to man and its counter-world, causing and repelling, its black and white mechanisms of impact.

## ***The bear in the world of the peasant***

**Environment of the village community.** Agrarian cultures gave rise to the kind of thinking that from the 1600s has ever more strongly dominated Western world view. The peasant created the era of benefit and the so-called puritanical view of life. In Christian village communities, man with the help of God took nature under his control, he had the right to clear fields, drain swamps, enclose in the human living environment the whole nature and all that was beneficial to man. Nature was more and more seen from the perspective of benefit. The supreme goal of human endeavor was conquering nature for human culture, the victorious battle against nature. In such an environment, the bear was not only a dangerous wild animal but also a useless creature that might as well be eradicated from the natural environment controlled by man.

In the Christian era, the culture of sorcerers became marginalized and turned into witchcraft. Based on records from local courts (TUOKKO), it would seem that raising a bear is making an appearance in charges of witchcraft in Savo and Karelia, where trials were not very frequent in general. In Christianity-based magic, also when protecting cows from bears, the most effective substances and rite implements were the power of the church, corpse earth collected from a Christian cemetery, and on the other hand the hymn book, pages of the Bible, the Catechism, and the communion wafer. In villages of western and southern Finland, the rites of letting out the cattle became more and more contradictory. On the one hand, masters and mistresses of homesteads took refuge in the Church, the Bible, and prayers in the Christian spirit, and protected their cows by drawing tar crosses on their backs or on the byre door jambs. On the other, all 'magic' was seen more and more categorically as witchcraft and misuse of Christian symbols, obtaining of luck with hunting or cattle or for procuring other worldly good with the power of the Antichrist.

During the Catholic era, pagan supernatural guardian spirits were replaced by Christian saints. The bear's new supernatural guardian became Saint Bridget, but other saints also had power over the bear. Both in Finland and in Karelia, the protector of cattle was Pyhä Yrjänä (St George, Georgios the Victor, Karelian Jyri), in the Orthodox area also Valassi or Ulassi (Blasios). Among Slavic peoples, Blasios has been one of the oldest folk guardian saints, with offerings made to safeguard cattle and to ensure its success on his Prasnika day in July. Rites of letting out the cattle were performed as early as St George's Day (23 April), although in Finnish conditions it was often too early to let out the cattle.

In a birth incantation of a medieval peasant community, the bear has become governed by saints. According to a birth incantation still in the archaic meter, the bear was born from wool thrown into the water by Tuonetar, Pirjotar (St Bridget), the Virgin Mary or some other saint. The wool drifts to Pohjola with the wind, and there the bear is born or created from them. The birth incantation follows the structural format of the European Christian repelling incantation. It comprises two parts: the so-called historiola or narrative of the initial event or the origin of evil, and the curse, in which the threat is repelled or cursed to render it powerless. Christian cursing incantations follow the formula of the initial incident, but the historiola is from the Bible, and as the first healer of helper, the original hero was the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ himself.

### Karhun synty

Talonpoikaiskulttuuri:

*Loviitar vaimo vanha, akka vanha vanhamoinen, viskoi villoja vetehen, kuppaili kuontaloita,  
kun ei kehrätä kehdannut.*

*Tuli suuri tuulenpuuska, idästä vihainen ilma, nuopa tylsky maalle työnti, aalto rannalle ajo.*

*Alettiinpa arvella: "Mitä tuosta tehtäneen?"*

*"Ohto tuosta tehtäneen, maan kumma kuvattaneen."*

*"Villa suusi, villa pääsi, villa viisi hammastasi, villaiset sinun vihasi, villainen sinä itsekin."*

### **Birth of the Bear**

Peasant culture:

*Loviitar the old wife, ancient hag of great age, threw her wool in the water, teased the tangles, when she couldn't be bothered to spin.*

*Came a great gust of wind, angry weather from the east, these the surf pushed onto land, a wave onto the shore.*

*People wondered: "What to make from this?"*

*"A bear it'll make, a strange creature of the earth."*

*"Mouth of wool, head of wool, your five teeth of wool, woolen are your rages, wooly you are yourself."*

The original saint of the Christian Birth of the Bear incantation is St Bridget, whose youth history includes a sewing miracle, among others.(46 Bridget never learned to sew, but the Virgin Mary helped her make a preternaturally beautiful piece of needlework. In the incantation, the Bridget of common folk is a woman who cannot spin or sew, and consequently throws the wool in the water. In the curse section, the bear is rendered harmless; its teeth and claws are wool, and the bear is incapable of harming livestock. Saint Bridget became the guardian of bears, to whom hunters turned or who had to be appeased so that she would keep her bears under control.

In the peasant incantation, the bear is born as if by accident, and it does not belong in Christian culture. The bear is born outside Christianity, from the lack of skill of a poor girl or woman, from harmless materials carried by the winds. The incantation creates mental images that nature is distant, powerless, haphazard. In new incantations, the bear is no longer the forest itself, but an increasingly less important creature whom the Creator has subjugated under the power of people.

**The extinct bear.** The peasant community also organized the death of the bear in cooperation. From the end of the 1600s, parishes in western Finland began to employ hunt masters, who under the bailiff organized the hunting of predatory animals. Every house was ordered to obtain a wolf net, a high net knotted from strong twine, or a sealing-off line, and when a wolf or bear had mauled cattle in some corner of the parish or been spotted on the move in general, the hunt master alerted the inhabitants of nearby villages to join a common hunt. The beast was rounded up with nets and killed by the gang of men, using spears and guns. Once the hunt weapons had improved, bears and wolves were hunted with dogs, particularly in autumn at first snow or frost. Bears chased by dogs were rounded up with nets or sealing-off lines and shot. Bear-hunting rites lost their significance, only the peijaiset proceedings might have survived in some form. The bearskin, which was not much use, was donated to the parish church and hung on the vestry wall.(47 During the 1800s, the bear and wolf were hunted in western and southern Finland almost to extinction, and the bear folklore of prosperous western areas comprises mainly only memories of where and when the last bear of the parish was shot.

Western Finland was also the first to have professional hunters, who with their trained dogs drove wolves and bears across wide areas. Professional wolf hunters also came from Russia and Karelia. Many professional hunters shot dozens of bears and wolves, the most famous of them Martti Kitunen, famed as a national hero, who with his trained dogs killed almost 200 bears in Virrat and adjoining parishes at the turn of the 1700s and 1800s.(48 By the end of the last century, the only remaining bear country was in Ladoga Karelia, Dvina and Olonets. Finnish Karelia also produced the great folk legends,

bear-hunters and kantele-players; in the romantic hunting literature of the 1900s, they were gilded as the last heroes and bear-slayers of the Kalevala national epic. The Karelian professional hunter and the bear-baiting dog became symbols of an ancient hunting culture.(49)

## ***The bear in the scientific-technological world***

**The bear in the technosystem of hunting.** Along with technological development, the position of the bear in the human environment has once again changed. In an industrializing society, culture is governed by technosystems of various fields, which have gradually taken control of man and nature, including the existence and future of the bear. The actor of modern culture is the scientific-technological organizer, the meritocrat, whose real operational ideology is the cult of development. The bear lives within the transnational technosystem of natural science and the hunting industry, it has been included in commercial and scientific-technological development rituals; it has been subjugated by the triumph of weapons technology.

The military rifle, an instrument of new technology of its time, changed the environment of hunters and the entire hunting culture. Big game hunting became entertainment purchased with cash, safari hunting, engaged in by the elite class in various parts of the world. Bear-hunting became sport, amusement, a hobby of modern man. Safari hunting was apparently brought to Finland by Russian aristocracy and officers of the Czar's army, buying bear rounds from local inhabitants, particularly in Karelia, in the 1800s. At aristocratic officers' bear hunts, large numbers of soldiers were often commandeered to the den, surrounding the area and ensuring that the bear and its cubs could not escape. Sporting hunters who had bought bear dens also employed local hunters with their dogs to accompany them.(50) At the end of the 1800s, an army detachment was dispatched to North Karelia charged with eradicating the bear from the border region. The First World War spread military rifles to all corners of the world, also among local people or indigenous peoples. Big game hunting was 'popularized' and it was killed everywhere, the animals no longer found refuge even in the remotest corners of the world. After the Second World War many animal species were threatened with extinction.

In the 1800s, bear-hunting from carrion also began. A platform was built in a tree near an animal carcass killed by the bear or a cow carcass specially taken into the forest for the purpose, and the hunters would wait there night after night for the bear to come. Bear-slaying had turned into shooting from ambush. On the other hand, the bear-hunting drama became organization culture, a technical operation performed by a trained gang of hunters, under orders of a leader. In the performance dramas of western culture, organizational and technological security is the most important – certainty of the bear's death.

In the hierarchy of development faith, the bear was still a predatory animal, an enemy of the inhabitants of rural areas or a useless beast of prey that hindered agricultural progress. As a wild animal, the bear still posed a threat that had to be at least monitored by scientific-technological means. In recent decades, nature conservation movements have started to fight for the bear's living space, but hunters still stick to man's right to protect his living area from predatory animals, which would otherwise increase excessively and pose a danger to man. The bear has a right to exist if it benefits local tourist industry; on the other hand it is encompassed within the global technosystem of nature management, which ever more closely protects the preservation of the bear, its life and genetic heritage.(51)

**Literary bear folklore.** In an urbanizing culture, people's experiences of the bear were produced by the sporting hunter and hunting writers.(52) The bear-slayer became the heroic hunter who experienced something different, exciting and dangerous. Before the Second World War, the idol of hunters appears to have been the soldier, a tough man's man who was physically very fit and a good shot. Military and hunting rifles were symbols of masculinity.

Finnish hunting literature of the early 1900s is typical killer mythology. The bear, rising from his den or driven by dogs, is always a ferocious, wild and mauling beast that attacks man, but the hero cuts it down with his weapon. According to the formula of heroic epics, the evil or the bear first manages to surprise its adversary or it gets away, but through superhuman struggle, the hunters catch up with it and shoot it dead. The bear is the personal adversary of the hunter, and like in a duel, one or the other must die. The hero's victory is final. People writing hunting memoirs also had a certain formula in relation to the local population, such as the Karelians. Villagers were seen either as hunter heroes of bygone days, codgers of the old school, or useless scoundrels who lived a life of laziness, poverty and ignorance. The hunting was done by development meritocrats who measured their environment from the perspective of their own religion. They also took possession of the folk culture, development of rural areas, and protection of the Finnish fatherland from beasts of the forest.

Scientific-technological killing produced a mysticism of weaponry. The more effective firearms were developed, the more dangerous was the bear deemed to be, and the more colourful the hunters' stories of heroism. The myths of hunting literature create the heroic image of the individual, the writer. The bear is an instrument of human heroic deed, a victim of heroic romanticism. In Finland, bear-slaying – using automatic weaponry – became the supreme achievement of the hunting hierarchy, a special manly feat, a masculine rite of potency, or an adventure not within the reach of everyone in a mass society. Many hunting writers are today thought of as great nature lovers, great describers of nature, who exulted in the beauty of nature and its intrinsic value, created a mystical atmosphere for the hunter's campfire. The literary sensation in a way hides the reality; many classic writers were in reality greedy hunters who never failed to shoot, and to whom the day's bag, the number of capercaillies, otters or wolverines was the epitome of their nature experiences. They began to measure their bear-hunting achievements, the largest bearskins were hung on the wall, the bear skull became a trophy, hunting memorabilia, the number of which afforded special glory. In bear-slaying contests, officials, especially teachers from eastern Finland did particularly well, as they had time in the summer to set carrion ambushes and to watch on their shooting platforms; many had a catch of dozens of bear skulls. The hunter's idol is other than in the society of shamans; the greatest hero is the man who has killed the most bears.

**The bear in the media environment.** In the postlocal world, man will perhaps move entirely into international metropoles and start to live more and more in the media environment. Living nature may be separated from the world of urban man and turned into media experiences. It is possible to produce the animal images and nature experiences of metropolitan people entirely through consciousness technology, multimedia, nature films and cyber-equipment. Mind engineers and consciousness technicians living within their own technosystems produce new global bear experiences, and bear researchers new institutionalized explanations. Bioscience and media culture are again changing reality, man's experiential world and ideas of the bear.(53)

The bear is involved as modern man adjusts to a global market economy and the unavoidability of universal development. Natural or wild animals are placed in carefully monitored reserves, in a global technosystem that supervises them. They are animals that man has saved from extinction, from victimization

by his own species, man's great invasion of nature. Bears serve biotechnological research, the tourist industry, the international culture of protection of predatory animals. In nature pictures, they are something primordial, older than the human species, they are exotic, 'other' beings, strange animal cultures which no longer exist in man's living environment. Wild animals are displaced by pets, ideas of a physical and psychological animal are determined by them, and they are developed more and more to adapt to human living, to become like humans. New animal stories and heroic narratives describe man's own pets, a genre of animal fairytales is created around them, used by urban man to erase everyday reality and to transport his life, soul, to some other, happy world. Animals are the objects of a new anthropomorphism.

Ever more technically perfect nature media provide much more intensive animal experiences than a personal visit to techno-nature or nature reserves. In a world full of conflict, animal images create mutually complementary or mutually contradictory technosystems, each with their own goals, their own truths, and they all correspond to global expectations in their own areas. In the virtual reality created by consciousness industry, the fauna can be transformed to become scientific-technological myths and illusions, Donald Ducks, ever-happy animal clowns, amazing creatures of computer games, monsters that are beaten by the human hero. It is possible to transfer into virtual animals all the positive cultural communication used by the consciousness industry at any given time to control consumers. For metropolitan man, the lives of animals may ultimately be something similar to those in cartoons and animated films. Again, they become fairytale creatures that think, act and live a life as happy for the species as people, enjoying all services produced by new technology. Extinct animals may be recreated, like dinosaurs in films, and media animals are free, wild and happy like in beer advertisements, they are saved into a new good life, like in scientific documentaries.

In the burgeoning flood of multimedia mental images, the bear also provides a boundless resource. Everybody can resurrect all the nostalgia and natural romanticism he knows has gone, or by turning a switch shut off the unnaturalness, the evil that in reality surrounds the lives of animals. Everybody can be the master of his own animal images, choose his pet animals and the nature myths he wants to experience; believe in his own animal stories or the explanations that are fashionable, useful, necessary in terms of believability of culture, at the time.

## ***The bear in human environment***

Along with structural changes in man's cultural systems, his view of the bear has also changed. (1) In the hunting era, the bear was an animal that was hunted or slain ritually, and the fundamental idea of the drama was recreation of the natural environment: continuing of the bear's life and the resurrection of nature every spring into a new life. In the ecosystem of Nordic hunters, one of the basic cultural structures was restoration: reincarnation of man and game animals, the reawakening of nature every spring. The hunting rite with its narratives supported the norms of the hunting community, or man's kinship with the bear, the unity of their destiny in nature. Through the ritualization of hunting, the bear resource was taken under religious control and used to prevent hunting anarchy or the destruction of the bear to extinction.

## The bear in the human culture

Culture	Meaning of bear rite	Object of symbolic technique	Bear image	Focus of ritualization	Actors
<b>Nordic hunting culture</b>	<i>reincarnation of bear</i>	soul	<i>celestial origin</i>	<i>slaying</i>	<i>hunters, shaman</i>
<b>Bear clan</b>	<i>membership creation</i>	<i>kinship</i>	<i>forefather of people</i>	<i>kinship unity</i>	<i>clan</i>
<b>Swidden culture</b>	<i>repelling of bear</i>	<i>powers</i>	<i>evil origin</i>	<i>rejection</i>	<i>sorcerer</i>
<b>Peasant culture</b>	<i>destruction of bear</i>	<i>fear</i>	<i>destructive animal</i>	<i>human activity</i>	<i>hunt master, community</i>
<b>Industrial culture</b>	<i>experience of slaying bear</i>	<i>firearm</i>	<i>beast of prey</i>	<i>slaying technique</i>	<i>weapon-man</i>
<b>Postlocal culture</b>	<i>experience of animal</i>	<i>human consciousness</i>	<i>member of nature</i>	<i>consciousness technique</i>	<i>consciousness technician, expert</i>

In cultivating cultures, the position of the bear became quite different. It became a predatory beast, man's ecological competitor, to be gradually eliminated from nature controlled by man. (2) In the environment of swidden farmers, the bear became a part of sorcerer culture. In charge of repelling the bear was the sorcerer, a new religious role player, one of whose crucial tasks was to separate man's living environment from wild nature. Swidden farmers did not yet strive to destroy the bear to extinction, but to create a magic boundary between the human environment and the nature of predatory animals. The sorcerer's instruments were rites and incantations used to possess the bear's power and 'mind'. (3) Agrarian peasant society already systematically destroyed beasts of prey from its environment. The Christian village community was an organization culture maintaining severe morality and cultural order. In the dualistic environment of the time, the bear was placed on the same side as the devil, who everywhere preyed on and threatened Christian man. In the hierarchy of agrarian cultures, 'wild nature' was in its entirety removed to the opposite side of man: in the era of benefit, man had the right and duty of refining nature, getting rid of uselessness; nature, too, had to correspond to the requirements of a good Christian human environment.

The world views of agrarian cultures are continued by (4) the tradition of technicized society. Nature was subjugated for technology, and the bear itself was one of the first victims of technological develop-

ment. In western so-called high culture, narration was replaced by hunting literature or scientific-technological explanations, statistics of damage caused by the bear. Bear mythology served to reinforce the structures of technological development society, the worship of development. (5) In postlocal world culture, the bear is transferred into the global technosystem of nature management, it becomes an animal to protect and supply information, living in the media environment like man. The bear exists in nature films or lives as a bear mutant in the world narratives of consciousness industry. Bear knowledge is controlled by representatives of the scientific-technological development cult; culturally significant peijaiset must be a media event. In the new environment, bear stories comply with the expectations of 'information consumers'. But there are no structural or functional connections between the cultures that created the celestial bear and the TV bear, and people's experiences of the environment are totally different. In every structural change, the structures break off, cultural continuity does not exist.

In cultural structural change, the bear has also been placed in a new environment. Finnish bear folklore reflects the religious and world view system of each era, starting from shamanism and ending with the development belief of Western society. In Arctic hunting societies, the shaman was the enactor of the social drama. He had to have a message to the listeners, people of his own time. The shaman controlled souls, the reincarnation of the bear, and freed his community from fear of the unknown. He made the myth, the bear's fate, reality, but led the bear's soul back to its original home, maintained the cycle of life. People still wanted to classify the bear with humans, to include it in the kinship system. In agrarian and animal husbandry societies, the message of bear peijaiset is fear. The new provider of ecological explanations, the sorcerer, removed the fear of cattle-owners; he was capable of repelling the bear, of chasing it away from the farmer's living environment.

After the advent of effective firearms, the death of even the largest game animals became a mechanical performance. The keys of life and death were transferred to technology. Belief in technology displaced belief in man being a part of nature and accountable for killing the bear to the gods of nature or to the primaeval dam of all bears. The hunting industry has not needed explanations of the hereafter; in the culture it maintains, the bear is crucified on the hunting lodge wall. And people no longer needed to respect the bear's supernatural guardian or the celestial bear's special privileges, or to take care of the continuity of its life, of the eternal cycle of all existence. Technology released the killers from responsibility. Man has proffered justifications for slaying the bear and exploiting nature. The myths of natural cultures do not talk about economic gain or development. Man of the scientific-technological development culture defines the bear's ecology, its natural value, assumes the right to monitor the bear's life in the carefully structured environment that can still be given over to the bear's species and its genetic heritage.

*Collections of Finnish primary sources. SKVR = Suomen kansan vanhat runot (The Ancient Runes of the Finnish People) I - XIII. Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS). TUOKKO-collection of the Finnish National Archive. Archives of the Finnish Folklore Atlas (SKS). Publications: Suomen kansan muinaisia taikoja I. Metsästystaikoja (ed. Matti Varonen) IV. Karjataikoja I - III (ed. A. V. Rantasalo).*

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Haavio 1967, 15, 21-, 461-.(J. W. Juvelius. Kaarle Krohn.) **47.** Melander 1920. Oja 1938. **48.** Rissanen 1988. Korhos-Heikki 2002. **49.** Wartainen 1907; 1923; 1928. Kantola 1996. **50.** Levander 1918. Voutilainen 1996. Klemettinen 2002. **51.** E.g. Lyytikäinen 2004. Järvinen 2000. **52.** Paasilinna 2001; Tiainen 2002. **53.** Sarmela 1991a; 2002.

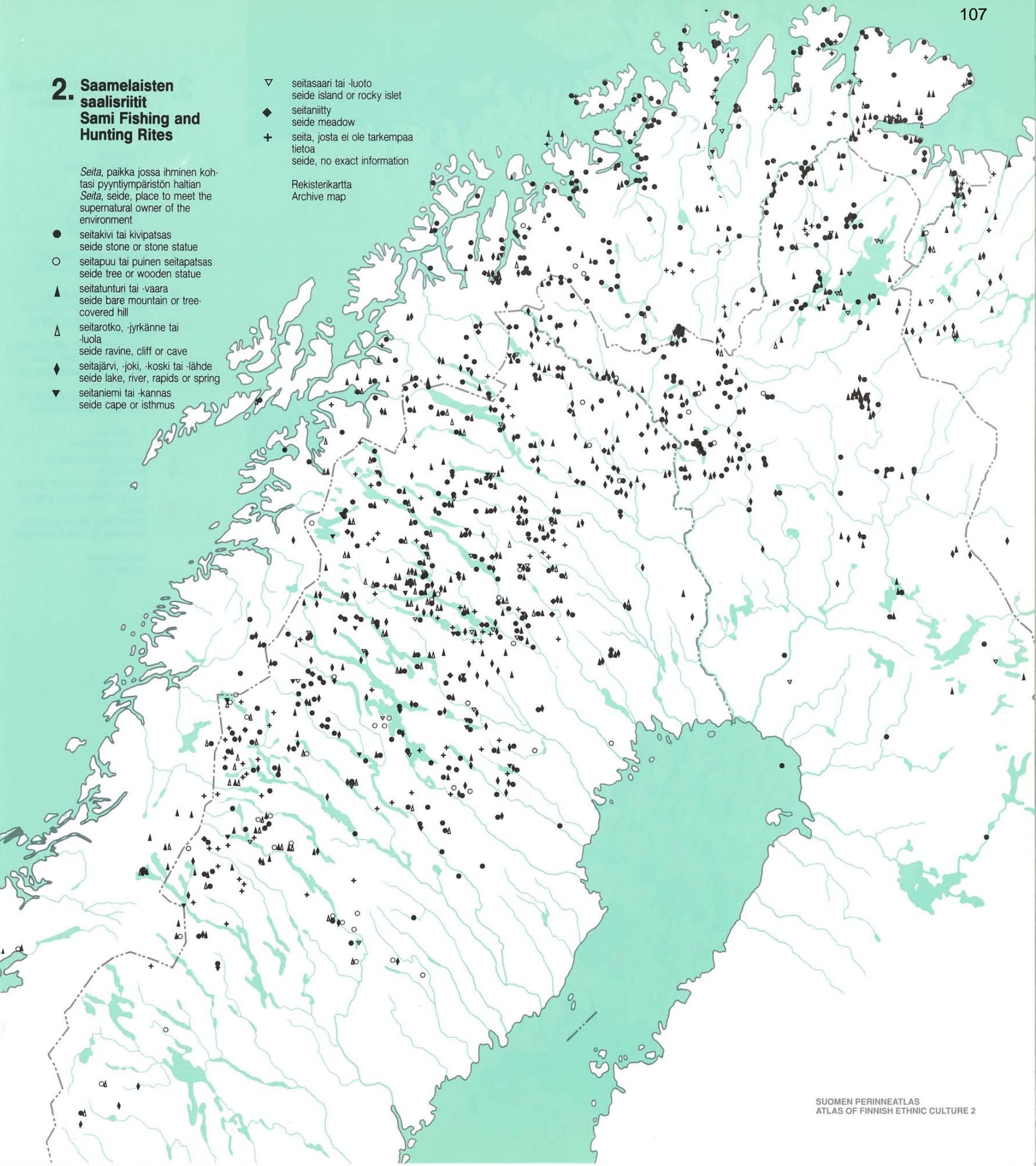
## 2. Saamelaisten saalisriitit Sami Fishing and Hunting Rites

*Seita*, paikka jossa ihmisen koh-  
tasi pyyntiympäristön haltian  
*Seita*, seide, place to meet the  
supernatural owner of the  
environment

- seitakivi tai kivipatsas  
seide stone or stone statue
- seitapuu tai puinen seitapatsas  
seide tree or wooden statue
- ▲ seitatunturi tai -vaara  
seide bare mountain or tree-  
covered hill
- △ seitarotko, -jyrkänne tai  
-luola  
seide ravine, cliff or cave
- ◆ seitajärvi, -joki, -koski tai -lähde  
seide lake, river, rapids or spring
- ▼ seitaniemi tai -kannas  
seide cape or isthmus

- ▽ seitasaari tai -luoto  
seide island or rocky islet
- ◆ seitaniitty  
seide meadow
- + seita, josta ei ole tarkempaa  
tietoa  
seide, no exact information

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 2. SAMI FISHING AND HUNTING RITES

### **Seide site**

**Natural ritual site.** As examples of livelihood rites of northern hunting communities, map 2 shows the known locations of Sami seides (*siei'di, seitse*). On these sites, Sami people made ritual offerings to the supernatural guardian of the place to ensure success in fishing, deer hunting or reindeer husbandry. Seides have been situated near good fishing waters, deer hunting grounds and reindeer feeding pastures. They marked the spot where the supernatural guardian of the location of the quarry animal resided; at the seide site, man has experienced the presence of the supernatural owner of his environment.

Originally, the seide has been an unusual, eye-catching natural rock, protruding piece of bedrock or a rocky shelf, or even an entire rocky outcrop or fell, or a natural site, such as a rapids, lake, headland, island or meadow. A seide site might have been marked by a stone column erected by placing two or three round rocks on top of each other to resemble a human figure. Sometimes the seide has been a pole carved from wood or a column akin to the *keripää* (map 6); wooden poles are rare and evidently recent.

In common with Finnish sacrificial trees and stones, seides have been sacred, i.e. 'taboos', they have been designated for sacral purposes, and strangers were not permitted to touch them. A seide could only be approached when performing rites. Noisy behavior or displays of disbelief by mocking the supernatural residents of the site were not permitted at seide sites, as was the case at sacrificial trees (map 3). A peculiarity of the seide cult has been that women were not allowed at the seide site, nor were they permitted to take part in rites. Seides have been men's sacrificial sites and reinforced the role division characteristic of hunter communities.

**Map diagram.** The map shows the locations of known seides in the whole of Fennoscandia, and at the same time the area inhabited by the Sami in the Nordic countries around three hundred years ago. In Norway, approx. 230 seide sites have been recorded, about 150 in Sweden, and more than 140 in Finland. The only differences in the map of seide sites are evidently those of natural environment; high up on the fells, seide stones, rocks and high peaks rise from the landscape, while in a forested area the seide site may be a natural meadow on a riverside, a lush grove or a pond.

## ***Seides of subsistence livelihoods***

**Fishing seides.** Fishing seides, ritual sites of Sami people whose main livelihood was fishing, were situated on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, and inland on the shores of rivers and lakes, on headlands and islands, in the vicinity of the fishing waters belonging to the kinship groups or families. Fishing seides have mostly been rocks or cairns piled up from stones. A promise of an offering was made to the seide at the start of the fishing season, and during the performance of the offering the seide stone was anointed with fish oil and innards. Sometimes whole fish were brought for the fishing seide, like antlers were brought for the reindeer seide, but anointing of the seide rock or cairn has been most typical of fishermen's rites.

**Hunting seides.** Sami hunting seides have mainly been deer seides and situated at hunting grounds along the customary routes of forest deer. Deer seides have been places for making hunt offerings, but also for quarry animal return rites. The offering has consisted of anointing the seide with deer fat or blood, and deer bones, head or antlers may have been brought to the seide site or placed on a platform built in a tree. The same customs have also migrated to reindeer herders' rites. Hunting seides have been sites of offering not only to the supranormal owner of the hunting ground or the supernatural guardian of quarry animals, their female progenitor, but the seide has evidently also symbolized a place where the soul of the hunted animals was released back to the other world; it may have been a burial site where the bones of large game animals were returned, in order to be able to reincarnate and return to the natural cycle of life (cf. bear rite, map 1).

**Reindeer-herding seides.** The seides of reindeer-herding Sami people have usually been situated on fells alongside the annual migration route, on good pasturelands or in the vicinity of calving grounds. Rites have been performed particularly in the autumn at reindeer rutting time and in the spring at does' calving time, as well as at reindeer-herding turning points: in the autumn when the reindeer herd is rounded up or in the spring when the reindeer are set free by the herders. The seide was given mainly reindeer antlers, which were placed in the ground in front of the seide in the form of an enclosure, an antler corral [sarvitarha]. The reindeer antlers separated (fenced off) the antler corrals from the environment, and they have been symbols of reindeer herding and marking places. Large antler corrals are said to have contained hundreds, even thousands of reindeer antlers.

Among Swedish Sami people, reindeer rites have acquired the same features as animal offerings of agricultural and cattle-farming communities (cf. map 4). The sacrificial reindeer was consecrated and marked in advance, and it had to fulfill certain standards; the reindeer calf had to be faultless and white, as was the case in Finland and Karelia with the Michaelmas or All Saints' Day [kekri] sacrificial animal (cf. map 4). During the rites, the animal was slaughtered and eaten at a shared sacrificial meal, and the reindeer innards and pelt were given to the seide. There are also some indications that the sacrificial reindeer may have been left tied up to die at the seide site or buried alive so that only its antlers were above ground.

## **Seide cult**

**Kinship seides.** Characteristic features of the seide cult of hunting grounds have been that (1) the seide was located in the hunting territory of the ‘user of the land’, a kinship group or family, and may have been passed on down the line. The seide rite was based on (2) reciprocity: the seide was promised an offering or a share of the catch, if fishing, hunting or reindeer husbandry in the area governed by the seide was successful. If the catch was poor or the seide was not deemed to possess sufficient ‘power’, it might have been abandoned, desecrated or destroyed altogether. Bad seides have been burned in fires. The seide’s (3) status among other seides has been dependent on the status of those who made offerings to it, the performers of the rite. The seide stone was deemed to have power only if people had faith in it and it was ‘consecrated’ for its purpose of receiving offerings. The seide was the object of the more religious reverence, the better the success and prosperity of the person who offered to it, of his family or kinship group. Some seides became widely renowned and outsiders also came to make offerings to it. This way were created kinship or village seides that may have been the sites of communal offering festivities.

Seide offerings were (4) a rite among men only and excluded from women; the offering ritual was usually performed by the head of the family. The original form of a hunting or fishing offering may have been (5) anointing of the seide stone with the innards, blood or fat of the catch, although other kinds of offerings have also been made to seides.

Seides have been erected for the supernatural guardian of a certain natural site, called among the Sami e.g. *suurjunkkari* (Swedish *storjunkare*), the master of the place and owner of its wildlife. Seides dedicated to supernatural guardians reflect the relationship of hunting community man to his environment, to the other-worldly inhabitants of natural sites, and to the supernatural guardians of quarry animals. Hunters had to return a part of their catch, perhaps originally the innards, the beating heart in which the soul of the fish or animal resided, so that it could be reincarnated back into nature. A belief has also been prevalent among Finns, as well as the Sami, that the supernatural guardian of a place or female progenitor of animals will give a catch to a successful hunter who is also able to give the guardian its rightful share.

Seide stones or cairns, easily visible in the treeless landscape of the fells, were also landmarks of hunting grounds. They reinforced usage rights in the same way as the graves of ancestors in early cultivating communities (map 3). In the period of large-scale reindeer husbandry, the seides in the fell region signposted the annual migration routes of kinship groups, as well as marking the boundaries of pasture-lands. The supernatural guardian gave man the right to the surrounding nature.

**Extensions of the seide tradition.** Many kinds of local traditions were created around seides. Because women had to avoid seides, so-called ‘women’s ways’ [*naistenmatka*] or roundabout routes were created on some waterways or footpaths, and women had to take these in order to bypass the seide site (cf. map 70). Some seides became travel seides that were offered tobacco, money and jewelry to ensure good weather for a journey, or a stone would be cast into the seide site in passing; such bypassing seides have been widespread in the Eurasian culture circle. In the course of the last centuries, hunting and fishing seides increasingly became general ritual sites, with offerings of cash, spirits or other gifts made for a variety of purposes, such as to secure happiness in matrimony. Seides have also been used in

healing rites, in fact, some seide springs have originally been so-called healing springs or dual-bottomed *saivo* lakes, beneath which the deceased resided.

Decorations, offering platforms with their statuary and enclosures around the seide are similar to cult sites devoted to the deity of heaven or thunder (Thor). It is possible that natural sites designated as seides have been adorned with wooden images of supernatural guardians, like in the sacred sites of northern Fenno-Ugrian hunter peoples, but knowledge of them no longer exists.(1 In the fell region, the standard type of a handmade stone seide has been a statue erected with rocks piled on top of each other. There might have been several, as if a whole family of supernatural guardian spirits were in residence, or a principal spirit was surrounded by various assistants.

## ***Interpretations***

**Original European culture.** Evidently, there are three forms of ritual activity (representation) in seide offerings. They were 1. reciprocal hunting rites, 2. rites of returning the catch (soul of the animals) and 3. (seasonal) livelihood rites. The most original are the seides of fishing waters and deer-hunting grounds, at which fishermen and hunters were in contact with the other-worldly owners of the hunting or fishing site or the entire surrounding nature. In hunting communities, the supernatural guardian had a reciprocal relationship with man: a successful fisherman or hunter had to be able to win over the guardian spirit of the hunting site or the animal's female progenitor, and equally, if the seide did not yield a catch, it was abandoned. The offering to the seide was the gift (*offerre*) to other-worldly forces described by Marcel Mauss, and required a gift in return, man's share ('good fortune'). In the hunting period, man and supernatural guardian were equal, as if living side by side, each in his own sphere of the natural environment.

Particularly the offerings to deer and reindeer seides were returning rites in nature; hard body parts of the quarry animal were returned to nature, antlers, bones, or the heart and innards (blood), where the animal's soul was generally believed to reside. Through these rites, the hunters ensured the return or reincarnation of the quarry animal's soul, and sustained the continuance of the natural cycle and a secure future (cf. map 1).

In the large-scale reindeer herding period, seides became altars used by reindeer-herding Sami people in an effort to ward off the dangers threatening their livelihood and to influence the preservation of their resources. The reindeer offering stood for ritual killing (*sacrificium*).<sup>(2)</sup> Reindeer herders' ideas of human success differed from those of hunter-fishermen: increasingly important elements of their intentions became the growth of their reindeer herd, good reindeer fortune, and the power relations of the reindeer herding community, or competition over property.

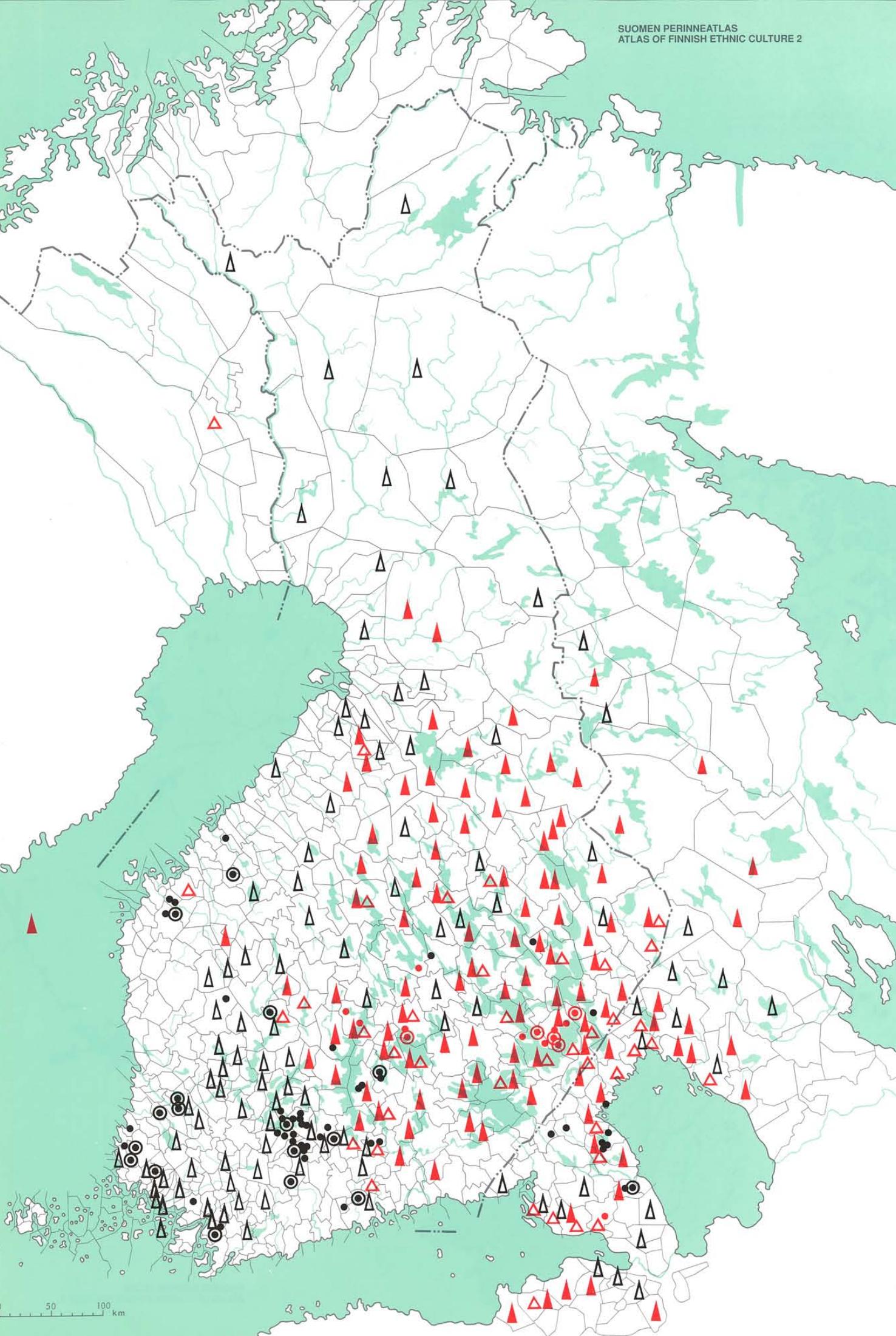
A reindeer buried alive, if such offerings have indeed been made, is an exception; in the Sami environment it would have been an attempt at extreme control of life and death, even a conscious breach of the natural order. The idea of the rite has perhaps been to transport the reindeer 'alive' for the use of the deceased or other-worldly residents or earth folk [*maahinen*, map 71], or to create from the animal a new supernatural guardian for the site particularly to take care of reindeer. Alternatively, sacrificial offerings have been anti-Christian witchcraft, offering to evil forces, the devil.

The seide is a sacrificial site of hunter-fisher-gatherers. Archaeological finds have been deemed to show that early hunters and also European peoples, e.g. ancient Germanic peoples and Celts, would

have performed human sacrifices.(3 Such interpretations are suppositions of researchers of the evolutionary school or so-called primitivists, based on ideas of the cruelty of 'primitive man'. In reality, human sacrifices belong to 'high cultures', cultivation societies with a prevailing centralized religious dynasty; human sacrifices have been used to show that the god-king also governed life and death, and to seal the absolute authority structures concentrated around sacral power.(4 They have been totally alien to northern hunting cultures. The Sami seide cult, if any, has sustained the religious interpretations and concepts of the environment of early fishermen-hunters: it is true original culture of Europe and the human race.

Bäckman 1975. Daunius 1926. Fellman 1906 (1820-1831). Friis 1871. Grönlund 1848. Hallström 1910; 1921-1922; 1932. Hammarstedt 1915. Harva 1915a; 1927; 1928b. Hultkranz 1955 1962. Höglström 1980 (1747). Itkonen T. I. 1948 II, 316-. Jessen 1767. Johansson C 1941; 1942. Johansson L 1946. Karsten 1952. Kildal 1807. Kivikoski 1934. Krohn J. 1894, 62-. Manker 1957; 1963. Mattila M. 1974. Mebius 1968; 1971. Paulaharju K. 1962. Paulaharju S. 1932. Pirak 1933. Qvigstad 1926. Ravila 1934. Reuterskiöld 1910; 1912. Schefferus 1963 (1673). Setälä 1901. Tallgren B. 1908. Thurenius 1910 (1724). Tuderus 1773. Turi 1979 (1910). Vilkuna, A. 1956. Vorren 1987. Westen 1773 (1956). Wiklund 1916; 1947.

1. Karjalainen 1918, 158-. Cf. Lehtisalo 1924a, 57-. 2. Mauss 1967 (1925) . Baal 1976. 3. Cf. Lincoln 1986, 182-. 4. E.g. Valeri 1985.



### 3. Uhrikivet ja uhripuut Sacrificial Stones and Trees

1. Uhrikivet  
Sacrificial stones



- kuppikivilöydös (1970-luv.)  
site of a known cup-stone  
(1970's)
- löydetty kuppikiviryhmä  
site of a group of cup-stones
- kuppikivi tai -ryhmä, jolle on  
kehrattu  
cup-stones where sacrifices are  
known to have been made
- △ tietoja luonnonkivistä, joille on  
kehrattu  
natural stones associated with  
information about sacrifices

2. Uhripuut  
Sacrificial trees

- △ tietoja pyhistä puista tai  
metsiköistä  
known sacred trees or groves
- ▲ tietoja pyhistä puista, joille on  
kehrattu  
sacred trees where sacrifices  
are known to have been made

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

### 3. SACRIFICIAL STONES AND TREES

#### **Everyday rites**

**Tradition of the ancient cultivators.** In the preserved lore, sacrificial stones and trees have been sacred sites of kinship groups, farmhouses, or even individual people, where contact was sought with ancestors, the supernatural guardian of the land or life-sustaining forces. Single sacrificial trees evidently continued the tradition of pre-Christian sacrificial woodlands, woods of the dead [*hiisi*], and were a remnant of the earliest ritual sites of cultivating man in the Gulf of Finland culture circle.

Sacrificial trees have existed all over Finland, with the exception of Orthodox Karelia, where village burial grounds were preserved as dwelling-places of the kinship groups' ancestors (map 7). There are historical sources and oral traditions from western and southern Finland on sacred trees and sites where they have stood, but making offerings to trees and stones has long since been discontinued. In contrast, there are many stories of farmers and their wives in the Savo region who continued to perform their rites at the house sacrificial trees and stones.

**Cup stones.** Around 200 cup stones with depressions or cups hewn into them, evidently for ritual purposes, have been found in Finland. The finds include both single stones and clusters of cup stones.<sup>(1)</sup> The number of depressions may be just one, more commonly around ten. Large rocks and open areas of bedrock are also known, with scores of small indentations hewn into them. In archaeological terms, cup stones are dated in the Bronze and Iron Ages, or times when cultivation economy began in the Baltic Sea culture circle.

In Scandinavia, cup stones have been situated near Bronze Age cremation grounds and farmlands. In Finland the distribution of cup stones covers the areas of the oldest permanent habitation in the whole of southern Finland from Satakunta to the Iron Age dwelling places of South Savo. The stones have been near houses and probably specifically near early field clearings, perhaps also at burial sites. It would seem that cups have been made as required, maybe one for each family member or for each ancestor. Or each farmer with a swidden or cultivated field nearby may have hewn his own cup.

The cup stones marked on the map are archaeological finds; records on offerings to cup stones exists only from the Savo region. According to oral tradition, they have been used in livelihood and ancestral rites like sacrificial trees and ordinary sacrificial stones, but the preserved lore does not provide firm information on the original purpose of the cup stones.

**Stone altars.** Alongside cup stones, ordinary, natural rocks or loose boulders have been used as sacrificial altars, upon which worshippers have placed various offerings. Sacrificial stones have often been situated outside the buildings compound near field clearings, but primogenic and other offerings, particularly to the supernatural guardian of the land, were also made on 'groundrocks' within the homestead, or rocks buried deep beneath the earth and only partially exposed. Natural stones used in cattle and agricultural rites occur in the same southern regions as cup stones, and they have perhaps replaced earlier cup stones. In contrast, in northern and eastern Finland and in Värmland, sacrificial trees were common ritual sites.

Altar stones used in cattle rites have also been located in forests. Farmers' wives have taken offerings to them, so that wolves would not devour the cows or that they would not get lost in the forest (cf. maps 42-43). In South Karelia, such ritual sites may have been widely known. They have been altars for offerings for the supernatural guardian of the forest, cattle owners' 'seides' (map 2), where farmers' wives have cultivated their reciprocal good relations with the supernatural owners of the forest pastures.

**Rite trees.** Trees used in rites have been called in Finnish dialects e.g. *aljo-* (<Germanic origin), *elätti-, lyylitys-, palvonta-* and *pitämys*-trees. The terms indicate that the tree belonged to an individual kinship group or house and it was 'kept' like a kept snake, a guardian creature (map 5). Other known terms include *hiisipuu* which derives from the pre-Christian meaning of the word *hiisi*, 'ancestors' wood, ancestors' tree'.<sup>(2)</sup> Of the terms, *lyylityspuu* may be of Finno-Ugrian origin; *lyylitää*, 'make an offering at a tree, pray, appease', occurs in old poetry and has been retained in the Karelian language; *lyyli* also means 'fortune' or man's (ancestor's/supernatural guardian's) 'share' (of the catch). Guardian spirit trees may be older than the cultivating form of subsistence, possibly belonging to the early catch rites of hunting communities (cf. map 2).

No particular species of tree has been preferred as a rite tree in the Finnish area. Sacrificial trees have been birch, pine or spruce or also rowan, growing in the homestead or on rocky islets left in the fields near the house.

The term *pyhä puu* [sacred tree] also occurs in old runes. The epithet *pyhä* is a term dating back to at least early original Finns and means a taboo, sacrally distinguished and forbidden. In Finnish tradition, too, rite trees have been sacrally protected, sacred. Harming or felling them resulted in an inevitable punishment of the perpetrator. The tree-feller was sure to die, and even breaking a twig or defiling the tree would cause the guilty party sickness or some other misfortune. If the tree was damaged, the punishment might also be directed at the master and mistress of the house, particularly the old mistress, to whom the tree was deemed to belong.

Rite trees had a fateful connection to their owners, in western and southern Finland to the house, in eastern Finland to the kinship group and its individual members. The well-being of the tree has determined the success of the house or its occupants. If the sacrificial tree has grown healthy and lush, the house too has thrived; the house has sustained good fortune in growing corn and raising cattle, and its owners have enjoyed rude health. Withering or the demise of the tree has meant sickness and death for the house occupants, even the destruction of the whole house or kinship group. Discontinuing performance of the rites was repaid in the life of the household in the same way as harming of the tree. Raucous behavior near the tree, mocking it or some other disrespectful act was a breach of taboo, sacrilege, resulting sooner or later in a punishment, a misfortune, financial loss, such as a fire or sickness of a cow. A house could not thrive without its sacrificial tree.

**Sacrificial groves and ancestors' woods.** In the Gulf of Finland culture circle, there are some records of sacred woods or sacrificial groves (*hiisi*) that have been common cult sites of whole villages. Documented and oral information exists from Häme and Satakunta, but also from Ladoga Karelia, Ingria and Estonia. In Orthodox Karelia, the ancestral grove was and still is situated in the vicinity of every village, as was also the case with cultivating Finno-Ugrian peoples in northern Russia. Village burial grounds and sacrificial groves have been sites of shared rite festivities, where, for example, animals were sacrificed (map 4), but they also served as offering sites of individual families and kinship groups when performing ancestral rites and those for supernatural guardians.

Communal sacrificial groves have often been clearings demarcated by a fence, where a single sacrificial tree grew, as was the case in e.g. Izhorian-inhabited villages in western Ingria. Sacrificial groves and fields have been seen as northern equivalents of sacrificial groves or gods' parks of the Antiquity.<sup>(3)</sup> However, natural cult sites, sacred groves and sacrificial burial sites are universal, only with variations in their nature and importance in different cultures and periods.

In the Gulf of Finland culture circle, the oldest cult sites of cultivating man have evidently been ancestral woods, the ancient term for which was *hiisi*. The word is probably Baltic-Finnic and appears in place names particularly in the oldest agricultural areas of northern Estonia, Varsinais-Suomi and Satakunta. A *hiisi* has meant a sacral site designated for the deceased, but also residents of *hiisi* woods, the ancestors who had been interred in the site. In the era of Christian hegemony, the term has come to denote an evil creature, a giant (map 79) and the devil (cf. map 7). According to material collected by M. Koski, place names beginning with '*hiisi*' in Estonia are usually (rocky) mounds left in the middle of fields, often with cup stones and even Bronze or Iron Age graves. In Finland, Iron Age burial sites with the name '*hiisi*' are found only in Varsinais-Suomi and Häme.<sup>(4)</sup>

The earliest historical documentation on sacred trees and sacrificial groves occurs in sources concerning the conversion of the Finns. In 1229, the then Pope in Rome, Gregory IV, ordered that the church should take possession of the sacrificial groves of the pagan people of Häme. In Karelia in 1534, the Orthodox monk Ilya, under orders of the bishop Makary of Novgorod, destroyed the temples of the false god, razed sacred groves to the ground and sank sacrificial stones under water. By the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic church gradually decimated the family burial grounds and removed the deceased to the shelter of the parish church; it was no longer permitted to bury the dead near houses or village field clearings. In Savo in the early 1700s, priests attempted to commission the destruction of sacrificial trees, and there is documentation to that effect e.g. in court records. However, fear of the trees was so overwhelming that most of the rite trees ordered for destruction most likely remained unfelled.

Ancient Iron Age villages surrounding the Gulf of Finland apparently had their own sacrificial woods, in common with the Eurasian culture circle at large. Their last vestiges are the village burial grounds of Orthodox Karelia and the Ingrian sacrificial groves, and the isolated sacrificial trees of eastern Finland. A Karelian village burial site was a place separated from its surroundings by a fence, where even breaking a twig was forbidden. In Lutheran Finland, sacred trees belonging to individual houses were a remnant of *hiisi* woods. Sacrificial trees in Savo were still trees of the ancestors, although they were also used for offering to supernatural guardians of houses, and they were situated within the homestead or at the edges of fields, in common with Iron Age *hiisi* woods.

**Limitations of the map.** Particularly on sacrificial stones, more oral history exists than is marked on the map. In oral history, very diverse stones have been designated as sacrificial stones; the map omits e.g. so-called travellers' passing stones, to which new arrivals had to bow or to which passers-by would add their own stone, as well as berry stones, in whose crevices berry-pickers would leave an offering of ber-

ries. The map also omits so-called sword-sharpening stones, fishermen's marker and memorial stones (*kivikarsikot*) and unusually shaped 'altar stones' and trees, such as Tapios tables (a small spruce tree with a flat or dense top), which have often been called sacrificial stones or trees. Neither have personal commemorative trees, planted particularly in western Finland to mark a confirmation or a wedding, been included under sacrificial trees.

The map also includes vague oral history on sacrificial trees that have grown in certain spots, or their stumps. Such knowledge exists especially from western Finland. Conversely, of sacrificial stones, only those are included of which references exist of more detailed oral memory on offerings or actual rites, e.g. linked to certain houses or persons (register map).

## Through the generations

**Ritual site of the cultivating man.** The ancestral cult is primarily a religion of settlers and budding cultivating communities. Cultivated land and its produce belonged to the person who cleared the land, and the deceased were deemed to own their farmlands even after death, to take care of their growth and success in the same way as they took care of their kin. Hiisi woods and sacrificial stones, in common with Karelian village burial sites, were places where it was possible to contact the family ancestors. A share of the produce of the land belonged to the deceased and to the supernatural owners, guardian spirits, of the land.

The offerings have consisted of (1) primogenic offering, or the first yield of all products from field and cattle, even a fish catch; the first drops of colostrum milk after a calving, the first drops after a cow comes into milk in spring, first new grain from all cereals, the first of foods prepared at certain times of the year, the first fish from seasonal fishing, e.g. drag netting.

Ancestors were commemorated (2) through cyclic rites or on certain calendar dates, particularly in the autumn at the turn of the year, when the crop was harvested. The turn of the year or *kekri* (All Saints' Day) has been called the time for sharing, as then everyone, both the family ancestors and supernatural guardians of the earth were given their share of the year's yield. Memorial services for the deceased were held in the autumn (map 7) and the head or bones of the Michaelmas ram or a share of Michaelmas cabbage, a rite food, might have been taken to the foot of the tree (map 4).

Offerings have been made to sacrificial stones or trees (3) in cultivation or productive livelihood rites, through which the house has secured good fortune for crops and cattle, or (4) success in some intended work (initiative/initial offering). Ancestors and guardian spirits were given their share evidently each time some important work in terms of livelihood or the future was begun, such as clearing a new swidden, plowing, sowing or building a house. Supernatural guardians of natural sites were perhaps remembered above all when man occupied new farming or residential land for himself.

The ancestral cult also included (5) life stage rites which were performed when a child was born into the kinship group or at the death of a family member. The foot of the sacrificial tree also received the first drops of mother's milk, expectant mothers sought help for labor pains by the trees, and newborn babies were taken there as if to show them off, to receive the approval of the ancestors. In the ancestral wood

and later at the foot of the sacrificial tree, perhaps the correct name was sought for the child, that of an ancestor reincarnated in him.

Various (6) appeasement offerings were given to ancestors in crisis rites, or when misfortune, sickness or adversity befell the household. Within the ancestral cult, man's ill-fortune and illness were deemed to have arisen because the ancestors and supernatural guardians were displeased with the treatment they had received. The angry ancestor or guardian had to be placated, to which end various appeasement offerings were left at sacrificial trees and stones. In the Savo sorcerer tradition, help was also sought for sickness from sacrificial trees.

Thus, offerings have been made to rite trees and stones at the turning points of the calendar year and at the beginning of working seasons. They have been the places where the supernatural owners of the place or the family ancestors have been informed of events in the household: births of children, weddings and funerals. The supranormal guardians of the homestead, as well as the ancestors, had to be told of matters concerning members of the household, such as the arrival of a new daughter-in-law. When rites were neglected, the ancestors and guardian spirits became angry, took the good fortune of the house and caused sickness or accidents. In eastern Finland and Karelia, ancestors have taken care of the house, but also of its inhabitants' morals and the correct order of life, in the same way as house *haltias* in western Finnish folk narrative (maps 66-68). Sacrificial trees were maintained mostly by the old, the old mistress of the house; sometimes the trees were known by the name of those who brought the offerings. Women represented fertility, caring for the dead and life stage rites were women's culture, and they also 'possessed' ancestors' souls and were able to commune with them.

**Ancient cup stones.** In Finland, cup stones have been deemed to be associated with early ancestral rites. It is thought that a dedicated cup was hewn for leaving offerings for each ancestor (J. Hautala). M. Haavio believes that the cups were made for the soul that had taken the form of a bird; the idea of soul birds has been widespread among various peoples.<sup>(6)</sup> On the other hand, in Finland as in Scandinavia, cup stones (Swed. *älvkvarn*) have also been used in healing rites, with water from the cups being collected for e.g. eye and skin diseases. A. Äyräpää suggests that cup stones symbolized 'the stone of pain' or 'mountain of pain', to which diseases have been cursed in Finnish healing incantations. Many other theories have also been postulated, e.g. cup stones have been thought to be a remnant from ancient sun worship.

Possibly the most natural explanation for Bronze and Iron Age cup stones is that they were ritual sites of an ancient cultivating community (hoe cultivators). Gifts for supernatural guardians of the earth and ancestors were brought to them, but at the same time they were stakeposts of the person who had cleared the land. Static ritual stones established exploitation rights to the land and to what was grown in it. In early Iron Age farming communities, the dead were buried near the house and its fields, to continue their own work and to protect the rights of future generations. Cup stones may have been sacrificial altars of family burial sites and *hiisi* woods situated within the homestead, but they have evidently also been hewn near remote field or swidden clearings to mark ownership, which has been confirmed by the supernatural guardians of the land and which they would guard against outsiders.

**Sacrificial trees of the swidden community.** The background of preserved Savonian rite trees is both the *lyyli* and *hiisi* traditions, maybe also other layers, such as the tree of life belief system (cf. maps 49, 94-95). *Lyylijys* trees have been ritual sites of the cattle keeper and swidden cultivator, at which (1) the supernatural guardian of the earth or the specific location was given a share of the cattle grazing over its land, or where human beings built their house on the site and cleared their swidden. Trees in particular

portray the forces of natural growth which cultivating man has needed. An attempt to access the life force may be at least partially behind personal trees that are also found among sacrificial trees.

Sacred trees of houses have also been (2) ancestral trees, final vestiges of the Iron Age or earlier *hiisi* woods, even though they were no longer situated near burial sites in the Christian era. In house compounds, on the sides of home fields, they still protected the house and the labor of past generations. There is no great difference between the souls of ancestors and supernatural guardians (*haltia*). According to Finnish tradition, a supernatural guardian of the land may have originally been a deceased person buried on the site. In western Finland, the *haltia* of the house was the first inhabitant of the place, builder of the house or clearer of the land, who made the first fire on the site (maps 62-63).

Sacred trees were protected by similar taboos as those protecting Karelian village burial sites. The mistress and master of a Savonian house had a connection of destiny with the tree of their own ancestors, their own 'family tree'. Christianity could not totally destroy the belief that the deceased of the house, or at least some of them, would return after death to the places where they lived, perhaps being reborn into their family, and that the living must take care of their dead.

The family's own burial grounds and farmland ritual sites have also been socially significant. Like *hiisi* woods, the ancestral field clearings and symbolically the whole homestead was sacred to outsiders, or separated, closed or forbidden. The ritual sites gave man a right of ownership to farming and the results of his work, and gradually to using the land more extensively. The land belonged to the dead of the kinship group, the ancestors, and they still safeguarded their kin's rights. The ancestral cult reinforced the rights of the early swidden and cultivating farmer in his environment, the ecosystem of the incipient cultivators. By destroying sacred trees and *hiisi* woods, the church changed the ideas of other-worldly authorities, which within the ancestral cult and sorcerer beliefs secured social order, and upset the economic foundations of Iron Age communities.

*Agapitov - Melnikov 1992. Äyräpää 1942. Haavio 1949b; 1950b; 1951; 1961; 1967b. Harva 1948, 299-. Hautala 1960a. Heikel A. O. 1878. Honko 1961; 1963b. Huurre 1971. Kivikoski 1961,253-. Konkka A. 1980. Koski 1967-1970. Krohn J. 1894. Krohn K. 1914, 127-. Melnikov - Maslov 1992. Niemimaa 1938. Nikander 1916. Sarmela 1970b; 1971; 1984a, 213-. Tallgren A. M. 1917; 1918; 1933. Tegengren 1922. Viidalepp 1940. Viires 1975. Waronen 1898. Zelenin 1933..*

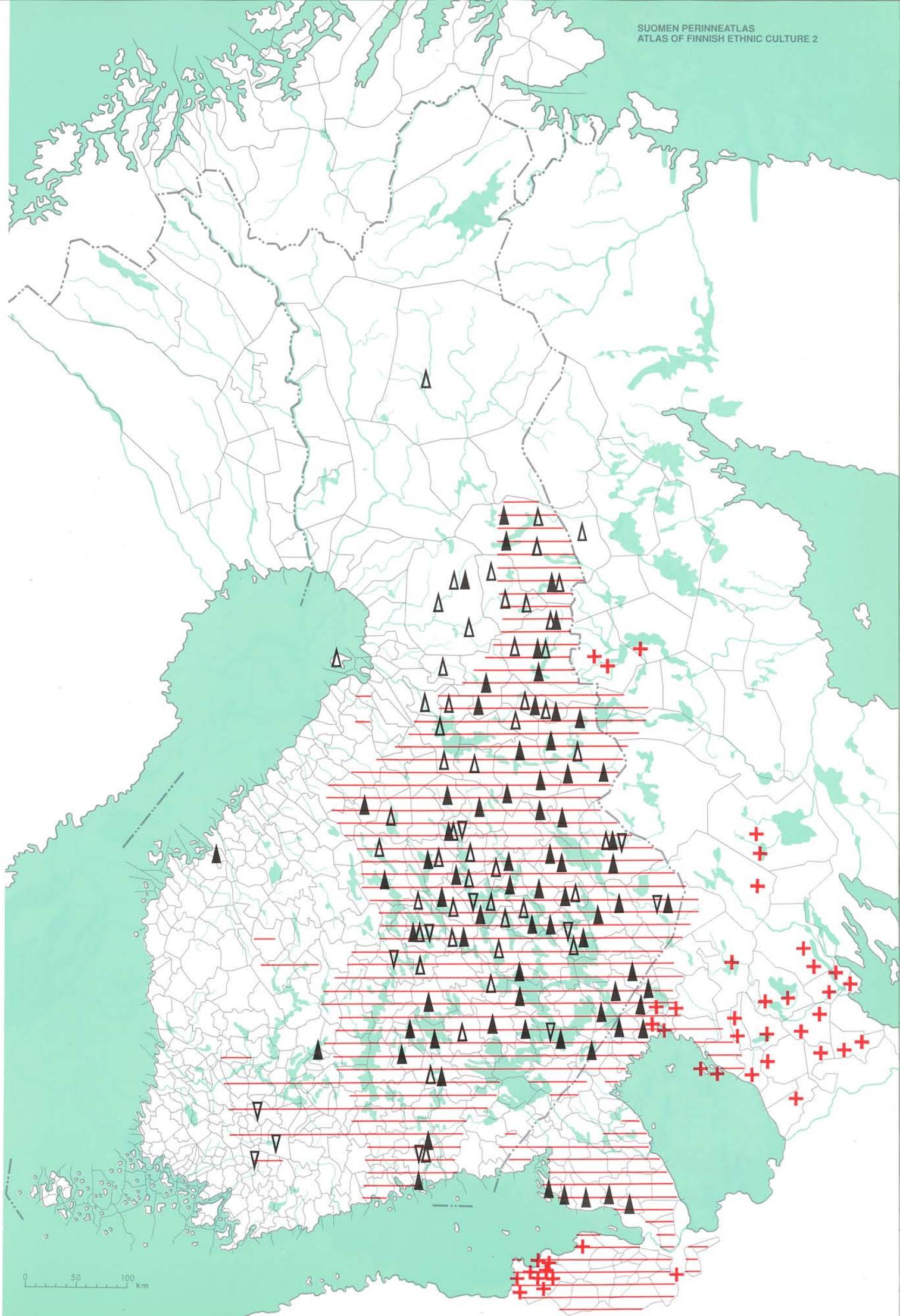
**1.** *Sarmela 1970b. 1971. Huurre 1971. 2.* *Tallgren A. M. 1933. Koski 1967-1970 I. 3.* *Haavio 1959a. 4.* *Koski 1967-1970 II, 240-. 5.* *Hautala 1960a. Haavio 1950b. 6.* *Äyräpää 1942.*

## 4. Eläinuhrit Animal Sacrifices

1. Suvun tai talon riitit  
Extended family or house rites  
mikkelinpäässin tai -lampaan teurastus (29.9. vanha kekri)  
slaughter of St. Michael's Day ram or lamb (the old *kekri*)  
kekrilampaan teurastus (uusi *kekri* 1.11.)  
slaughter of *kekri* lamb (the new *kekri* All Saints' Day)  
olavinlampaan teurastus (29.7.)  
slaughter of St. Olaf's Day lamb  
lammaskieitto tai -paisti traditional mikkelin tai *kekri* (1.11.) ruoka  
lamb soup or roast lamb; traditional on St. Michael's Day or All Saints' Day

2. Kyläyhteisön uhrijuhlat  
Communal village rites  
praasniekkauhrit ja säilyneet uhrijuhlat  
*prasnika* sacrifices and sacrificial feasts; slaughter of oxen and sheep

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 4. ANIMAL SACRIFICES

**Animal sacrifices of cattle farmers.** Map 4 shows the preservation of calendric animal sacrifices in Finland, Karelia and Ingria. There have been two types of annual animal sacrifice: (1) kinship or extended family rites. In Finland, a ram or lamb, previously consecrated for sacrificial purposes, was slaughtered as a kinship sacrifice. In addition, (2) community sacrifices or sacrificial village celebrations are known in Karelia and Ingria, and they have been preserved the longest in the Orthodox regions in association with Prasnikas (cf. map 22).

### ***Kinship rites***

**Michaelmas ram.** The Michaelmas ram or sheep was slaughtered during the night of St Michael's Day (29.9.); when celebration of weekday holidays or Catholic saints' days was prohibited in 1772, the date was moved to the nearest Sunday. Some vague records of the Michaelmas ram also exist from Ingria, but they are not marked on the map. If a Michaelmas sacrifice has been known in Ingria, as in Estonia, it has been incorporated in the *vakkove* ceremonies or Prasnika offerings, and become a community rite.

**Kekri sheep.** The Kekri rite (1.11.) has been preserved in the same area as the Michaelmas offering, but its distribution is a little more northern. The term *kekri* has generally meant All Saints' Day in the 1800s in eastern Finland, but it has originally been the date of the end of the harvest season or the whole economic year, the New Year of cultivation culture. In the pre-Christian natural calendar, Kekri has evidently been determined by the cycle of the moon and the autumn weather conditions. In the Middle Ages, the farming season still ended at Michaelmas, which marked the beginning of the annual servants' holiday week before the new working year (map 23). Under the influence of the Christian calendar and with the extending harvest year, the turn of the year has gradually become later, and come to mean All Saints' Day. At the time depicted by the map, Kekri (1.11.) in eastern Finland has still held the position of

Christmas and retained the kind of calendary tradition of the old new year celebrations (Michaelmas) that in western Finland had already moved over to Christmas and the official New Year (cf. maps 27-28). Thus, both Michaelmas and Kekri offerings are ancient new year rites.

**St Olaf's sheep.** Only information found in historical documents from the 17th and 18th centuries exists on St Olaf's rite (29.7.). The scattered distribution of the St Olaf's day sheep offering is more western than those of the Michaelmas ram and Kekri sheep. In the early centuries of the spread of Christianity, the Norwegian St Olaf was revered as the national saint in western Finland.(1 More churches (17) were dedicated to him than to any other saint, and the Turku Dominican monastery also bore his name. St Olaf was the patron saint of combatant crusaders and soldiers of the faith, with military establishments dedicated to him, such as the central tower of Vyborg castle and Savonlinna castle. In Savo, the spread of St Olaf's sheep may have been aided by the building of St Olaf's Castle (Olavinlinna) in 1475, and the custom of keeping a castle ram.

The St Olaf's sheep is also known among the Finnish population of Värmland and in Estonia.(2 It is likely that slaughtering a St Olaf's sheep has been customary in western and southern Finland at least in the parishes where St Olaf was the patron saint of the church and St Olaf's Day was celebrated as the parish holiday (map 22). Eating St Olaf's sheep may be compared to Karelian and Ingrian Prasnika offerings. In the Karelian Orthodox region, too, the preserved animal sacrifices have been performed in summer, usually on St Ilya's day (the prophet Elijah 20.7.).

The St Olaf's sheep is possibly a part of the oldest layer of Finnish agricultural and cattle farming rites, and it may be founded on a pre-Christian (thermal) midsummer sacrificial feast. St Olaf is also known in Finland as the patron saint of arms, capable of healing wounds caused by bladed weapons. The death of Olaf Haraldson, the conqueror king who had embraced Christianity, was bloody; the legend has it that he was killed in battle with an axe, spear and sword. As a bloody saint, patron of bladed instruments, axes, sickles and scythes, St Olaf may also in western Finland have been assigned a midsummer slaughtered sacrifice, performed before swidden-burning and harvest.

**Lamb dishes.** In the Savonian swidden culture area, lamb soup or roast or mutton and cabbage soup have been traditional Michaelmas and Kekri dishes, although ritual slaughter is no longer practised. The first drops of the soup may have been taken to the foot of the sacrificial tree or to the cowshed.

**Cattle farmers' rite.** According to oral history, the following have characterized Michaelmas, Kekri and St Olaf rites:

(1) The sacrificial animal was earmarked for ritual purposes in the spring, at lambing time. The lamb had to be perfect; an animal consecrated as an offering was fed better than usual and remained unshorn. This was the reason for the term *villavuona* [woolly lamb]. It is also recorded that weak lambs have been promised for sacrifice, when they began to thrive. The Michaelmas ram is an idiomatic expression, as the sources confirm that the animal has usually been a sheep.

(2) The animal was slaughtered on the night before the holiday in the cattle byre, cowshed or sheep pen. It was performed by the master of the house (extended family).

(3) Eating norms. The animal had to be boiled or roasted whole and also all of it consumed during the course of the holiday, or the sheep had to be cooked and eaten during the night, before daybreak. According to one old source, the Michaelmas ram was killed and also eaten among the people of the house at night in the cowhouse (Rautalampi 1699). Other foods may have also been part of the meal, such as

*mämmi* [baked malted rye pudding], *talkkuna* [pudding of rye (oat) flour and buttermilk] or *huttu* [flour porridge or gruel], as well as beer and spirits.

(4) Dealing with the bones and leftovers. It was not permitted to break a sacrificial animal's bones, but they were collected together and taken to the foot of a sacrificial tree or to the 'forest'. The skull may have been hung from a tree branch (cf. bear rites, map 1).

(5) Family-centeredness. The rite was performed within the circle of the family or extended family, with the exception of certain information from Keuruu, Kuopio and Ilomantsi, according to which the sheep was consumed in turns in different houses (of relatives?).<sup>3</sup> Guests were not allowed to participate in the meal, and according to one source, servants, daughters- and sons-in-law only when they had been living in the house for some time.<sup>4</sup>

(6) According to the source material, the purpose of the Michaelmas and Kekri rite has been advancement of good cattle fortune, sheep-rearing in particular, sometimes growth of corn too; there is also a mention related to St Olaf's sheep that the offering helped to protect the cattle from predators. They have been kinship rites in nature, and they were preserved in the area of Savo-Karelian swidden culture, in common with the extended family and other structures of kinship culture.

## Community rites

**Sacrificial feasts and Prasnika offerings.** In Karelia and Ingria, villages have celebrated communal sacrificial feasts, where oxen or rams were slaughtered and consumed. The sacrificial feasts survived in the shadow of village Prasnikas in the remote areas of Ladoga Karelia, Dvina and Olonets, and in villages inhabited by Orthodox Izhorians in western Ingria; there are records from 12 Izhorian-inhabited villages. The sacrificial feasts of Karelia and Ingria are somewhat different. In Ingria, riverside villages sacrificed and consumed a ram each year to ensure that no-one should drown that summer; the ram's innards and leftovers were thrown in as an offering to the supernatural guardian of the river. In Ingria, the sacrificial feast was sometimes called *vakkove*, but this may not have originally been a sacrificial feast of cattle farmers, but a midsummer rain-making rite, a village beer festival with the purpose of bringing rain for the fields.<sup>5</sup> In Ingrian villages, too, the actual Vakkove usually began only after the guests had departed to their own villages after the sacrificial feast.

**The calendar of community rites.** Sacrificial feasts have been held at midsummer, according to the natural calendar, usually on saints' days that fell in July, near the old midsummer day. Such Prasnika days are St Ilya (Elijah) 20.7., St Ulassie (Vladimir) 15.7. and St Olaf 29.7. In Dvina, sacrificial Prasnikas may also have been held in August. In Ingria, the date of the ram days has generally been St Ilya, sometimes Petru or St Peter 29.6., other such days have been the Maccabean brothers 1.8. and Anastasia 29.10. In contrast, the shared ram day and Vakkove has been held either on St Ilya's or St Peter's day, and Vakkove has been specifically a midsummer rain-making and fertility feast.<sup>6</sup>

The best-known sacrificial feasts in Karelia have been *Häkinpäivä* (*Häränpäivä*) [ox day] on St Ilya's day in Mantsinsaari in the parish of Salmi, and *Bokin-* or *Pässinpäivä* [ram day] of neighboring Lunkulansaari.<sup>7</sup> Another well-known feast in Venehjärvi village of Vuokkiniemi parish in Dvina was the *Miikkupäivä* [fertility day] on St Peter's day.

*Ianpässi* [Miikkula ram], which was sacrificed on Bogorodica or *Emänpäivä* [Mother of God's Day] (date of the death of the Virgin Mary 15.8.).<sup>8</sup> There is documentation of Prasnika offerings also from other villages right up to the Karelian-inhabited villages of the Onega region.<sup>9</sup> At large sacrificial feasts in Karelia, oxen were slaughtered and consumed, as had probably earlier been the case also in Ingria, and the animal sacrifice was shared by the Prasnika district (cf. map 22). When slaughtering of animals was ended in the last decades of the 1800s on orders by the clergy, the custom continued for a long time of villages and houses bringing oxen or sheep to the Prasnikas, for auctioning for the patron saint of the *tsasouna* [Orthodox prayer hut].

**Mantsinsaari Ox Days.** The *Häkinpäivät* [Ox Days] of Mantsinsaari, an island in Lake Ladoga in the parish of Salmi, were held at the *tsasouna* in the village of Työmpäinen, which was set in an ancient spruce stand in the north end of the island, on the shore of Pöllänlahti inlet. The Työmpäinen Häkinpäivä offering circle may originally have only comprised the villages on the island, but the reputation of the feast grew to the degree that in the 1800s, people from numerous villages also from the mainland gathered in Työmpäinen. Each village in turn collectively pledged an ox a year in advance, or oxen were promised by private houses, even from distant mainland villages. The ox had to be a couple of years old and castrated, or a *häkki*. From the mainland, the ox was often brought over in the winter months and looked after in the island villages until St Ilya's Day. There were usually several pledged oxen, with four or five slaughtered and eaten at best, but sometimes the oxen may have been saved for the following year.

The oxen were evidently slaughtered on the shore of Pöllänlahti early on the morning of St Ilya's Day. Each donor led his ox to the spot, they were lined up on the shore and simultaneously struck unconscious. The principal striker or the priest of the ox was the village elder of Työmpäinen, who was often also the chief of the *tsasouna*. He performed the prayers to St Ilya and let the blood of the oxen. The meat was butchered and cooked in large pots near the *tsasouna*.

The ox soup was eaten in the company of the family. The women of the houses brought along a dish and spoons, bread and salt; some mistresses brought a hamper containing pies and other Prasnika fare. The meal was eaten on the grass near the *tsasouna*. The women filled their dishes with soup from the communal pot, set a cloth on the grass and the dish in its centre. Each family of kinship group with its feast guests sat down to eat in its own circle, spooning soup from the communal dish. After the meal, the ox skins were auctioned and the cash donated to the *tsasouna*. It is said that all the meat had to be eaten in the one meal, and if any was left over, it was thrown into the Ladoga or given to the poor.

The Työmpäinen Häkinpäivä program also included a riding contest, in which men took part on their own horses. The contestants rode the length of the island end to end, through the village of Työmpäinen and back, according to some records in one group, according to others in pairs, until the winner was found. The winner was given the title 'St Ilya's rider'.

The Orthodox clergy of Ladoga Karelia launched a strict program in the 1800s of getting rid of folk customs considered to be pagan. After prolonged quarrels that split parishes, offering at Prasnikas was discontinued and turned into an auction of (breeding) stock. The last ox offering in Mantsinsaari was in 1892, but the animals were no longer slaughtered at the feast, but the day before in village houses.

**Basic formula of a community rite.** Celebration of sacrificial feasts was characterized by the following:

- (1) The sacrificial feast was organized by a local rite circle, consisting of either a single village (Ingria) or more, even a whole Prasnika circle formed by neighboring villages (map 22).
- (2) The sacrificial animal was pledged the year before and fed in turns in the various villages, or the villages had to take yearly turns in bringing an animal to the feast. Private individuals could also pledge a

sacrificial animal to St Ilya, when there were several oxen or rams. Different criteria have been used within the village in selecting the animal, it may have been the largest or first born etc., and its price has been reimbursed to the owner communally (Ingria).

(3) The ox was slaughtered by the sacrificial priest, 'Ox's priest' (Mantsinsaari) or village elder (Ingria), who also shared out the meat. Usually, each family would bring along a cooking pot, cook the meat themselves and eat it within their own family circle or with their relatives and feast friends. In some Prasnika districts, the meat was cooked communally (Mantsinsaari).

(4) The sacrificial animal had to be completely eaten up; the leftovers, innards, bones, head, were cast into the river or lake (Ingria, Ilomantsi, Mantsinsaari). In Ingria, the leftovers were given to the supernatural guardian of the river, so it would not demand another offering, i.e. a child, that year. In Vuokkiniemi, the blood of the Venehjärvi Michaelmas ram was run through a hole under the floor of the tsasouna porch.

(5) The place of assembly has usually been the vicinity of the tsasouna, and ecclesiastical features have been incorporated in the celebrations. The parish priest may have blessed the animal, and its skin was auctioned for the benefit of the church.

(6) Sacrificial feasts in Mantsinsaari and Olonets include a story of a deer or moose (elk) which had appeared for sacrifice every year at the sacrificial site, but failed to appear for some reason one year, when oxen and rams became the sacrificial animals.

(7) In the Christian era, the offering has been dedicated to the patron saint of the tsasouna, so that he would protect the cattle from wild beasts.

## ***Background to animal sacrifice***

**Historical connections.** Martti Haavio has drawn a parallel between the Michaelmas and Kekri rites and the Jewish custom of slaughtering a new year's ram or lamb, which took place at Pasah or Passover (Exodus). Indeed, there are obvious similarities: the nocturnal slaughter, eating norms, restrictions concerning participants etc. Thus, the rite may have been based on the Bible.(10 On the other hand, even if the norms attached to the rite had assimilated Biblical expressions, similar marking and dedication of sacrificial animals for a sacral purpose has been common around the world, and animal sacrifices are likely to date back to pre-Christianity also in the Gulf of Finland culture circle.

Slaughtering of an animal at the turn of the year may be compared to e.g. the Nordic St Martin's goose, the pork dishes of the Christmas season etc. There are records of the Michaelmas ram e.g. from Scotland and Ireland. On the whole, the age of Finnish and Estonian tradition and its connections with calendric rites of other peoples are unknown, but a sacrificial slaughtering in the Iron Age culture circle of the Gulf of Finland has evidently belonged to the turn of the year, the time for sharing, and may date as far back as other farming rites (map 3); cattle husbandry is even older than field cultivation.

Of community rites, Prasnika offerings have been known in the Baltic-Finnic region not only among Karelians, but also among Vepsians, Votians and Estonians, similarly among Slavic peoples, and their roots have been placed in Byzantine cultures. Widespread among Slavic peoples is also the etiological myth of the moose that swam to the sacrificial site, later replaced as an offering by domestic beasts.(11 Prasnika offerings appear to be limited to the east, but they are nevertheless not forced to be directly

linked to either the cultures of the Antiquity or Byzant or e.g. the Mithran cult (cf. map 96). The ox and ram have been common sacrificial animals of agriculturalists, e.g. among the ancient Chinese and numerous other Eurasian peoples.

Savonian swidden farmers no longer adopted community offerings, or they have been transformed early on to become a turn-of-the-year rite among the extended family. Instead, it is likely that sacrificial feasts as well as Vakkove ceremonies have been held at midsummer and turn of the year in the Iron Age hiisi woods of Häme, and oxen slaughtered communally, as they were the most important draught beasts at the time.

**Interests of the farmer.** Finnish animal sacrifices may be compared to the rites of Finno-Ugrian peoples in northern Russia. With Permic peoples agriculture has been recent, and old records still reflect early religious structures. With the Udmurt (Votyaks), the shared sacred place of the kinship groups was the *kuala* (Finnish *kota*), which housed the families' sacred objects. The kuala of the kinship group united families, and even members who had moved to other villages came to the kuala in order to participate in sacrificial ceremonies and communal meals. Some kinship groups had their own kuala guardian or sacrificial priest who took care of the sacred objects and preparations for shared sacrificial feasts.

The kuala was the place where offerings were performed at set times in different stages of the subsistence year, but it was also the place where ancestors and numerous domestic supernatural guardians were consulted at times of sickness or other misfortune. Udmurts of certain regions performed offerings of young lambs in kualas at the start of haymaking and on St Ilya's Day, prayers and offerings were performed there when starting works, entering marriages and remembering deceased family members.

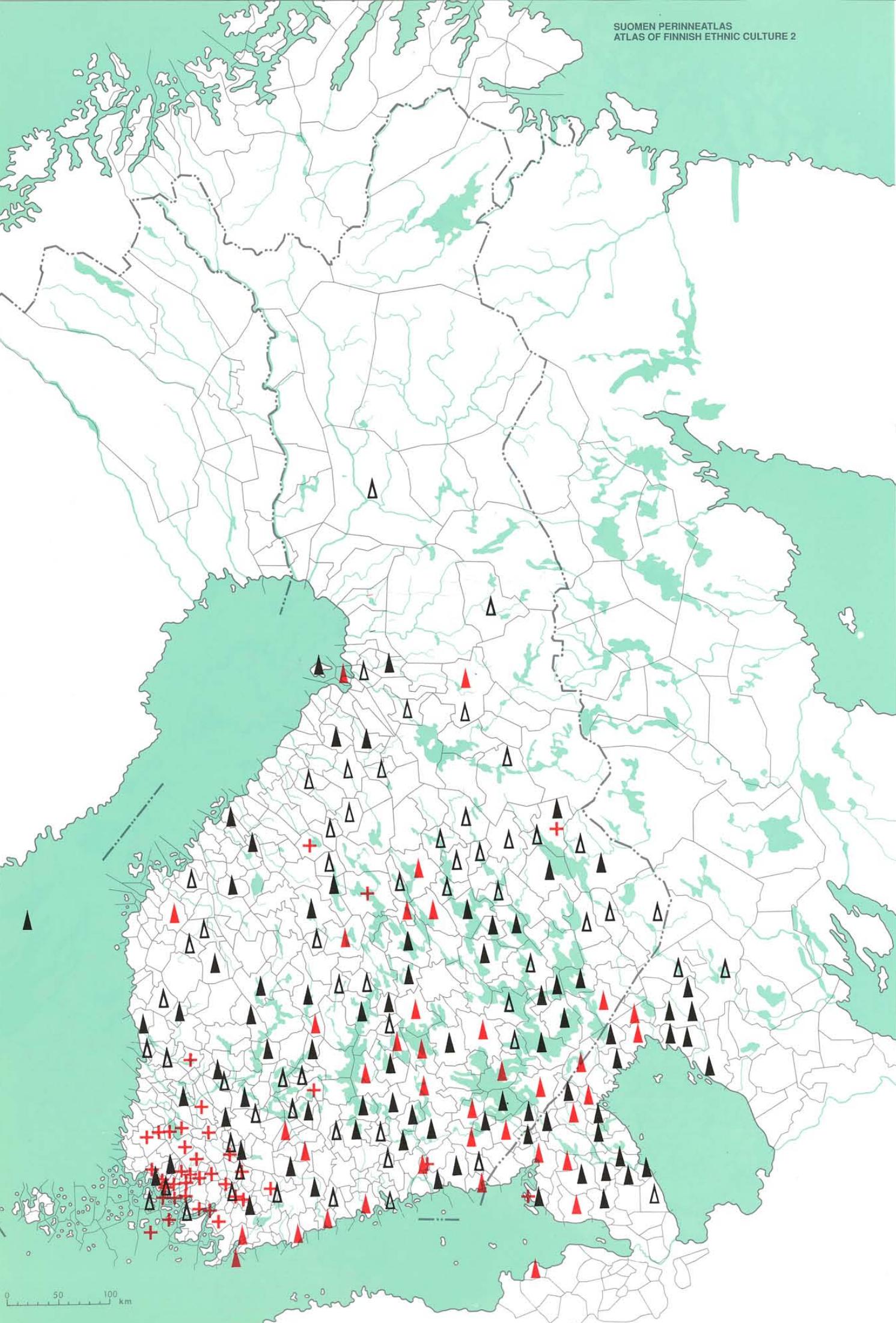
Udmurts and other Permic peoples have also had sacrificial woods, known as *Iud*. They were small, fenced-off woods where it was not permitted to fell trees or even to break a twig, nor was an outsider allowed to enter the enclosure. According to some information, each member of the kinship group had a dedicated sacrificial tree in the wood, under which he or she performed rites. Some sacred woods contained a kuala hut or tables and benches. Thus, *Iud* trees also originally belonged to the kinship group, and only in the deforested agricultural villages did several kinship groups start to use shared sacrificial woods.

Village sacrificial woods were called *great Iuds*. Within them, the Udmurt, in common with the Mari (Cheremis) performed communal village agricultural offerings. Like at the Työmpäinen sacrificial field in Karelia, people of Udmurt villages gathered in common woods to sacrifice horses, oxen, sheep and other animals, the numbers of which at large sacrificial feasts involving several villages might have been dozens. Instead of a *tsasouna*, Udmurt sacrificial woods had an altar table, at which the sacrificial priests read their prayers and blessed the food.(12 With their many rituals, prayers and ceremonies, sacrificial feasts were colourful religious mass events uniting the villages and kinship groups of the district, as did Orthodox Christian Prasnikas and Lutheran holy days (map 22).

In the Gulf of Finland culture circle, too, animal sacrifices of kinship groups may have been performed in kinship burial grounds or special sacrificial buildings in the autumn, at the close of the cattle pasturing season and the cropping season, and possibly also at midsummer, at haymaking time. In the autumn, the yield of the year was shared between the living and the dead, and good fortune with cattle passed on to the next year. Sacrificial feasts have gained a foothold in larger village communities and become established perhaps only towards the end of the Iron Age; they were the first religious village rites. Documented records of village sacrificial feasts exists only with reference to some Ladoga Karelian Hääkki and Bokki Days, but perhaps similar community feasts were held before the advent of Christianity in sacred woods and sacrificial fields all around the Gulf of Finland culture circle.

Ailio 1897. Alava 1898. Eisen 1918. Haavio 1949a; 1961; 1963; 1967b. Hautala 1940. Helminen 1929. Konkka A. 1980; 1988. Krohn J. 1894. Loorits 1932; 1949-1960 II, 291-. Lukkarinen 1911-1913. Melander 1932. Moora – Viires 1964, 250-. Oinas 1968. Pimenov 1965. Salminen 1915. Sarmela 1969, 29-; 1970b; 1984a, 216-. Vilkuna K. 1973b, 196-246. Waronen 1898. (Anttonen 1996. Remmel 1998. Cf. Rival 1998.)

1. Maliniemi 1925, 230-.
2. Vilkuna K. 1973b, 196-. Loorits 1949-1960 II, 306-.
3. Waronen 1898, 158. Abo Tidningar 17. 1791. Uusi Suometar 21. 1878.
4. Aurenius 1751, 16.
5. Haavio 1961, 69-; 1963, 84-; 1967b, 148-.
6. Alava 1898. Lukkarinen 1911-1913.
7. Ailio 1897. Jääskeläinen V. 1912. Haavio 1949a.
8. Inha 1910 (1894), 359-.
9. Lists and references, see Oinas 1968. Sarmela 1969, 29-.
10. Haavio 1949a.
11. Oinas 1968. Haavio 1961; 1963. Pimenov 1965.
12. Krohn J. 1894, 43-. Harva 1914, 65-; 1915b, 55-; 1942b, 162-, 260-.



## 5. Suojeluseläimet

### Tutelary Animals

1. Elättikäärmekertoimukset  
Domestic snake narratives  
keruuvuosilta  
narratives about the keeping of  
domestic snakes

▲ 1860 – 1919

▲ 1920 – 1959

△ 1960 –

2. Kaivohauki

Pike in the well

+ tietoja kaivohauen pitämisestä

information about the keeping of  
a pike in a well

Rekisterikartta

Archive map

## 5. TUTELARY ANIMALS

### **House snake and well pike**

**Wild animal keeping.** Map 5 shows the occurrence of two tutelary animals, the house snake and well pike, which according to oral tradition were kept as domestic animals in some houses. The house snake usually lived under the fireplace of the *tupa* [the main cooking, dining and living room of the house], and it was fed with warm milk, poured into its cup on return from milking. The pike was kept in the well or spring from which the drinking water was drawn for the house.

**House snake.** In Finnish literature, the house snake has usually been a grass or ring snake (*Natrix natrix*). It has been called *aljo-*, *elätti-*, *haltia-* [supernatural guardian], *lyylitys-*, *suojelus-* [guardian, protector] and *uhri-* [sacrificial] snake, or by the same expressions as those applied to the sacrificial tree (map 3). Alternatively, it has been called according to its abode, *kartano-* [yard], *koti-* [house, home], *lävä-* [sty, byre] and *navetta-* [cowshed, byre] snake. In some dialects, *mato* [worm] or *toukka* [grub] were used as synonyms for snake, e.g. *navettamato*, *-toukka*. In some houses snakes have had their own proper name, like other domestic animals, and a specific call with which it was enticed out. The name distinguished the house snake from wild snakes and linked it to the householders.

According to Finnish records, snakes have been kept by (1) mistresses or masters of houses in western Finland (Satakunta, Uusimaa, Häme, South Savo), (2) sorcerers and healers in eastern Finland and Karelia (South Karelia, North Savo, Central Finland). The dwelling place of house snakes is mostly cited as the main living quarters or *tupa*: under the *tupa* floor or fireplace, in eastern Finland under the *tupa* fireplace built on a log base. The snakes are said to have lain on the residents' beds in daytime. The second most common dwelling place for snakes would have been the cattle shelter: cowshed or stable, the sauna coming third. House snakes may also have lived in the homestead in a rocky ruin or pile, e.g. at the foot of the house sacrificial tree (map 3). The snake was believed to safeguard or maintain success and fortune of the house, like the supernatural guardian or the ancestors.

**Well pike.** The well pike referred to a fish, in most cases a pike, kept in wells or springs from which the drinking water for the house was drawn. Keeping a house pike has been a real tradition in many places in Varsinais-Suomi, and it had a practical purpose. The pike would eat the woodlice and other insects in

the well and keep the water clean. If the pike died, the water was possibly contaminated or even poisoned, and then the well was drained.

A more widely known 'water purifier' than the well pike has been the frog, which nevertheless has not deliberately been introduced to wells. According to folk narrative, frogs have also been kept in dairies as tutelary animals, like snakes were kept in cowhouses. This kind of *piimäsammakko* [buttermilk frog] would have been kept in the cream tub to make better butter, or in the milk vat to keep the milk good and fresh. Similar motifs also exist on the buttermilk frog as on the house snake; for example, if one killed the frog, the cows would start to milk blood. However, the preserved frog narratives are comic stories in nature and mostly about other villages or parishes, and probably not based on reality. Narratives about the buttermilk frog are not marked on the map. Compared to the house snake, keeping pike in the well reflects new hygiene thinking, a practical approach to nature.

**Map diagram.** The information on house snakes consists of narratives, even dramatized plot narratives, often presented as eyewitness accounts. The narrator or someone he knows has come into the house to see the snake being fed, or the creature lying on a bed in the tupa. The narrative motifs are transnational. In Christian society, the snake has been a tutelary animal arousing affect, and narratives about it have been vigorous and capable of spreading even in the 1900s.

The distribution of snake narratives has been conceptualized by grouping the variants by date of collection into several temporal classes. The oldest material, mainly recorded in the 1800s, focuses on South Savo and South Karelia, but the original area may also have covered Häme and the whole Iron Age culture circle of the Gulf of Finland coast. In later questionnaires and folklore collections, material has been obtained from further north; according to the specific questionnaire for the latest Atlas, the distribution area already reached as far north as Kainuu. The distribution of negative responses is the opposite, with relatively more negative responses coming from northern regions.

Thus, the map does not show the actual distribution or frequency of house snake keeping in Finland. Nevertheless, house snake narratives have been historically well-established in South Karelia and Savo, and it may be supposed that within a sorcerer culture snakes have been purposely kept and that the custom has been based on ancient belief systems.

The distribution of the well pike is limited to Varsinais-Suomi. This is apparently due to the recency of the custom, but in the areas at the heart of Finnish medieval culture, this may be founded on actual experiences, preserved by oral tradition, of poisoned wells and polluted water, supposedly responsible for the Black Death and other infectious diseases.

## **Snake cult**

**Tutelary animal.** In common with sacrificial trees (map 3), house snakes have also been believed to have a link of fate to the cattle, particularly the cows, of the house. If the snake was killed or its feeding neglected, the house lost its milk and butter 'fortune', a domestic animal died, or the cows began to yield bloody milk. Some narratives assign a powerful supernatural bond between the snake and man; its feeder, the mistress or master of the house. If the snake was killed, the mistress or master became sick,

even died. The snake has represented the *haltia* of the cattle shed or house, or the supernatural guardian of the lands owned by the house (maps 62-68).

According to the narratives, offerings have been made to the house snake in the same way as to sacrificial trees or supernatural guardians. It has been given the first share of all produce from the cattle, sometimes of all produce of the house; the first drops of cows' colostrum milk, mother's milk etc. (cf. map 3). At milking time, the guardian snake's cup was filled with milk first.

The weasel, pine marten, shrew, and other animals often seen near the cattle sheds have also been believed to be tutelary animals.(1) Feeding the house snake and also a cat has incorporated the custom of dripping a few drops on an 'earth stone' for the supernatural guardian (*haltia*) of the place, while pouring milk in the animal's cup.

Beliefs linked to tutelary snakes have been reinforced by narratives that have crystallized into stereotypes with transnational equivalents. The most common of the stories is the one (1) on killing the snake. A new daughter-in-law, servant or a visitor kills the snake (not knowing that it is a 'house pet'), resulting in a misfortune befalling the house. Or when (2) feeding the snake is neglected for some reason, the snake displays its anger and wreaks revenge. Narratives are also common of (3) sorcerers or witches, for whom the snake has been some kind of a role animal. Keeping one has boosted the faith in the sorcerer's healing skills and spiritual power. Especially in Savo, sorcerers have kept snakes in their houses to gain publicity and engender fear.

Practical explanations for keeping snakes have also been proffered. Easily tamed grass snakes kept poisonous adders away from the homestead, killed mice and other vermin. In Christian tradition, the snake is a symbol of evil, and in the last centuries, general opinion has branded snake-feeders as witches, servants of the Antichrist.

**Background of house snakes.** There are evidently several layers to the snake tradition. In the hunting era, the snake has been one of the tutelary animals of shamans: in the habitus of a snake, the shaman's soul could traverse the underworld, the realm of the dead (map 90). There may be some vestiges of shamanistic thinking in the beliefs that the sorcerer was able to handle snakes and other dangerous animals, such as the bear. However, raising of the snake, sending it to harm a certain person, already represents typical sorcerer culture.

In Savo-Karelian lore, the snake is specifically a tutelary animal of the sorcerer. A powerful sorcerer was able to raise the snake, to send it with a burning piece of tinder in its mouth to burn the house of his adversary, or to turn the cows into snakes. In narratives, sorcerers fight by raising snakes upon one another, or the superior sorcerer sends back a raised snake to harm its sender (Si D 921, D 926). In harming rites, the snake has been an instrument of revenge, but it has also been pivotal in other ways in the sorcerer tradition. Snake grease or skin have been used, for example, to heal skin diseases, to protect cattle pastures from predators, and on the other hand in black magic to cause illnesses.

Finnish sources mention keeping house snakes as far back as the 1600s and 1700s (Sigfrid Forsius, Abraham Poppius, Antti Livelius, Erik Lencqvist). The oldest records in Sweden date back to the 1500s; the Scandinavian tradition linked to house snakes is very similar to that of Finland. Old descriptions of keeping snakes exist in the Baltic countries, particularly Lithuania, but also from Estonian and Russian peoples. In Lithuanian sources from the 1400s the custom is described as a cult, with snakes in a position of real house gods that were worshipped daily. It is possible to trace the historical roots of the snake cult right back to ancient Greece and Rome.(2)

The Finnish snake tradition comprises mainly stereotypical narratives, and it is not possible to say on this evidence whether in Savo-Karelian swidden communities or earlier Iron Age farming villages the

snake has been held to be perhaps an animal of the dead or a tutelary animal that would have been fed in the same way as sacred trees. Although it may not be feasible to talk about a snake cult, even in the Christian era snakes have really been kept in some houses, and as tutelary animals, they have become associated with sacrificial trees, supernatural guardians and the dead. Undoubtedly, snakes have favoured stone ruins left in the middle of fields, such as Iron Age *hiisi* woods very often were (maps 3, 7). The snake's habits have perhaps also in other ways linked it to the deceased and the supernatural guardian of the earth, living under the ground (sacrificial trees).

The snake appears in the mythology of many peoples around the world and is associated specifically with the dead; snake worship is found particularly in Asian religions, and it has been considered Asian in origin, too.<sup>(3)</sup> In Finland, the foundation of snake beliefs is shamanism and the ancestral cult, and in the Iron Age agricultural communities of the Gulf of Finland and Ladoga culture circle, keeping house snakes, sacred trees and *hiisi* woods may have been closely interrelated.

(Si D 231, G 1401)

**1.** Hako 1956. **2.** Aspelin 1895; 1896. Haavio 1940; 1942, 516-, 532-. Harva 1948,285-. Honko 1962; 1968. Kaikko 1941. Lukkarinen 1912. Vilkuna, K. 1937. Lindig 1987, 61-. Welsford 1955. **3.** Mundkur 1983. (Toljander 1999.)

## 6. Muistoriitit Memorial Rites

1. Pyyntikarsikot  
*Karsikkos in memory of catch*  
karsikkopuu, karsitu havupuu  
karsikko, pruned conifer tree



keripää, patsaskarsikko  
*keripää, hewn stub, statue*



2. Initiaatiokarsikot  
*Karsikko trees in memory of initiation*



ensikertalaisen karsikko  
first-timer's karsikko



ensikertalaisen *hurkas*  
first-timer's *hurkas*



morsiamen karsikko  
bride's karsikko



3. Vainajan karsikot  
*Karsikkos of the dead. De-branched or unbranched tree with markings, memory boards or cross-carvings*

karsikoita ruumiinkuljetusreittien  
varrella  
karsikkos on the way to the  
cemeteries



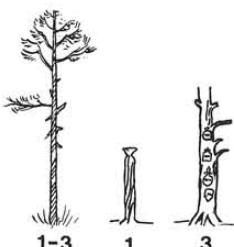
karsikoita hautausmailla  
karsikkos in cemeteries



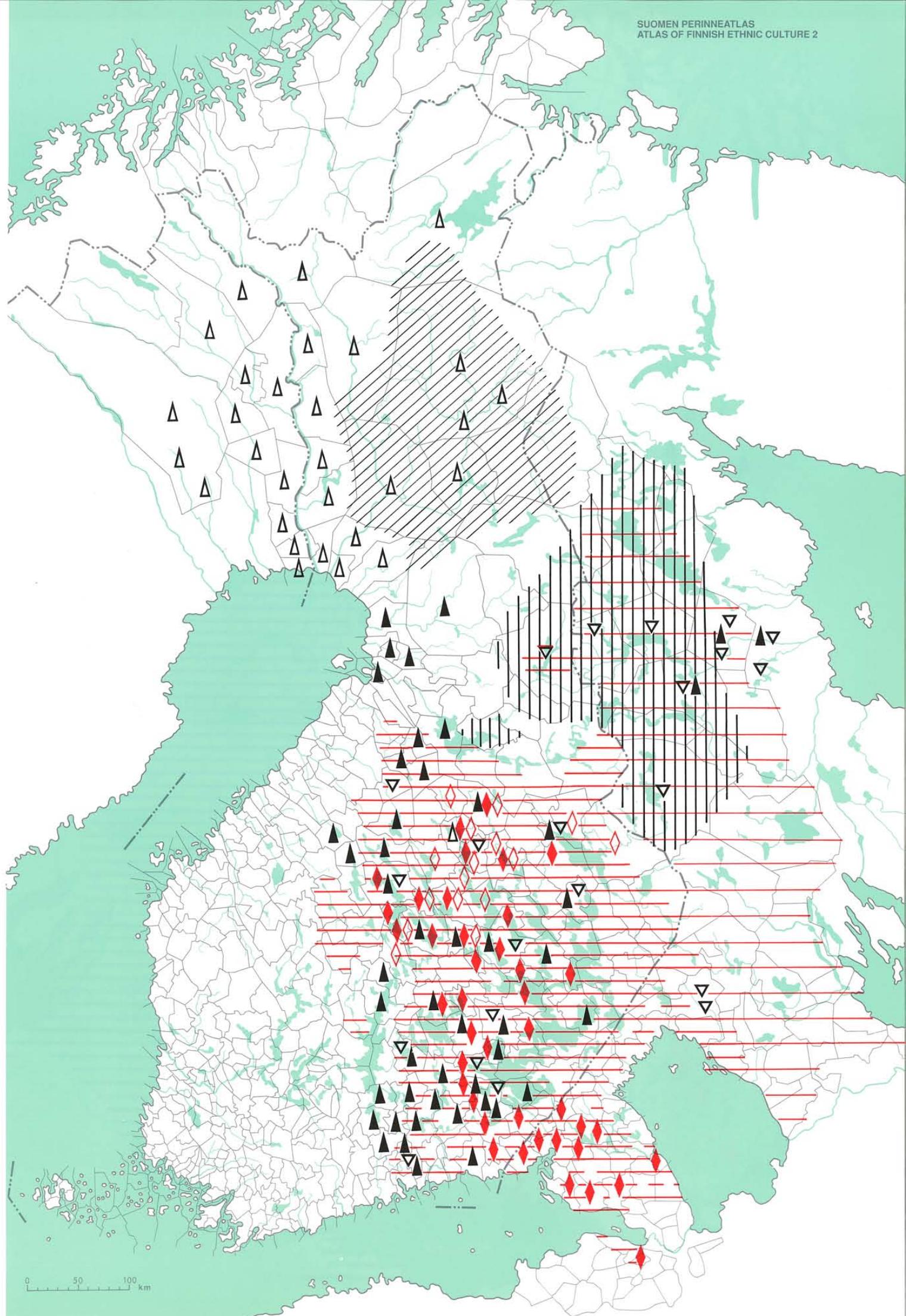
karsikkotaulut puissa  
karsikko-boards (tablet with initials)  
on the trunk of a tree



karsikkotaulut rakennusten  
seinällä  
karsikko-boards on an outside wall



Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 6. MEMORIAL RITES

### ***Unique event***

**Making a karsikko or debranched tree.** Making a *karsikko* or debranching a tree to mark an event, such as a good fish catch, or an event in a person's private life that it was wanted to consign to the collective memory of his peer group or community, has been called a memorial rite. Debranching has also been applied to memorial trees for the deceased, positioned in established places along the route to the burial ground. The Finnish term *karsikko* derives from *karsia*, to debranch or delimb a tree.

The maker of the memorial tree would climb up the trunk and usually remove all the branches on the way down, leaving only the tree top untouched. Some branches may have been left on the tree, containing a message or with some other symbolic meaning. The *karsikko* tree was usually a spruce or pine, only in exceptional cases a broad-leaf tree. Memorial *karsikkos* were unique, made to commemorate a certain event; they were not used to make offerings or to perform particular rites later.

### ***Hunting and fishing karsikkos***

**Memorial for a good catch.** Karsikkos for fishing, hunting and pearl harvesting have been made in eastern and northern areas, where intensive seasonal hunting and fishing was last practised. The catch karsikkos were mostly at regular fishing grounds, on shores of salmon rapids, good net fishing sites, near places where large forest fowl held their mating displays, and good deer-hunting grounds, or along rivers where unusual numbers of pearls were found. Karsikkos were also made to commemorate incidental catches, for example in places where a good bag of fowl was obtained or a bear slain.

There have been two types of *karsikko*, also different in terms of distribution: (1) *karsikko* trees and (2) column *karsikkos*.

**Karsikko trees in hunting grounds.** In Dvina Karelia and partly also in Finland, in Kainuu, a spruce or pine tree at catch sites was delimbed completely from the top to the ground, with only the topmost branches left intact. In Kainuu, only the central section of the trunk may have been delimbed. In Dvinian

catch karsikkos, a cross-board has sometimes been added to form a sign called *apajaristi* [catch cross], or a single, clearly discernible branch was left at the top of the tree. The board and the branch pointed in the direction of the catch spot and served as a landmark when fishing nets were put out.

**Column karsikkos of fishing grounds.** In southern Lapland, along the Kemijoki river waterway, the memorial of a catch site was made by lopping a growing spruce or pine tree at the height of about a meter, and the stump carved into a statue called *keripää* [cropped head]. The head of the column karsikko was carved into a conical shape, funnel shape, or into a so-called salmon tail in such a way that there were several overlapping cuts. A salmon tail column resembled a human form, particularly when a flat stone was placed on top as a rainhat, to prevent rotting. In later periods, the hunter's initials and the year of the event were carved on the side of the column.

There have been dozens of columns at old fishing waters or deer pits, even 70 at one site, but they have also been found singly in isolated fishing and hunting grounds. The shape of column karsikkos has given rise to ideas that they may have been old cult statues or seides (*seitas*). Some of the columns have been located at former Sami fishing waters that may earlier also have been seide sites, but preserved records give no indication that actual fishing columns would have been sacrificial sites (cf. seides, map 2), or that other rites have been performed to them. Keripääs have had the same function as karsikko trees.

Fish columns may share their origins with the images of guardian spirits or temporary offering poles of Arctic hunter peoples, e.g. the Khants and the Mansi (Ostyaks and Voguls). These would be hung with offerings to the spirits, such as strips of cloth or animal skins. K.F. Karjalainen believes that the images carved for the supernatural guardian or *haltia* of the site were in themselves an offering or an expression of gratitude for the catch, but perhaps they were also associated with the idea that the new images would remain among the spirits, to guard the hunting site.(1)

## ***Initiation karsikkos***

**Initiate's commemorative rite.** For private individuals, karsikkos have most commonly been made in connection with initiation ceremonies. According to preserved tradition, a karsikko was made e.g. for a boy or girl going on a trip to town for the first time, a new member of the travel party.(2) Being taken along was a turning point in the life of the young person and a demonstration of confidence, as the newcomer is considered capable of coping with the hardships of the journey. A karsikko was also made for a beginner taking part in some job of work for the first time, such as haymaking, or allowed along with other boys on a night courting trip (map 37). Special ceremonies have been attached to making a karsikko for a boy who has caught his first forest fowl or squirrel.

**First-timer's hurrikas.** In northern Finland, an initiate's karsikko has been called *hurrikas*, a word meaning 'first-timer, beginner, newcomer', such as a new member of a working party. Compared to Savonian initiates' karsikkos, the hurrikas tradition has been obviously established and wide-ranging in application; a hurrikas was made even for a person visiting a house for the first time, such as a boy come to make a night courting visit to a daughter of the house. On the other hand, the hurrikas, unlike other karsikkos, may have been a wooden pole brought from the forest, delimbed and decorated, and specifically erected

in the yard of the house (cf. wedding tree, map 17, and nameday karsikko, map 36). As a term for a first-time member of a hunting or working party, hurrikas has been known at least as early as the Middle Ages.(3)

**Bride's karsikko.** Most of the records on bridal karsikkos are from Dvina, but the custom has not been widespread anywhere.(4) The karsikko was made during the wedding or sometimes after it, or when the bride accompanied the groom's kin on a fishing trip for the first time as daughter-in-law.

## Karsikkos for the dead

**Karsikkos along routes to burial grounds.** Karsikkos for the dead have been made when transporting the deceased to the parish church for burial, and they have been found along old routes from remote villages in places where the funeral cortege would customarily stop to rest. Usually the karsikko was made on the way there, but in some parishes on the return journey from the church; the purpose of the custom according to oral history being unambiguously to prevent the deceased from returning home.

At the customary karsikko site, the funeral procession would stop and make (1) a karsikko for the deceased, similar in style to the hunting karsikko. The tree was debranched all the way from near the top, or some branches were left on, these bearing a symbolic meaning. A single branch signified that the deceased was unmarried or widowed; two branches that he or she was married, or the branch pointed in the direction of his or her home village. The branches may also have been left on either side of the trunk in such a way that the karsikko resembled a cross or a person with outstretched arms; it was believed to stop the deceased person trying to return home, chasing him back to the graveyard.

Thus, originally a tree may have been debranched for every deceased person, but the preserved karsikko trees have generally been communal village trees, and they were no longer debranched, but only the lower branches removed. The bark was removed from a section of the trunk, forming a *pilkka*, in which was carved (2) a cross (cross trees, Karelian Isthmus); and also (3) the initials of the deceased person and the date of his demise (Savo). The markings on the deceased may also have been made (4) on a memorial or karsikko board nailed to the tree trunk. In the Savonian lake district bodies were also transported by boat, and the markings have been carved on a rock, *karsikkokivi*, on an inlet or a spit.

In South Karelia and the southernmost parishes of Savo, karsikkos for the dead were called cross trees (*ristipuu*; *ristipetäjä*, -*mänty* or -*honka*). On the Isthmus, the branches of a cross tree were not often removed, and the only marking was a cross, which in earlier times was the diagonal cross of St Andrew. However, further north in Savo, the cross on the karsikko tree has been accompanied by the carved initials and the date of death of the deceased person. It was believed that the deceased could only return as far as the cross tree, or that he would turn to go back to the graveyard at the sight of the date of his death on the karsikko. Thus, the purpose of the markings was to inform the deceased that he no longer belonged in the world of the living.

**Karsikkos in cemeteries.** In Dvina and Olonets, karsikkos have stood in village burial grounds or their immediate vicinity. The karsikko was the sign of a cemetery, but it is also possible that a branch was removed from the tree each time a deceased person was brought to the burial ground. Very little oral his-

tory remains on the karsikko rites of the region and their significance.

**Karsikko boards.** In the narrow area from South Karelia to North Savo, a memorial board, *karsikko-lauta*, *-viiri* or *palmu* was prepared for the deceased at home in advance, to be nailed (1) on the karsikko tree en route to the graveyard. In a defined area in North Savo, the memorial board might have been nailed (2) on the wall of a storehouse or other outbuilding in the house compound, on return from the church. The karsikko boards were made of wood, sometimes of a sheet of iron, and later painted or decorated with carvings. The boards were inscribed with the initials of the deceased, sometimes the whole name, and the years of his birth and death. House memorial boards were even commissioned from carpenters, and their style and decoration have varied in the 1800s. After karsikko boards became fashionable, the trunks of many karsikko trees were gradually covered in boards.

**Map diagram.** The distribution area of karsikkos for the dead reaches from South Karelia to North Savo. Carving of the cross on a tree en route of the cortege has been customary in the Baltic countries, especially southern Estonia, and further among the Vepsians, as well as widely in northern Russia.(5 The cross trees did not include the initials of the deceased, but e.g. in Estonia their preparation has been accompanied by similar customs to those in Savo, including the shots of spirits, and the purpose of making the cross has also been to prevent the dead from returning home. Thus, cross trees have an extensive eastern origin, particularly in the area of Orthodox religion.

Trees of the deceased complete with crosses, initials and years have also been found in the forest regions of central Sweden. The custom has been thought to have been brought by Savonian swidden cultivators, but the trees may also have other models. In southern Europe, e.g. in the area of Austria, southern Germany and Switzerland, the corpse board has been fastened upright on a tree in a wood, the wall of a house or other place along the road to the cemetery. The deceased was laid out on the corpse board at his home before being taken for burial. Gradually, the boards became decorated and adorned with epitaphs. The custom had the same function as the Finnish karsikko boards.

Karsikkos for the deceased and cross trees were probably adopted in Finland in the 1700s, carving of the initials and memorial boards perhaps after the turn of the century; carving of karsikko markings on rocks only began after the mid-1800s. The Värmland Savonians did not know karsikkos for the deceased; the earliest reference to them appears in the Ganander dictionary (1786-1787); the earliest preserved memorial boards date back to the early 1800s. The heyday of karsikko rites has been the 1800s.

The earliest Savonian layer of the karsikko for the deceased is evidently represented by the custom of making a karsikko tree, with its marker branches, for each deceased person. Records to that effect exist from the heartlands of the karsikko. Adding the initials and date of death was also established in Savo. The origin of memorial boards affixed to trees or walls may be the tradition originated in Europe of displaying information on the deceased on corpse boards or grave crosses. The cross trees of the Karelian Isthmus differ from Savonian karsikkos, and may originally have been Orthodox roadside karsikkos and travel crosses.

Although external models may be found for carving the initials of the deceased and signs of the cross and for memorial boards, making karsikkos for the dead has been a peculiarly Savonian tradition. They gained their cultural significance after the Lutheran church moved the graveyards to parish centers. In the Orthodox areas of Dvina and Olonets, where village burial grounds were preserved, neither roadside karsikkos for the dead nor sacrificial trees were known (maps 3 and 7). In Savo, it is likely that the earlier tradition of hunting and initiation karsikkos and preservation of ancestral trees or sacrificial trees has influenced the rooting of the karsikko for the deceased.

## **Background to karsikko-making**

**Hunter's memorial.** Hunting or fishing karsikkos have only been preserved in Dvina, but their coverage area extends to the hunter peoples of northern Russia. Debranching a tree has been part of the culture of the hunting period, and perhaps in Finland, too, the karsikko has been an ancient means of inland hunter communities of marking the sites of favourable events. It is likely that the oldest layer is represented by hunting and fishing karsikkos made to commemorate a first or a good catch. They marked a place where a benevolent supernatural guardian lived; perhaps the number of karsikkos was a sign of the fortune and success of the hunting party. Debranching a tree may also have been associated with initiation rites of the hunting period, although no records remain of them. A karsikko may have marked the spot where a young boy, allowed to join the party, has proved his hunting or fishing skills, his good luck in making a catch, whereby he has been finally acknowledged as an adult (cf. map 88). The karsikko has been a memorial of an important event, visible in the natural environment, and preserving a person's success in the place where he has been lucky in the past. Hunting and fishing karsikkos have been signs of first events, memorial trees of a favourable start to a hunting or fishing expedition, but also marks of a good hunting or fishing ground.

**Socially significant event.** In swidden communities, karsikkos have been made for the young on occasions when they were accepted e.g. to join the party on a trip or a group of workers going off to a distant swidden. The newcomers had for the first time coped with some task that was held to be a sign of physical or social maturity; as if the new group member was beginning to manage his own fortunes, his life. The bride's karsikko did not become established as a tradition, and may be based on the personal *elämänpuu* [tree of life], such as those planted for young people who had completed confirmation school in western Finland. The growth of the tree was used to forecast the owner's success in life or marital happiness; in a similar vein, whether the karsikko tree survived or dried up was sometimes read to reflect the fate of the deceased person in the hereafter, or whether he made it to heaven or was sent to purgatory.

Initiation karsikkos were not made during actual rites of passage, but to commemorate the event, as the new group member took up his new position for the first time. The first trip to town or night courting trip is not a rite of passage, but the precondition of adulthood has been some other threshold, such as getting through confirmation school. In the Savonian area, possibly the real adulthood rite was the so-called *ikäkyipy* [bathing of age], taking the initiation sauna, during which young girls were 'bathed for loving'. Village youngsters have had their own conditions of fitness for courtship and membership ceremonies, through which they were accepted in night courting groups (map 37). Thus, karsikko-making is not a case of initiation, but making public a significant event in a young person's life, recording it in his personal life cycle. On the other hand, the event itself may be seen as the culmination of an initiation process. The young person's karsikko, hurrikas, is later, as are village and youth organizations (maps 34-38), and as a courtship starting rite, hurrikas-making probably became customary in the 1800s.

**Rite of the funeral procession.** In the Savonian heartland of karsikko-making for the deceased, and

partly also in the South Karelian area, the custom acquired institutionalized forms. When the karsikko marks had been made or the memorial board nailed to the tree, the funeral cortege was offered shots of liquor, sometimes along with other hospitality. In some parishes, a specific karsikko-hymn was sung at the site, the mourners talked about the deceased and exchanged memories of him, sometimes even an eulogy was made for him. Expressions were used of karsikko-making that referred to the final ending of life. Both Janne Vilkuna and Lauri Honko have emphasized that the karsikko of the dead has been a part of the rite of passage, during which the deceased was step by step finally transferred to the company of the dead.(6 According to Vilkuna, karsikkos were boundary markers between the living and the dead, and they were often positioned on village borders or crossroads.

Early on, karsikkos were made regardless of the social position of the deceased and for people of all ages, even children. As social differences became more pronounced at the end of the 1800s, memorial boards were made primarily for people of the landed peasantry class, and the function of the custom also changed. The karsikko boards preserved the memory of the dead in the same way as grave crosses or memorial stones in churchyards.

As a memorial rite, karsikko-making has undergone its own structural changes. In Dvina, karsikkos were made for people who met an accidental death, e.g. those who drowned, and evidently the original karsikko of the deceased has been an individual tree, delimbed in memory of some special death. Karsikkos of the dead have marked the place of death, and in the Orthodox area the cross tree has become the sign of a burial ground. As manifestations of Savonian landed peasantry culture, karsikko boards have come to correspond to grave memorials of western Finland or rather western Europe. They identified the deceased and showed his social status.

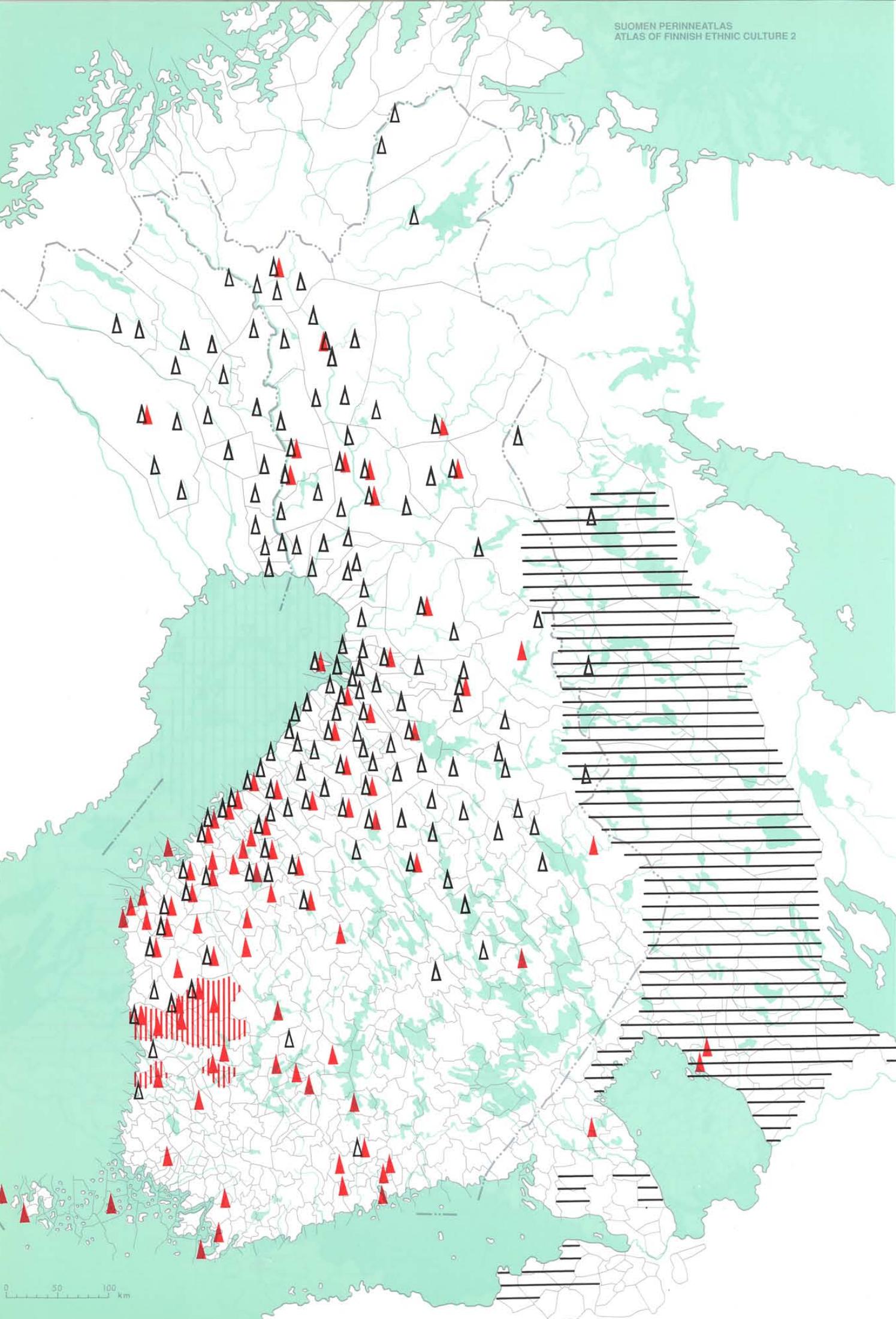
As a custom, fear of the dead and prevention of their return home is universal.(7 Within kinship religions, it was not fundamentally a case of expulsion of the dead, but the purpose of the rites has been to transport the deceased to the correct state and place where they could be cared for. In the Christian period, the deceased had to be accompanied into hallowed ground to await their fate, the last judgment. As a tradition, the Savonian karsikko rite is a part of Christian culture, and has actually had the function of prohibiting consulting the dead and the memorial events, when the dead of the kinship group would visit their former homes.

Karsikko-making with the associated shots of alcohol may also be seen as a crisis rite, which according to Victor Turner's ideas returned cultural order (*societas*) and created the social unity (*communitas*) of the mourners. Death breached the communal harmony; specifically the unburied dead were in a liminal state, outside cultural categories. In the Savo-Karelian community, karsikko-making demarcated the boundary between the living and the dead, at the same time defining the areas of life and death in the spiritual living environment of Christian man, in his world view.

Karsikkos were made en route; they were used to mark an event that took place on a hunting trip, working trip, visit, and a person's final journey. Wayside or travel karsikkos, crosses and icon shelters have existed everywhere in Orthodox Karelia, as is the case in northern Russia.(8 In Olonets and Dvina, too, wayside karsikkos have often been marked by removing a section of bark and a small metal icon affixed. Offerings have been made or prayers said for good luck on the journey at wayside karsikkos and icon shelters, but above all else they have been markers of resting places, stopping places of the deceased, or some special place in the village; they have defined religiously important focal points in man's living environment. Karsikkos have been markers on local man's religious and social map, his spiritual landscape.

Aaltonen 1912. Aspelin 1902. Brännström 1930. Harva 1924ab; 1942a. Honko 1963b. Juvas 1931. Kemppinen 1967, 43-. Konkka A. 1986. Leppäaho 1935. Pentikäinen 1963; 1990. Sarmela 1978c. Sarvas 1967. Sirelius 1919-1921. Talve 1960. Valjakka 1949. Vilkuna A. 1952. Vilkuna J. 1992 (*doctoral thesis*). Waronen 1898. (Konkka 1999.)

**1.** Karjalainen 1918, 161-. Cf. Lehtisalo 1924a, 57. **2.** Talve 1960. **3.** Vilkuna A. 1952. **4.** Juvas 1931. **5.** Harva 1942a. Honko 1963b. Konkka A. 1986. Vilkuna J. 1992, 54-, 143-. **6.** Vilkuna J. 1992, 111-. Honko 1963b. **7.** E.g. Frazer 1933-1934. **8.** Konkka A. 1986. Cf. Rytkölä 1988, 33-. Turner 1974ab.



## 7. Vainajat ja vainajakultti The Dead and the Cult of the Ancestors

1. Vainajakultti (kaskikulttuuri)  
Cult of the ancestors  
(swidden culture)  
vainajien muistajaiset  
memorial feasts for the dead

2. Vainajat  
The dead  
vainajien näkijät  
seers of the dead

3. Kalmanväki  
(kristillinen kulttuuri)  
The grave folk  
(Christian culture)  
kalmanväki päätöntä  
ja raajarikkoista  
headless and deformed grave  
folk

4. Hiidenväki päätöntä  
ja raajarikkoista  
headless and deformed *hiisi*-folk

Rekisteri- ja levinnesyyskartta  
Archive and distribution map

## 7. THE DEAD AND THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

### **Memorial feasts for the dead**

**Tradition of the ancestral cult.** Map 7 examines the layers of the ancestral belief and ideas associated with the dead. It has not been possible to include actual death rites and burial customs in the distribution maps, but in principle funerals, in common with weddings, are divided into two main traditions: western *village funerals* and eastern *kinship funerals*. The cult of the ancestors, the religion of the Iron Age agricultural communities, continued in the area of the Orthodox church in Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia and Ingria, in places even in South Karelia, which earlier belonged to the Orthodox church.

In Karelian kinship communities, the church adapted to the kin-centric thinking and absorbed the rites of the deceased as part of Christian tradition. In Orthodox Karelia and Ingria, the last area of village and kinship religion in Europe, village burial grounds and self-built village temples were preserved, as were the kin-centric social structure with kinship weddings (maps 9-21) and Prasnikas (22), as well as the texts of kinship rites, wedding songs and laments in the old meter (map 8).

On the Finnish side, the Lutheran church attempted to destroy the ancestral cult by means such as centralizing cemeteries to the parish church, but traces of the principal religion of ancient Finns also remain in western folk culture, especially in funeral customs. Among extended families in Savo, the ancestral cult survived in the shade of sacrificial trees (map 3), and in western Finland in stories about supernatural house guardians (62-63). Elements of the ancestral cult have remained in the background to many turn-of-the-year festivities, in eastern Finland in celebration of Kekri or All Saints' Day (day of the deceased) and in western Finland, Christmas (cf. maps 4, 28-29).

The longest preserved of the ancestral cults are the *memorial events* of the Orthodox area, with their uniform basic formula. On these occasions, the deceased were treated as invited guests and shown similar courtesy and hospitality as Prasnika guests.

**Personal memorial events.** According to Orthodox religion, four intercession days may be held for a deceased person, the first being on the third day after death or on the symbolic day of Christ's resurrection. The next memorial day is 9 and the third 40 days after death; the number of days refers to the period between Easter and Christ's Ascension. The fourth intercession day maintained by the church is after a year, according to doctrine the anniversary of the rebirth of the departed into a new life.

In Karelia, the most important memorial day was *kuusnetäiset* or that of the 40th day, also called *lounaalliset*. According to folk explanations, the deceased had spent this time as a bird or a butterfly on earth, retracing his own steps, as if reliving his life with its good and bad deeds. During this time, the de-

ceased was still in a way present among his kin, and his presence could be experienced, perhaps in dreams. The memorial event was held either at the home of the deceased or at the grave. Laments were sung for the deceased and a festive meal taken in the village burial ground, with some of the food left for the birds and the poor. If the memorial event was held at home, the deceased was symbolically collected, often by horse, from the burial ground the night before, the sauna was heated for him and a bed made up for the night. The deceased may also have had his own room prepared, with a made-up bed and a meal laid. The window of the room was left open, as the deceased entered through it, and long towels were hung from the windowsill to facilitate his arrival. However, more commonly an empty place was laid for the deceased at the family table on memorial day, and he was believed to partake of the meal with his kin.

**Kinship memorial events.** A special memorial feast, *mustaizet*, also called *piirut* (Russian *pir* ‘feast’), might have been held for a revered person, such as the matriarch or patriarch of the kinship group. It was held at some suitable time when the deceased were particularly remembered, usually a few years after the death. Although the feast was dedicated to a certain deceased person, it was at the same time a commemoration of the ancestors of the whole kinship group.

Kinship memorial days were preceded by a period of preparation and consecration, during which particular respect was shown the deceased and his home was cleansed ready for the celebration. It was customary to sow a special swidden or field, the ancestor's field, the crop from which was used for the festivities. The preparation period was usually six or nine weeks. During this time, the honorary ancestor of the kinship group was invited every day into his former home. He might have been collected daily by horse from the village burial ground, or a special room or corner with a dining table was prepared for him like at memorial events, and the deceased person came to live in the house right up to the *piirut*.

The period of consecration and preparation, like the actual memorial days, was subject to numerous prohibitions regarding work and other behavior rules. The festive house was cleaned, and during the consecration period all dirty, dusty or noisy work in the house was forbidden. In general, the preparatory period was spent in silence and reverence. Quarreling, loud talking and noisy behavior were forbidden and certain foods, such as pork, were not eaten during the preparatory period. The food put out for the deceased was later given to the village poor.

As a memorial event, the *piirut* was a festive meal and get-together, to which was invited all the (unilineal) kin of the deceased ‘right down to the ninth generation’. During the meal, memories of the deceased were exchanged, at the same time recalling important events for the kinship group and strengthening mutual ties. In Karelian society of the 1800s, where kinship was already bilateral, the deceased who commanded general respect united the families of the whole clan, the (affinal) kinship group related by marriages. Later at the end of the 1800s and early 1900s, the parish priest was also increasingly frequently invited to take part.

**General memorial days.** The Orthodox church calendar has four general days to commemorate the deceased, when families visited burial grounds to pay their respects to their dead. Particularly popular among the people has been (1) *muistinsuovatta* (commemoration sabbath; *suovatta*, Russian *subбота* ‘Saturday, sabbath’) on the third Saturday in October, or according to the ecclesiastical calendar on the Saturday before 26.10. or the anniversary of the battle of Kulikovo. *Muistinsuovatta* continues the tradition of the old turn of the year or *Kekri*, in Orthodox regions Pokrova, a time when the deceased were also given their share of the year’s produce. Other memorial days have been (2) Saturday of Souls or Judgment Saturday in February, (3) *ruadentsa* (Russian *raduniza*) or Easter of the Dead on the first Tuesday after Easter, and (4) *stroitsansuovatta* or the Saturday of the week after Ascension Day (*stroitsa*).

sa).

On muistinsuovatta day, families went together to take a meal on the graves. The grave houses or *kropus* of the family deceased were repaired and cleaned, dishes kept on the graves were filled with food, the crosses adorned with banners of the deceased, in the same way as e.g. among the Chinese. The banners were colourful strips of cloth or towels that fluttered in the wind. Candles of *tuohuses* were lit on the graves, and women performed laments. Each deceased person was remembered and personal laments sung for him or her.

The dead were thought to partake of the shared meal and symbolically experience the care and mutual unity of their kin. Leftover food was left for the birds or given to the poor who gathered around on memorial days. On these days, the dead might also be invited to the home and food left for them for the night in front of the icons.

**Karelian village burial ground.** The villages in Orthodox Karelia and Ingria had their own small chapels or *tsasounas* and a burial ground where the villagers buried their dead. The Karelian village burial ground has been a wood of the dead. No-one was permitted to fell trees there, or to cut the grass or even remove a twig. With the passage of time, many village burial grounds had turned into lush groves and finally into ancient spruce stands, where giant trees fallen through old age moldered on the ground among the graves. The burial grounds were situated on islands, or they are still prominent as wooded islets in the Dvina Karelian village landscape where the trees have been removed or cleared away to make arable land. The woods for the dead with their sacred trees, called *hiisi* in western Finland, are likely to have been similar forested islets situated near houses.

In village burial grounds, the souls of ancestors lived near their kin. In Karelia, the deceased were given their own dwelling place, *kropu* or *kropnitsa*, built on the graves up to the 19th century. They were low chests or coffins made of logs or boards with apex roofs, which resembled real houses with their windows and decorated eaves. The soul of the ancestor symbolically lived in the grave house, and the offerings for him were also placed there. Log coffins have been found in Iron Age graves, where they were placed underground in common with kurgans or burial mounds in the Vepsian area. The wooden crosses later erected in Orthodox burial grounds have also resembled apex-roofed houses. In some Dvinian villages, old rowing boats were brought to the burial ground and turned over as if to cover the grave, and the coffin has also been called *ruuhi* [boat]. This may have been the means of hunting communities and long-distance hunters of equipping the deceased on his journey to another world, to the island of the dead, or the grave boats are evidence of the idea of Tuonela, the realm of the dead or the underworld, which was separated from the dwelling places of the living by water (cf. map 90).

In Iron Age burial grounds, as still later in Orthodox cemeteries, the dead members of the kinship group lived their shadow lives as souls, and they were believed to return in time to the world of the living by being reborn into their own kin. Up to the 1800s, the ancestors have been consulted about many issues in Dvina and elsewhere. People have visited village burial grounds, as the Savonians visited sacred trees (map 3), to seek help for illnesses and misfortune. The dead have been asked for advice in matters concerning the future, and newborn children and new daughters-in-law have been introduced to them (map 19).

**Kinship and village community funerals.** The structural changes affecting death rites have been similar to those of weddings and other family occasions. In Orthodox Karelia, funerals were kinship occasions, as were weddings. But in western Finland funerals became village occasions culminating in a communal funeral meal. The whole village community would gather to accompany the deceased, and as was the case with wedding feasts, landed peasants' funerals also turned into a status rite by the 1800s.

Invitations were issued to funerals, and the social status of the deceased was shown by the number of guests, the feasting fare, the number of days the funeral feast lasted, or the length of the funeral cortege following the coffin when it was taken to the cemetery.

In western Finland, in common with upper class culture elsewhere in Europe, social inequality became evident even in the grave monuments erected in the parish cemetery. The pursuit of honor and fame was already rooted in Scandinavian Viking communities and reflected in the funeral pyres of the chiefs. However, pre-Christian burial grounds did not preserve the memory of the individual dead, and the Scandinavian custom of making rune stones did not spread to Finland. Only with the advent of land-owning peasant society in the 1800s did class divisions reach the cemeteries of rural parishes. The Karelian village burial ground is the opposite of a cemetery in western Finland. A rotting wooden cross remained as a mark of the deceased, and the memory of the person as an individual was preserved as long as he was remembered among his kin.

In Karelian funerals and memorial events, as in all rites of passage of human life, women held a dominant position. They washed and dressed the deceased, led the death rites, arranged the memorial occasions. The women maintained contact with the deceased of the kinship group, and the rite texts, laments, were also their social property. Karelian memorial events have many characteristics, such as grave houses, shared meals at the grave, and tying of banners for the dead on the grave structures, that resemble the rites for the deceased among Asian peoples. In the Christian era, memorial days, too, have been the same all over Russia and northern Asia, in areas permeated by the Orthodox religion.

## **Grave folk**

**Narratives of the dead.** Narratives of the dead who come back to haunt the living have been part of the most common and vibrant tradition throughout the Finnish-Karelian area, especially in Savo. However, there are no regional differences between the stories of the dead revisiting their homes or restless souls; cartographically distinct western layers are moralistic tales of dead children (maps 73-75) and stories about deformed, headless and limbless corpses. Typical of northern regions are stories of seers of grave folk, people who have been given or obtained the ability of seeing the dead.

**Seers of the dead.** Seers sensed the presence of the dead, or in the negative sense, of grave folk, and could obtain information during their ecstatic experiences on future events, particularly forthcoming deaths. Seeing the dead is described as a frightening experience accompanied by various auditory perceptions and even olfactory perceptions, the stench of a corpse or of sulphur. The dead or grave folk have mostly been experienced as a mass coming towards the seer and completely filling his or her consciousness, 'throwing around' the seer and causing him to enter a kind of trance or epileptic state (cf. map 71). The dead described by the seers have also often been headless and missing limbs.

One could become a seer against one's will by being startled by a corpse, or by being contaminated by death from an object or piece of clothing polluted by a corpse. The seer may have unwittingly donned an item of clothing worn by a dead person or slept in a bed in which a corpse had lain. It was also possible to obtain the gift of seeing by washing one's eyes with corpse soap, soap that had been used to wash a corpse or that had been made from fat from a human corpse, or with some other substances that

had been in contact with a corpse. Sometimes grave folk have appeared as a punishment for dishonouring or insulting the deceased, for example if the seer has strayed into the burial ground while drunk.

Seers of the dead may have gained social kudos due to their capacities in clairvoyancy, but perhaps more commonly they have been deemed to be strange, tending towards witchcraft, even mentally ill. Ecstatic or shamanistic experiences, spiritual 'seeing' and entering a trance have also been valued in the north in the Christian revivalist movements, particularly the Laestadians.

(Si C 1701)

**Headless and limbless grave folk.** In narratives that spread from Scandinavia to western Finland, the dead are described as exaggeratedly horrible, headless, missing limbs and moldy. In the visions of the stories, deformed grave folk rise from below ground or wander towards the seer. Some are headless, without arms or legs, their faces are shrouded in mold or pus, the flesh is hanging off their bones; the details have been embellished in many ways. The stories highlight the abhorrence of grave folk and a fear of the dead. The message of the narratives is contrary to that of the cult of the dead. They are part of the new morality tradition, influenced by Christianity, spawned in agrarian villages.

(Si C 1701-1900)

**Headless and limbless hiisi folk.** In a small area in upper Satakunta and South Ostrobothnia, hiisi folk means a tribe living under the ground, a subterranean people (maps 71-72). This is based on an extensive complex of beliefs, according to which the dead live under the ground in an inverse world.

The term 'hiisi folk' probably comes from the original meaning of the word 'hiisi': burial ground, wood of the deceased. Thus, the horrific images of the narratives have been transferred to the dead who came from pagan burial grounds.

(SiC1781)

## ***Layers of the ancestral cult***

**The dead in hunting culture.** In the era of early, mobile hunting cultures, a dead body has not been an object of religious treatment for the Finns, but the remains may have been left unburied for wild beasts or dogs, or perhaps placed high up on a platform on pillars or in a tree, as was the custom of many northern peoples. In shamanistic thinking it was of prime importance that the soul of the deceased was freed into its new form and was able, perhaps in the form of a bird, to travel to the realm of the dead, Tuonela or the underworld, to await reincarnation.

The dead lived or wandered in different layers of the universe (cf. maps 39, 87).(2) Apparently very early is also the idea that the realm of the dead was situated beyond water, such as the river of Tuonela (map 90) either under the ground or far away in the north at the end of the world, where the canopy of the heavens meets the sea. The underground world of Tuonela has often been described as the mirror image of the world of the living. It was in a shadow world, such as that reflected in water, according to e.g. the interpretation of the Sami under the (double-bottomed) saivo lake.(3) The underground world of the dead may also have been subdivided into various layers.

In shamanistic tradition, the journey to the realm of the dead was long and fraught with danger; the

symbolism of death rites reinforced the status of the shaman as guide to the souls of the dead. The deceased had to be equipped for his final journey, for example by giving him his personal weapons, so that his soul would make it across the border to the other side in order to continue the eternal cycle of rebirth. In the era of hunting communities, e.g. the Bronze Age, burial cairns were built on high, visible spots, on seaside cliffs or ridges. The burial custom spread inland perhaps around 1000 B.C., and there, too, burial mounds, so-called Lappish ruins were often situated on high rocks on promontories and islands along waterways. Their position may reflect the thinking typical of the marine and hunting culture of the time. The deceased remained in the natural environment, to look out at fishing waters or hunting grounds, like the bear escorted into the forest in certain versions of the skull rune (map 1).

Archaeological finds provide some indication that as early as the era of the Comb Ceramic Culture, the dead were also buried in the earth in the environment of the living, as if among their own kin or hunting group.(4) Later, too, the Sami, e.g. the Skolts, had their own family burial grounds at the fishing ground of the kinship group. Early hunting communities already believed that a good life after death continued in the place where man had lived, hunted and fished among his own kin, but on the other hand ancestors have also secured the rights of kinship groups to use their established hunting and fishing grounds. Contrary to the ideas of Harva and other researchers supporting the so-called manistic theory, the ancestral cult may not after all be the earliest religion of northern hunter peoples, such as the Sami, but it is a part of the structures of Iron Age cultivating communities. A distinction must be drawn between equipping the dead for the journey to the underworld and a cult of the dead.(5)

**The deceased buried among his community.** In cultivating communities, the deceased have gradually been increasingly tied to man's living environment. During the Battle Axe Culture (2500-2000 B.C.), coffins of stone or wood were first made for the dead, possibly symbolizing his dwelling. As stationary coastal habitation became established towards the end of Kiukainen Culture (2000-1000 B.C.), the dead were buried near houses or possible field clearings, and the graves were marked with cairns piled up with stones. The so-called *hiidenkiuas* structures, large stone piles, of the Bronze Age, are deemed to be the earliest family graves by scholars such as Unto Salo; they have been in use for long periods, making them up to 20-30 meters long.(6) Early hoe and field cultivation village burial grounds have been Estonian *tarhakalmistot* [burial compounds], which have also been discovered on the Finnish coasts, in the old permanent habitations of Varsinais-Suomi and Satakunta. In a tarhakalmisto the dead were buried in a communal grave, but each in his own low enclosure made of stones. The grave formed a large mound covered with stones and earth, a house of the dead.

The custom of cremating the dead, widespread in Europe and Asia, spread also to Finland; in the Iron Age cremation was perhaps the predominant practice right up to the advent of Christianity. During the first millennium (ca. A.D. 400-) so-called cremation fields became common in village areas of western and southern Finland, where the dead were cremated, the ashes strewn on the field and covered. Chieftain graves according to Scandinavian custom, where the deceased has been cremated in a large sea-going vessel, have also been found in Finland,(7) Perhaps cremating the corpse has in Finland been symbolism of the early slash-and-burn or swidden cultivators. Cremation has been thought to release the soul from the body; for example among many Asian peoples the deceased and the property sent along with him is transported to the realm of the dead by burning. Remains of the dead, ashes and pieces of bone, have also been brought into the house and kept within the homestead.(8) The Orthodox Karelian *kalmoilla käynti* [visiting the dead], grave meals and memorial feasts are structurally very similar to the rites relating to the dead of the Chinese and also some other Asian peoples.(9)

**Era of the cult of the dead.** In the first millennium after the birth of Christ, grave goods became in-

creasingly richer also in Finland. The dead were probably dressed in their finest clothes and given food, utensils or at least their own weapons and personal jewelry. The deceased were equipped not only for the journey to Tuonela, but also for getting by on the other side. In early cultivation communities, the family deceased acquired a social significance. They were buried near the fields they had cleared; the clearers of the land and first inhabitants of the house remained after death as the supernatural owners of the place, supernatural guardians [*haltia*], watching over the lives and fortunes of those succeeding them. Burial grounds and rite sites, *hiisi* woods, gave new generations the right of control to the land, and identified the living and the dead as members of their own village, the local community (map 3). The cult of the dead contained a utopia of a secured life that continued on the other side of the boundary of life, and a hope of reincarnation among one's own kin.

In the heyday of the cult of the dead, the support structures of society have been kinship groups with their ancestors and their rights to use the environment. The surroundings of villages belonged symbolically to the ancestors, to past generations. The ancestors protected their successors who continued their work; they also watched over the morality of the kinship communities, the social order. The graves and village burial grounds of kinship villages were the first focal points of the local way of life, in the same way as churches, village schools or council houses were later. It is likely that it was precisely in Iron Age cultivation communities that the ancestral cult was formed, complete with its primogenic offerings and memorial feasts, the whole culture of local kinship communities to which belonged sorcerers, runes and incantations in the old meter, kinship weddings and funerals.

**Structural changes of the ancestral cult.** Finnish lore also contains various layers of the ancestral cult: (1) shamanistic interpretations of the soul and reincarnation, (2) the cult of the dead and (3) the Christian doctrine of resurrection and the last judgment. Judgment after death as a religious concept is perhaps older than the dogmas of high religions; at least a very universal interpretation also among subsistence cultures has been that after death, man has an opportunity of atoning for his earthly deeds, to suffer his punishment and to be cleansed, either in order to be reborn or to move on to the final state of the dead. Among high religions, above all in agrarian village communities, the doctrine of judgment after death was transformed into a social doctrine, upon which was based the Christian order and in practice also the earthly power of the churches.

In the cultivating communities of western and southern Finland, it was the ancestral cult that posed a competing ideology, a counter-religion, to Christian churches of the time. In the course of the centuries, as the churches constructed a new society, almost everything that had been part of pre-Christian ideas of the dead was interpreted as paganism or worship of a false god. The change in the meanings of the ancestral cult affected everything from funereal customs to folklore, narratives of the dead and people who had encountered them. In Varsinais-Suomi, Häme, and evidently everywhere else too in Iron Age village areas, the Catholic church destroyed or appropriated kinship and village burial grounds, usually by building churches in *hiisi* woods. At the same time, the church also appropriated the dead, who at first were buried under the floors of churches, and later by the church in the cemetery. The large stone churches of the Middle Ages were evidently required precisely as fortifications against the ancestral cult. In place of the graves of family ancestors, the church brought martyrial shrines, commemorative sites of the slaying of St Henry, holy baptismal springs and other places of worship that served the construction of a centralized organization.(10)

In centralized cemeteries, the deceased lost their personality and kinship; the dead were grave folk, symbols of collective fear. The Christian concept of the dead also migrated to sorcerer rites. Cemeteries and churches were visited by witches at night (map 52), corpse earth and bones of the dead were the most fearsome tools of black magic, which the devil's servants kept in their witching pouches. Evidently,

grave folk acquired a position as pivotal in witchcraft as that held by iron folk and fire in the Iron Age sorcerer tradition.

In the narratives of Christian agrarian society, burial grounds became horrific places associated with a bad death and perdition. In the moral narratives of agrarian village communities, the church not only saved man from a bad fate after death, but also from the deceased. A passer-by who had disturbed the dead in a cemetery might be saved from the hands of the dead by taking refuge in prayer or the shelter of a cross, such as a field plowed cross-wise. Although man has always feared the dead, in the folklore of agrarian communities the dead were kind of enemies of Christian man, attempting to grab the living from their graves in order to take them to their midst. Even the underworld acquired a meaning of something evil, the opposite of the Christian concepts of heaven, perdition. By controlling the keys to life after death, the church also assumed earthly power, the everyday culture. But regardless of the tradition of hegemony, the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead has eternally conflicted both with shamanistic belief and the ancestral cult.

**Fear of the dead.** Stories of the dead returned to haunt the living have reinforced the ancestral cult. Malevolent dead were those who had not made it to the other side or of whom no-one had taken care; they had been excluded from the cultural order. Unidentified and neglected dead, in common with criminals or people disowned by their kin, became evil ‘spirits’, restless souls, who searched for their share or atonement for their deeds among the living.<sup>(11)</sup> The deceased were looked after, not only because the ancestors reciprocally helped their successors, but in order that the dead would be able to manage in their own realm and not come back to demand their share, to haunt or cause evil to the living. It was imperative to get back to one’s own village after death. The greatest misfortune was to have no relatives or to be abandoned by one’s kin.

In Christian tradition, the dead may haunt the living if they had been denied a Christian burial, the last rites and a funeral service. A haunting dead has met a violent death and wanted a Christian burial (maps 73-75), or a criminal, or has committed suicide or some other mortal sin, or been a servant of the Anti-christ (cf. map 61); they were actually buried outside the cemetery walls. The fear of death and perdition culminated in narratives of graveyards and the devil.<sup>(12)</sup>

The tales of headless, limbless and rotting dead represent folk visualization of the transience of the human body. The backcloth may also be the doctrine of purgatory and possibly also new punishments meted out to criminals, beheading and butchering of the corpse, the use of which increased also in the Nordic countries during the Reformation in the 1600-1700s. Headless and limbless corpses represented human evil, murderers, witches and fornicators, who according to the Christian concepts of morality of the time deserved the death sentence; they were not even allowed to be buried in consecrated earth.

Death rites have reinforced the boundary between the living and the dead. The dead were transported to their own world. Perhaps the idea behind the cairn graves piled up from stones and the karsikkos of the dead of early hunting communities (map 6) was an attempt to banish the dead permanently to their own side. Horror stories of haunting dead, who have not been admitted to the underworld or hallowed earth, have also reinforced the contrast between life and death. In the era of the ancestral cult, the boundary between the other side and this life has been tentatively lowered. The fear of the dead was possibly most powerful in Christian agrarian communities, where death, perdition and the devil (maps 55-61) were prominent narrative subjects. The stories of the dead of agrarian communities have not gained credibility in the kinship communities of Orthodox Karelia, and although stories of haunting dead have been particularly common in Savo, their tone is different from that in western Finland. The relationship of northern seer stories to the dead is conflicting. The figure of the seer contains archaic shamanistic or even perhaps mental instability known by the name of Arctic hysteria, although visions of the dead have

been translated into narratives of grave folk. Nevertheless, when comparing ancestral cults it should be remembered that horror stories also featured in the narration, performing art, of western peasant villages. In his own immediate circle, man of the Christian era has always distinguished the deceased of his own kin from the dead or graveyard folk of the stories.

**Ancestral rites are eternal.** The culture of death has always been multi-layered and contradictory. In Satakunta and elsewhere in southwestern Finland, corpse graves became more common, with the dead buried uncremated and without weapons or other artefacts, in the Viking era (A.D. 800). They are seen to represent the new Christian custom and to reflect the idea of resurrection. Equipping of the dead ended once Christianity had become established in the 1200s, but caring for dead relatives and equipping them for the final journey continued also in Lutheran village communities; the dead were dressed, even in their best clothes, and cash was placed in the coffin or their jewelry for women.(13 In the industrialized society, equipping of the deceased has passed on to commercial service agencies. Yet, in the context of death rites, man still behaves as if his dead relatives and friends were receiving the care and demonstrations of emotion required by public culture. Memorial feasts for the dead continued in Soviet Karelia, and after the collapse of communism, kinship death rites have again emerged to form a part of Dvinian village culture. Contact with the deceased, perhaps in dreams, is still important especially to Dvinian women.(14

Centralized national culture has also adopted death rites, building organizational cult sites around political or national leaders, war cemeteries, mausoleums, even cult centres for national gods. In delocal Finland, communal funerals have become privatized; only the death rites of cultural leaders are communally significant. What about the future? Will the death of postlocal man become just an event in the statistics of technosystems? In Finland, as elsewhere in Europe, cemetery rites were revived during the World Wars, and since the 1920s the deceased have been remembered on All Saints' Day and at the turn of the year by placing candles and lanterns on graves.(15 National and private death rites still provide a right to the land, to a national history, family traditions, one's own past.

Korhonen S. 1990 (bibliography). Achté – Lönnqvist – Pentikäinen 1985. Barsov 1872. Haavio 1934b; 1937. Harva 1932; 1948, 488-; 1961. Honko 1958; 1960a; 1963c; 1963-1965. Juvas – Reponen 1939. Kemppinen 1967; 1977, 265-. Konkka U. 1980; 1985. Krohn K. 1914, 40-. Lehmusto 1937. Makkonen 1989. Nenola-Kallio 1985. Paulaharju S. 1924. Pentikäinen 1999. Rytkönen 1927. Salmio 1976. Sarmela 1984a, 208-. Sirelius 1921. Storå 1971. Strogalštšikova 1986. Surhasko 1985. Talve 1988. Tegengren 1912. Vilkuna A. 1956, 64-, 83-; 1958. Waronen 1898. (Klemettinen 1998. Jetsu 2001.)

**1.** E.g. Harva 1933a, 198-. Kannisto 1958a, 29-. Lehtisalo 1924a, 115-. **2.** E.g. Haavio 1939b. Mansikka 1924. Söderholm 1983. Itkonen T. I. 1948 II, 349-; 1946a, 161-. Baaren 1974. **3.** Manker 1961,21-. Harva 1915a, 14-; 1926, 12-; 1927, 3-; 1942b, 16-. Honko 1958; 1960a. Karjalainen 1918, 49-. Hämäläinen 1927. Lehtisalo 1924b, 115-. Sirelius 1902-1903. Tottersson 1987. Cf. Ellis 1977, 65-. Ranke 1951. Klimkeit 1978. **4.** E.g. Huurre 1979. Suomen historia 1984-1985 1. Storå 1971. Purhonen 1998. **5.** Bäckman 1978. **6.** Meinander 1954, 89-. Salo 1984, 85. Selirand 1989,87-. Koski 1967-1970. **7.** Leppääho 1950. **8.** Bendann 1969. Huntington – Metcalf 1979. Rosenblatt – Walsh – Jackson 1976. Sarmela 1989b; 2005,129-. **9.** E.g. Ahern 1973. Hsu 1971. Janelli – Janelli 1982. Smith R. 1974. Watson – Rawski 1988. **10.** Jokipii 1989. **11.** Ariés 1976; 1978. Fuchs 1973. **12.** Haavio 1947a. Honko 1960b. Frazer 1933-1934. **13.** Rimpiläinen 1971. **14.** Järvinen – Timonen 1993. **15.** Rehnberg 1965.

## 8.

### Itkuvirret Laments

1. Itkuvirsiien tallentaminen  
Recording of laments  
Muistiinmerkity  
Noted down



yli 100 toisintoa  
over 100 variants



yli 50 toisintoa  
over 50 variants



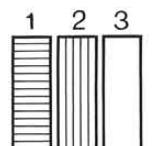
yli 20 toisintoa  
over 20 variants



alle 20 toisintoa  
under 20 variants

2. Itkuvirsiien alueittainen  
jakautuma (%)  
Regional distribution of  
laments (%)

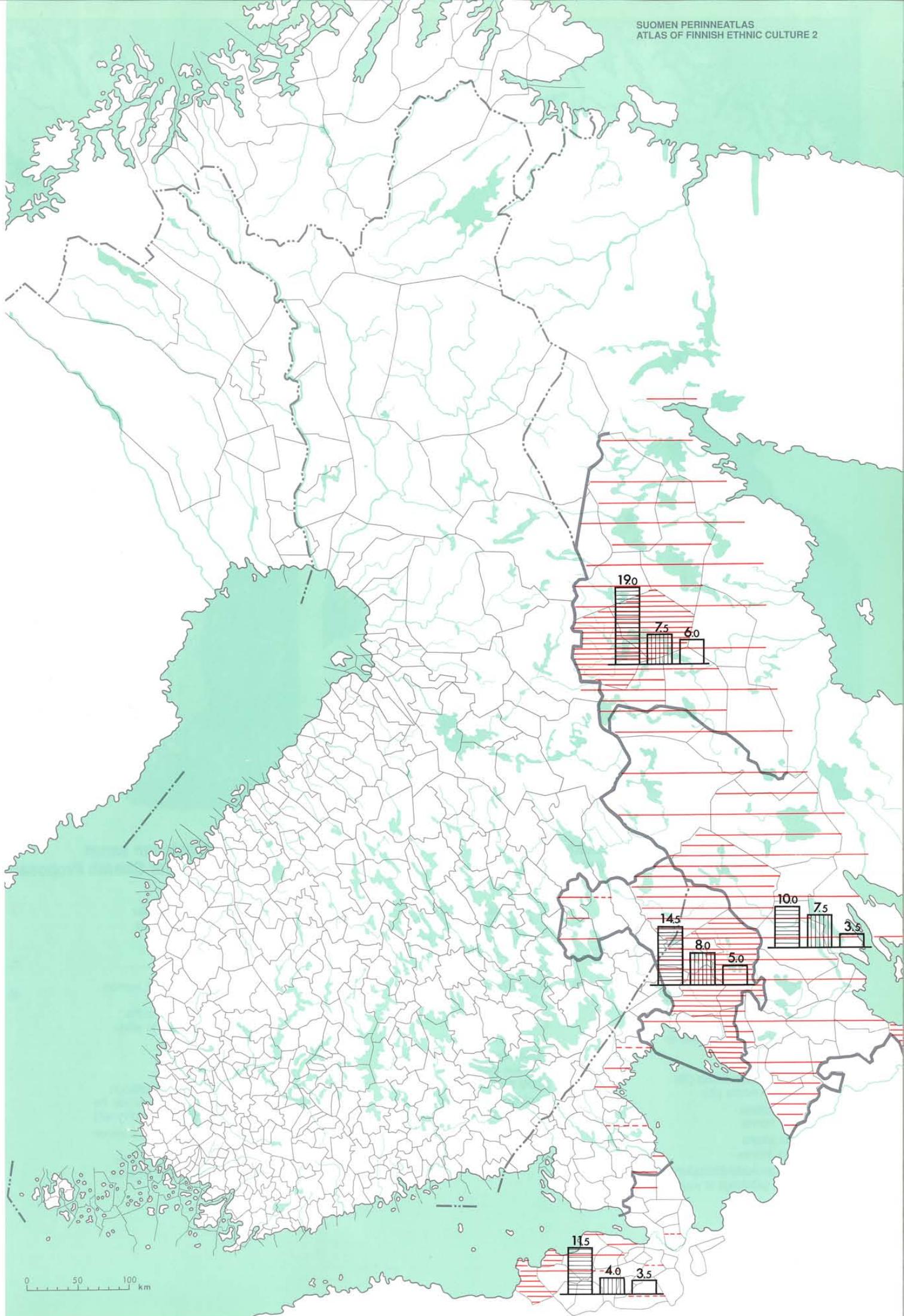
1. häätkuja (1370)  
wedding laments (1370)
2. kuolinitkuja (665)  
death laments (665)
3. matka- ja muita itkuja  
(375)  
journey and other laments  
of resignation (375)



56 27 16 %

Kaikkiaan 2585 toisintoa  
Total of 2585 variants

Levinneisyys- ja tilastokartta  
Distribution and statistical map



## 8. LAMENTS

### Poetry of separation rites

**Orthodox Karelia and the heritage of Vepsia.** Laments are women's poetry and they are an element of separation rites. Ceremonial lamenting has been performed (1) at leaving parties, as the bride was preparing her departure and leaving her home and kin (*wedding laments*). (2) The dead have been lamented at home at wakes and at the grave by the open coffin, and later at memorial feasts arranged on certain dates at home and at the village burial ground (*death laments*). (3) Laments have been performed by mothers to their sons when they have been forced to leave for military service (recruit laments), as well as by wives when sending their husbands on a long journey, such as bag traders to Finland (travel laments). They may have been performed in a variety of situations, also alone, and they can be improvised to express various powerful emotional states, sadness but sometimes also joy (*laments of resignation*).

Laments are part of the culture of particularly Orthodox Karelia, Ingria and Vepsia, and their distribution generally follows the boundary between the Lutheran and Orthodox religions, with a few exceptions (the Äyrämöiset of Ingria etc.). In Karelian and Vepsian areas it has been possible to collect laments right up to modern times, and they are also found with the Ludians, and the lament repertoire of the Tver Karelians, who lived isolated from the rest of Karelia, is particularly rich. The Votians also had their own lament poetry, and very significant development of laments took place among the Orthodox population of Estonia in Setumaa.

The map provides information of the distributions of laments, calculated on the basis of Finnish collections and those of the Republic of Karelia Institute of Language, Literature and History. The calculations show that most laments have been collected from Dvina (approx. 33%), with the second core area on the map being Ladoga Karelia (28%), but proportionately the most lament variants (about 19% of all laments) were nevertheless recorded in the Orthodox Izhorian and Votian villages of western Ingria. More than half of the laments archived are wedding laments (55%); especially in Dvina, many more wedding laments were collected than death or recruit laments. Recent field collections, which it has not been possible to include in the figures, have strengthened the share of poorly collected areas, such as Tver and Vepsia.

In general, in the Baltic-Finnic area laments have been part of the tradition of the Orthodox population, surviving in the parting and separation rites, kinship weddings and funerals of kinship communities (maps 7, 16). Cultural change has particularly affected the wedding tradition, while the survival of death laments was prolonged by events such as the suffering brought about by the Second World War.

**Ceremonial laments.** The central theme in laments is the sadness felt by the mother, bride, family members, relatives or neighbors and friends at the moment of parting. Although lament poetry expresses very personal emotions, the form of the expression and the modes of performance have been dictated by tradition and are communally controlled. The lament also expresses the change experienced by the community, resulting from the departure of a member. The bride and the deceased are shown a place in a new community, and those left behind are helped to adapt to the new situation. Lamenting has been effective expression of sadness, easing the parting and helping those present to adjust to the necessity of change.

At the turning points of an individual's life, laments belong in stages where a person is only just passing from his former position to a new one: a daughter is no longer a daughter nor yet a wife, but *antilas* [to be given away], a deceased person is no longer alive nor yet a dead person settled in the graveyard (e.g. in *Dvina pokoiniekka*), but somewhere in a liminal state and for whom a special name (*pokoitussa*) is used. Lamenting has been used to gradually guide those in a passage phase to a new state, at the same time reinforcing the mutual values and cohesion of the surrounding community.

The lament is sacral language that can be used to address a deceased person, a bride or a man leaving for war, in many ways in delicate situations. At the same time laments are also poetry. Their special vocabulary and imagery provide the means of integrating the individual and the communal, the unique material and that dictated by the traditional formula. Laments about one's own life, gratitude laments and temporary laments inspired by various emotional states are evidence of extension of lament poetry beyond its ceremonial function.

In many regions, the lament has been the tradition of a specialist, not of every woman. For example at East Karelian weddings, the bride only wept tears, with a special wailing woman beside her performing the laments on her behalf. Using professional wailers was common in areas where lamenting ceremonies swelled to contain dozens of laments, but elsewhere, too, people liked to trust in the skills of an accomplished wailer. In some regions of South Karelia, such as Tver, development took the opposite direction; at least in principle, the lament had to be performed by each female family member on occasions such as arrival to a wake, and it was improper to employ a wailer from outside the family.

**Elements of the lament.** The Baltic-Finnic lament tradition differs from the Russian both in terms of structure and style. Karelian lament language is characterized by prolific use of alliteration and refrain, favouring diminutive nouns and frequentative verbs, and use of filler and emphasis words. Laments have a partly unique vocabulary that does not occur in everyday speech and includes e.g. crystallized personal names, phrases of address and metaphors. As well as these stylistic elements, the lamenter had to be conversant with the structural formulae of the laments performed in different situations and which formed the framework of the lament production process.

Lamenting questions, exclamations and rhetoric twists are the most typical tools of the lament. Through their use, the lamenter creates a contrast between the previously prevailing state of happiness and the sorrow that has now befallen the family or community. Often, the lamenter is initially stunned, cannot believe that the deceased is dead but searches for him in the usual places of his daily chores, tries to awaken him to speak, to eat etc. Finally the lamenter accepts what has happened and describes the future abode of the deceased in the family burial ground, Tuonela beyond the stream, or Paradise.

Laments are difficult to comprehend as mere texts. This is because they are a part of a more extensive ceremony and custom tradition, with which anyone studying laments should acquaint himself. In addition, certain details demand knowledge of the life, family relationships, manner of death etc. of the object of

the lament. In any case, only a lament heard in a genuine situation gives an idea of the suggestive surge of emotions the lamenter is able to transmit to those present.

**Background of laments.** In Europe, the tradition of laments has existed among all language groups. In the Middle Ages, both western and eastern churches issued prohibitions intended to stifle the tradition. Indeed, the custom waned, albeit slowly and mainly only in western Europe, where it has in later times been found only in relatively isolated preserves in e.g. Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, Corsica and southern Italy. However, the real preserve of living tradition is eastern Europe, around a line running roughly from Greece to Karelia, and east of it. For this reason, study of laments has also focused on the Balkans, Rumania, Hungary (including the German minorities) and Russia, both among the Russian and other language groups, including the Finno-Ugrians.

In evolutional studies, the lament has been deemed to be an ancient form of tradition, even one of the original forms of lyricism (H. Werner). This argument may gain support from the fact that lament poetry is found in all corners of the world, both in the cultures of aboriginal populations and illiterate natural peoples and in the oldest high cultures in history. The wailing ceremony was known in the funeral ceremonies in ancient Egypt; the Sumerians had professional lamenters, as did the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome.

All layers of the Baltic-Finnic lament tradition have not yet been satisfactorily studied. The Karelian tradition is evidently old and linked on one hand to the Ludian and Vepsian, on the other hand to Ingria and maybe Setu-Estonia too. It does not seem feasible to link the lament traditions of these more distant Finno-Ugrians, such as the Mordvins, Udmurts and particularly the Komi, to those of the Baltic-Finnic peoples. In several areas the tradition has taken its own direction, in interaction with other traditions or laments in languages other than Russian. Thus, the tradition is not uniform, which in its part testifies for its ancient roots. Similarly, the study of lament tunes provides clues to shared roots, but also reveals considerable regional variations.

*Lauri Honko*

Honko 1963a; 1974; 1978ab. Konkka U. 1985. Kuznetsova 1992. Nenola-Kallio 1973; 1981ab; 1982; (1999). Stepanova 1988. Stepanova – Koski 1976. Virtaranta 1989.

II.  
MARRIAGE

## PROPOSAL AND WEDDING

### ***Importance of marriage rites***

**Layers of customs.** Proposal and wedding customs defined how one should proceed when getting married, and as social dramas they also reflect the kinds of expectations set by communities of different eras on marriages legally entered and deemed to be good. The wedding has signified the legal, public implementation of marriage, and during the wedding the new social relationships brought about by the marriage were reinforced.

In the hunting and swidden communities of the prehistoric era, marriage was based on an agreement between two kinship groups, and the wedding took place between the groups. The parties were two kinship groups, the rites were performed by representatives of the families, and their message strengthened the cultural structures of kinship society. In agrarian communities weddings became a feast of the local community, with neighbors and villagers gathering to celebrate: to eat, drink and dance. The participants of the wedding drama were the villagers, members of the local community, and the role players were the young couple's contemporaries or professional wedding organizers. The drama was put on for the village community, and the wedding ceremonies and even the festive paraphernalia were increasingly required to correspond to the expectations set on the proposal and wedding customs of different social classes.

Finnish proposal and wedding customs contain four main layers.

(1) The kinship community marriage customs were preserved in Dvina, Olonets and remote areas of Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia.

(2) Eastern kinship culture is still the background in the area of agrarianized kinship weddings in Ingria, South Karelia and Savo.

(3) In the area of prehistoric Häme, customs of ancient Scandinavian kinship community have been preserved, apparently becoming known in the early Middle Ages.

(4) The most recent main layer consists of proposal and wedding customs of Christian agrarian culture; they have been part of the tradition of village communities and became established in peasant villages of western and southern Finland, but spread with agrarianization to other parts of Finland and Karelia.

Historically speaking, one might also talk about pre-Christian and Christian wedding traditions. Kinship weddings (map 16) belong in the same early swidden era layer as the ancestral cult (map 7), sorcery (maps

39-50) and old runes (maps 87-96). They reflect a time when kinship groups were responsible for the lives of their members and for the values held to be important by kinship community man. Ancient Scandinavian marriage differed from Finnish kinship marriage in that at least from the 13th century, a free man betrothed his spouse himself, and the legal union began from the public giving up of the bride or betrothal and from being escorted to the marriage bed (map 20). A woman was under the guardianship of her father, who could legally marry her off, and subsequently of her husband. Male-dominated customs are unlikely to date further back than the Viking era, when moving over to stationary agriculture, use of large draught animals, and a war-like atmosphere transformed Scandinavian communities into patriarchal ones; the same atmosphere is reflected by war-like heroic poems. In Finland, memories of ancient Scandinavian marriage ceremonies remain in narratives of sheath proposals (maps 9-10) and ancient betrothal customs preserved mainly in Häme (map 14). However, the majority of the western proposal and wedding customs included in the Atlas represent 18th century Christian village culture.

**Individual passage.** Entering into marriage has been a multilayered rite of passage, during which the young couple was passed from among the unmarried to the status of (1) the married, and in local communities at the same time (2) those with full adult social rights and the role of (3) future father and mother of a family. During the proposal and wedding ceremonies, the bride and groom were moved step by step across boundaries that irrevocably separated them from the unmarried. Every marriage has also signified changes in the social relations of the community, and as rites of passage, weddings reinforced the new social categories. The marriage united the young couple in a (4) new kinship union, which has also been the meaning of the term *heimo* or *heimokunta* (kinship group related by marriages, *affinal fratrias*). In a peasant society, it became increasingly important to show that the new married couple belonged in a certain (5) social class. The wedding also made public the young couple's new sexual status. From then on, the young couple belonged to the (6) status of the married, a group whose members had the right of sexual intercourse with their wedded spouse. Especially in Christian communities, marriage afforded sexual rights forbidden from the unmarried.

Kinship weddings, Dvinian song weddings, were classic rites of passage in terms of the formula of events, divided into three stages: (1) departure ceremony of the bride (separation rite), (2) escorting of the bride (liminal state) and (3) arrival (aggregation rite) or bride's reception ceremony at the groom's home. The young couple's form of residency was virilocal. The events centered around the bride. During the wedding drama, the bride was detached from her own family and attached to the groom's kinship group or as daughter-in-law of an extended family, and her new status was shown by titles and role costume. In the area of laments (map 8), separation rites began immediately at the proposal ceremony, when the marriage had been agreed (map 11). From the proposal on, the Karelian bride was an *antilas* [promised away, betrothed], to be given to another kinship group; this was the time of her first ritual laments. While collecting bridal aid, the betrothed also lamented her farewells to her relatives (map 12). The separation rites continued on the shoeing night and the bridal sauna on the eve of the wedding, when the bride took her leave of her girl friends, her maidenhood and her entire life to date.

The departure ceremony was the bride's leaving party, the separation stage with laments and farewell ceremonies, culminating in the bride being dressed as a young wife and handed over to the groom's family. Then the young wife was transported in the wedding procession to the groom's family home. Transportation of the bride was a marginal or liminal stage, during which the bride was 'socially dead' or excluded from social structures; she had been detached from her former status, but not yet attached to her new peer group or immediate community. At the reception party, the bride was irrevocably received by the groom's kinship group, or as daughter-in-law of the extended family. In Savo-Karelia a woman belonged to her own kin also

when married, and in the 19th century agrarianizing Karelian extended family, adaptation of the young wife continued and she really only became a daughter-in-law once she had given birth to her first child. As grandmother and mother-in-law to her own sons' wives, the antilas could finally attain the status of matriarch of the extended family.

In western peasant communities, the young couple left their age group and were passed over to their own social status. The transition began at young women's evening sittings, where betrothed brides prepared their trousseaus (cf. handwork parties, map 34), and continued at engagement or banns dances (maps 14-15). Young people's separation rites included various procession ceremonies, such as the reception of returners from a trip to the market to buy engagement gifts (map 18); the bride's rites of passage were replaced at the wedding by ritual dances, with the unmarried and married opposite each other (map 16). In Lutheran village weddings, the most important sequence of the rites of passage was the wedding ceremony performed at home (map 16), but old village weddings have also included the public escorting of the young couple to bed, as well as covering the bride's head on the morning after the wedding night (map 20). This publicized the new civil and sexual status of the married couple and reinforced the marriage ideals of the Christian church.

**Reinforcing new categories.** In kinship communities, the marriage agreement and new kinship organization were reinforced with reciprocal gifts and payments (maps 11, 13, 16). Under the concepts of justice retained in Savo-Karelia, the groom's family had to pay an agreement fee, so-called 'head money', for a legally given bride, and as guarantee of the union, a reciprocal pledge or betrothal money [*kihla*] was put up. During the wedding, reciprocal gifts were handed out both from the groom's and bride's side; giving and receiving them signified acknowledgement of the new kinship ties. The mutual gifts were retained also in peasant tradition, although confirmation of the union was passed over to the church. Kinship gifts became showpieces of girls' handicraft skills and wealth and thank-you gifts, distributed by the bride to the spokesman and wedding aides. In return, the village community acknowledged the new marriage by giving bridal aid (map 12), taking part in the wedding preparations (map 17) and bringing wedding presents to the young couple (map 21).

In agrarian village communities, marriage meant far-reaching financial arrangements. At village weddings, transitions between kinship groups were left aside and prominence was given to status rites, displaying the social position of the young couple and their homes. The wedding feasts of the landed peasant class, lasting up to a fortnight, were a status rite in themselves (map 16), but the hierarchy of the community and boundaries of the social classes were renewed at a number of stages of the marriage ceremony: at ceremonies on receiving the guests (map 17), beginning and end of various sequences of events, such as the wedding meal (map 16), collection of wedding presents (map 21) or ritual dances. The bridal procession of kinship weddings also turned into a status rite, a guest procession, displaying the bride's wealth and the social status of the guests (map 18). At western village weddings, the social order and division of resources prevalent in the local ecosystem of the village, and even the whole parish, was reaffirmed over and over again.

## ***Sealing the marriage***

**Making marriage agreements public.** In local cultures, the legitimacy of a marriage was sealed by making the union public; the community also had to know and acknowledge the status of the married couple and their future children. In the Savo-Karelian kinship culture area, the proposal and collection of the bride have taken place in public. The ancient Scandinavian giving-away of the bride or betrothal, which as a ceremony spread to western and southern Finland, took place in the presence of witnesses or in some public place, such as a fair or market (map 14). Its public nature has made the marriage socially binding, whether it was sealed by a handshake (map 11), an exchange of gifts, giving away of the bride or escorting the young couple to the wedding bed (map 20).

Both the Byzantine and Roman churches gradually took control of the confirmation of marriages; the Catholic church even declared marriage to be a sacrament decreed by God. In Finland, church weddings became established in the 1600-1700s, in addition, the Lutheran church adopted the public announcement of marriage banns. In western Finland, the celebration of the banns (map 15) and the marriage ceremony performed in the bridal home, the home wedding, transformed the elements of old kinship weddings. In contrast, within the circle of the Orthodox church, the couple was married in church at an opportune moment before or after the wedding, and confirmation of the marriage by the church had little effect on the course of the kinship wedding.

**Future of kinship groups and community.** Setting up of a new marital home is also a question of the future of the kinship groups or of the house, and at the same time of the whole local community. A legal marriage has confirmed the rights of the marriage partners and their future offspring to the social and material property of the kinship groups or families. Alongside proposal and wedding ceremonies, arrangements for the young couple's future were also always made, property assigned and agreements drawn up, their effects reaching far into future generations.

In the swidden era, when wilderness areas were still free or land ownership was collective, sons stayed to farm the swidden of their kin or moved away to become settlers, establishing collective households, extended families, with their brothers. Daughters moved into the groom's extended family as daughters-in-law and were given dowries of cattle, grain and all kinds of goods the daughter-in-law and even her children were deemed to need as members of the groom's extended family. In practice, girls were given the inheritance of their kin, and the negotiations at the time of the proposal concerned above all the girl's dowry (maps 11, 13); the bride's relatives took part in the preparation of wedding presents when the antilas went around collecting bridal aid (map 12). At Savo-Karelian weddings, and also in the area of agrarianized kinship weddings, aiding of the young couple focused on drinking the wedding toasts (map 21). They were accompanied by gifts to the bride of cash and other property mainly by relatives; the families equipped the bride for her future married life.

In agrarian cultures, social responsibility was transferred from the kinship group to the village. The local community created many kinds of assistance networks, and at weddings, too, villagers combined forces to help young couples in weaker positions to set up home. In western and southern Finland, the wedding became an occasion where it was acceptable to collect money or goods (map 21). The collecting of bridal presents changed from collecting gifts from relatives to the provision of collective aid from the village community for the young couple. The most impecunious young people might hold so-called cash weddings or banns dances, where the bride sold liquor and danced with guests for a fee. In western Finland, where it became customary for cultivated land to be passed on as inheritance, gradually also to daughters, negotiations were no longer just about the bride's dowry but about land, the house, the fundamental resources of society. It was mainly through marriages that the social and cultural categories of the village community were established.

**Symbolism of rites for the future.** In local communities, marriage meant a fundamental turning point in terms of the young couple's future, as there were hardly any other opportunities for choices affecting the course of their whole lives. The young marriage was also the object of the expectations of the parents and the whole kinship group; in effect of all the hopes set on a good marriage and family life by man living in the cultural environment of each era. With the transition to agrarian economy, wedding rites have constantly increased in number, perhaps most in the Catholic Middle Ages, when marriage was predestined as a permanent, lifelong union, and divorces were no longer acceptable. In farming communities, ever greater expectations focused on the marriage partner. The wife had to cope with the role of daughter-in-law and later mistress of the house, to bring prosperity into the house. She was expected to bear many children, signifying added labor resources and security for their parents' old age.

Wedding rites have been preserved especially in the sorcerer culture area of Savo-Karelia. The securing of girls' future began from so-called love spells, and fertility rites continued at all the stages of entering marriage (maps 18-20). From the proposal journey on, the groom's family had a sorcerer with them (map 11), and particularly in Dvina and Olonets, the role of the wedding sorcerer with his whip became more and more prominent, which evidently was a contributory factor to the disappearance of wedding songs in the old meter performed by women.

**Reaffirming of community spirit.** Weddings were among the most important of all the social dramas that helped to reinforce the importance of the kinship group or village and its continuity. In peasant villages, marriage celebrations were a part of redistributing ceremonial exchange. In their course, wealth accumulated by houses was distributed among the community, and the livelihoods of often impecunious spokesmen, bridal dressers, fiddlers, caterers and other wedding functionaries secured. The village weddings of the landed peasantry class were a display of the wealth of the bride's and groom's homes, and at the same time a demonstration of the householders' hard work and social responsibility towards their servants, tenants, and other members of the village community.

In the era of kinship communities, the wedding meal was shared with relatives, in agrarian communities the shared meal strengthened the sense of belonging to the village, and hospitality customs were introduced in all the stages where the young couple or the wedding house was in contact with the village community. Hospitality was provided at young people's leaving parties, betrothal and banns celebrations (maps 13-15), even at the head-covering occasion (map 20) or when the wedding procession passed the onlookers (map 18). The provision of food and hospitality ceremonies served to constantly reproduce neighborliness, a sense of community, and reciprocity between houses.

At weddings, villagers had an opportunity to show off socially, and they may have felt that they were elevated above their everyday lives. At feasts, the respectable peasant was permitted to drink spirits and dance. In western Finland, various forms of interaction were adopted, program items that brought enjoyment to the company. Wedding feasts introduced to Finland an entirely new culinary culture and a tradition of entertainment and social intercourse. The rite songs in the old meter were replaced by singing dances in the new meter and fiddler music. Good food, alcohol and dancing made the atmosphere of peasant weddings quite different from kinship weddings with their ritual songs and laments. The new customs spread to western and southern Finland mainly from the village cultures of Lutheran Europe, to southeastern areas also via the Baltic countries from central and eastern Europe. In western tradition, the customs of social intercourse became solemn gentry culture (maps 17-19), while in the southeast, comic plays or teasing between villages became common, in the same way as at Estonian weddings.

## ***Changing wedding customs***

**Disintegration of the village community.** Structural changes of the peasant society were reflected above all in village customs, including the celebration of weddings. The sense of community of villages disintegrated particularly in the landed peasant culture area of western and southern Finland, and different social classes formed their own social intercourse and wedding customs. New erotic paired dances and increased alcohol consumption helped to make the wedding proceedings more one-sided. In the village fights area of Ostrobothnia and also other areas in western and southern Finland, conflicts erupted at weddings, and in many parishes it seemed impossible to hold a wedding without fights and stabbings, even manslaughters. Violence entered wedding and entertainment events in western Finland, a feature unknown in Dvina and Ladoga Karelia and most of eastern Finland.

Disintegration of the village spirit was also evident in invitations to weddings. It was no longer acceptable for all villagers to go to the wedding, but invitations became the norm. In southwestern Finland, only neighbors of one's own class were invited, in Satakunta and Häme they even talked about feast sects, social circles of houses deemed to be of equal worth: large farms, ordinary houses and crofters each in their own.

On the other hand, the collective nature of wedding celebrations was tenaciously kept. In 19th century western Finland, peers of the bridal couple still considered it their right to come to the wedding house as gatecrashers, to call for the young couple to make an appearance, as was the custom in Sweden and elsewhere in western Europe. In some parishes, a separate dance was organized for the gatecrashers in the yard or a barn. Originally, the gatecrashers were people from other villages who came to the wedding uninvited, often causing disharmony between villages. Gatecrashing was punished with fines as early as the 1700s in southern Ostrobothnia, and parish councils passed resolutions in an effort to put an end to the custom. In the 1800s, going to a wedding uninvited was gradually seen as shameful; in the 1900s weddings became private occasions, and with the transition to production farming, communal village weddings gradually died out also in rural areas.

**Map diagrams.** The main map 16 on wedding traditions shows the distributions of kinship and village weddings. During the era covered by the Atlas, material on kinship weddings only remained from Orthodox Karelia and Ingria. In the Savo area, wedding songs in the old meter had already been displaced, but some were recorded by rune collectors and preserved, along with other poetry in the archaic meter (maps 87-99). Old customs of Scandinavian kinship weddings remain in Häme, evidently dating back to medieval betrothals (map 14). It is also likely that the elements of some wedding songs in the old meter descended from early cultivation cultures on the Gulf of Finland, and that in Iron Age villages in Häme, the wedding was a similar inter-kinship group rite of passage as in Dvina Karelia still in the 19th century.

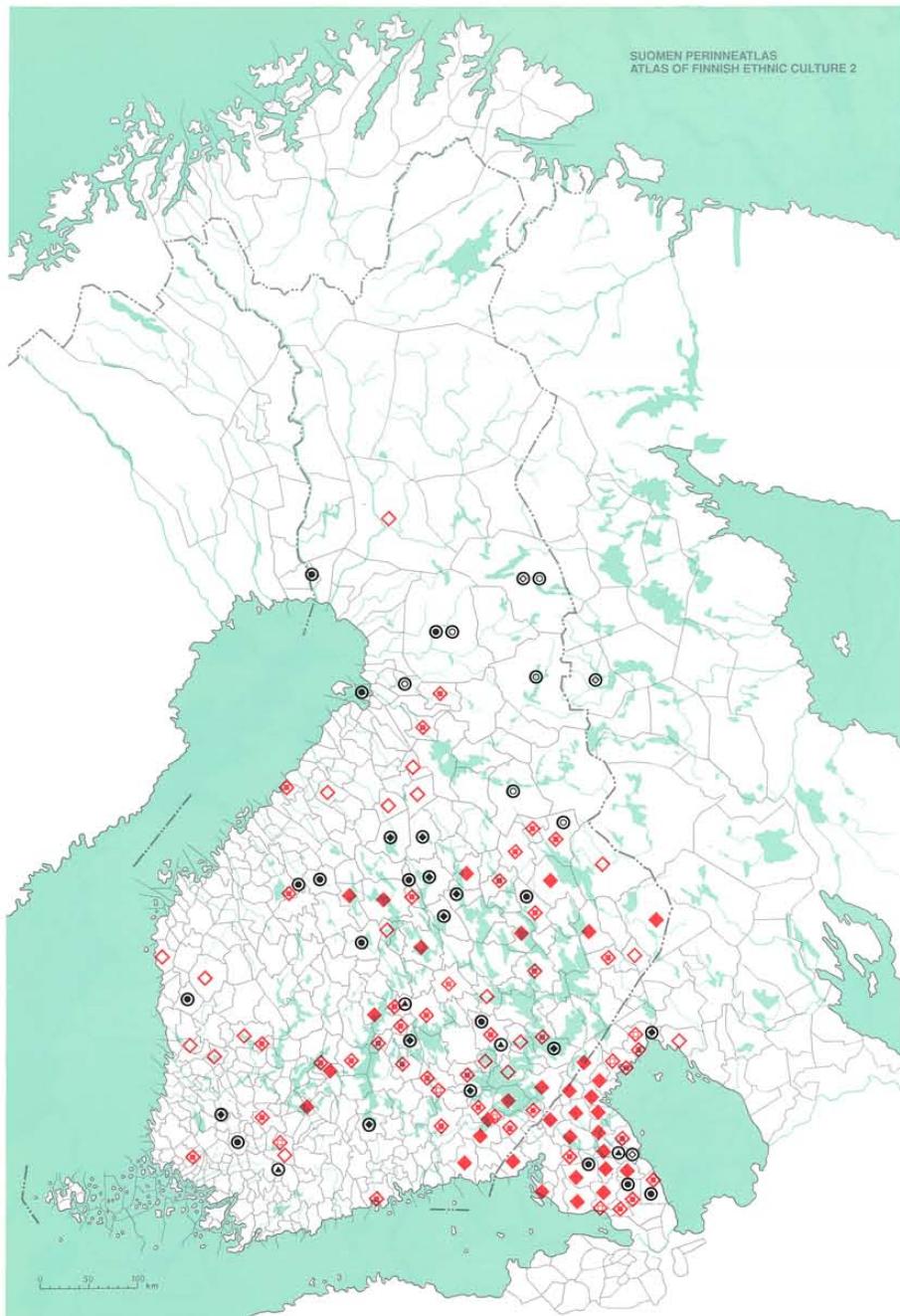
In the map diagrams, kinship weddings represent a declining base layer, superimposed by customs from agrarian village culture both from the west and the east. Village weddings were community occasions above all in Ostrobothnia. In contrast, in the landed peasant culture area of southwestern Finland the customs were characterized by social class differences, and the example weddings depicted in the maps are mostly landed peasantry class feasts that lasted several days, with their guest ceremonies and hierarchy rites. In Savo and Finnish Karelia, kinship weddings became village weddings from the 1800s onwards, but the kind of gentry culture typical of western areas is scarcely found there. The new agrarian culture was above all

sorcerer tradition; the southeastern tradition area is most clearly distinguishable in the maps showing rites for the future and fertility (maps 19-20).

Thus, four main areas are discernible on the maps: areas of (1) Ostrobothnian collective village weddings, (2) the landed peasant culture of southwestern Finland, (3) southeastern agrarianized kinship weddings, and (4) Karelian old kinship weddings. The most polarized are Ostrobothnian village weddings and Dvinian kinship weddings. Dvinian kinship culture has preserved wedding traditions already displaced elsewhere in Europe, while Ostrobothnian village weddings are the purest representation of the communalities that was characteristic of European Christian peasant cultures.

*Baltic-Finnic peoples:* Alava 1908. Harva 1924c; 1940-1941. Heikinmäki 1970-1971; 1981. Hämäläinen 1913. Kalits 1988. Salminen 1916ab. Sarmela 1969; 1977; 1978b; 1981c. Schroeder 1888. Slygina 1978; 1989. Suhonen 1935. Surhasko 1977. Talve 1987. Tedere 1973. Ylikangas 1968. Kaivola 1995.

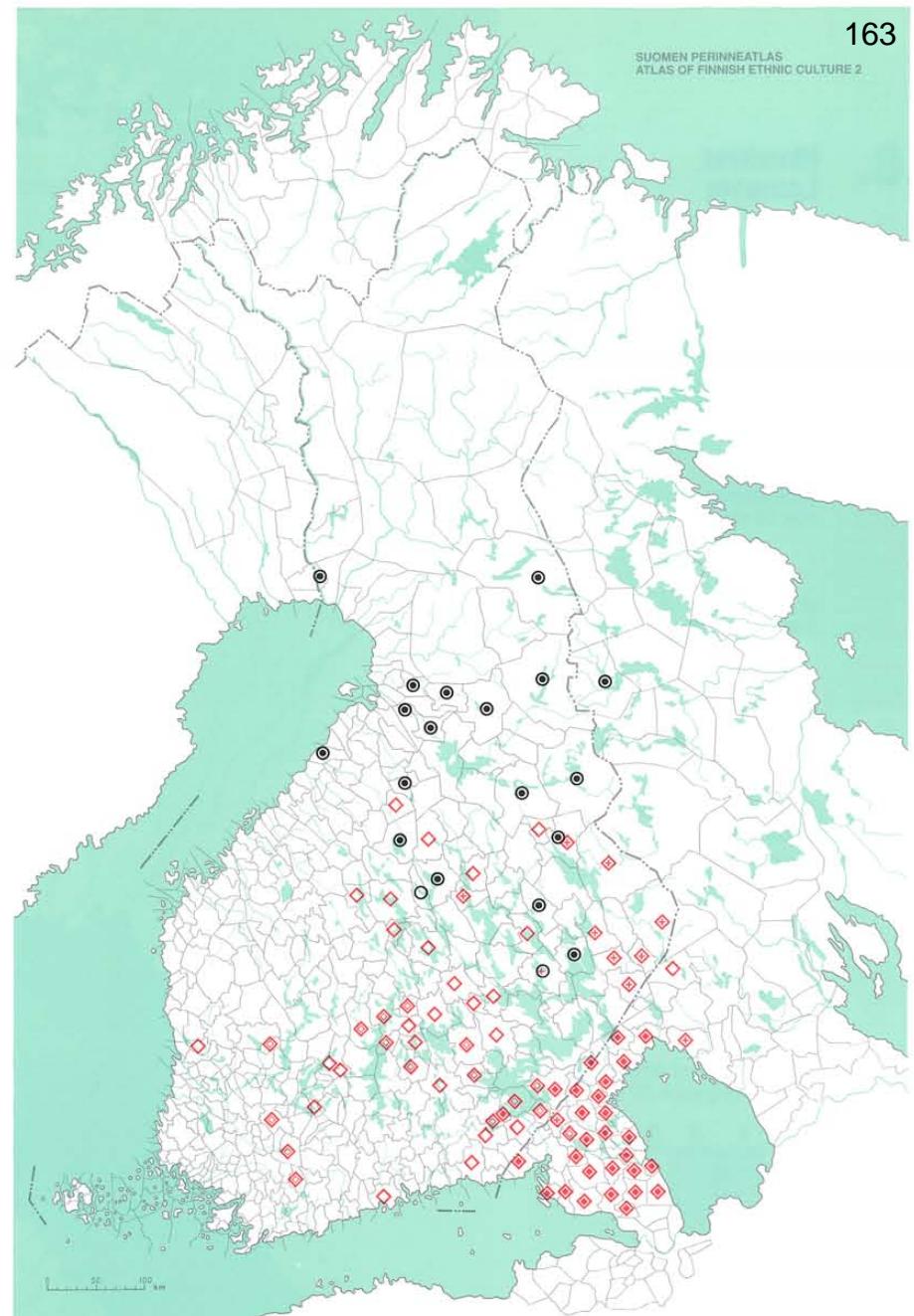
*Other neighboring countries:* Agreleva-Slavjanskaya 1887. *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde II:5-8*, 47. *Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde*: 219-224. *Etnografický-atlas slovenska: XII 5-16*. Balašov – Krásovskaja 1983. Balys 1946. Bringéus 1987. Bondeson 1988. Bächtold 1914. Deneke 1971. Frimannslund 1940. Hodne – Hodne – Grambo 1985. Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1983. Mahler 1960. Norlind 1919. Ozarovskaja 1927. Piprek 1914. Sumtsov 1881. Troels-Lund 1932-1945 (1903-1904), IX. Tšistov 1976; 1981. Tšistov – Bernštam 1978. Weber-Kellermann 1987. (Remberg 1995. Stewart 1996.) *In general:* Gennep 1960 (1909). Mair 1974. Meillassoux 1981.



## 9. Tuppikosinnan tapahtumapaikka

### Place of the Sheath Proposal

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Kirkonmäellä, kirkossa (145 tietoa)<br>Outside or inside church (145 cases)                 | 3. Avoliittojuhlissa (10)<br>At marriage festivals (10)<br>kihlautsa julkitettäessä kirkossa on announcement of betrothal in church |
| ◆ yhteisinä kirkkopyöhinä, tuppijuuhilla<br>on collective church feast day, at sheath festival | ◆ kihlajaisissa tai häissä<br>at betrothal feasts or weddings   |
| ◆ yksityisiä tuppikosintoja<br>individual sheath proposals on church days                      | 4. Muuta tietoa<br>Other information  |
| 2. Muissa tilaisuuksissa (26)<br>In other events (26)  | ◆ tytöillä aina vyöllään tyhjä tuppi<br>girls have always worn empty sheath in belt   |
| ● tyttöjen kotona<br>at girls' homes   | ◆ hämärtyntää tietoa, kuulopuheita<br>vague information, hearsay  |
| ● poikien kotona<br>at boys' homes   |   |
| ● nuorten seurustelutilaisuuksissa<br>at social gatherings of young people                     | Rekisterikartta<br>Archive map  |



## 10. Tuppikosinnan sanat

### Formulas for Sheath Proposals

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Tytö on tupelle tullut<br>Girl has reached the sheath age  | ◆ Kelle, kulle kelvannee.<br>'To the one who will find her suitable.'  |
| Johtosäe:<br>Opening line:  | ○ 2. Tyhjä tuppi tyttärellä<br>The girl has an empty sheath  |
| ◆ Tytö on tupelle tullut, vaimon varrelle venynyt.<br>'The girl has come to the sheath, has grown to wifely stature.' | ● Tyhjä tuppi tyttärellä, onko veistä vierahalla?<br>'The maiden has an empty sheath, have you, guest, a knife?' |
| Jatkosäe:<br>The following lines:   | Rekisterikartta<br>Archive map   |
| ◆ Ken tahtoo, niin tampatkoon.<br>'Let him stamp who will' (on the sheath hanging from a long belt).                  |  |
| ◆ Ken tahtoo omakseen, pankoon puukonsa tuppeen.<br>'He who will take her for his own, let him sheath his knife.'     |  |

## 9.-10. SHEATH PROPOSAL

### 9. Place of the sheath proposal

**Proposal drama of holy days.** Accounts have been recorded from South Karelia and also other parts of Finland of a public proposal ceremony performed at the church, even inside the church, during holy days or on a special proposal holiday. Symbolic signs and implements, namely a *puukko* [all-purpose knife] and sheath, were used in the proposal; thence the term 'sheath proposal' [*tuppikosinta*]. The symbolic proposal may also have been conducted at other special occasions, or it may have been a ceremony to publicize a marriage agreement (map 9).

The information on sheath proposals is based on narratives heard from previous generations; no historical documentation on the custom survives. It is a custom no-one has seen. Therefore, the map does not represent the possible distribution of the customs, but areas where folk narrative on the sheath proposal has survived (register map).

**Sheath festival.** Many descriptions say that girls went to the church with their empty sheaths on a certain Sunday, called *tuppisunnuntai* [Sheath Sunday] or *läppööpyhä*. In some parishes, the day of the gathering was called *tuppijuhla* [sheath festival], as girls of marriageable age assembled there for proposals. The date of the sheath festival in South Karelia may have been the parish *kihupyhä* or berry fair day (map 22), but the date most often mentioned is Michaelmas, the last holy day of the summer season.

The girls were accompanied by a female spokesperson or *kaaso* (*sauva* or *mairikki*), and wore a special belt, hung with an empty sheath, around their waists. The *kaaso* may have been shared by the village girls, but apparently it was preferable for each girl to have her own spokeswoman, an older female relative. After the church service, the girls gathered in front of the church steps, by the gate or some other designated spot; according to some records the girls stood in the church vestibule or paraded on the main aisle inside the church.

**Ceremony between young people.** There are records from Savo that the empty sheaths of unmarried daughters of the house were hung on the back wall of the main room, and when a boy considered suitable as a suitor candidate happened by, the master of the house or some other member of the household might suggest that he should 'try out his knife'. The set line used at this juncture was:

*Tyhjä tuppi tyttärellä - onko veistä vierahalla?* [The maiden has an empty sheath – have you, guest, a knife?]

On his next visit to the house, the boy found out whether or not he had been approved as a candidate for a son-in-law. The symbolic language was the same as in other sheath proposal ceremonies. The boy was accepted, if he saw his knife still in place in the sheath on the far wall, or he was invited for a meal with the family. If the knife was stuck in the porch or in the door jamb, the boy snatched it away and turned back on his heels.

In Kainuu, girls still wore an empty sheath on their belts in the early 20th century, often also while doing their daily chores, and boys could take the opportunity of trying out whether their knives ‘fitted’ it. Trying of the puukko was testing the waters between the young. Two or three records from Dvina and the Karelian Isthmus suggest that girls may have gone round the houses with their sheath belts to look for suitable groom candidates for themselves.

Records exist from various parts of the sheath proposal tradition area that trying out of knives was practised at young people’s games. The sheath proposal was a pairing game, allowing girls and boys to show their fancies, and when the girl took a puukko home, their parents were also able to express their view of the youngsters’ choices.

The sheath and knife custom has also spread to other occasions, in Savo even to hiring fairs (map 23). In some parishes, girls wanting to enter service have gone to the fair wearing an empty sheath, and mistresses or masters wanting to hire a servant for a year have stuck a knife in the girl’s sheath.

**Sheathing the bride.** It seems that the sheath ceremony is an ancient method of making public a proposal and decision of marriage. The symbolic sheath proposal has taken place between groom and bride either in church or some other public occasion, such as a fair, but also at betrothals or weddings. The bride and groom may also have gone to church on the Sunday after the proposal, where in sight of the congregation, the groom has stuck his puukko in the sheath on the girl’s waist. The ceremony served to confirm the union in the same way as a strike of hands.

## 10. Formulas for sheath proposals

**The girl has come to the sheath.** At the proposal site, the kaaso walked the girl back and forth and announced loudly that she had come for a proposal, for the sheath. The invitation for proposal was performed in verse, as a set line in the old meter, of which there are three main regional variations (map 10):

*"Tytö on tupelle tullut, vaimon varrelle venynyt  
ken tahtoo, niin tampatkoon."*

*"The girl has come to the sheath, has grown to wifely stature,  
let him stamp who will."*

*"Tytö on tupelle tullut, vaimon varrelle venynyt  
ken tahtoo omakseen, pankoon puikkonsa tuppeen."*

*"The girl has come to the sheath, has grown to wifely stature,  
he who will take her for his own, let him sheath his knife."*

*"Tyttö on tupelle tullut, vaimon varrelle venynyt  
kelle kulle kelvannee."*

*"The girl has come to the sheath, has grown to wifely stature,  
to the one who will find her suitable."*

If a young man wanted to propose to a girl, he placed his puukko in her vacant sheath, *tupitti* [sheathed] or *tamppasi* [stamped] the girl. The term ‘stamp’ evolved because the girl’s sheath may have dragged on the ground, in which case the boy first trod or stamped on the sheath. The sheath and belt used in the proposal ceremony were specially made for the sheath festival, or the sheath was made of birch bark and hung behind the girl’s back. The boys used their own puukko, or if he didn’t have his knife on him, the boy would stick his finger in the sheath or stepped (stamped) on her foot. It is also reported that the kaasos kept a special (wooden) knife and gave it to a boy who wanted to propose to a girl.

About a week from the sheath proposal, the boy visited the girl’s home to find out the response to his offer. The proposal was accepted, if the boy’s puukko was stuck into the end wall of the main room of the house, where the eating utensils were kept. Rejection of the proposal was shown by sticking the puukko into the door jamb of the room or into the wall of the entrance porch. Girls and the kaaso may have rejected a boy immediately on the church hill by swinging the sheath or turning it upside down; some kaasos were said to have snatched a boy’s knife from the sheath and thrown it on the ground at the boy’s feet. Acceptance of the boy did not yet signify a marriage, but the actual proposal conducted by a spokesman was done later, if an encouraging reply had been obtained from the sheath proposal.

## ***Tradition of kinship society***

**Background of sheath proposal.** Some informants on the Karelian Isthmus have claimed that sheath festivals were last held there in the early 1800s, while others say it was in the 1700s, if at all. Nevertheless, the narratives provide detailed and realistic information on both the proposal ceremonies and variations in the customs; the oral history cannot consist purely of narratives, but the customs have been practised.

Information on sheath proposals complete with standard lines in verse also exist from Scandinavia, Estonia and Livonia. In the Nordic countries, the most recent location of the custom was in the provinces of southern Sweden and southern Norway, on both sides of the national border. The ceremony may have taken place on the main aisle of the church, with the girl’s father acting as spokesman. He uttered a set line in verse, expressing that his daughter is ready to be given away (*Min dotter vill mannas*); the girl has confirmed her father’s words with her own line (*Fars ordena sannas*). In Estonia, sheath proposals have been customary in the northern parts of the country and on Saaremaa island, but there are also records from the south right down to Setumaa. Like in Finland, in Estonia sheath proposals took place on the church hill and at young people’s social occasions.

J. Qvigstad has made the assumption that the sheath proposal was a custom of Viking communities, brought to both Estonia and the Karelian Isthmus with the Vikings. Nils-Arvid Bringéus refers to the fact that records on the custom exist from the peasant class society of southern Sweden, and assumes that sheath proposals have been used to express the social structures of old agrarian communities, the status of a young girl and boy.

The sheath proposal may date back to the Viking era, and is likely to be an even older custom, but public sheath proposals are unlikely to have been used to manifest social differences. The institution has rather been significant when arranging marriages between kinship groups. The custom has not spread directly to the Karelian Isthmus: it was also known in prehistoric Häme, but was displaced in agrarian village societies in common with other customs of kinship communities, or remained active in the guise of young people's customs of becoming acquainted and courtship.

**Purpose of the sheath proposal.** Narratives on sheath proposals mention that girls were introduced in the summer they had had their first communion, in other words reached the age of consent. This would also be indicated by the kaaso's set line: *Tyttö on tupelle tullut, vaimon varrelle venynyt* [*The girl has come to the sheath, has grown to wifely stature*]. On the other hand it is said that the sheath festival was in the autumn, and it was attended by girls who had not received any proposals by then. The sheath proposal was deemed to be the last resort in marrying off one's daughter.

The sheath proposal belonged to an era when young people got to know each other on occasions where people gathered, local festivals and fairs. In Finland, as in the other Nordic countries, it may have been practised at the end of the Iron Age and the early Middle Ages. The empty sheath was displayed as a sign that a girl was unmarried, as was customary in the remote areas of northern Finland even at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century. In the Middle Ages, the church became the center of social intercourse, and the symbolic ceremonies of proposal or getting acquainted became linked to church festivals. Through the sheath ceremony, the family or kinship group has made a public announcement that the girl was ready to receive proposals. The kaaso was the girl's aunt or some other influential relative, whose responsibility it was to marry the girl off e.g. in the Karelian kinship society.

The symbolic proposal has allowed time to consider the girl's prospects of marriage and reduced conflicts that might have arisen between kinship groups over marriage issues. A negative response to a sheath proposal perhaps did not lead to such serious conflicts between families as the rejection of an actual proposal. With pre-proposals, the young have also had an opportunity of expressing their preferences and submitting their own choices for scrutiny by the family.

Qvigstad 1938. Sarmela 1969, 64- (sources). Bringéus 1979.

## 11. Puhemieskosinta Proposal by Spokesman

1. Puhemiehet  
Spokesmen

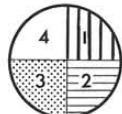
sukulaisia, pääpuhemiehiniä  
sulhasen vanhemmat  
relatives, groom's parents as  
head spokesmen

puhemiehiä kaksi  
two spokesmen

ammattimaisia avioliiton välittäjiä  
professional marriage mediators

2. Avioliiton välittäjät. Puhemiehen (pääpuhemiehenä) yleensä  
Marriage mediators. Spokesman (head spokesman) usually

1. ulkopuolinen, ei sululainen (845 tietoa)  
an outsider, not a relative (845 cases)
2. sululainen, pojantievanhemmat, isä (580)  
a relative, boy's parents, father (580)
3. mietuummin tietäjä (70)  
preferably a sorcerer (70)
4. naispuolinen välittäjä, sululainen, kummitäti (135)  
female mediator, relative, godmother (135)



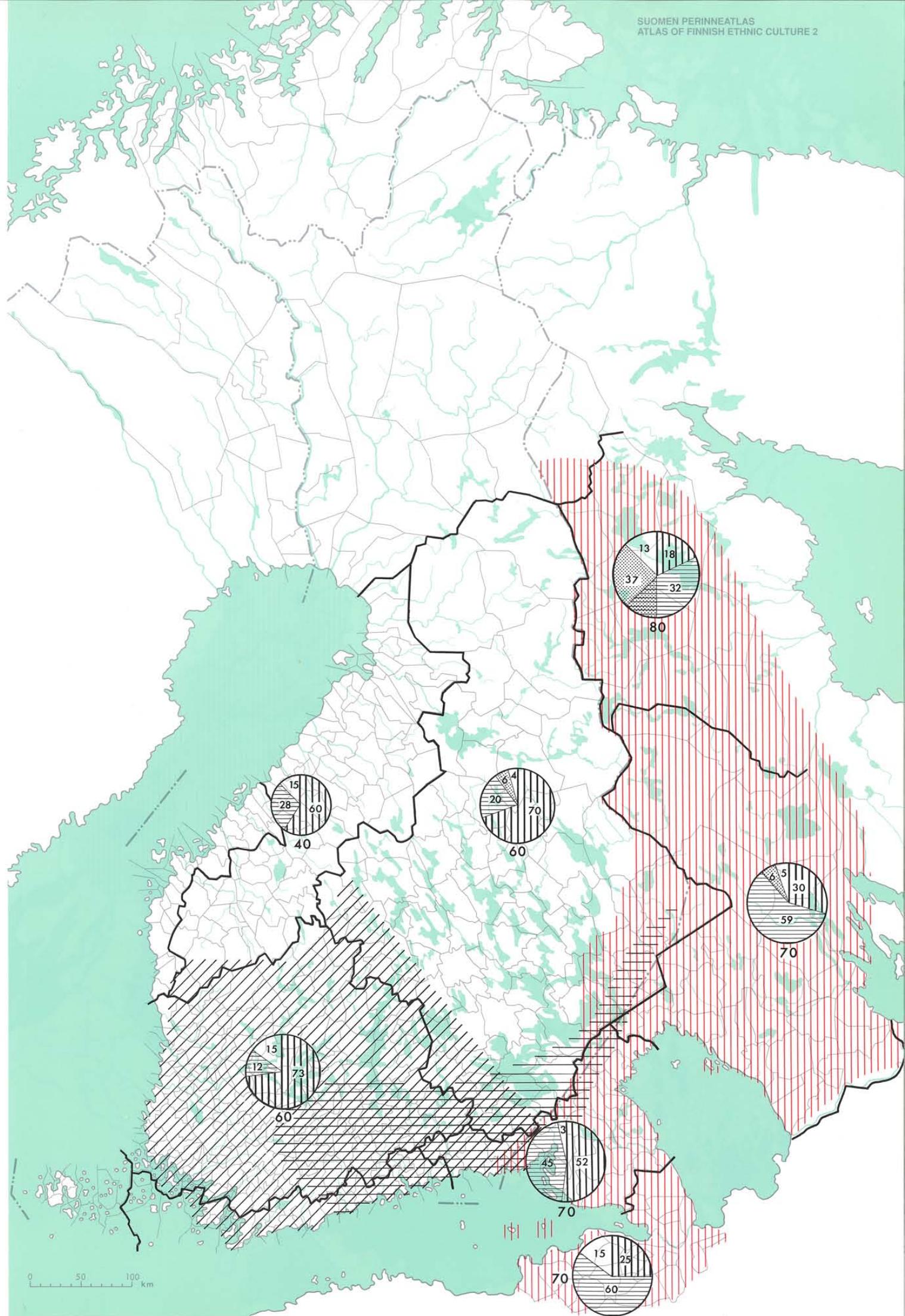
Yht. 1100 hääkuvausta  
Total of 1100 wedding  
descriptions

3. Puhemieskäytännön yleisyys (%)  
Frequency of spokesman custom (%)

40-80 %

Yht. 1095 tietoa, 1750 hääkuvausta  
Total 1095 cases, 1750 wedding  
descriptions

Levinneisyys- ja tilastokartta  
Distribution and statistical map



## 11. PROPOSAL BY SPOKESMAN

### ***From spokesman to master of ceremonies***

**Marriage broker.** Map 11 depicts the use of a marriage broker and wedding master, spokesman for proposal and wedding, and the changes that took place in the role of the spokesman. In the Karelian area of kinship weddings, marriage negotiations were conducted by the parents and kin of the young couple. The boy's father and mother, accompanied by the most high-ranking relations, up to around ten people, went off to propose. The boy's parents acted as the principal spokesmen, but a relative with rite skills was also included in the proposal delegation [*kosioväki*], even an external sorcerer, who would later act as the master of the wedding. When the proposal party had arrived in a house, the most influential relatives on the girl's side were called. In the area from eastern Ingria via the Isthmus to Olonets, the mother and father may have been replaced by the boy's christening father and mother or godparents, like with peoples of northern Russia. In Karelia, the proposal was the first public negotiation between the kinship groups, which the villagers would come to watch (map 13).

The use of a proposal spokesman was preserved in Savo and almost the whole western area of village weddings, but the marriage negotiations were no longer public, nor did the groom's parents or other relations come along. Gradually, entering marriage became private, and the groom set off to propose accompanied by a trusted friend, neighbor or professional marriage broker (see diagram). In the area of peasant kinship weddings reaching from southeastern Finland to Häme, there were two spokesmen.

In the landed peasantry culture area of Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Häme and Uusimaa, the role of the spokesman became professional. A parish may have had one or two marriage brokers; they were often impoverished gentlefolk or itinerant professionals, both men and women. They arranged marriage deals of the landed peasantry and were paid a fee for the work, often depending on the prosperity of the house. Professional brokers knew the houses of their parish and the suitable groom and bride candidates, they might even cover several parishes. Semi-professional spokesmen were also found in Savo, but the core area of professional marriage brokers is southwestern Finland. Both in Finland and in Karelia, a woman may also act as marriage broker or proposal spokesperson. There is no information on spokesmen from northern Kainuu or southern Lapland.

On the map, the size of the pie chart and the percentage figure below indicate the proportion of records mentioning the use of a spokesman out of all wedding descriptions from the area. Proposal by spokesman has been most closely associated with the formula of Karelian kinship weddings, with 70–80% of wedding descriptions in the base material mentioning a spokesman. In western Finland, the

young began to agree marriages between themselves, and although a spokesman was still traditionally employed, by the end of the 19th century the nature of the proposal occasion had changed. The proposal was the formal culmination of a young couple's courtship, and the spokesman's role was to introduce the boy when he was seeking the approval of the girl's parents for the marriage.

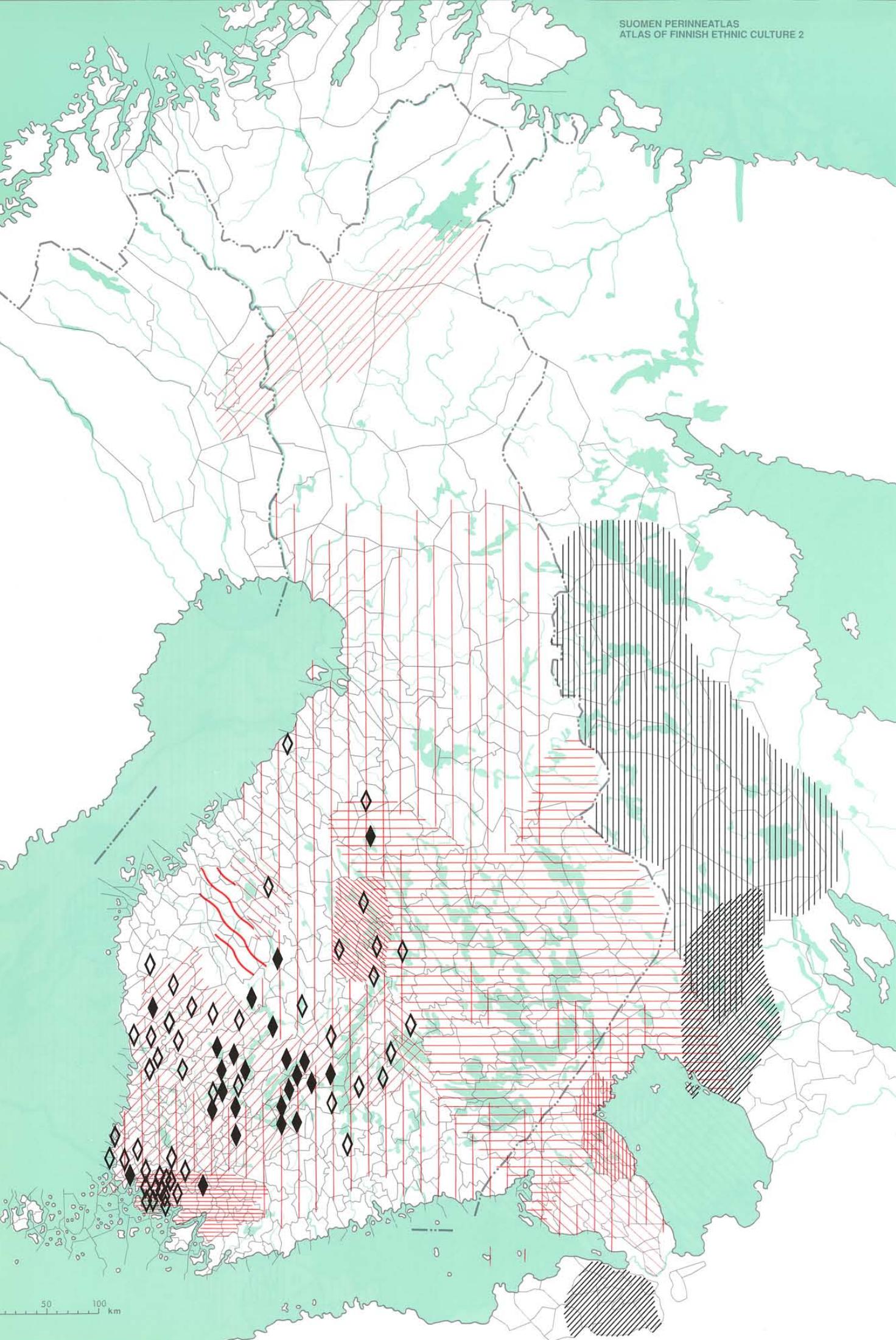
**Roles of wedding spokesman.** In Finland the spokesman has been both the marriage broker and director of wedding ceremonies. In Karelia, the role of the wedding director or wedding spokesman became differentiated very early; in the 1800s it was common for the groom's parents not to go to the girl's home with the collecting party [*noutoväki*] at all. The wedding spokesman was the representative of the groom's kin, leading the groom's folk during the journey to collect the bride, but at the same time he directed the entire wedding drama, both at the leaving ceremony and arrival. In Dvina and Olonets, the master of wedding ceremonies had to keep up with the ever-increasing wedding rites. He had to escort the betrothed *antilas* safely to the groom's home, to repel the forces threatening the happiness of the young couple, the evil eye and the jealousy of outsiders. In the kinship culture areas, the sorcerer-spokesman was preferably from one's own kin, but professional wedding sorcerers, in Dvina *patvaska*, were the only external role players in addition to the professional lamenting women present at kinship weddings.

In the western village wedding area, the spokesman's duties became defined, while the other external role players – the priest, head waiter [*edeskäyvä*] and fiddlers – took care of their part in directing the wedding ceremonies. In some parishes, the spokesman became the master of ceremonies and leader of social intercourse, like in Scandinavia. The spokesman may have made a speech of thanks on behalf of the groom's family at the wedding feast table, and represented his kin in general. He headed the procession of guests from the groom's house to the wedding house, and usually also the wedding procession and the bridal escort.<sup>(1)</sup>

As the master of ceremonies, the spokesman in some places escorted the bride or the bridal couple to the altar and finally to the wedding bed. In the distribution area of the wedding passport, the spokesman acted as the passport reader (map 18) or appeared in other dramas designed to entertain the wedding guests. Generally, the spokesman acted as the compere at the wedding, announcing wedding toasts and what everyone gave as wedding presents (map 21). After the old group dances became popular, the spokesman was the leader of dance turns, and later in the time of paired dances, the spokesman opened the wedding dance by taking the bride to the floor in the first waltz; however, the parish rector or other guests of honour have taken the place of the spokesman as the opener of the wedding dance or leader of processions.

In southwestern Finland, the professional spokesman might have been a paid assistant who guided the young couple through all the stages of the marriage ceremony: acted as marriage broker, witness or 'stranger man' at the betrothal (map 14), drove the bride at aid-collecting (map 12), and even accompanied the couple to the market to purchase the betrothal gifts (map 18). As masters of ceremonies, spokesmen as well as other specialized role players made the wedding a communal drama that was interesting for the villagers. Maintaining the traditions was important for professional spokesmen, and thanks to them, many old wedding customs evidently survived longer than might have been the case.

1. Cf. Espeland 1981.



## 12. Morsiuskeruu

### Collection of Aid by Bride

1. Morsiamen seuralaisen  
nimityksiä  
Name for bride's companion

kaaso  
female bride's helper at the  
wedding

anoja  
'beggar'

johto  
'leader'

kansallinen, kanssavaimo  
'companion'

keruuttaja  
'gatherer'

mairikki  
'flatterer'

päistärsäkki  
'shives bag'

sauva  
'staff'

2. Keruuapulainen  
Bride's assistant

morsiamen itkettäjä, itkijänainen  
lamenter

olallinen  
'lamenter leaning on bride's  
shoulder'

puhemies  
spokesman

miespuolininen morsiamen  
kyyditsjä  
male horse driver

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 12. COLLECTION OF AID BY BRIDE

### Pretty beggars

**Bride collects wedding aid.** Even in the 19th century it was still common for engaged brides to go around the village houses before their wedding to ask for gifts or bridal aid. The bride was accompanied by an assistant, usually an old woman, and the gifts were placed in an embroidered white bag or pillow-case carried by the collectors. The collecting round has been a part of the bride's separation rites and dates right back to the kinship culture era; the customs contain layers of both kinship and village cultures.

The most widespread of the names for the collection assistant is *kaaso*. In the era of the kinship community and in Karelia still in the 19th century, *kaaso* referred to the bride's aunt, godmother or other female relative, who was responsible for marrying the girl off and who acted as her closest assistant at the wedding up to the giving away of the *antilas*. The *kaaso* guided her girl relative to married life. In western Finland, the *kaaso* was the professional bridal dresser, or the term referred to a female assistant of the bride in general. In the area of laments, the bride was accompanied by a professional lamentor woman, *olallinen* ['shoulder'], who leaned on the bride's shoulder. The term *sauva* [staff] in South Karelia and Savo may refer to a 'walking staff', but sometimes also to the lamenting ceremony in Orthodox areas. In the sense of the bride's companion, *sauva* appears to have been widely known in Savo right up to the region of Ostrobothnia inhabited by Savonians, but it was displaced by the humorous term *päistärsäkki* [shives bag]. *Päistärsäkki* is Savonian vernacular and expresses succinctly the fact that thrifty mistresses did not often give decent flax for strange travelers' sacks.

The meaning of western terms, such as *keruuttaja* [gatherer] (Central Finland) and *kansallinen*, *kanssavaimo* [companion] (Varsinais-Suomi) or *johto* [leader] (South Ostrobothnia) is a female person who 'transported' the bride and acted as a kind of spokesperson for her in the village houses. The companions were usually old women who were given a share of the gifts or some other kind of reimbursement for their work.

In the era of the 19th century landed peasant society, daughters of large houses stopped doing the rounds of village houses, and the bridal collection became the means of impecunious brides of collecting wedding aid. Ambitious brides started to go around large areas, even neighboring parishes, and sometimes managed to collect a lot of cash and goods. On such collecting trips, the assistant or bride's 'spokeswoman' had to be witty, even brazen, and inventive; the terms *mairikki* [flatterer] (South Karelia) and *anoja* [beggar] (Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Häme) describe an assistant who was capable of asking. While collecting for their own household, brides and their assistants accepted all kinds of goods, whatever houses could give.

Eventually, horse-drawn transport became common for bridal collecting trips, especially to other villages. This brought a change to the bride's companion: the assistant was some male relative of the bride, such as a brother or a spokesman, who also drove the horse. In some areas, villages had special bridal transporters, farmers who took brides on collecting trips for a fee. In the village culture area of western Finland, the collection assistants also became semi-professionals, permanent role players.

**Kinship community customs.** The old practices of kinship society have survived in Karelia, particularly in Dvina and Olonets, and partially in Ingria. In Karelia, the bride, accompanied by her kaaso, has collected gifts only from her relatives; at the same time she announced the time of the leaving party. The gifts were clothing, such as mittens, stockings, shirts and towels; the 'bridal aid' was intended for a dowry and agreement gifts given out by the bride to the groom's family during the wedding.

The bridal collection was also a separation rite in Olonets and Ingria. The bride went around with a lamenting woman from one relative to the next lamenting for bridal aid, often with her hair down as a sign that she was no longer a girl but not yet a bride taken into the groom's kin. In Dvina, the antilas could only collect her family's presents at the leaving ceremony, while lamenting during the leaving meal to her relatives, or the relatives brought their presents themselves, perhaps on the eve of the leaving party. Presents given by relatives signified acceptance of the union and new kinship relationships, and at the same time the relatives expressed their mutual bond and social responsibility.

In South Karelia and other areas of the agrarianized kinship weddings in southeastern Finland and Ingria, bridal gifts were still in the 1800s intended for the gifts distributed by the bride during the wedding toasts (map 21). They were reciprocal gifts from the bride to relatives or wedding guests who promised her a particularly large sum of money or some other wedding present. Particularly on the Karelian Isthmus, it was deemed to be important that the bride was capable of making the gifts herself from the flax and wool she had been given, for distribution at her wedding.

**Bridal aid in the agrarian community.** In the village communities of western and southern Finland and gradually everywhere, brides did the rounds of village houses, not only at their relations', and were given flax, wool or other handicraft materials, so that they could show off their skills in making their wedding presents and trousseaux. The villagers' gifts were used by brides to make linen and clothing for their own future households.

In the agrarian society, handicraft skills were even seen as a condition of marriageability. Girls started making their trousseaux at an early age, at weddings the bride's trousseau was displayed for scrutiny by the wedding guests, and in Ostrobothnia, night visiting for a long time meant village boys going round girls' sleeping huts to examine their stocks of linen and clothing (map 37). The trousseau was completed before the wedding, and consequently the decent betrothal period of daughters might stretch to a year. Brides also held handicraft games, where village girls came along to help in making the trousseau (map 34); among the landed peasantry, it became common to have the bridal trousseau made by professional seamstresses.

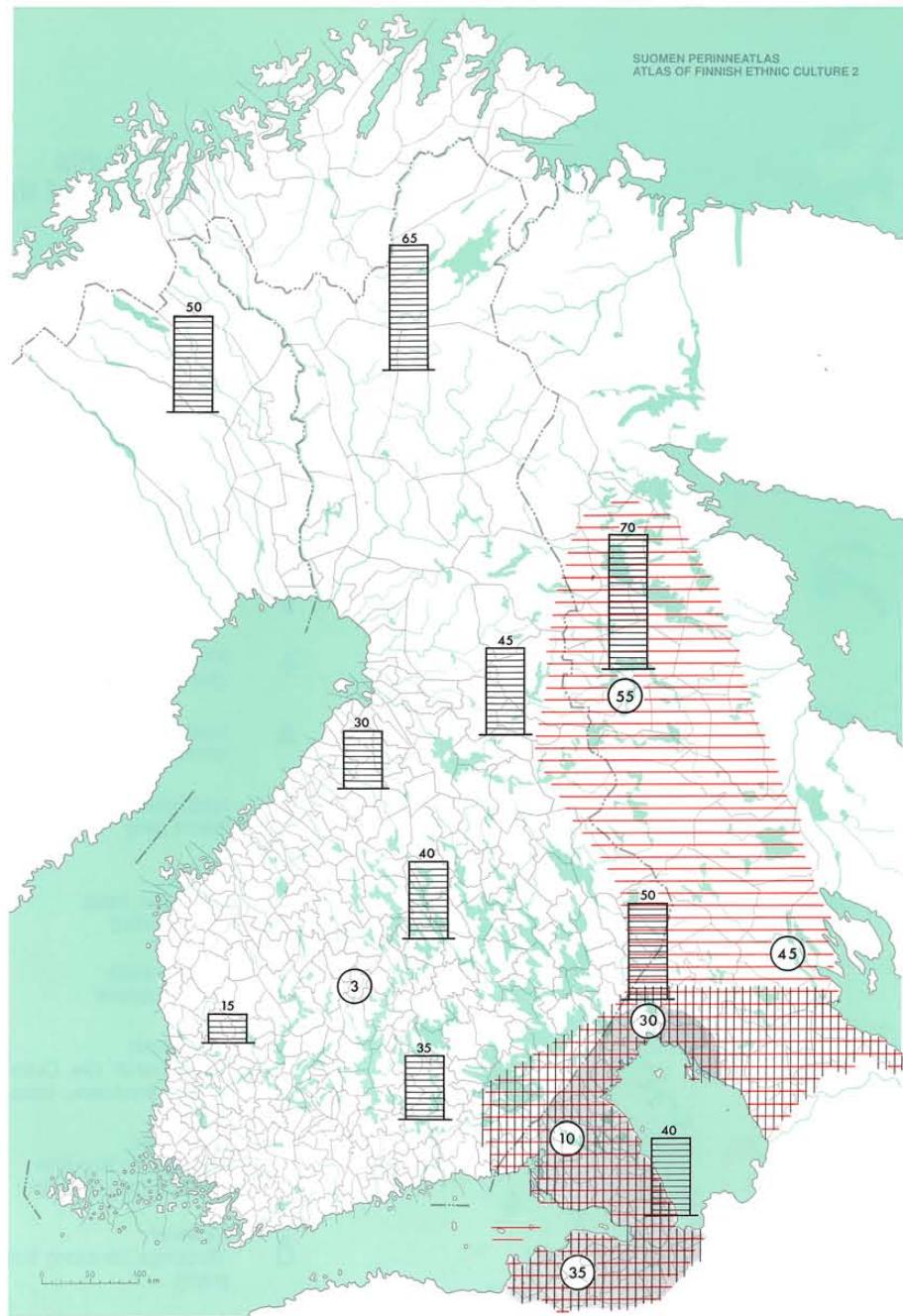
In the villages of western and southern Finland, the bride setting off on her collecting rounds dressed in her best, tied her betrothal silk across her shoulders, and adorned herself with the betrothal jewelry her groom had given her. In southwestern Finland, daughters of prosperous houses drove around in a horse-drawn trap along with their spokesman, visiting their relatives' houses even in other parishes. Self-respecting spokesmen were dressed in a long black coat and a tall top hat, and carried a cane or an umbrella. On entering a house, the spokesman knocked on the floor with his cane before speaking his piece.

Brides in Ingria and on the Isthmus often went around in groups at fairs, feasts, in railway stations and even in St Petersburg, asking for cash or goods. Poor brides traveled on foot and accepted any kinds of gifts from houses. In some areas it was customary for the collector to carry a bottle of spirits from which a slug was offered to the people of the house, or the bride gave a return gift of some small trifle, making the bridal collection resemble bartering. Especially in western and southern Finland, it also became customary to repel the askers and to show that the house did not consider the giving of bridal aid necessary. For example, in Varsinais-Suomi the housefolk hid when they saw collectors coming. The custom was partly a game; in some places it was obligatory for the bridal aid collectors to find the housefolk from their hiding places or get them to come out by some other means.

**Layers of bridal collection.** In Karelian kinship communities, the antilas went around collecting the gifts from her kin, used to reinforce the mutual union. In the area of agrarianized kinship weddings, bridal aid was still mainly collected from relatives, but the bride had to prove her handicraft skills and make gifts from the donations, for distribution at the wedding both to her own and the groom's relatives, to thank them for the cash gifts or dowry they had given. In the village areas of western and southern Finland, brides used the gifts they received to make themselves trousseaux for their married life. While gathering collective aid, engaged brides had the opportunity of visiting their relations and village houses, telling all about the turning point in their lives, and inviting them to her wedding.

In village communities, the giving of bridal aid became a part of the networks of reciprocal cooperation and assistance. While going around the village, brides strengthened their own social ties to the houses that would later form her circle of friends. In the era of the later 19th century landed peasant society, bridal aid collection also lost its social significance. Daughters of large houses considered asking for bridal aid shameful, or only visited 'within their own class', i.e. houses with which they wanted to have social contact.

*Heikinmäki 1970-1971 I. 1981, 178-*

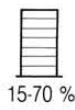


## 13. Kosintajuhla Proposal Feast

1. Kosintajuhlan reliktialue  
Relic area of proposal feast

Nimityksiä  
Names

*kosiaiset*  
'proposals'



proposal feasts. Data on  
public proposal events (%)

Yht. 165 tietoa, 1550 häät-  
kuvausta  
Total 165 cases, 1550 wedding  
descriptions

3. Kosinnan sitovuus. Kihlaami-  
nen tapahtui kosintatilaisuu-  
dessa (%)  
Definitiveness of proposal.  
Engagement made at  
proposal feast (%)

Yht. 560 tietoa, 1550 hääkuvaus-  
ta; Aunus jätetty pois laskelmista  
Total 560 cases, 1550 wedding  
descriptions; Olonets excluded

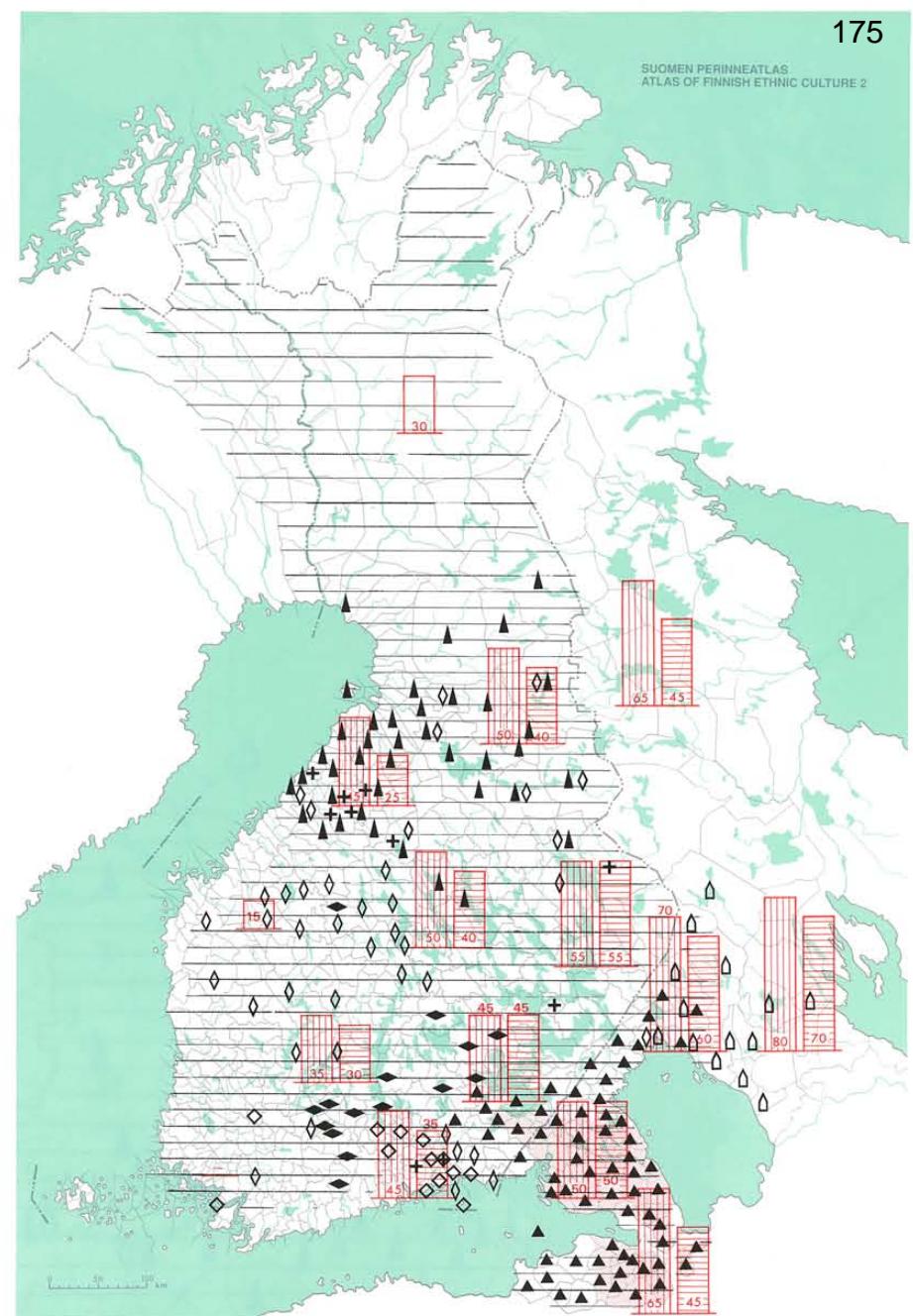
Tilasto- ja rekisterikartta  
Statistical and archive map



*kysyjäiset*  
'askings'



2. Kosintajuhlien yleisyyss. Julki-  
sia kosintatilaisuuksia koske-  
vien tietojen yleisyyss (%)  
Relative frequency of



## 14. Kihlajaisjuhla Betrothal Feast

1. Kihlajaisjuhlan vietto  
Holding of a betrothal feast

Nimityksiä  
Names

*kihlajiset*  
'betrothals'



*kosiaiset*  
'proposals'

*kysyjäiset*  
'askings'

*kättäjäiset*  
'hand-givings', 'hand-shakings'

*naittajäiset*  
'marryings'

*lujiset*  
'bindings'

*tupakiset* (Etelä-Karjala),  
*tupakat* (Inkeri)  
'smokers', *tupakiset* (South  
Karelia), *tupakat* (Ingria)

*krättilit* (*ratulit*)  
'congratulations'

2. Rahakihlat. Kihlarahojen säily-  
minen kosinnan vahvistamis-  
sessä. Tietojen yleisys (%)  
Engagement by money. Mo-  
ney still paid as confirmation  
of betrothal. Frequency of  
cases (%)

1. 1800-luvulle (-1880) ulottu-  
vissa kuvauksissa (180 tietoja)  
from descriptions up to the  
late 19th century (-1880)  
(180 cases)
2. 1900-luvun vaihteeseen  
(-1920) ulottuvissa  
kuvauksissa (370)  
from descriptions up to  
the turn of the century  
(-1920) (370)

Yht. 550 tietoa, 1210 kihloista  
kertova hääkuvausta  
Total 550 cases, 1210 wedding  
descriptions describing the  
betrothal

kosinnan ja kihlaamisen nimity-  
ksenä *rahominen*  
*rahominen* ('moneying') as the  
name for proposal and betrothal

Tilasto- ja rekisterikartta  
Statistical and archive map

## 13.-14. PROPOSALS AND BETROTHALS

### 13. *Proposal feast*

**From proposal to celebration of banns.** Maps 13, 14 and 15 on pre-wedding betrothal feasts, *kosiaiset*, *kihlajaiset* and *kuuliaiset* [proposals, betrothals, and banns], trace the displacement of kinship culture and the spread of Christian marriage practices from the west to the east. Within the Karelian kinship culture, the marriage was often already confirmed at the proposal, when the agreement of the girl's relations had been obtained. The proposal occasion was followed by collecting the antilas, a separation rite. In village communities, it became customary for the marriage decision to be confirmed on a separate occasion, the betrothal; in the 1800s the betrothal was replaced by the celebration of the banns in western Finland. They represented Christian culture and spread across Finland, gradually superseding other betrothal celebrations.

The statistics (block diagrams) on map 13 compare the status of proposal, betrothal and banns celebrations as public village occasions, where food, drink and dancing were laid on for the guests. At the end of the 1800s and early 1900s, banns celebrations were the most common pre-wedding occasion of confirming a marriage; they are mentioned in 70-80% of regional wedding descriptions. Betrothals were also becoming obsolete in eastern Finland, but in the area of agrarianized kinship weddings on the Isthmus, in Ingria and Ladoga Karelia, they were still held, and proposals were also still public occasions. In Dvina, celebration of the banns was completely unknown, but it became customary to confirm the betrothal separately, with the celebrations mentioned in about 20% of the descriptions.

**Negotiation between kinship groups.** A public proposal event between the two kinship groups was a part of the marriage formula of the kinship culture era. Representatives of the family (map 11) formed the proposal delegation; the groom himself was not necessarily even among them. In Karelia, in common with peoples of northern Russia, the boy himself was the initiator, asking his parents to go and propose to the girl he wanted to marry. In the era of the extended family in Dvina and Olonets, the boy requested a proposal by bowing in the Russian manner, touching the floor with his forehead in front of his parents. Narrative records from remote areas of Dvina also indicate that the proposal delegations may even visit previously unknown houses, where a suitable girl was known to live.

The proposal party went around in public, and e.g. in Dvina and Ladoga Karelia announced their journey by gunshots. At the girl's house, the purpose of the visit was expressed with set dialogue, usually: "Til now, we have come as visitors, now we came to join our kins together." The girl's closest relatives were brought in, above all the godparents, usually also her aunts and uncles. The proposal event was subject to set rules of conduct and expressions governing how the proposal was accepted or rejected, and how the girl herself expressed her positive or negative decision. In Orthodox Karelia and Ingria, the girl showed her acceptance by lighting a candle in front of an icon and saying: "You knew how to raise me, you also know how to give me away." If the girl refused, she either extinguished a candle or the lamp in the room.

When the union of the young couple was agreed, it was confirmed by striking hands, in Karelian *käden-isku*. Part of the ceremony was a hand-striking song in the old meter, which later was not performed until during the bride's departure ceremony. The groom's and bride's fathers, sometimes also other relatives in turns, struck hands across a cowlstaff or with each keeping the hem of their coat between their hands (Russian trader customs). At the striking of the hands, a security or *kihla* (arch. Germ. *giska* 'pawn') was paid and agreement reached on the amount of damages payable, if either party later wanted to cancel the marriage. The security payment was announced while striking hands, and in some cases each family handed over the guarantee money to an outsider, a 'strange man'. At the hand-striking event, the groom's family paid an agreed fee for the bride, known in Dvina as *pääraha* [head money]. The money was given to the girl's parents; it was seen as reimbursement for raising her.

Under the inter-kin marriage formula retained in Dvina and also in other parts of Karelia, the marriage was conclusively agreed at the proposal event, and the agreement fee was paid at the same time. The giving-away fee (head money) and the dowry given to the bride in return established the legality of the union, as well as the position of the bride's future children in the groom's family. Later at the wedding, reciprocal gifts and payments served above all to reinforce the new kinship system, kinship through marriage.

**The proposal feast.** When the proposal delegation arrived at the girl's home, villagers started to gather round to watch the event. In Ingria, young girls and boys were specifically sent into the village to announce the arrival of the proposal party at the house by banging pots and pans. If the proposal was agreeable, the party and other visitors were offered tea or other hospitality. The proposal party sometimes brought spirits, which the spokesman offered to the bride's family. Negotiations about the marriage, the bride's dowry and the head money went on for hours, often through the night, while villagers came and went, to see how the proposal was coming along.

In large areas of Karelia, including Dvina, there was an 'unwritten law' that the young could gather at the proposal house to dance. Wherever a proposal party was known to be, young people gathered there even on several evenings, and proposal dances were set up without even asking the permission of the owners. Thus, the proposal became a village celebration, and proposals were at the same time the equivalent of betrothal celebrations in their earliest sense (map 14).

Villagers often butted in the negotiations, and outsiders might disclose information on the groom and his house that would otherwise have remained secret. The public nature of the proposal made the agreements socially binding, and often the date of the wedding was set at the same time, the departure date when the groom's representatives went to collect the bride or antilas. In remote areas, e.g. in Dvina, the bride might have been given to the groom's family immediately upon agreement on the marriage being reached, and the proposal party took the antilas away with them. If the groom came from another village, the proposal delegation lodged at some neighboring house, where the reception was held.

In small hunting and swidden communities, the proposal, betrothal and even the transition rites of the bride (the wedding) originally formed a continuous ceremony. There might have been an interval of about a week between the proposal and the wedding, during which the bride went around collecting gifts from relatives and prepared for leaving her home.

**A receding occasion.** Map 13 shows the displacement of public proposals between kinship groups in the 1800s. By then, proposals took place in the presence of villagers only in the area of kinship weddings (diagram). From the Finnish side, information on public proposals is contained in 3% of wedding descriptions, with the corresponding frequencies on the Isthmus of 10%, Ladoga Karelia 20%, Olonets 45% and Dvina 55%. Similarly, song and lamenting weddings of kinship communities have also been displaced in the southern areas of Savo-Karelia, but been retained in Dvina and Olonets right up to the 20th century.

The old terms for the proposal, *kosiaiset* and *kysyjäiset*, have only been known at that time in Karelia and Ingria. On the Isthmus and in part of Ingria, the proposal celebration was called *tupakaiset* [smokers]; as a special occasion they were similar to betrothal and banns smokers (maps 14 and 15).

*Heikinmäki 1981, 65-. Sarmela 1969, 86-. Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde II:5-8, 56-58.*

## 14. Betrothal feast

**Confirmation of the proposal.** As social structures became more complex, it was no longer possible to make a decision of the marriage immediately at the proposal, but the betrothal took place in a separately organized special occasion, *kihlajaiset* [betrothal, engagement party]. With the transition to landed peasant culture, it became more and more important to find facts about the groom's and bride's houses and their personal qualities, above all their capability for work. The bride visited the groom's house with her father or revered relatives to 'survey the house' [*kodinkatsojaiset*], or to 'decide the place for her spinning wheel']. During the visit they inspected the fields, cattle and other housekeeping details. *Kodinkatsojaiset* might have taken two or three days among landed peasantry, and negotiations would be conducted about the wedding day, gifts the bride would give the groom's relatives, or other practical matters.

In the landed peasantry culture era, the young couple's parents may have held many negotiations before the final betrothal. Particularly in the Savo and Karelia area of agrarianized kinship weddings, the groom's father made several trips to the bride's home [*liitoilla*; 'at union-making'], or to confirm that the proposal was still in force. In Karelia, girls began to accept betrothal gifts from several boys, even competing with their number, and in some areas such as the Isthmus, the marriage was only deemed to be certain when the wedding day was set.

When young people began to select their spouses themselves, the boy's family wanted to know what the bride was like and how she would cope with the duties of the mistress of the house. In central and northern Ostrobothnia and in the Kymijoki valley, the bride spent a week's trial period at the groom's house, *morsius-*, *kelpaus-* or *housuviiikko* [bridal, acceptance, or trousers week], during which she had to

prove her skills at all the tasks required of women, one of them being making a pair of trousers for the groom. The girl's character may also have been tested in many ways during the bridal week.(1)

The betrothal celebration was significant in many ways in 19th century society. The betrothal feasts of eastern Finland and Karelia confirmed the negotiations between the kinship groups. In the village wedding area of western Finland, a public betrothal was necessary because large wedding feasts necessitated a great deal of preparation; in any case, the Christian view was that a year was a respectable period for an engagement. During the engagement, the bride had to do her bridal collecting and prepare her trousseau and gifts for her new relatives. In Ostrobothnia and other areas of western and southern Finland, the young couple's intention to marry was made public at the betrothal feast. The celebration was the conclusion of courtship, and during it the engaged couple was detached from the village youth; an engaged 'established couple' was no longer subject to the same rules of courtship and morality as other young people (map 37).

**Official betrothal celebration.** In medieval Scandinavia and evidently also in the Roman Catholic Finland of the time, the betrothal celebration was equivalent to the later Lutheran wedding. It is based on the ancient Scandinavian, perhaps even early German, marriage conventions, consisting of a public giving away of the bride, escorting to the wedding bed and drinking of the *huomenlahja* (Sw. *morgongåva*) for the gift the husband promised his wife on the morning after the wedding night. After the father had given away his daughter to the groom, the engaged couple went to the church to be wed; the ceremony followed the same formula as the acceptance into the church of a woman who had given birth. The betrothed couple stood at the church door, where the priest put to them the questions of the wedding order, and having pronounced them husband and wife, led the couple inside the church. Then followed the wedding mass at the altar.(2)

Medieval customs were observed in southern Finland right up to the 19th century.(3) The betrothal was celebrated at the bride's home with a feast similar to a wedding, with all the groom's relatives invited. The guests arrived at the girl's home in a festive procession led by the spokesman, in the same way as in weddings (map 18). During the occasion, the young couple intending to marry were betrothed in front of the guests, and the bride's father gave his daughter to the groom by escorting her to him. The young couple confirmed their betrothal by a striking of hands, after which the priest gave them a blessing.

In southern Savo, the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria, both customs of the kinship community and medieval times were retained in parallel. At the betrothal, the groom and his kin had to pay head money for the bride. Without payment of head money, however small, the giving away was not considered legal. It was also customary for the families of the groom and bride to exchange gifts at the betrothal; for example, the spokesman might distribute cash in a certain order to all the bride's relatives, and the bride gave presents of clothing in return to the groom's kin. Some old descriptions claim that on the Isthmus, the groom and bride struck hands over a cowlstaff held by the bride's father at one end and the spokesman at the other, between the betrothed couple. After this, the groom paid the head money and gave his bride his betrothal gifts. The striking of hands may have been performed in the main hall of the farmhouse under the ridge beam, or at the joint of the floorboards.

Special local flavour was at the *tupakaiset* [smokers] of the Isthmus and Ingria, named after the almost ritualistic tobacco smoking. The villagers gathered for the smokers without being invited. Tea, coffee or other refreshments were provided, but tobacco in particular was provided for the occasion and put on tables in all rooms. Both men and women, even children, smoked the tobacco, took it as snuff, or chewed it. The men sat in their own group usually in the parlour, the women in the *tupa* or kitchen hall. On the Isthmus, proposal, betrothal and banns smokers followed the same formula. They had evolved within the

area influenced by the city of St Petersburg, and showed the prosperity brought by rural trade. Russian manufactured tobacco, coffee, tea, Vyborg bagels and other shop goods created new social forms of consumption on the Isthmus.

Official medieval or Germanic-type betrothals with giving-away ceremonies were held above all among the landed peasantry of southern and western Finland and in Swedish-speaking regions. Elsewhere, the betrothal has been a similar congratulatory celebration as the banns dances (map 15), and in time they became parting feasts among the young. As well as relatives, the young couple's peers and childhood friends were invited to the betrothal; in many places, the village young could come to the dance without an invitation. Especially in Ostrobothnia, the betrothal has been a parting occasion, where the betrothed couple was expected to provide their peers with 'parting fare'; some small party food was expected of the bride and shots of liquor from the groom.

**Names of betrothal feasts.** Old kinship society customs are reflected in the names of betrothal celebrations. The Germanic-rooted *kihlajaiset* (from *giska*, 'pawn') has become a general term known in all areas where the celebration of betrothals has become customary.(4) The western term *naittajaiset*, derived from the verb *naittaa*, 'to marry off', evidently refers to the medieval meaning of the betrothal and giving away of the bride by a legal marriage broker. *Kättäjäiset* (from *käsi*, 'hand') originates from the striking of hands between the betrothed couple or representatives of the families. The terms *naittajaiset* and *kättäjäiset*, referring to medieval betrothal customs, would appear to have spread as far as South Savo.

In eastern and northern Finland, the betrothal has been called by the same names as the proposal. In the Kymijoki river valley, also part of the Karelian culture circle at one time, the betrothal feast was called *kosiaiset* [proposals], in the Savonian culture area of central Ostrobothnia (Kalajoki river valley) *kysyjäiset* [askings]; it was the occasion where the boy 'officially' asked the girl's father for her hand. New names were *tupakaiset* (smokers) of the Isthmus and *kratulit* (Swedish *gratulera* 'to congratulate') which spread to northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu, and which further south referred to the celebration of the banns (map 15). In the north, betrothal celebrations have been part of the new congratulatory tradition and young people's separation dances.

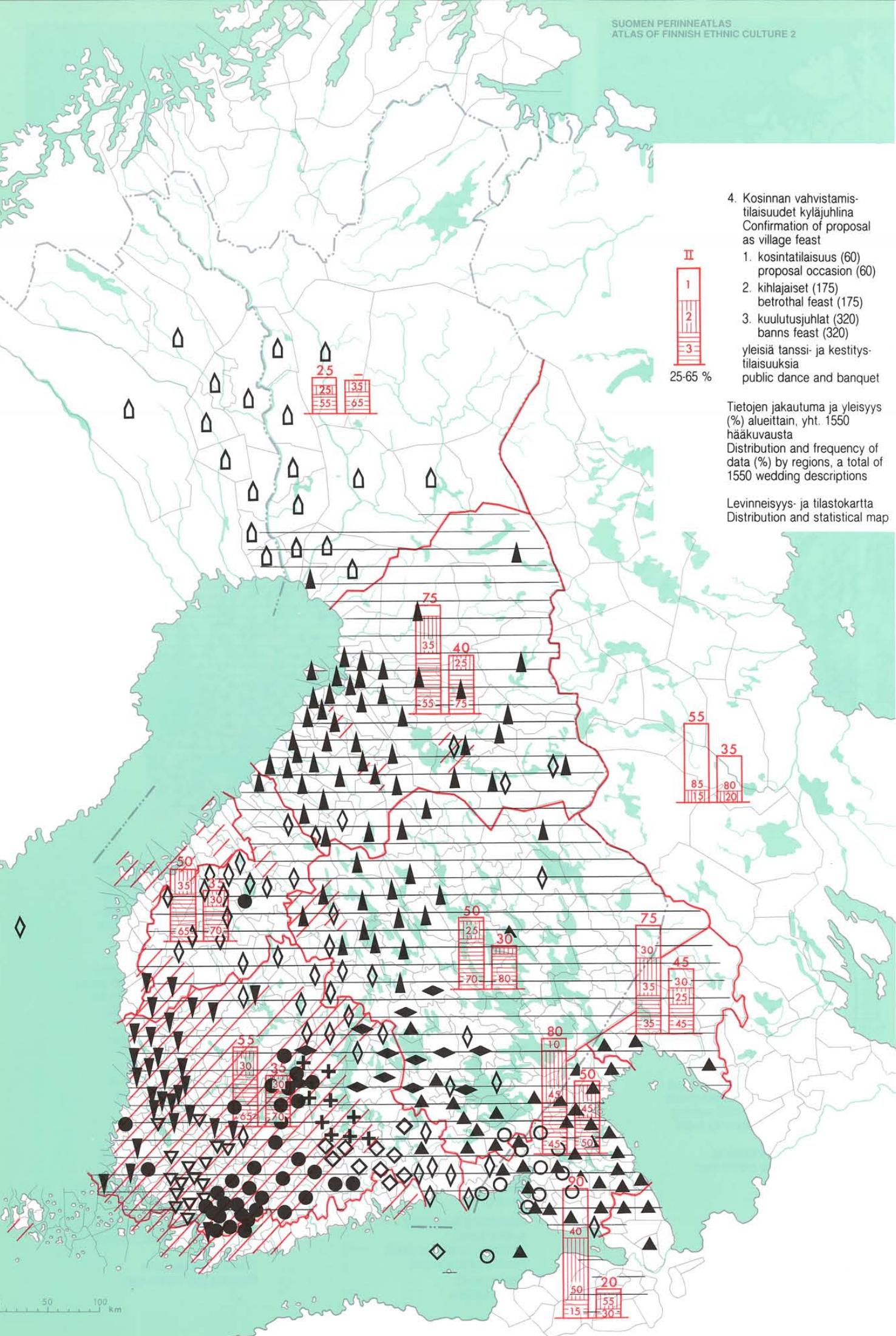
In agrarianizing Ladoga Karelia and Olonets, the adopted term *Iujuset* (*Iujittaa* 'strengthen') means the strengthening and keeping in force of the proposal. In more southern Karelia, *Iujuset* has referred to the groom's or spokesman's visits to the girl's home to discuss the betrothal and wedding celebrations. The same meaning in Savo and South Karelia has had the term *Liitoilla käynti* and in Dvina *kostintoilla käynti*. Such visits to the bride's home were made by the groom's father and mother or the spokesman to agree on the details of the wedding, and to take the bride a pair of wedding shoes and other gifts from his kin.

**Betrothal money.** Within kinship culture, the bride's parents were paid a giving-away fee at the time of the striking of hands or the betrothal, and a guarantee payment, or *kihla* in the original meaning of the word, was decided. When marriage became increasingly a mutual union between a man and a woman, the betrothal gifts became a pledge between the parties. The giving of betrothal gifts proved the boy's honorable intentions, but accepting them was also binding on the girl. If the engagement was broken, she had to return the gifts. Giving betrothal money to the girl became customary also in Karelia including Dvina, albeit with no clear distinction between betrothal money and head money. Evidently from this time dates the term *rahominen* [*raha*, 'money'] in the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria, used both for the proposal and betrothal.

As well as betrothal money, in the 19th century the girl was given a kerchief or silk and an engagement ring, as well as a necklace or brooch, the groom's wealth permitting. This custom also spread as far as Dvina Karelia. The term *kihlat* came to refer to the ring and silk kerchief, no longer cash. Gradually, the betrothal gifts became symbolic, and among the young themselves 'marrying with money' came to mean the opposite of a 'love match', and the giving of cash to the girl generally deplorable.

The statistics shown on the map (block diagrams) show that cash betrothal gifts were still common in the landed peasantry culture of the late 19th century, with the exception of the westernmost areas. The betrothal money still held a social message. It was proof of the seriousness of the proposal and the groom's prosperity, but also of the girl's status in her community. The engagement ring dates back to medieval betrothals or weddings. In the Middle Ages, the exchange of rings as a symbol of an eternal union was used at least among upper social classes, but there is no accurate information on the spread of engagement or wedding rings to the peasant population. The betrothal silk and ring have probably become common in the 1800s, but in many parts of eastern and northern Finland only in the early 1900s.

1. Heikinmäki 1981, 117-. 2. Wikman 1959. Heikinmäki 1981, 129-. Carlsson 1965; 1969. Jacobson 1967. Bringéus 1987, 79-. Bondeson 1988, 21-. 3. Sarmela 1969, 91-. 4. Seppo 1960.



## 15. Kuulutusjuhla

### Celebration of the Banns

1. Kuulutusjuhlan nimetyksiä  
Names for the banns feast  
*kuulaiset*  
'hearings'

◇ *kosiaiset*  
'proposals'

◆ *kättäjäiset*  
'hand-shakings'

◊ *naittajäiset*  
'marryings'

⊕ *antajäiset*  
'givings'

▲ *tupakaiset*  
'smokers'

● *kuulutuskalaasit*  
'banns party'

○ *kalaasit*  
'party' (Sw. kalas;  
Lat. calendae)

▲ *kratulit (ratulit)*  
'congratulations'

▼ *krykkypaalit*  
'ball of crutch' (Sw. Ostro-  
bothnia: kryckdans, -kalas)

▽ *kuukkaiset*  
'limpings' (to limp after  
dropping from the pulpit)

▷ *romiaiset*  
'droppings' (dropping from the  
pulpit)

2. Kuulutuskepit

Banns staffs



kuulutuskeppien antaminen  
ollut tapana  
custom of giving banns staffs  
(Sw. käpp och krycka = cane  
and crutch)

3. Kosinnan vahvistamisen julkisuus  
Confirmation and publicising  
of proposal

1. kosintatilaisuus (165 tietoa)

proposal occasion (165 cases)

2. kihlajaiset (330)

betrothal feast (330)

3. kuulutusjuhlat (470)

bans feast (470)

julkisia kokountumistilaisuuksia

public occasions

Tietojen jakautuma ja yleisyys  
(%) alueittain, yht. 1550 hää-  
kuvausta

Distribution and frequency  
of data (%) by regions, a total of  
1550 wedding descriptions

## 15. CELEBRATION OF THE BANNS

### ***Hearing the banns***

**Announcing of marriages.** In 1215, the Catholic church set announcing of the banns as a condition of marriage, and under the Common Law (1442) of Sweden-Finland the betrothed couple had to be announced on three Sundays before the wedding. After the Reformation, it first became customary in Sweden-Finland to announce the banns before the engagement, but as Lutheran wedding practices became established towards the end of the 17th century, the banns of a betrothed couple were proclaimed before the wedding. The practice also emphasized the view taken by the church that a Christian marriage began from the wedding. The timing was important as Christian ideas of morality were being set, above all the requirements of the church regarding premarital chastity. Fines or so-called 'tar money' were also ordered payable by married couples whose first child was born less than nine months after the wedding, and such a child is often entered in official records as born out of wedlock.

Within the Lutheran church, e.g. under the 1686 Church Act, the rector was obliged to monitor the knowledge of Christian doctrine of a couple intending to marry. The custom became established at this time that the parish clergy examined the young couple as they came to the rectory to seek the banns. The testing of Christian knowledge and literacy skills gave the visit to the rectory a special solemnity, and obtaining the banns became a condition of fitness for marriage. When confirmation school education was standardized in the 1700s, the questioning and testing of the engaged couple gradually fell out of use. Nevertheless, the banns were celebrated as the final hurdle before the wedding, and collecting the banns certificate was equivalent to a confirmation of the agreement to marry or betrothal; among the people, the marriage was deemed to begin from the banns.

The journey to seek the banns was undertaken by the groom and bride together, accompanied by the spokesman at the least, but usually also other witnesses, often the girl's father and close relatives, or *kaaso*, the bride's wedding assistant. Among village youth, the trip to get the banns was a similar turning point as the engagement or going to the fair to buy the engagement gifts (map 18). In Swedish-speaking and parts of Finnish-speaking Ostrobothnia, the young met the banns couple firing guns, ringing bells or banging pot lids. The couple returning from the banns was escorted to the groom's home, where the banns dance was held. The reception ceremonies of those returning from the engagement fair moved over to the banns journey e.g. in the Perhonjoki river valley.

**Tradition of celebrating the banns.** The customs of the banns celebrations and other traditions have spread to southwestern Finland from Swedish village culture. The European banns tradition dictated that the young couple had to be present to hear their banns read, otherwise their children would be born deaf. Like in Swedish village areas, it was also said in Finland that at the banns, the young couple was raised to the pulpit or the church ceiling and dropped from there. Local variants of the expression describe how the betrothed couple was raised higher and higher each time; at the first reading of the banns to the pulpit, then to the church ceiling, or how they hung from the ceiling upside down and were finally dropped down on the third reading.

As a present at the banns celebration, the betrothed couple was given a stick or a pair of crutches (Sw. *käpp och krycka*). They were usually miniatures and decorated with shiny paper or ribbons. The sticks and crutches were given as symbolic supports for the young couple, as they had supposedly broken their legs when falling from the pulpit, but the gift also had a wider symbolic significance. The young people needed support as they were taking the decisive step on their shared journey through life; marriage came to be interpreted as a personal decision of the couple. The making of banns sticks is limited to southwestern Finland and Ostrobothnia, and the environs of Swedish-speaking parishes in Uusimaa.

**Names of banns celebrations.** The common name for the celebration of the banns, *kuuliaiset* [hearings], has spread from west to east, and is known everywhere with the exception of Dvina and some areas of Ingria. In Ladoga Karelia and Olonets the term is a late one, as are banns dances. In the core area of the kuuliaiset tradition in southwestern Finland, the terms correspond to the Swedish ones or describe being dropped from the pulpit. In Satakunta and Varsinais-Suomi are found the term *krykkypaalit*, 'crutches ball' (Sw. *krycka* 'crutches' and *bal* 'ball'), terms referring to limping, such as *kuukkiaiset* (*kuukkia* 'to limp'), and *konttiaiset* (*kontata* 'to crawl'), known in Varsinais-Suomi in the distribution area of banns sticks. *Romiaiset* in southern Lapland and Norrbotten (Finnish Västerbotten) derives from the local expression *romauttaa* 'to drop'; the young couple was dropped from the church ceiling.

The Swedish-based name *kratulit* (Sw. *gratulera* 'to congratulate') is known in northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu in roughly the same areas as where it has also referred to betrothals (map 14). Further east, in the area from Ostrobothnia right down to the Isthmus, the local names for kuuliaiset are generally the same as those used for betrothal or proposal feasts: *kratulit*, *kättääjäiset*, *naittajaiset*, *tupakaiset*, *kosiaiset*. The term *antajaiset* [givings], known in eastern Häme, has possibly also originally referred to the betrothal, giving away of the bride, or to banns gifts brought by the guests. The name *kuuliaisikalaasit* (Sw. *kalas* 'feast') in Uusimaa and Häme, or just *kalaasit* in the area around Vyborg, reveal that *kuuliaiset* was a tradition of gentlefolk, an occasions for guests, with wine, coffee, and other new social refreshments served.

**To wish the young couple happiness.** Celebration of the banns has only become established in the second half of the 1800s. Its spread has been influenced by the new courtship and youth culture, perhaps also by the fact that among lower social classes, the banns dance was held in place of the wedding. Compared to the betrothal feast, kuuliaiset was an occasion of congratulations, similar to occasions such as name days (map 36). Getting married had become a happy family occasion. Guests came to the banns celebration to congratulate the young couple and to bring symbolic banns or wedding presents. Gifts of goods became a new means of social signalling; they no longer reinforced kinship, but friendship and neighborliness.

*Heikel Y. 1928. Heikinmäki 1981, 157-. Kivialho 1911. Kuuliala 1958. Sarmela 1969, 94-. Bringéus 1969; 1987, 87-. Bondeson 1988, 65-.*

## 16. Suku- ja kylähääät Kinship and Village Weddings

1. Häiden perustyyppit  
(rekonstruktiokartta)  
Basic wedding types  
(reconstruction map)

kruunuhääät (kylähääät)  
crown weddings, weddings as a common village feast



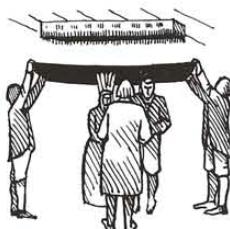
lauluhääät (sukuhääät)  
song weddings, a rite of  
passage between two  
kinship groups



itkuhääät (sukuhääät)  
lament weddings, kinship  
weddings with separation  
laments



2. Kylähäiden vihkinäytämö  
(levinnesyyskartta)  
Scene of village weddings  
(distribution map)



tietoja vihkipatoksesta  
information on bridal canopy



tella  
tella canopy



vihkiliina, -silkki, -vaate  
'wedding scarf, -silk'



3. Häiden rakenne  
Structure of wedding

1. yksipuoliset häät (20 %)  
unilocal weddings, usually  
at home of bride (20%)
2. kaksipuoliset häät (80 %)  
duolocal weddings, at home  
of both bride and groom  
(80%)

Yht. 1360 tietoa, 1750 häät-  
kuvausta  
Total 1360 cases, 1750 wedding  
descriptions

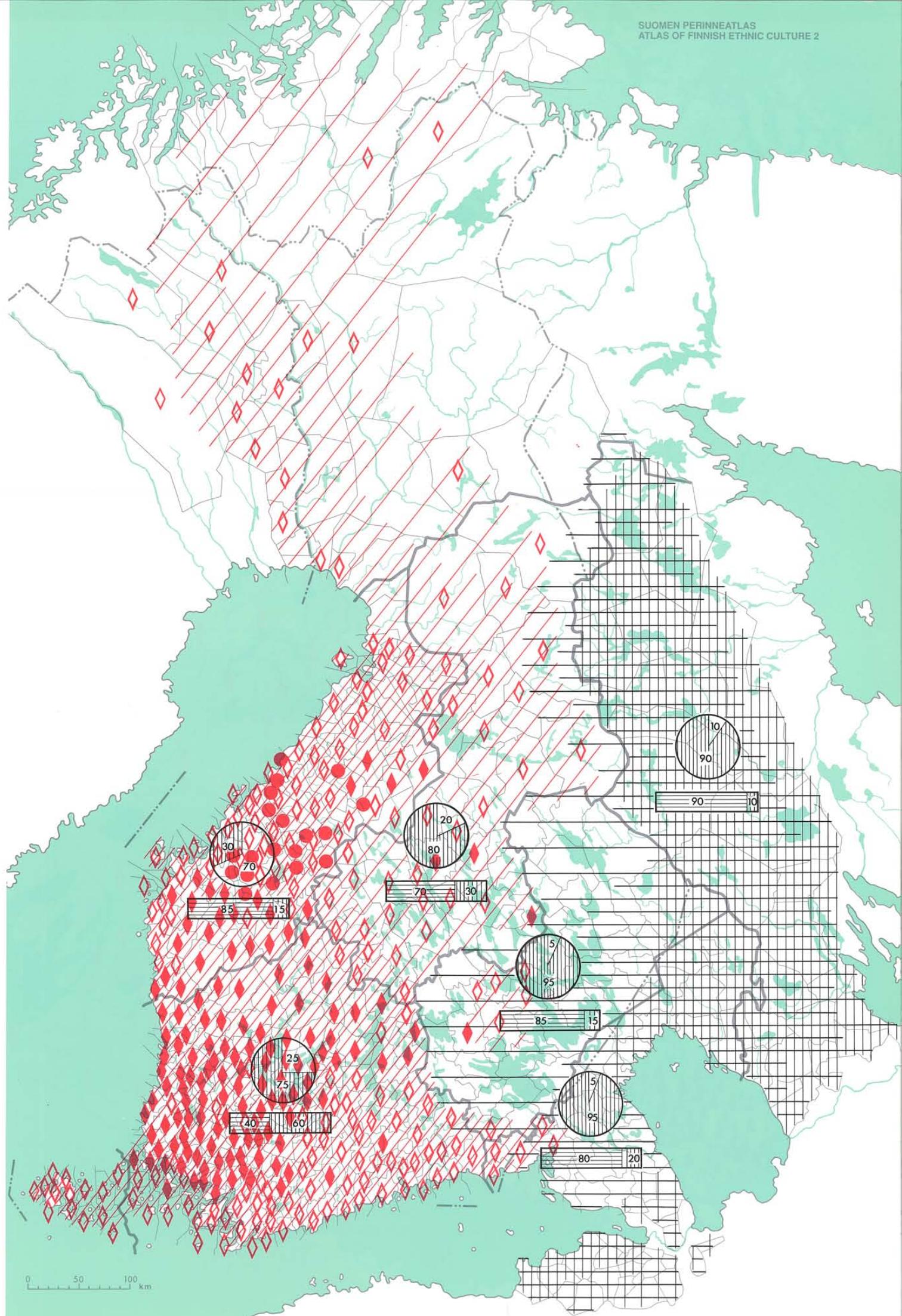


4. Häiden kesto  
Duration of wedding

1. 1-3 päivää  
1-3 days
2. yli 3 päivää (jopa  
2 viikkoa)  
more than 3 days  
(up to 2 weeks)

Yht. 890 tietoa, 1750 häät-  
kuvausta  
Total 890 cases, 1750 wedding  
descriptions

Rekonstruukti-, levinnesyys- ja  
tilastokartta  
Reconstruction, distribution  
and statistical map



## 16. KINSHIP AND VILLAGE WEDDINGS

### ***Two traditions***

**Distribution of kinship weddings and village weddings.** Map 16 shows the widest known distribution of wedding songs in the old meter (table 1) and the wedding crown of landed peasantry (table 2). Archaic wedding songs were the ritual poetry of kinship weddings. Their last preserves are Dvina, Olonets, Ladoga Karelia and Ingria; individual wedding poems have also been recorded from South and North Karelia, Savo and Kainuu, but only in fragments. Wedding laments are restricted to the core area of Orthodox culture (map 8), in Ingria they were also performed among the Lutheran population, Savakot.

The distinctive feature of peasant village or crown weddings was the tall bridal crown, which has spread across the whole of western Finland, and in the south as far as Vyborg. In eastern Finland, some rectories and manor houses have spread the crown, but actual crown weddings were not known in Savo or northern Finland. Village weddings also featured the wedding canopy, under which the bridal couple was married at the bride's home. The wedding canopy (map 17) made the marriage drama more festive, and its distribution shows the core area of village weddings.

For a long time, weddings have followed the duolocality of kinship weddings. Kinship weddings are divided into two principal scenes: the departure ceremony and the reception. Similarly, village weddings were first held at the bride's home, from where the guests moved on to the groom's house to carry on the celebrations. In the peasant villages of western Finland, ceremonies between kinship groups gradually lost their significance, and weddings came to be held in a single location, usually the bride's home. The change may be traced in the statistics on the map diagram covering the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The old, natural formula was retained in Karelian kinship weddings and in the southeastern area of agrarianized village weddings. In Ostrobothnia, unilocal weddings are already the dominant tradition (70% of records), and in Savo they are displacing the duolocal celebrations. However, in the southwestern village wedding area of Satakunta, Häme, Uusimaa and Varsinais-Suomi, the duolocality has been retained (75%). This was partly due to the fact that the homes of the groom and bride began to compete over feasting the wedding guests and wanted to have celebrations of equal duration at both houses. In the southwestern area of landed peasant culture, guest processions (map 18) were also a feature of the social manifestations of weddings and helped to preserve their duolocal nature.

Kinship weddings usually only lasted a day or continued at the groom's house the following day. In the 1800-1900s, village weddings usually lasted two or three days (diagram). In the southwestern core areas

of landed peasantry culture, more than half (60%) of the weddings lasted longer than a day, most commonly four days. In Satakunta and Häme, so-called *mahtihääät* [mighty or great weddings] of landed peasantry may have lasted even a fortnight; the first week in the bride's home and the second week in the groom's. With agrarianization, weddings also became longer in Savo and Karelia, only in Ostrobothnia did weddings usually only last a couple of days, even in the wealthiest houses a week at the most. Wedding feasts retained their collective character the longest in Ostrobothnia, with the whole village gathering for them, while in Satakunta and Häme only invited guests took part in the wedding feast.(1)

## THE KINSHIP WEDDING

### Bride's departure ceremony

**Departure of the collecting party.** Representatives of the groom's kin, *noutoväki*, *sulhasväki* or *sulhaskansa* [collecting folk or groom's folk] assembled at the groom's house on the night before, to prepare for collecting the *antilas*. The collecting party was led by a sorcerer and consisted of a group of the groom's relations: uncles, aunts, but also young men, at least the groom's younger brothers. The principal role of the family group was held by *saajannainen*, usually the groom's aunt or an elder, married sister. The preparations included bathing the groom in the sauna, and in the era of sorcerers, preparation rites complete with incantations.

The groom's bathing in the sauna was a cleansing and separation rite, in the same way as the bridal sauna. Its verses *Kylyvirsi* [bathing verse] and *Pukeutumisvirsi* [dressing verse] progress as a dialogue between the groom and his mother. In *Kylyvirsi* the groom asks his brother to chop the wood and his mother to heat up the sauna, fetch water and make soap from ashes, for him to wash his hair. The mother responds by urging her son to cast his childhood onto the sauna benches, to take responsibility for his new status. In the lines of *Pukeutumisvirsi* the son asks his mother to bring his festive shirt, embroidered cloak or fur coat, belt with gold decorations etc. In the response lines the mother stresses the kinship value of the clothing: the shirt she sewed herself as a young maid, the cloak is one worn by the boy's father when he was a groom.

**Reception of the groom's folk.** At the bride's home, the visitors were received by the mistress of the house, the bride's mother, who performed *Sulhaskansan tulovirsi* [arrival verse of the groom's folk]. It contains layers of different ages and different versions, depending on whether the collecting party came on foot, by boat or with horses. In the initial lines of the arrival song, also known as *Vävyn laulu* [son-in-

law's song], the bride's mother asks what folk is coming and where in the group is the son-in-law. The reply repeats the question: the son-in-law is not the first nor the last, but he is in the middle of the group.

In the reception song the groom was led into the kitchen hall and seated at the table. In the agrarian version, the singers describe the arrival by horse-drawn vehicles of the groom's kin, the mistress orders the servants or village boys to unharness and feed the visitors' horses, to take them to the stable etc. Keeping servants was alien to Dvinian conditions. In the agrarian version, the bride's mother plays the role of the mistress of a large house, kind of mistress of Northland in the old epic (cf. map 93), and the arrival verse, like the groom's dressing verse, refer to either Slavic models or to weddings of the most powerful kinship groups of the Iron Age. The arrival verse of the groom's folk, like *Juohtokansan tulovirsi*, also has a third version, describing the arrival of the wedding party by boat. In the Dvinian lake district, where there were no roads, travel by boat was still a daily means of getting around in the 1800s, but the songs may also stem from marine poetry and date back to the Iron Age culture of the Gulf of Finland culture circle.

**Table 1**

***Basic formula of kinship weddings***

Bride's home	Groom's home
<p>Bridal sauna (Shoeing evening)</p> <p><b>Bride's departure (<i>läksiäiset</i>)</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Arrival of groom's folk           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Tulolaulu</i> [Arrival song]</li> <li>– <i>Vastaanottolaulu</i> [Reception song]</li> </ul> </li> <li>3. Viewing of groom           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Sulhasen silmät</i> [Looking at the groom's eyes]</li> <li>– <i>Neidon jäljitys</i> [Tracking the maiden]</li> <li>– <i>Kädeniskulaulu</i> [Hand-striking song]</li> </ul> </li> <li>5. Exchange of kinship gifts</li> <li>6. Dressing of the bride (<i>antilas</i>)           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Päänpanentalaulu</i> [Head dressing song]</li> <li>– <i>Sulhasen odotuslaulu</i> [Groom's waiting song]</li> <li>– <i>Pukemislaulu</i> [Dressing song]</li> <li>– <i>Lähtölaulu</i> (<i>Ylös miehet</i>) [Departure song (Get up, men)]</li> </ul> </li> <li>7. Giving away of the bride           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Giving-away words</li> <li>– Words to the young wife</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	<p>1. Departure of groom's folk           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Lähtölaulu</i> [departure song]</li> <li>– <i>Kyylalaulu</i> [bathing song]</li> <li>– <i>Pukeutumislaulu</i> [Dressing song]</li> <li>– <i>Matkalaulu</i> [Song for the journey]</li> </ul> </p>

- Words of marriage vows

### **Transporting the bride (*juohtomatka*)**

8. Protection rites of the transporting party
  - Protection words (*incantation*)

### **Arrival of bride (*tuliaset*)**

9. Reception ceremony
  - Sister's song
  - Coming of young wife
10. Viewing of young wife
  - Groom's waiting song
  - Groom's introduction song (praise)
11. Wedding meal
  - Songs in praise of kinship group
  - Neuvokkilaulut [advisory songs]
12. Escorting to marriage bed  
(sorcerer rite)

**Kinship union.** In Dvina, the departure ceremony began with a sequence called *katsotus* [viewing], after which the proposal was renewed and the final decision of the kinship union made. The viewing of the groom has been a similar ceremony to the viewing of the bride at the arrival ceremony. The groom was seated behind the table facing the bride's kin, to be looked over. The song about the groom's eyes has evidently belonged in this context. The song has the mistress of the house ask for torchlight, so she can look at the groom's eyes. According to some versions the collecting journey began in the evening, as did the proposal journey, so the bride would have been collected at night.

This was followed by a ceremony during which the bride and groom were brought together. The bride was dressed in a festive dress and covered with a kerchief, or a curtain was hung between the bride's kin and the groom's folk. When the groom had paid a viewing fee, the curtain hiding the bride was pulled aside and the groom was asked whether he still recognized his own. Evidently, the song *Neidon jäljitys* or "*Mistä tiesit, teltamoinen?*" [tracking the maiden] belonged in this juncture. In the song, the bride's mother asks how the groom knew that there were maids of marriageable age in the house or how he tracked down the girl who was kept hidden in a remote cabin. The groom replies that smoke rising from the chimney in the early morning, sounds of hand grinding stones, the spindle or loom revealed the hard-working girl. The song ends in the mother's line that a maid cannot be hidden from a hunter. *Neidon jäljitys* is grounded on metaphors from the hunting culture, and it seems that the song has been part of Karelian wedding ceremonies in very early times.

The viewing was often concluded by striking of hands, accompanied by *Kädeniskuvirsi* [hand-striking verse] or *Kokkovirsi*, "*Lensi kokko koilta ilman*" [eagle verse], as on the occasion of the proposal. The sequence possibly dates back to the time when the proposal and taking away of the betrothed formed a continuous ceremony. *Kokkovirsi* likens the groom to an eagle soaring in the sky and striking on the most handsome bird in a flock of mallard ducks. The eagle appears to be an ancient metaphor; e.g. wedding songs of northern Russia liken the groom to a bird of prey, a hawk.

In Dvina, the viewing (*katsotus*) was followed by *vajehus*, which originally meant the exchange of kinship gifts. The bride and groom also exchanged gifts, the bride usually giving the groom a shirt and receiving a skirt in return. On the groom's side, the gifts were distributed by *saajannainen*, on the bride's side by the betrothed assisted by her *kaaso*, and they were given individually to the relatives present. Many changes have taken place in the exchange of gifts; at the end of the 1800s the groom's kin replaced the gifts with money, but the bride's gifts were collected or made by herself and retained their position as demonstrations of the new daughter-in-law's skills.

**Separation of the betrothed.** During the separation rites the bride gradually gave up her past, first her more distant ties and finally at the departure ceremony her closest living environment. The separation rites began at the proposal, where the betrothed lamented her imminent life change. While collecting bridal aid, she lamented to her relatives, at least to those who were not at the departure ceremony (map 8).<sup>(2)</sup> In the bridal sauna she was separated from her girl friends and left her luck in proposals to them, the shoeing evening was an occasion for village youth, and finally at the departure ceremony, she was separated from her childhood home and family.<sup>(3)</sup>

In the lament area, the bride's mother woke her daughter on the morning of the departure day, and during the morning the bride wailed laments to her grandparents, parents, siblings and all relatives who had arrived for the event. It was credit to the bride if she was able to lament her own wedding, but usually the wedding laments were performed by an old woman with traditional skills, *olallinen* ['shoulder']. The bride and her assistant leaned on each other and visited each relative in turns, pressing their heads against their shoulders. The bride may go around the yard with *olallinen*, visiting the cowhouse and other places; this way the bride bade farewell to the people and places that were an important part of her childhood.

**Dressing the betrothed.** After *vajehus*, the bride was given the insignia of a young wife and dressed for the escorted journey, to be given away to the collecting party. In the *Päänpäntä* ceremony her hair was combed in the style of married women, and a married woman's headdress was placed on her head. The dressing was performed by *kaaso*, usually the bride's aunt or elder sister, but the bride's unmarried girl friends may also have taken part, like in the bridal sauna. The *Päänpäntä* song opens with the question of for whom is the groom waiting: "*Mitä istut isosi poika?*" Then follows a list of the possible objects of his waiting, ending with the daughter. While dressing the bride for the escorted journey, the company at the departure ceremony sang *Odotuslaulu* [waiting song], telling the groom to wait patiently. Then followed *Pukemislaulu* [dressing song], describing the bride's dressing, how she is shod and mittens put on her hands.

When the bride was dressed the wedding party moved outdoors by the front steps, where the bride was given away to the collecting party. This was preceded by *Lähtölaulu* [departure song]: "*Ylös miehet, ulos urohot, kansa kaikki kartanolle!*"

**Giving away the bride.** The bride's father gave away his daughter, reciting or singing *Luovutussanat* [giving-away words]. They impress upon the daughter that she has made her decision and detached herself from her former home. If the marriage was to be dissolved and the daughter forced to return, the threshold to her father's house would be higher by a timber and the yard longer by a field's edge. *Avioehtojen asetus* [setting of marriage conditions] has also been performed during the giving away of the bride, reminding the collecting party that responsibility for the bride is transferred to the groom's kin, and that – as was common practice in subsistence cultures – the young wife would be permitted to return

home if she was ill-treated: if she was made to grind bog arum [makeshift food], left to weep at windows, to stand in the doorway. The verse on marriage conditions has probably included the formula for setting a blood feud: the bride had brothers who would track the maid, or 'find her head'. The groom is responsible for his bride to her brothers.

Later, Russian-style advisory verses have also been used as giving-away songs and performed at the reception feast. They urged the bride to behave meekly, to bow her head in front of her mother-in-law. The groom in turn was advised to teach his young wife patiently and to chastise her gently.

In Orthodox Karelia, the bride bade her last farewells before being given away, and wailed her final separation laments to her mother, sisters and other close family members. Then the mother also wailed a long farewell lament to her daughter, seated on a chair or on the lid of the bridal trunk. According to Christian tradition, the parents blessed their daughter before she left; in Dvina and Olonets the bride asked her parents for forgiveness and was blessed on a pelt (*turkilla prostitus*).

**Transporting the bride.** Along with the groom's folk, representatives of the bride (*myötämenijät*) – uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, sometimes also more distant relatives – went along to escort the bride. Before leaving, the sorcerer-spokesman protected (*varasi*) the escorting party (*juohtoväki*) by circling them with an iron object, and during the journey, the liminal phase of the rite of passage, the bride was transported with her head covered, safe from extraneous forces and malevolent looks (map 18).

If the escort was on foot, the procession was headed by the spokesman, followed by the groom leading his bride by the kerchief, with all others behind, both the bride's company and the groom's folk. It seems that there were no actual songs for the bridal escort; the departure incantations have been e.g. sorcerers' common protection spells ("Aita rautainen rakenna..." [Build an iron fence...]). When wedding loaf and icon rites spread to Karelia from the east, the bearer of wedding loaves walked at the head of the procession immediately behind the spokesman.

## Reception

**Arrival of the escort.** At the groom's house, the bride's escort was received in the yard, where the groom's younger, unmarried sister performed *Tulovirsi* [arrival song] ("Kylä vuotti uutta kuuta" [The village waited for a new moon]), after which the bride was led indoors and seated behind the table beside the groom; now followed the viewing of the bride (*nuorikon katsominen*). In the arrival song, the groom's sister sings that the village has waited as if for a new moon and sunrise, and no longer believed that the brother with his new wife would come. But she never doubted that a hunter like her brother would not return empty-handed, without a catch. The sister waits for her brother as if he was returning from a hunting expedition. In another version of the reception song, the escort party arrives by boat with the bride herself at the oars and the groom as cox. The song urges the bride: "Nouse sotka (sorsa) soutimilta, alli airoilta ylene [Rise, mallard duck, from the rowers, up from the oars, long-tailed duck]". Finally, she is invited to step inside the house.

**Viewing of the bride.** Once the young couple is seated at the table in the main kitchen hall, the kerchief covering the bride's face was lifted away (with a spill), and the groom's relatives who had gathered for the occasion came forth to see the new daughter-in-law joining their kin. In the era of extended families, the bride may have been mercilessly criticized, at least in jest, or also praised. The wedding songs include *Nuorikon odotuslaulu* [bride's waiting song], describing how intensely the groom's kin have waited for the new family member. The relatives' anticipation has focused on the lakeside and lake; the old people's eyes have watered as they have looked out of windows, youngsters' feet have become sore from running along the lake path. The boat, water fowl metaphors, and expectation of the hunter's bag would indicate that the arrival song has a similar basic plot cultivating hunting images as in the groom's leaving song and the hand-striking song.

The agrarian version of the waiting song and the one most common in the 19th century describes how anxiously the groom's household has waited for the new worker, how the kitchen hall has waited for someone to sweep, to wipe the table, and numerous other tasks for someone to undertake them. The young wife is brought in a horse-drawn sleigh, asked to alight and to step into the house built by the groom and his father, on lands cleared by them. The song introduces a Karelian house room by room, domestic animal by domestic animal, and at the same time the duties of the mistress, and how necessary the new daughter-in-law is in the house.

After the waiting song, the groom's praising song was sung to the bride. The older version praises the groom as hunter: a man who wanders the forests and wildernesses, with dogs that do not laze around at home; the groom rises in the morning from a campfire and his head is brushed by spruce fronds. A second version, performed at the reception feast, exalts the groom as swidden feller and plower of fields, he has barley growing by ditches, heathland growing oats, and a granary at every clearing.

At the end of the viewing, the young wife has distributed gifts to the groom's parents and those of her new relations who were not present on the occasion of her leaving. The reception ended with a meal shared by both kinship groups, with the relations who had come as the bride's escort joining in on the bride's side.

In the hunting era and early swidden communities, the wedding drama has probably ended with the bride's aggregation rites. They have been used to introduce the new family member to her new relations, but also to the ancestors and supernatural guardians of the house. Then the young couple was put behind a curtain or *tella* to get to know each other, as the custom was known to have been in eastern Finland and also among the Sami, or they were escorted to the sleeping hut (*aitta*) while the relatives stayed to celebrate the wedding or the bride's *pejaiset*.

**Reception feast.** In Karelian swidden and farming communities the reception meal evolved into the wedding feast, where the program of songs continued. The communal meal was the final scene of the rites of passage. The reception feast often went on through the night, while the groom's kin celebrated the successful collection of the bride, and the clan strengthened its kinship ties. The feasting songs included songs of praise, at least to *saajannainen* (or a song criticizing her), to the spokesman and the groom, occasionally with members of both families intent on competing with their songs, exalting their own kin and its members and mocking the opposite party.

Most of the later feasting songs have been so-called advisory songs, with detailed instructions to the young wife on how she should behave towards other members of the extended family and the parents-in-law in particular, and how the duties of the daughter-in-law should be discharged. The daughter-in-law had to forget her former home and meekly serve her exhausted husband returning from hunting or heavy outdoor work. The guidance culminated in the chores ceremony which was also a game for the guests.

The new wife had to do various chores while the groom's kin criticized and the bride's kin praised her performance. The most common sample chores were sweeping the floor and fetching water, but the young wife had to be not only quick but also sharp-sighted and find a needle thrown on the floor by the spokesman.

In the extended families of Dvina and Olonets, the daughter-in-law was obliged to ask her mother-in-law's permission before starting a new chore, in the Russian way of bowing her forehead to the latter's feet, for at least a month after the wedding. Bowing was not so much a sign of humiliating the young wife, but of reinforcing the internal hierarchy of the family. This way, the daughter-in-law had an opportunity of getting to know the ways of the house under the special protection of her mother-in-law, and also of avoiding conflicts that may have arisen with the newcomer intruding in other women's designated areas of work.

**Message of the wedding songs.** In Karelian and Ingrian villages, a wedding was still a singing drama in the 19th century; Väinö Salminen has estimated that it may have included 60-70 runes in the old meter led by skilled singers, and dozens of laments. The wedding songs progressed in dialogic form, starting with a question and response lines; their structure was the same as that used in the bear rites of the hunting era (map 1). The largest known distribution area of wedding songs covers Karelia, Ingria, and South and East Savo or the Greater Karelia of the hunting era; wedding laments are only known in Orthodox Karelia and Ingria. Among scholars, Kaarle Krohn attempted to show that wedding songs were mostly created within the Christian village culture of western Finland, in common with other poetry in the archaic meter in his opinion. Elias Lönnrot also composed proposal and wedding ceremonies for his *Kalevala*, which do not, however, correspond to Karelian culture, but to the wedding feasts of western Finland.

Wedding songs are a part of the tradition of kinship society; they cannot have been created in peasant villages, but they do contain layers that may have been passed down from the Iron Age cultivating communities of the Gulf of Finland culture circle. Weddings songs were plentiful among the Estonians and peoples of northern Russia, and Karelian wedding songs of the agrarian era contain the same topics as are found among the Slavs; even the basic formula of song weddings is similar to that of both the Baltic countries and northern Russia. The advisory and praising songs, young wife's chore ceremonies, bowing to the feet, and the new patriarchal extended family hierarchy of the agrarian period all have their roots among Slavic peoples.

The wedding songs contain many layers, and like all rites, wedding ceremonies have been constantly reformed and adapted to the living environment of the community members. In songs from the hunting era, fetching the spouse is described in terms of hunting; the groom's idol is the hunter, and the metaphors are from the hunting world.(4 In the 1800s, the setting of the songs is a swidden and farming village, with the extended family its central structure. In songs from the agrarian layer, the action takes place in the life of a peasant, including peasant kitchen halls, byres, cattle, and horse-drawn vehicles used to transport the wedding folk. The bride of the songs is taken to become the daughter-in-law of an extended family, and the singers' values emphasize hard work and skills, like in the village culture of western Finland.

**Women's singing drama.** Wedding songs were sung by women, and wedding laments were wholly a women's tradition. Women were assigned to receive processions, give presents, dress the bride, and other duties. The women of the kinship group brokered marriages, with the girl's mother, aunts and godmother the chief negotiators at the proposal. At the wedding, the betrothed was met by the mother-in-

law and the community of the women of the extended family. Men, even the groom, played a minor part, and at weddings only the advent of the sorcerer with his fertility and protection rites provided competition for the women.

At the departure ceremony and reception, the bride was subjected to separation rites and prepared for her new status. The women of the kinship community defused their memories, hopes and disappointments with her. All in all, weddings were therapy for women. Along with agrarianization, women's songs and lamenting at kinship weddings increased; separation rites increasingly clearly defused the fears girls felt when having to become daughters-in-law in extended families that were becoming hierarchical and patriarchal. Wedding songs may have originated from an era when women dominated the everyday culture of the kinship community, and also life stage rites from birth to death. Women had the opportunity of expressing their emotions – they served as interpreters of feelings in life and creators of the atmosphere of the kinship community. They could weep out the fatality and irrevocability signified to a human being by the passage from one life stage to another.

## VILLAGE WEDDING

### ***Crown weddings of landed peasantry***

**Village community feast.** In the peasant villages of western and southern Finland the wedding became a feasting celebration, with its main sequences the wedding ceremony, wedding meal and dancing. Village weddings also followed a duolocal formula for a long time. Two-day weddings, which may be considered the basic format of the celebrations, began at the bride's home, where the couple were married, followed by the wedding meal. The dancing might also start at the bridal house, but at two-day weddings the guests removed, often soon after the meal, in a festive procession to the groom's home, where dancing went on late into the night or even until the morning. In the evening the bride was divested of her crown, and the newlyweds were escorted to the wedding bed (map 20).

On the morning after the wedding night, the bride was dressed with a married woman's head-dress (see map 20), after which a toast was often drunk in honor of the head-dressing ('morning toast'). At the groom's home, the wedding guests were also served a meal, followed by the raising of wedding toasts, during which cash gifts were collected for the young couple (map 21). Alongside the ceremonies, dancing went on into the night. Finally, leaving drinks or meal, such as pea soup, were served, or another signal given to end the event. On the Isthmus, a club was struck on the outside of the house, into the corner beam.

Many local variants of the basic wedding formula have existed, and the order of the wedding sequences has also varied, for example depending on how many days the wedding went on. At one-day village weddings, such as those in Ostrobothnia, the wedding meal ended with the wedding toasts or

collection of cash for the newlyweds. In the era of landed peasant culture, weddings became longer, as houses began to compete over feasting the guests. At weddings lasting several days, the removal to the groom's house often took place only on the second or third day, or even after a week, in which case the escorting to the wedding bed, head-dressing and raising of wedding toasts took place at the bride's home. In Ostrobothnia and other areas too, the wedding, complete with the marriage ceremony, might be held in the groom's house, if it was the more prosperous. When weddings became privatized from the end of the 19th century on, several ceremonies were gradually omitted from the festivities, the first being the public escorting to bed. The wedding became a feasting and dancing occasion held solely at the bride's house, and from the turn of the century increasingly at the village hall or some other public building.

**The bridal crown and wedding stage.** At crown weddings, the bride was dressed in her wedding dress and the tall wedding crown was placed on her head. A home-made wedding crown was constructed around a metal frame, decorated with gold and silver paper, glass beads, flowers, and bits of sheet metal. With time the crown became ever taller; in Ostrobothnia, it was called the 'great silvers'. The high trinket crown evolved with professional bridal dressers offering their services and vying for customers. The wedding crown could only be worn by 'pure' brides who were known to be respectable virgins. The bride's honorable status and at the same time Christian views of morality might be emphasized by placing a small metal 'crown of honor', usually made by a goldsmith, inside the trinket crown.

For a home wedding, a room was decorated in the house and a wedding altar built. The *tupa* (large living kitchen) or parlour of the house, in Ostrobothnia the largest room of the guest building, was 'dressed up' as the wedding chamber. The walls were draped with sheets, woven coverlets (*raanu*) and tufted wool rugs or wall hangings (*ryijy*), and overhung with mirrors, garlands and floral decorations; in wealthy houses, the walls were hung with rows of mirrors and wedding boards or decorative greeting boards made and brought by the bridal couple's close friends. Garlands (made out of club-moss *Lycopodium annotinum* or *clavatum*, or crepe paper) and artificial flowers became fashionable at the end of the 19th century. A rug or *ryijy* was spread on the floor of the wedding chamber, and on it the wedding stools, upon which the bridal couple kneeled. The wedding stools were commissioned from carpenters, and they were often used by many generations. In western Finland, a wedding canopy, *morsiustaivas* [bridal sky] or *tella*, *telta* [tent] was suspended over the wedding altar, or the entire ceiling of the wedding chamber was decorated with colourful cloths and flower arrangements. The wedding canopy might also be a separate cloth, *vihkiliina* [wedding cloth], which has also been called *tella*, in Ostrobothnia *pelli* (Sw. *päll*, Lat. *pallium* 'cloth, cover'). The wedding cloth was held over the bridal couple during the marriage ceremony by *telturit*, the bridesmaids and pageboys.

The wedding house decorations were done by a voluntary working party of village women and youth, at least the young couple's peers and the wedding assistants, bridesmaids and pageboys. The young men erected the decorations in the yard of the wedding house (map 17), while the women dressed the wedding chamber. A temporary dance floor might also be built in the yard for uninvited guests to dance on.

A home wedding followed the same ceremonies as a church marriage. The bridal couple came to the altar in front of the priest with bridesmaids and pageboys holding the wedding cloth aloft, later the bride's long train or veil, and a fiddler playing the wedding march. The ceremony according to the old marriage formula was long; its prayers and hymns made entering marriage solemn and also more impressive than the pre-Christian giving-away ceremonies and sorcerer rites. The marriage ceremony ended with congratulating the bridal couple and drinking toasts to their happiness. Alongside home weddings, the

custom was also retained of the couple going to church to be married and returning to the wedding house afterwards.

**Table 2**

***Basic formula of village wedding (two-day wedding)***

Bride's home	Groom's home
1. Preparation wedding working party decorating the wedding house	1. Preparation wedding working party decorating the wedding house
<i>Wedding</i>	
3. Reception of guests – arrival marches	2. Departure of guest procession
4. Marriage ceremony	
5. Wedding meal	
6. Wedding dance	
7. Departure of wedding procession	
	8. Reception of wedding procession
	9. Refreshments
	10. Wedding dance
	11. Escorting to marriage bed
	12. Head-covering
	13. Wedding meal
	14. Wedding toasts and collection of cash gifts
	15. Dancing, thank-you dances
	16. Closing refreshments

**The wedding meal.** Originally, the wedding meal was modest and it was not taken seated at a common festive table, but the food was laid out on a side table from which the guests helped themselves during the evening. The fare consisted of bread, smoked meat, fish, cheese, and to drink beer, which was drunk from a shared tankard. In eastern Finland and Ostrobothnia, the main course was still in the 1900s commonly a meat or pea soup or porridge. It became customary to eat soups seated at table, first from communal bowls, as was generally done in rural areas. There were no table cloths or other decorations. In Ostrobothnia, village farmers' wives each brought ingredients, the meal was prepared together, and the feasting tables built from boards and placed in the yard in summertime.

Western European culinary customs were gradually adopted among the landed peasantry of southwestern Finland. The wedding meal was prepared by professional caterers, who brought new continental dishes and table manners to rural parishes. The guests were seated at the table in hierarchical order, and the menu was modeled on those of the gentry, with appetizers, main course and dessert, and wines to drink. The food was served by *kenkkärit* or *passarit*, who were also often regular staff at weddings. The various courses were eaten in accordance with bourgeois etiquette from individual plates, using a knife and fork. With the aperitifs, toasting speeches and service ceremonies, the wedding meal of landed peasantry started in many details to resemble the dinner parties of the gentry.

**Wedding dance – social occasion of village community.** Dancing and instrumental music were known in the peasant villages of western Finland as early as the 17th century, and weddings were the earliest occasions for dancing; the first dance musicians were wedding fiddlers. While young people's village dances were frowned upon in the 1700s and even in the 1800s, wedding celebrations were occasions where dancing was an essential part of the festivities.

Musicians were few in many parishes, consequently wedding dances also included singing dances or round games, which from the 1600s acquired a formula in the new meter, with melodies following the dance tunes. Dancing also spread rapidly to eastern Finland and Karelia (cf. map 35), but in the area of kinship weddings music was not part of the wedding ceremonies for a long time; the young danced somewhere out of the way, often outdoors, for example in Orthodox Karelia.

The oldest layer of wedding dances is represented by (1) group dances, such as the polonaise, French contre dance, minuet, quadrille and anglaise, all of which were also danced in European royal houses. All the wedding guests took part in group dances, with a leader demonstrating the figures of the dance line. One of the dances known in Ostrobothnia was the old European 'long dance', with the wedding party following the leader in a long double line all around the house and outside in the yard, popping into the cowhouse and other outbuildings, even neighboring houses.

Another layer is formed by (2) paired dances, such as the polka, mazurka, schottische and waltz, which became fashionable towards the end of the 19th century. Paired dancing changed the nature of the interaction between the sexes. The dancing pairs no longer followed the group in the figures of the group dance, but moved and talked alone.

The old group dances were retained alongside the new fashion dances, as were the dancing songs. For example, the *purpuri* or potpourri, popular towards the end of the 19th century, was a blend of various dances, in effect just a name for a chain of dances consisting of a sequence of group and paired dances varying with the times and musicians' repertoires. Often the opening dance of the *purpuri* was a march, suitable for a procession of the wedding party, led by the musicians, around the house or from the table to the dancing venue.<sup>(5)</sup>

Whereas in Karelian kinship weddings it became customary to perform songs in praise of the spokesman, *saajannainen* and other role players, at village weddings thank-you dances were performed for the professional assistants. Dedicated 'rings' or dances were performed for the *kruunuttaja* or *kaaso* who had dressed the bride, the cook, and the waitresses. The ceremonial dances have counterparts in the peasant cultures of Continental Europe, and they have spread to western and southern Finland roughly to the same areas as crown weddings.

**Ritual music and dances.** Fiddler music gradually invaded all the ceremonies at wedding celebrations in western Finland. Wedding music became ritualized; in some parishes with famous fiddlers, almost every

new stage began with a piece of music. Ritual entries were particularly the wedding marches that might be played while receiving the guests, as the bridal couple arrived at the marriage ceremony, while sitting down for the meal, at the opening of the wedding dance, while escorting the newlyweds to the marriage bed, at the head-covering, or when announcing the wedding toasts. The wedding might even end with a march. The fiddlers played at the head of the wedding procession moving from the bridal house to the groom's home, and also when going to church for the marriage ceremony. In western Finland, brides might even have a fiddler accompany them when collecting bridal aid. Gradually, the fiddler became a rite performer who made the ceremonies more festive and replaced the chanter and sorcerer.

In Pietist circles, but also at ordinary folk weddings, Christian hymn-singing and prayers competed with fiddler music. Instead of music, a hymn was sung and grace said before the meal, a hymn opened and closed every stage of the wedding, and hymn-singing accompanied the newlyweds to the marriage bed. Especially in Savo, wedding songs in the old meter were replaced by hymns.

In the heyday of village weddings, rites of passage were also introduced into wedding dances. The wedding dance was opened with taking the bride onto the floor, which in effect signified acceptance of the new wife into the village community. Dancing with the bride followed a certain order, which gradually reflected the all-pervading class hierarchy. Old custom dictated that the first to lead the bride into a dance was the spokesman, or the parson if he was present, or the bride's own father. Then family members and villagers took their turns, finally also the gate-crashers, usually the bride's peers. Hierarchy was very important at the weddings of landed peasantry, and the wedding dance was one of the occasions where the highest-ranking people of the parish might appear dressed as befitting people of their wealth, and in a position commensurate to their standing in front of the village community. Later it became customary also in Finland that the newlyweds danced the first dance, the wedding waltz, alone.

Rites of passage were also incorporated in round games. In Ostrobothnia, parts of Satakunta and in Swedish-speaking areas, boys took the groom and the girls similarly took the bride into the centre of their ring, and each in turn swung the groom and bride around, after which the boys carried the groom to the company of married men, and the *kaaso* removed the crown from the bride. In the girls' separation dance, the bride might also be taken around her home in dance steps to bid it farewell, and the bride would predict in various ways, e.g. blindfolded, which of the girls would be celebrating her wedding next. There are many local variations of ritual dances, for example separation dances of the young have ended with raising of separation toasts. During the wedding dance, a mock fight for the groom might have taken place between the young men and married men, each trying to pull him into their own group. Round games have also included dedicated dances for the unmarried and the married, or the rings of girls and boys or men and wives. Pitted against each other were married status and age groups, no longer kinship groups, and the question was not of the status in the family, but of being master or mistress of a house, where there might be a great number of tenants, laborers, servant girls and hired hands.

## **AGRARIANIZED KINSHIP WEDDINGS**

## **From kinship weddings to village weddings**

**Changing kinship weddings.** At peasant kinship weddings of the southeastern areas, the basic formula of the marriage ceremonies is still the same as in inter-kinship group weddings, but as well as kinship groups, the stage includes villagers, with the married and unmarried or the groom's and bride's villages juxtaposed. The customs of eastern village culture have spread from the Baltic countries and northern Russia, containing elements such as fertility rites that were adopted in the area of old sorcerer culture, but no longer in western peasant villages (maps 19-20).

In the south, song weddings in the archaic meter were only preserved in Ingria, and there, too, ritual songs were replaced by dancing and round game songs. Kinship weddings came to contain increasing numbers of (1) agrarian fertility and futurity rites, such as divining good and bad omens; examples are the young wife's reception ceremonies (map 19) and the 'knee boy' (map 20). The bride's (2) rites of passage also increased in the distribution area of laments in Ingria and Orthodox Karelia. In northern areas of Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia, the new atmosphere was reflected in the bride's apology and chores ceremonies. At the departure ceremony, the *antilas* asked her parents' forgiveness and that of all others with whom she had been in contact in her home environment, even domestic animals, by kneeling in front of them on a pelt (*prostitusmenot*). The bowing, skills demonstrations and advisory songs of the betrothed are also aggregation rites of an agrarianizing society.

Particularly in Ingria and South Karelia, the new parties of (3) separation rites are the young, peers of the bride and groom. The separation rites of the young culminated in *kengitysilia* [shoeing night] (Ru. *devitsnik* evening, Ger. *Polterabend*).

Then the young 'shod' the bride and groom, and the bride's and groom's saunas may also become part of the shoeing evening. The bride's girl friends heated up the sauna and bathed her, to symbolically cleanse her from her youth, ready for the new period of life. The bridal sauna became the girls' farewell rite and the groom's sauna similarly the occasion of separation from the groom's peers. In Ingria, the bride might have gone round the whole village to say her goodbyes on the shoeing evening. One of the new separation and entry rites has also been stopping the wedding procession (map 18). The southeastern area also acquired (4) features from some social traditions of village communities, South Savo and Finnish Karelia mainly from the west, Ingria and East Karelia also from the east.

**Arrival of village customs.** New forms of social intercourse were *tupakaiset* (maps 13-15), many festive foods and dances; for example, dancing with the bride for cash spread as far as the Isthmus. Village customs that arrived by the eastern route are comedy plays and mock fights between villages, with new local peer groups pitted against each other. The most widespread of the comedy plays in Finland is demanding a wedding passport. Especially in Estonia, the wedding guests amused themselves by putting on comedy plays, and alongside the serious wedding ceremonies, a mock counter-drama parodying getting married might run throughout (map 18).

Table 3 lists the sequences of agrarian kinship weddings at the turn of the 1800s and 1900s. The kinship weddings of landed peasantry have not followed a uniform formula, but the customs varied between parishes. The schedule of events of old kinship weddings was best preserved in Dvina and other parts of

**Table 3*****Basic formula of agrarianized kinship weddings***

Bride's home	Groom's home
<b><i>Proposal</i></b>	
1. Proposal occasion Proposal dance Proposal laments*	
2. Viewing of home	
3. Confirmation ceremonies ( <i>lujuset, liitot</i> )	
4. Betrothal celebration ( <i>kuuliaiset</i> )	
5. Collection for the bride Collecting laments*	
6. Shoeing evening Separation rites Bridal sauna Futurity rites	6. Groom's sauna
<b><i>Bride's departure</i></b>	
7. Waking the bride Divining the omens Separation rites Separation laments*	
8. Arrival of groom's folk	
9. Arrival of groom's folk Arrival songs	
10. Viewing Dressing the bride Groom's payments Distribution of gifts	
11. Reciprocal visiting	11. Reciprocal visiting
12. Marriage ceremony in church	
13. Wedding meal, raising of wedding toasts	
14. Departure of bride Separation rites ( <i>prostitusmenot</i> ) Separation laments* Futurity rites (wedding loaf and icons)	
15. Giving away the bride Lamenting the dowry* Mother's laments* Giving-away songs Advisory songs	

### ***Wedding procession (Juohtomatka)***

- 16. Departure rites
  - Protection and repelling rites
- 17. Stopping ceremonies

### ***Arrival of bride***

- 18. Reception ceremony
  - Arrival songs
  - Arrival rites
  - Fertility rites
- 19. Viewing the bride
  - Aggregation rites
  - Fertility rites
- 20. Wedding feast
  - Praising and criticizing songs
  - Advisory songs
  - Young wife's chores
- 21. Escorting to marriage bed
  - Fertility rites
- 22. Morning after the arrival
  - Head-covering
  - Newlyweds' sauna

\*in lament area of Orthodox Karelia and Ingria.

northern Karelia. The most eclectic was the wedding tradition of Ingria, where new customs running alongside the old wedding songs and laments arrived from all directions: Russian peoples, Estonia, and via the Lutheran church from Finland. In Savo and on the Isthmus, weddings increasingly began to resemble the village weddings of western Finland.

In the area of kinship weddings, elements of agrarian village culture were often just incorporated in the old formula. The Karelian equivalent of wedding feasts has been reciprocal visiting, called in Dvina *kutsuilla käynti*. The groom's and bride's parents and other close relatives visited each other before the wedding or on the wedding day, and the best possible hospitality was offered the visitors. At the visits, the guests of honor were the bride's and groom's parents, who under the old kinship wedding formula did not join the groom's collecting party. Additions acquired during the spread of landed peasant culture are evidently the escorting to the marriage bed, moving the head-covering to the morning after the wedding night, and collection of cash by the sale of liquor (maps 20-21). In the Orthodox area, too, it became customary to go to church to be married on the day of the departure ceremony; the marriage ceremony superseded the giving-away ceremony, and the wedding party could go straight from church to the reception at the groom's house.

**Background of the village feast.** The earliest records on peasant wedding feasts from western and southern Finland are found in the district court records of the early 1600s (TUOKKO). Wedding feasts were thought so important that they were noted in inheritance documents, and people sued over them. Daughters and sons had to have weddings provided by their homes when they got married and left home. In aristocratic circles and in the oldest village areas also among landed peasants, wedding feasts

were already known in the early Middle Ages; regulations on their arrangements and the inviting of guests were contained in the old common laws of Sweden-Finland from the 14th and 15th centuries.

The feasts institution is a facet of the administrative system of prehistoric times. The Finnish word *pito* has the same root as the old term for the administrative area similar to a parish, *pitäjä*; in addition the word *kihla*, 'pledge' or 'pawn', is the root of *kihlakunta*, a unit of the judicial administration.(7 In the Iron Age, the parish maintained communal institutions, ancient castles and large boats, but the kinship groups of the same parish were united by shared feasts: tax collection feasts, *Vakkove* feasts (map 4) and wedding feasts. Participation in the chieftain's feasts in the hunting and pillaging circles of the Viking era signified acknowledgement of leadership and alliance. Invitation to feasts, accepting the invitation or refusing it has regulated relations between kinship groups. In western areas, wedding feasts have reinforced and legitimized the marriage in the same way as reciprocal gifts between kinship groups in eastern areas.

The practice of blessing marriages began in the early Christian parishes of Rome as early as the 4th and 5th centuries, but did not become mandatory within the Catholic church until 1563. In Christian ceremonies, the crucial element was blessing the bride, which replaced the earlier protection and fertility rites. In Sweden-Finland, the Lutheran church abandoned the sacrament of marriage after the Reformation, and many leading theologists considered marriage to be a secular institution.(8 Nevertheless, in the 17th century Lutheran clergy began to marry couples, first at aristocratic weddings; the custom became common during the following century, and the home marriage ceremony became the most solemn part of the landed peasant weddings in western Finland. The consecration of marriage became mandatory in the Church Act of 1686 and also in the 1734 State Law. A new wedding tradition evolved around the marriage ceremony. At the same time, the church introduced more diligent registrations of parishioners' marriages and began to watch over their family life in general. Ecclesiastical law superseded kinship law.

The wedding chamber with its marriage altar imitated a church. The wedding canopy or bridal sky was a historically diverse Christian symbol, probably dating back to the earliest times of the tradition of church marriage in the 4th century. During the marriage ceremony of the church of Rome, the priest covered the bridal couple with a wedding cloth (*velum*), which symbolized protection and blessing of the Almighty, fertility. The wedding cloth was also used in Finland in the Catholic era, when betrothed couples were married at the church door. The peasant wedding canopy was also modeled on the canopied wedding thrones of medieval churches, as well as the pulpit itself, and evidently also the various honorary canopies built for high-ranking people in the Middle Ages.

Decorating the wedding stage was part of the culture of landed peasants in the 19th century and reflected the new bourgeois concept of civilized conduct. The wedding stage was not decorated at kinship weddings, although in Dvina the walls have been hung with long, embroidered towels (*käsipaikka*) in honor of the festivities, in the custom of northern Russia. In Savo, the wedding house was bedecked with evergreen fir or other greenery and a *himmeli* [traditional Christmas decoration made of straw] hung from the ceiling like at Christmas; the wedding paraphernalia were the same as those used at calendar festivals.

The wedding crown is an ancient ecclesiastical wedding ornament, 'a gift to brides from the Virgin Mary'.(9 Within the Lutheran church, the wedding crown apparently came into fashion in the 1600s, when German Protestant parishes began to acquire gold and silver crowns for chaste brides to wear when they were married before the congregation. In Scandinavia, too, parishes have purchased wedding crowns, but in Finland the practice has only spread to a few (Swedish-speaking) parishes in western Finland. Instead, Finnish bride-dressers began to make their own wedding crowns; the tall home-made wedding crown is a feature of specifically Finnish village culture. In Orthodox areas, wedding crowns were and still

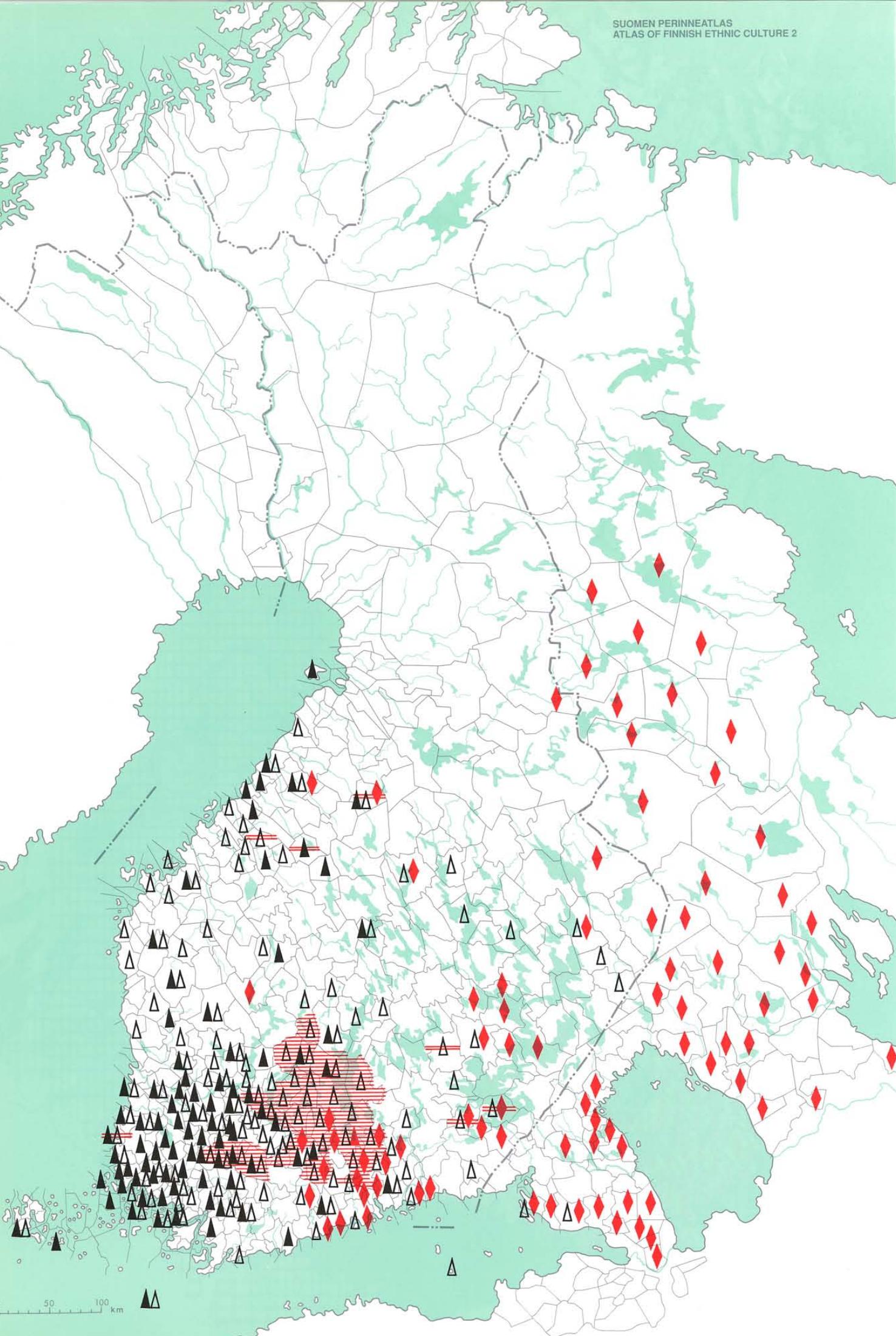
are the property of the church, and they are held over the bridal couple's heads during the marriage ceremony. Crown weddings began to disappear at the end of the 1800s, and Finland, too, embraced the fashion of a white wedding dress with a train supported by bridesmaids and pageboys; during the 1900s, the white wedding dress spread all over the world.

Dvinian kinship weddings with their ritual songs and laments represent the ancient original culture of Baltic-Finnic areas and all of northern Europe, of which only little remains elsewhere. The structures of Christian village weddings have become uniform everywhere, and the main sequences of Finnish crown weddings are well recognizable, particularly within the Lutheran church in Scandinavia and northern Germany.

*Kinship weddings:* Alava 1908. Harva 1929; 1940-1941. Ilomäki 1989. Inha 1910 (1894), 139-, 226-. Knaapinen 1890. Konkka U. 1980; 1985. Manninen 1932. Nenola-Kallio 1981b. Pentikäinen 1971. Salminen 1916ab; 1917. Sarmela 1969, 99-; 1978bd; 1981bc. Surhasko 1977. Virtaranta 1958, 607-.

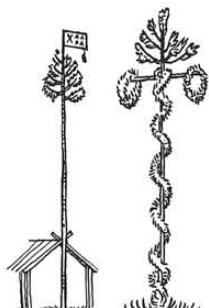
*Village weddings:* Heikinmäki 1981, 207-. Helminen 1952. Sarmela 1969, 99-; 1977; 1978b; 1981c. Torppa 1915. Vilkuna A. 1959b. Vilkuna K. 1950a; 1956b; 1965.

1. Cf. Sarmela 1969, 99-, map 15. 2. Nenola-Kallio 1981b. Konkka U. 1985, 96-. 3. Ojajärvi 1959. 4. Sarmela 1978d. Ilomäki 1989. 5. Ala-Könni 1956. Sarmela 1969, 210-. 6. Heikinmäki 1981, 412-. Vilkuna A. 1959b. 7. Vilkuna K. 1964; 1973a. 8. Heikinmäki 1981, 370-. 9. Pylkkänen 1953; 1964. Tommila 1965. Bringéus 1987, 112-.

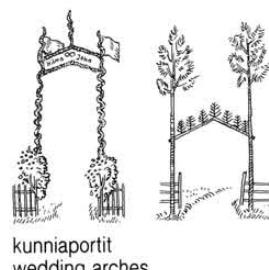


## 17. Vierasriitit Guest Rites

1. Vieraskoristeet  
Guest decorations



▲  
hääsalko  
wedding maypole



▲  
kunniaportit  
wedding arches

2. Tienvarsikoristeet  
Decorations along road  
köynnöskoristeet ja portit  
festoons and arches



◆  
olkilyhteet (aidan)seipäissä  
straw sheaves on stakes

## 17. GUEST RITES

### ***Surroundings of the wedding house***

**Hierarchy of the village community.** The wedding celebrations of landed peasantry in western Finland opened with receiving the guests in the yard of the wedding house, with fiddlers playing arrival marches. The guests were led inside via the guest porch and offered a welcoming drink. Later, from the end of the 19th century, the hospitality began with coffee and cakes. In Häme in particular, guests from the groom's side would first gather in his home, from whence they departed in a procession and in rank order to walk to the bride's home along the decorated village lane. Shots of spirits and other refreshments may have been provided along the way for the builders of the honorary gates and spectators, who perhaps showed their respect by firing gunshots in the air.

The wedding guests left the bridal home in procession for the groom's house to continue the celebrations; at this point, too, the bride and groom provided refreshments for the spectators. Obstacles were erected in the path of the procession, and it was permitted to continue only after offering alcoholic drinks (map 18). A procession also walked from the bridal house to the church for the marriage ceremony, if it was not being performed at home. The wedding escort no longer signified the passage of the bride, but the processions became a part of the social drama performed by the wedding party to the villagers, members of the community.(1)

**Wedding pole.** The wedding pole was the mark of a bridal house in Sweden, adopted in Finland in southwestern areas and Ostrobothnia; the core areas are Åland, Varsinais-Suomi and Satakunta. There were three basic types of wedding pole in Finland: *karsikko*, *salkopuu* and *maistonki*. The *karsikko* tree was a delimbed spruce, less often a broad-leaf tree, with a tuft of branches left at the top, as with an initiate's *karsikko* (map 6). The trunk of the wedding *karsikko* might have been decorated with strips of fabric or paper or with a woven (club-moss) garland, but originally, wedding spruces and leafy trees were used as decorations as they were, for example on each side of the front steps or the gate.

The actual wedding pole, *salkopuu*, was a tall pole, wound around with a woven garland or paper decorations from top to bottom. The *maistonki*-type wedding pole had one or more crossbars, sometimes hoop-shaped garland ornaments, and it may have been a large ornamental structure similar to the Midsummer maypole. The *maistonki* is particularly known as a Midsummer and wedding decoration in Åland, and it has spread from there to Swedish-speaking areas of southwestern Finland and some Finnish-

speaking coastal parishes. They may have been originally erected for Midsummer weddings, which were becoming popular towards the end of the 1800s also in western Finland.

The oldest outdoor decoration to have spread to Finland is perhaps the karsikko-type wedding tree, the core areas of which are Varsinais-Suomi and Satakunta. The decorated wedding pole and maistonki were originally erected in a prominent place, such as the highest spot of the yard or compound or the gable end of the house; it gave the wedding house a festive air. Later at the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century, wedding poles were used as frameworks of honorary gates.

**Wedding arches.** At so-called *mahtihäät* ['might' weddings] of the landed peasantry, special honorary gates were built in the yard of the bridal house for the wedding guests to walk through on their way to the entrance door. Their distribution area covers Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta and Häme. In areas where domestic buildings were built as enclosed compounds in a quadrangle, the honorary gates were erected at the main gate to the house or in front of the guest porch, or sometimes to frame the drive to the main entrance. In Häme and also in Uusimaa, honorary gates were also built in the yard of the groom's house.

**Decorations along the road.** If the bride's and groom's homes were in the same village, the lane between the wedding houses from the bride's home to the groom's, and sometimes also from the bridal house to the church, was decorated with festoons and arches lined with straw ornaments and garlands attached to fence posts. The village lane was decorated by the village youth during the wedding preparations, but their own honorary gates were also erected along the way by the villagers, especially 'crofters', who were not invited to the wedding. An 'honorary table', a serving table, was placed under the gate, where those who had erected the ornaments waited for shots of spirits and other hospitality from the bride (map 18).

The honorary gate of the wedding house was constructed by erecting a karsikko tree or a pole decorated with garlands on either side of the yard gate and joining them with a garlanded crossbar; young spruces and fir branches may have been attached to the top of the gate, or the tops of the wedding poles bent and tied together. After garlands became fashionable gate decorations and their patterns became more varied; in the 1900s, the top of the arch was often adorned with the couple's initials or a welcoming wish.

**Burning of straw sheaves on stakes.** In South Karelia, the lane leading to the groom's home was decorated with sheaves of straw stuck on fenceposts and lighted when the wedding procession arrived. By the start of the 20th century, the custom had spread across the Savo-Karelian area as far as eastern Uusimaa and Häme. When the bridal couple arrived, shots would be fired in the air and the straw bundles set on fire. The lane was decorated by the village boys, and the straw-burners expected alcoholic rewards, like the erectors of obstacles for the procession (map 18).

Straw-burning was an element of the bride's reception ceremonies (maps 19-20) and did not reflect the hierarchy of the village community in the same way as wedding decorations in Varsinais-Suomi and Häme. The burning of fires and shooting has warded off evil forces, and evidently the burning of straw sheaves originally protected the bride as she was escorted in the wedding procession. In wintertime, when burning of straw was safe, the torches burning on fenceposts lit up the passage of the wedding procession and its reception in the yard of the groom's house.

**Message of guest rites.** Weddings, funerals and *kinkerit* [parish catechetical meetings] were occasions for which a separate hall was built on to houses, complete with a guest porch, and in Ostrobothnia a

whole separate building (*vierasrivi*). As well as the parson, officials from the church village and residents of manor houses were invited to landed peasantry weddings, and at the same time wealthy peasants themselves began to observe the guest rites thought to be dignified in gentry circles. Wedding decorations were props for the guest ceremonies. In the yard, by the honorary gate, fiddlers played arrival marches and the hosts received the most high-ranking guests; hierarchy rites continued throughout the wedding feast, when serving food, making speeches, drinking wedding toasts.

The honorary gates separated the wedding party from other villagers and the social classes from each other; they delineated social space in the same way as guest porches, halls, and enclosed compounds. On the other hand, roadside decorations and guest processions extended the celebratory space to the village. Villagers were allowed to watch the wedding drama at the honorary gates and also to take some part in the feasting provided for the invited guests. The wedding decorations also symbolized a new concept of a celebration, perhaps reflecting village school end-of-term occasions in spring with garlands, youth association occasions, perhaps also the national romanticism prevalent at the time, and a bourgeois idea of refinement.

1. Sarmela 1978b. Bringéus 1987, 119-.

## 18. Liminaaliriitit Liminal Rites

1. Hääkulkueen rituaalinen suojaaminen  
Ritual protection of wedding procession

tietäjä häiden johtajana  
sorcerer as leader of the wedding

tietäjän nimityksenä patvaska  
sorcerer called a patvaska

Suojeluriittien yleisyys (%)  
Frequency of protection rites (%)

Yht. 245 tietoa, 1750 häät  
kuvausta  
Total 245 cases, 1750 wedding descriptions

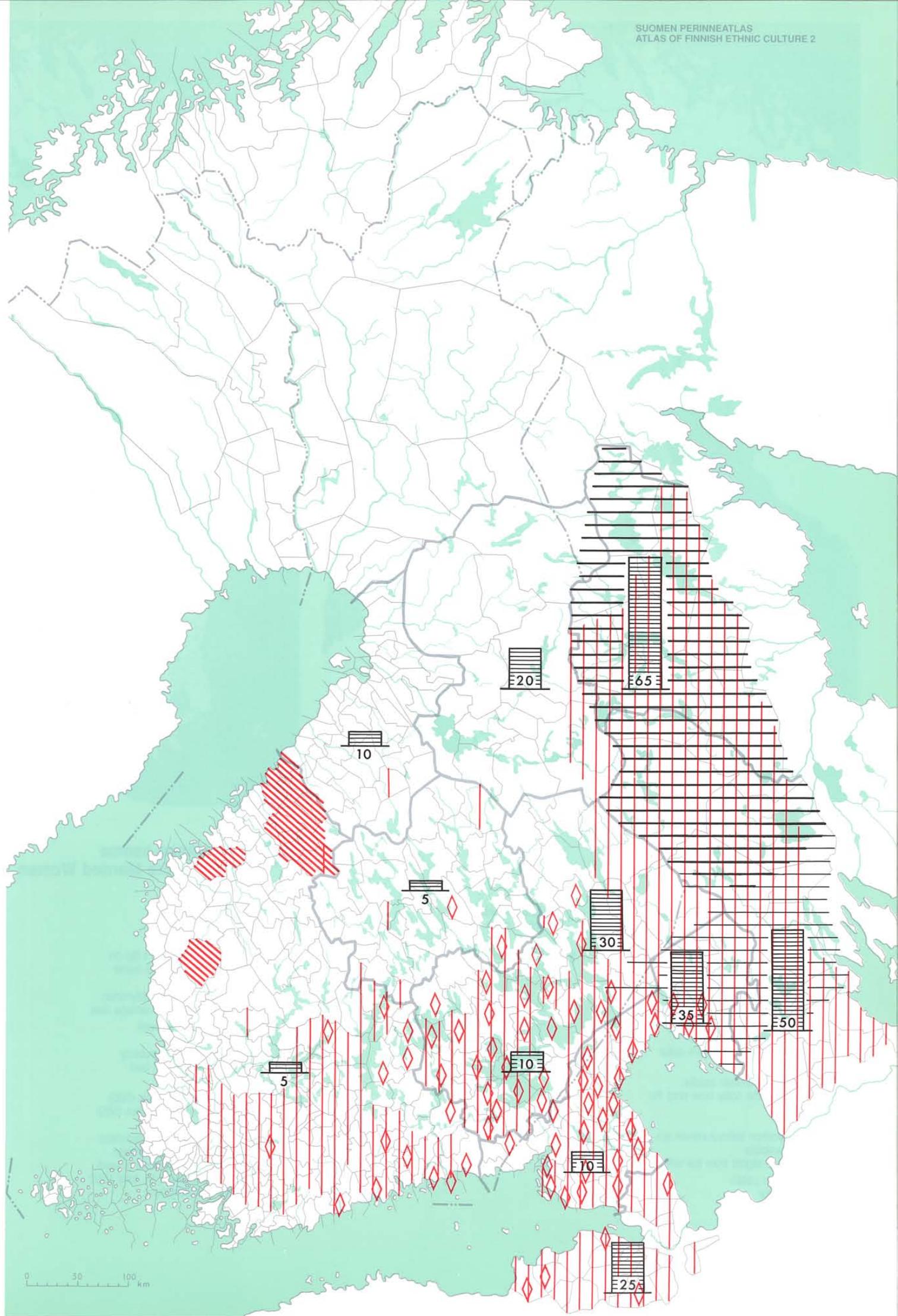
2. Vastaanottomenot  
Reception rites

kihlaparin vastaanotto  
reception of betrothed couple

hääkulkuun pysäyttäminen  
the halting of the wedding procession

hääpassin kysyminen  
demanding the wedding passport

Levinneisyys- ja tilastokartta  
Distribution and statistical map



## 18. LIMINAL RITES

### ***Bridal couple in a liminal state***

**Ritual protection of the wedding procession.** The transition of the bride from her own home to that of the groom was the most dangerous stage of the passage ceremonies, when it was feared that outsiders would 'spoil' the young wife, take her luck with children and cause illnesses, or 'break' the newly sealed union. Bride-spoilers were jealous persons who had the evil eye, *paha silmä*, or malevolent, competing sorcerers who threatened the wedding procession. In the southern parts of Savo-Karelia, outsiders were feared to injure the horses, shoot them with sting arrows, or to raise evil forces – powers of the earth, water or churchyard – to infiltrate the wedding party (maps 40, 49).

As shown by the statistical figures, protection rites have been kept most alive in the ancient kinship wedding area of Dvina, Olonets, Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia, but records of them also exist from all over Savo-Karelia and Ingria. In western Finland, protection rites of processions have disappeared and been replaced by social customs, speeches on leaving and in gratitude, or a hymn might have been sung and prayers read on leaving.

In the preserve of protection rites, the director of the wedding was the sorcerer. It was still common practice in 19th century Dvina to cover the bride's face with a kerchief for the journey from her home to the groom's, with the groom or *saajannainen*, the female representative of the groom's kin, leading her by the hand if the journey was done on foot. The covering of the bride's face has been widely known in the Eurasian culture circle, and evidently also in Finland across the whole area of Savo-Karelian kinship weddings. According to information preserved in various sources, the bride was transported at night; in Dvina even the footprints of the bridal party were swept from the yard, probably so that those attempting harmful magic would not be able to 'track' the bride's escorts or to interfere with their footprints (cf. raised bear, map 1).

The imagery of the departure rites included a supernatural protective fence and the power of iron. In Karelia, the sorcerer protected the transporting party, *juohtoväki*, by inscribing a line, a magic circle, on the ground around the procession with a bladed weapon, axe, scythe, frying pan etc., or in the Russian custom of hitting the ground with a whip towards the four points of the compass. Protection incantations and invocations have also been preserved the longest in Dvina. The sorcerer erects an iron fence around the party to repel evil intentions and witches' arrows, or he dons an iron belt and iron vest in order to confront the dangers lurking on the way. During the protection rite, wedding sorcerers have 'raised their nature' and threatened to invoke all evil met by the wedding procession on the way, back to its senders.

In Savo and southern areas of Karelia the incantations have been forgotten, but the sorcerer rites preserved. The spokesman or some wedding guest with ritual skills would circle round the party's horses three times, holding in his hand burning tinder, iron or substances that in sorcerer rites were invested with power. Alternatively, the spokesman may have looked through the horse collar to make sure no supernatural load or weight was put in the vehicle. The precautionary measures were similar to those employed when transporting a corpse (map 61) or repelling witches' arrows, e.g. shot illness in horses (map 40). Evil was also repelled by burning sheaves of straw at the tops of fence posts (map 17).

Protection rites appear to have originally been limited to the departure of the groom's folk and the *juohtoväki* (map 16). Their symbolism and metaphors originate from Iron Age societies, and in fact wedding sorcerers were often blacksmiths. With agrarianization, the sorcerer's role has also changed. New wedding sorcerers were e.g. Dvina's *patvaska*, (*kletnikka*, *druska* etc.).<sup>(1)</sup> The Dvinian spokesman was partly the master of ceremonies, with a whip one of his most essential rite implements. Patvaska began all the sequences of the wedding with his impressive rites, circling and turning the bride and groom three times, driving away evil with his whip, preserving the young couple's wedded bliss and prosperity. Patvaska was the masculine figure in women's wedding rites, the horseman or itinerant market man, a male authority who also manifested the new agrarian idea of family.

**Halting the wedding procession.** The custom spread in Karelia and southern Finland of halting the wedding procession and demanding spirits, tobacco or cash from the groom before the journey could continue. The wedding procession escorting the bride might have been stopped several times, if the groom lived a distance away and the groom's folk had to travel through several villages. The instigators were the village young men, the bridal couple's peers, people from other villages, or young people from the groom's village, who gathered on the village lane at some gate or built a barricade from fence posts, wagons and farm tools (Savo) or by stretching a rope across the road (Karelia).

The groom or spokesman was forced to hand over a bottle or two of liquor before the gate was opened or the barricade cleared away. In Karelia right down to Dvina, the groom or spokesman had to offer drinks to the young people who lighted straw bundles on fence posts on either side of the village lane; otherwise the road was closed with a rope by those demanding refreshments. In Dvina and Olonets, the sorcerer-spokesman provided treats to the halters of the wedding procession and other onlookers largely to ensure that no-one would give the bride the evil eye.

In Häme and Uusimaa, refreshments were provided to all onlookers or villagers who had built honorary gates and waited by them for the bridal procession. In some parishes in Häme, a decorated honorary table was set up by the honorary gate, for the groom to pour shots of spirits. It also became customary in the village wedding area that the bride provided bystanders with cheese, yeast bread or other food. Alcoholic drinks might also be served by the wedding waitresses, walking or riding ahead of the wedding escort. In Häme, stopping the wedding procession was one of the guest rites and communal feasting ceremonies (map 17).

**Reception of the betrothed couple.** In Ostrobothnia and also other parts of western Finland, it became customary for the young couple to go to the market or town together to buy the tokens of betrothal, a silk kerchief and the rings. In central Ostrobothnia, in the Vetelinjoki valley and a few parishes in southern Ostrobothnia, the village youth met the betrothed couple returning from the 'betrothal market', i.e. the trip to buy the rings or to obtain the banns (map 15).<sup>(2)</sup>

The couple's horse was stopped and the crowd of young people accompanied by fiddlers walked to the groom's home, where the reception party was given shots of spirits and a village dance held. Some-

times the reception party was dressed in strange costumes, girls as boys and vice versa, or a barricade was erected on the road, with the crowd waiting for the couple behind it. The escort party walked to the groom's house yelling and cheering, firing gunshots and ringing bells; inside the house the young couple was lifted into the air, like newlyweds at wedding dances. The reception ceremonies for the betrothed couple were part of the new youth culture, one sequence of the rites of passage of the village community, through which couples intending to marry were separated or liberated from the unmarried young people of the village.

**Demanding a wedding passport.** One of the village community customs spread into the area of agrarianized kinship weddings is demanding a wedding passport from the wedding party, as it is bringing the bride to the groom's home. The wedding passport stood for proof, demanded in jest, that the comers were decent folk and came with peaceful intentions. In reality, the passport was usually a bottle of liquor or perhaps a piece of paper, handed over after humorous repartee to the wedding guests waiting in the house. In South Savo, asking for the passport led to lengthy dialogue between the spokesman and the guests already inside. The spokesman might even put his request for entry in verse, or give evasive answers to questions as to who the visitors were and where they came from. In the 1800s there were still folk poets in Savo, capable of putting the wedding passport into verse in the old meter. Equally humorous were the descriptions of the passport itself, the bottle, and its qualities. The comedy scene ended with the people of the house admitting the wedding procession.

Similar arrival rites have existed in the village culture area of Central Europe, and for example in German areas, the passport was read in verse; a special rhymesmith was included in the procession for the purpose.<sup>(3)</sup> In Finland, presentation of the wedding passport spread to the Isthmus and to Savo, where the skill of verbal expression and wit were highly valued. In the distribution area of passport poems, the formulas to gain entry were also long and humorous (map 37). In the southern kinship wedding areas of Savo-Karelia, the wedding passport has replaced arrival songs in the archaic meter. In Dvina, Olonets and most of Ingria, presentation of the wedding passport was unknown, nor was it a part of the old song weddings. A comic play like demanding a wedding passport is one of the entertainments of agrarianized kinship weddings, many of which entered e.g. Estonian weddings. At Estonian village weddings, a drama with a mock bride might run alongside the official wedding ceremonies, or the bride had vanished and people looked everywhere for her; the wedding game parodied the wedding ceremony and marriage, etc.<sup>(4)</sup> The wedding games were new, improvised entertainment, and the wedding passport also reflects the change that took place in the role of the spokesman, from sorcerer to director of social intercourse.

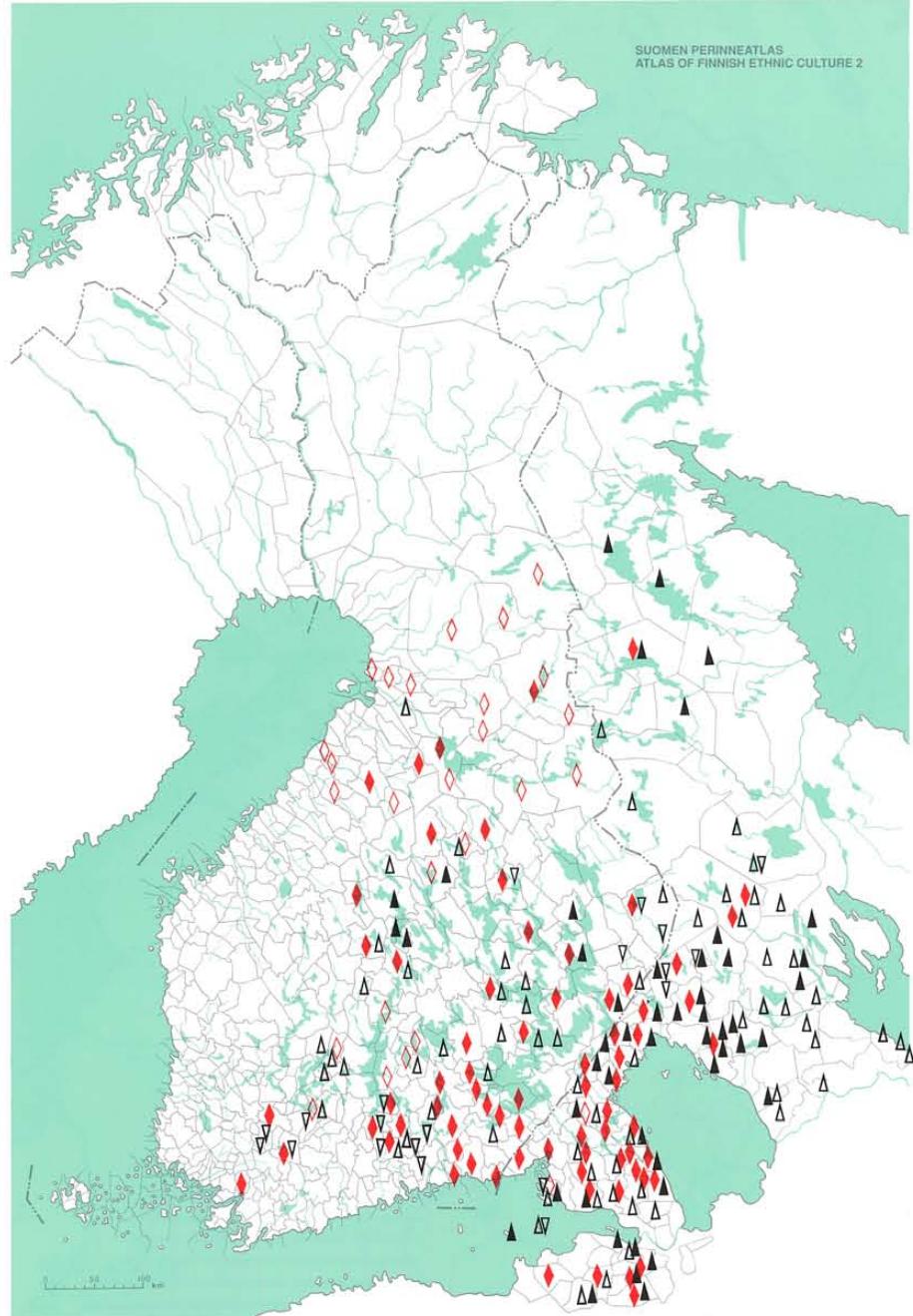
**Outside the categories.** Evolutionist studies have interpreted halting ceremonies as remnants of bride-looting marriages; they claim that even in 19th century landed peasant society, the party collecting the bride was symbolically treated like bride-snatchers. As a concept, bride-looting marriage is theoretical and belongs to the evolutionism of the 1800s.<sup>(5)</sup> In reality, the stopping of the wedding procession and demanding refreshments are new agrarian village culture, and corresponding customs have not been known in the Savo-Karelian kinship culture area.

The barricade-builders have been villagers from both the bride's and groom's villages, above all their peers. Demanding refreshments is one of the initiation and separation rites of the young (maps 34-38) and the antagonism, barricades, threats or also jesting, are dramatization of the rite. Threats were used as an effect even by the 'fireplace-breakers' of festive tours when they were demanding refreshments (map 29). It was in Finnish village areas that the young couple's escort, with the groom's peers at the head, emphasized their special status by carrying guns and firing them as they went, like the proposal

party in Karelia (map 13). The young couple or wedding procession was not unknown or socially threatening to their own community, less still to those demanding the passport. Actual animosity may only have occurred when the groom came from another village, but young people's 'gang culture' and mutual animosity is also youth culture evolved in agrarian villages.

During the proposal and wedding ceremonies, the journey from the bride's house to the groom's has been a marginal stage or a liminal state.(6 At kinship community weddings, it was specifically the bride who was transferred from one state to another. The bride was marginal, outside the kinship groups, and the protection rites were directed at her. Stopping the wedding procession and demanding a wedding passport are liminal rites of a village community, no longer of a kinship community. During the journey, the bridal couple was without cultural status, outside the roles and categories of the village community; the leader of the wedding procession had to explain over and over again where they came from and what had happened. The rites held a covert requirement that the young couple had to join the community and return to normal daily routine and social order.

1. Surhasko 1977, 66-. 2. Nuoritalo 1968. 3. Dünninger 1967, 187-. *Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde*: 223-224. Heikinmäki 1981, 479-. 4. Tedre 1973, 39-; 1981, 102-. 5. Dünninger 1967, 191-. Westermarck 1925 (1891). 6. Gennep 1960 (1909). Turner 1967; 1974ab.



## 19. Nuorikon vastaanotto Reception of the Bride

Nuorikon vastaanotto sulhasen kotona  
Reception of the bride at the groom's home

1. Hevosen riisuminen kilpaa  
Snatching of the horse's harness by young men in competition

◆ luokin tempaaminen  
snatching of the horse's collar bow

◆ luokin heittäminen katolle  
throwing the collar bow onto the roof

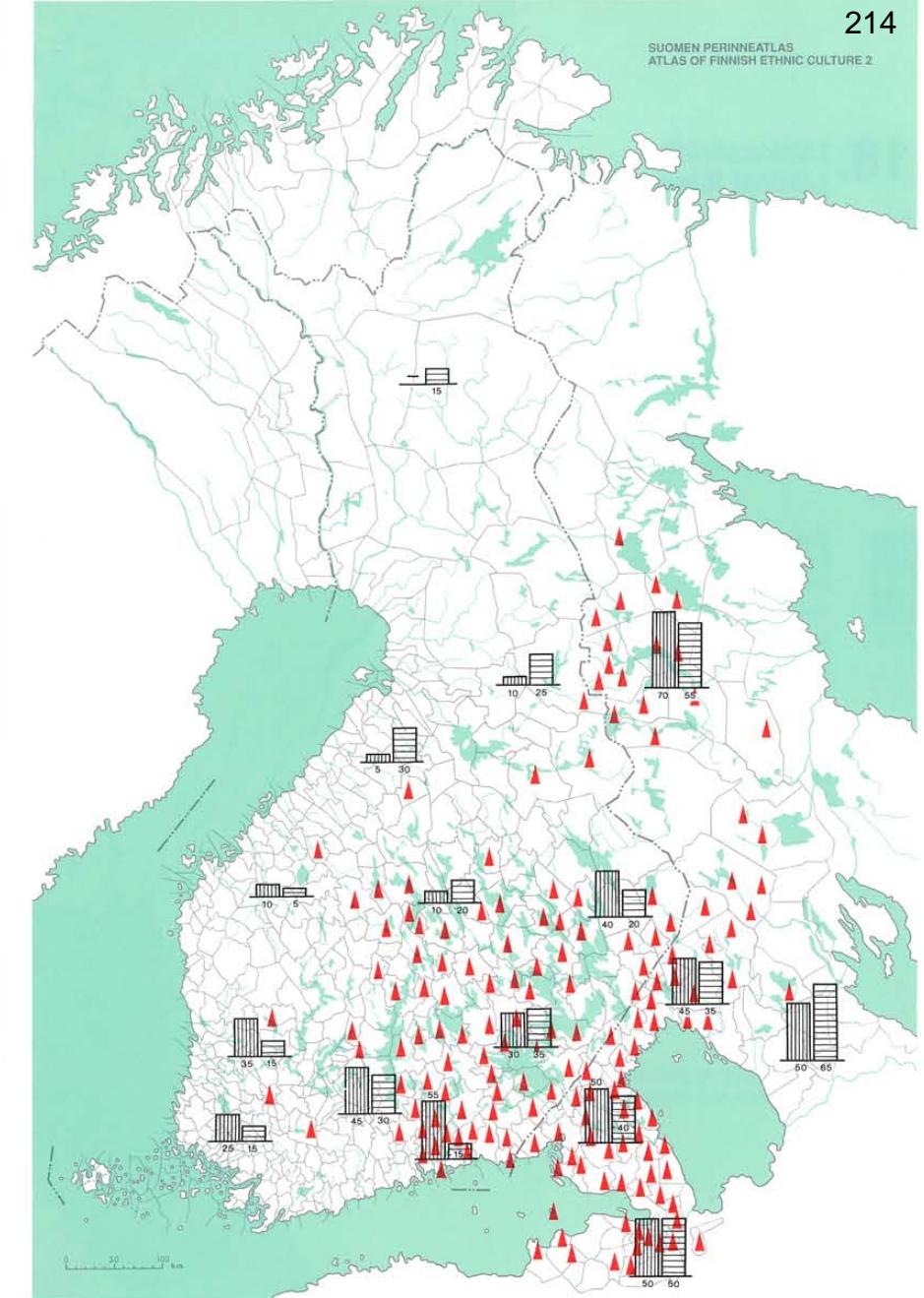
2. Nuorikon laskeutuminen ajo-neuvoista  
Bride alights from the vehicle

▲ turkisen päälle  
onto a fur

△ vaatteen päälle  
onto a cloth

▽ tyynyn päälle  
onto a pillow

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 20. Aviovaimon asema Status of the Married Woman

1. Hedelmällisyysritit  
Fertility rites

polviopoka-seremonia  
infant child on bride's lap on arrival at the groom's home

2. Avioitumisriittien säilyminen  
Preservation of marriage rites

1. vuoteeseenvienti  
(410 tietoa)  
newly weds publicly conducted to bed  
(410 cases)

2. päänpitämisen (565)  
head-covering rites (565)

Levinneisyys- ja tilastokartta  
Distribution and statistical map



Tietoja alueen hääkuvauksissa  
(%), yht. 1550 hääkuvauta  
Data from descriptions of weddings in the area (%), total 1550 wedding descriptions

## 19.-20. FROM BRIDE TO MARRIED WOMAN

### 19. Reception of the bride

**Snatching the horse's collar bow.** In Ingria, in Karelia with the exception of the heartlands of Dvina and Olonets, and in large parts of eastern Finland, young men would rush to stop the bride's horse when the wedding party arrived at the groom's house, in order to detach the collar bow and unharness the horse. Especially on the Isthmus and in Ladoga Karelia, the competition over the collar bow was fierce, and it was snatched off without unbuckling the breast strap or by slashing through it with a knife. The winner received a colourful ribbon tied by the bride to the collar bow, or she gave the winner a belt. In Savo and North Karelia the bow was flung onto the roof of the house or cowshed, or over the building to the other side.

Removing the collar bow, breast strap, girth or bridle from the horse is widely known among European peasant cultures.<sup>(1)</sup> In Finland, snatching the collar bow has spread in the area where collar bows were also used on special occasions; it was no longer used in western Finland (Atlas of Finnish Ethnic Culture Part I., map 79). The local tradition was that the one who loosened the bow brought the bride good luck, or the flight of the bow forecast the kind of married life the newlyweds would have. Freeing of the tensioned bow from the harness has been seen as a symbolic rite to ease the young wife's future births.

**The bride alights from the vehicle.** In the same areas as those where snatching the collar bow was customary, the bride was not permitted to alight from the vehicle onto bare earth, but a fur, cloth or cushion was placed under her feet. The custom has spread from the southeast right up to Häme. There are many local details in the reception ceremonies. The bride may have been received by her mother-in-law or one of the old women of the groom's kin, who would spread the cloth at the side of the vehicle. Then the young men lifted the bride out and stood her on it. In Häme the bride-carrier may have been the groom's father, the father-in-law. Sometimes cloths, kerchiefs or furs, even a whole roll of cloth has been spread from the vehicle right up to the house steps.

In Finland, the most widespread has been a cloth, mat, wall-hanging or other fabric. Cushions were used on the one hand in Häme, on the other in North Karelia, while furs are known in the Karelian area and among peoples of northern Russia.<sup>(2)</sup> In Savo it was explained that the young wife was protected from the ills of the earth, infections or sickness, which in the tradition of eastern Finland often originated from the earth (map 40).

**Status in the new living environment.** Cloths or furs were evidently used to prevent the bride from stepping on the territory of the supernatural guardians of the house and the ancestors of the groom's kin before she had become a member of the family or introduced to the guardians. In the groom's house, the bride was specifically a new member, a neophyte. To thrive in her new home, she had to first win the approval of the ancestors and the supernatural guardian of the house, or their 'favor'. If the new mistress did not gain the favor of the house guardian and ancestors, her work was not productive, she or her children became sick, or misfortune would befall the house (maps 3 and 7). The young wife had to start her new life on the right footing, but the groom's family was also concerned over the character of the new daughter-in-law or future mistress, how she would fit in with the ambience of the house, its internal culture.

In Iron Age communities, the young wife was probably taken to the *hiisi* wood of the house or to the cult places of the kinship group, the sacrificial hut or wood, like among the Finnic peoples in northern Russia.(3 Old records from various parts of Finland and Karelia show that the young wife was first taken to the places where the supernatural guardian of the house was thought to reside, such as the cooking hut, in front of the *tupa* [kitchen hall] fireplace, to sit on the hearthstone, or the bride was taken around to make offerings to the supernatural guardian of the earth or those of the byre and other places (cf. maps 62-63).(4 The young wife was led by the hand to her new places of work for the first time, such as to the stove or byre. The reception ceremonies are a part of the entry rites, whereby the new family member was escorted to the living environment of the house residents.

Snatching the collar bow and hurtling it as far as possible over the house roof has symbolized the irreversible nature of the bride's arrival and the uniqueness of the event. Undoing the horse's breast strap or removing its bridle had the same meaning. Going back was as impossible for the young mistress as looking for the collar bow flung over the byre; the cattle and the chores of the house would tie her to it. In the Savo-Karelian sorcerer area, too, the entry rites of kinship weddings were gradually replaced by agrarian rites, or they were re-interpreted from the viewpoint of a person keeping a farmhouse. The rites were used to bring the newlyweds, especially the bride, a happy marriage, which meant health, capacity for work, safe births, male children, thriving cattle, and all the fertility that was important in a peasant community.

1. Heikinmäki 1981, 480-. Tedre 1973, 57. Mahler 1960, 324-. Norlind 1919, 140. Frimannslund 1940, 72. 2. Heikinmäki 1981, 491-. Tšistov 1981, 122. 3. Hämäläinen 1913. 4. Heikinmäki 1970-1971 I, 128-; 1981, 493-.

## 20. Status of the married woman

**Infant on bride's lap.** Placing a 'knee boy' on the young wife's knee was one of the futurity rites of eastern agrarian communities. On arrival of the wedding procession to the groom's house, the bride was seated at the end of the room behind a table, and a male child, rarely a girl, was placed on her lap. At the same time the wish was said: "Here's a boy for your knee, one of your own next year", or that she would

have nine boys but only one girl. The knee boy served as a kind of model, so that the young wife would know how to produce similar ones.

In the core area of the custom on the Isthmus and in South Savo, a pretty boy, preferably from the same kin, was dressed up as the knee boy. Having held the infant on her lap for a moment, the bride tied a colourful belt ribbon around his waist or gave him a small gift before letting him go. In northern and western peripheral districts, bringing a knee boy was a spurious custom which might take place at the bridal house immediately after the marriage ceremony; the boy infant was placed on the bride's lap for a moment without set lines or ceremonial gifts.

The knee boy ceremony has spread within the area of agrarianized kinship weddings. Corresponding customs are known in the Baltic countries and among Slavic peoples.<sup>(1)</sup> It is a fertility rite by nature and reflects the values of a farming community. The young daughter-in-law would need to produce boys who in an agrarian community were thought more important for the future than girls. The counter-gift from the young wife was specifically a belt, which probably refers to the swelling belly of a pregnant woman; in the Baltic areas and eastern Europe, an essential part of the rite was tying the belt around the boy's waist. The knee boy rite probably reached Karelia and South Savo in the 18th century at the earliest, in common with other customs of agrarian village culture.

## ***Escorting to the marriage bed***

**Conducting newlyweds to the bed.** Publicly escorting the bridal couple to the wedding bed is best documented in Savo and Karelia, while in the westernmost parts of the country, e.g. in Ostrobothnia, wedding bed ceremonies were almost completely discarded by the turn of the 20th century, or they were never known (statistical diagram).

The escort consisted of relatives, in the era of the landed peasant community the wedding guests led by the spokesman, accompanying the newlyweds into the room where the wedding bed had been made. In southwestern Finland, particularly in Häme, the couple were taken to the bedchamber with the fiddler playing and the bridesmaids and pageboys following, like during the marriage ceremony. The wedding crown and other ornaments were removed by a professional dresser, in western Finland *kaaso*, who owned the crown and the wedding dress, or the bridesmaids helped the bride and the pageboys the groom. Both in western and eastern Finland it has also been customary to escort the newlyweds to the bedroom while singing hymns, and to cover them in the wedding bed accompanied by prayers.

In Savo and Karelia it was customary to give the young couple their own sleeping quarters in a storehouse, where they slept even through the winter. On the evening of their wedding day, they were taken to their hut, the wedding party followed up to the door, and the spokesman and the bride's assistant stepped inside with the newlyweds. The groom's mother or *saajannainen* helped the young wife undress. Russian customs of extended families also spread to Karelia; for example, in Dvina a fairly common requirement was that the bride had to bow down to the ground and remove her husband's boots.

**Securing good fortune with children.** In Savo and Karelia, escorting to the marriage bed has been a sorcerer rite used to ensure the young couple's fortunes with children and a harmonious married life. The wedding night was the beginning of the marriage, the first event with a particular influence on the young

couple's future. The wedding spokesman has expelled evil forces from the bedchamber with his whip and checked that no harmful instruments, witches' bags, were hidden in the wedding bed. The newlyweds were protected against external forces with iron, or iron objects brought them good fortune with their children.

In Savo and Karelia, but also further west, it was thought that the couple would have a male child if a masculine bladed instrument, such as a knife or an axe (bow and arrows) were placed in the wedding bed under the mattress, either at the head or foot end. In South Savo, on the Isthmus, and in Ladoga Karelia, the bride had to be beaten with a pair of men's trousers when putting her to bed. Similarly, the first child would be a girl if a women's implement, such as sheep shears, was put in the bed, or the young couple (the bride) was bathed with a skirt. In Dvina and Olonets, too, the sorcerer-spokesman turned the wedding bed ceremonies into a spectacular wedding rite to end the drama of the bride's passage at the groom's home.

**Beginning of the marriage.** Publicly escorting the newlyweds to bed is widely known in the Eurasian culture circle.(2 It reflects various cultural meanings. In agrarian cultures and particularly in high religion circles, the wedding bed ceremonies may have served to emphasize the bride's chastity, her sexual purity. Severe sexual norms are characteristic specifically of agrarian cultures, and some anthropologists believe that in agricultural societies, women with reproductive capability became instruments of economic exchange controlled by men, above all the fathers of daughters, and in this exchange the bride's virginity was of special value. Public wedding bed ceremonies publicized the bride's virginity, often also the husband's sexual potency. In Europe, particularly in Russian wedding bed ceremonies, the bride's virginity was emphasized by showing the wedding guests the newlyweds' bloodstained sheet or the bride's bloody shift the following morning; at the same time, the husband's honor was made public.(3

The public escorting to the wedding bed has also signified the physical consummation of the marriage, the first sexual intercourse, initiation of the couple's future reproduction. Consequently, the wedding night was commonly considered the point from which the marriage began. Under the concept of justice of ancient Scandinavians and perhaps even ancient Germanic peoples, public escorting to bed made the giving away of the bride finally binding (map 14). At least from the 11th century, the Catholic church attempted to instil the Christian idea of morality that the first sexual union (*copula carnalis*) irrevocably implemented the sacrament of marriage. After this, the groom and bride were inseparably husband and wife in the spirit of the Bible.

The stance of the church has evidently largely corresponded to the ideas of the start of a marriage prevalent in European agrarian communities. In the Middle Ages in Sweden-Finland, priests were involved in the escorting to bed by blessing the wedding bed; Catholic and later Lutheran church manuals contained dedicated formulae for blessing the wedding chamber right up to the 1800s. However, the ecclesiastical blessing of the wedding chamber became obsolete as early as the 1600s, or it was performed during the wedding in daytime, sometimes with the marriage ceremony in the sacristy.(4 In western and southern Finland, escorting to bed is apparently a medieval wedding ceremony, and it had been preserved in the same areas as Catholic betrothal customs.

The bride's virginity was not made public in Finnish wedding bed ceremonies. In the southeastern areas of the Isthmus, South Savo and elsewhere, the spokesman might have raised an honorary toast (*kunniatuotti*) on the morning after the wedding night to exalt the chaste bride, or expressed the irreversibility of the loss of virginity by symbolically spilling beer on the ground, or by breaking an empty glass on the floor. Nevertheless, the drinking of honorary toasts has been spurious, and used by some spokesmen more to reinforce Christian concepts of chastity than to publicize the bride's honor or shame.

The same ethical world view was incorporated in the whole formula of events of village weddings. The bridal crown, blessing of the wedding bed and the solemn escort to it, the head-covering on the morning after the wedding night with its honorary toasts and morning gifts [*huomenlahja*] were ceremonies through which respect was shown to the chaste and legally wedded wife, and Christian moral values and community-oriented order of life reinforced, in European Christian peasant societies.

Public escorting to bed is unlikely to have been a part of weddings in the hunting era, nor is it found in the ancient wedding ceremonies of the Sami.(5 In Savo-Karelia, escorting to the wedding bed was evidently originally a sorcerer rite, with the central themes of good fortune for the newlyweds' children, the future of the kinship groups, and as such it is probably of older origin than Christian customs. The symbolism of the rites, axes and other iron implements, belong to Iron Age sorcerer culture; fertility, reproduction, started to dominate people's interests in the early farming communities of the Gulf of Finland coast.

## **Head-covering rites**

**Costume of daughter-in-law – insignia of mistress.** At old kinship weddings in Savo-Karelia, the betrothed was dressed at the departure ceremony, before she was given away to the groom's kin. The *antilas* was dressed by the *kaaso*, helped by young female relatives, to one of whom the bride gave the ribbon she had worn in her hair during her girlhood. This way, she passed her fortune in attracting proposals to the other girl. In 19th century Dvina and Olonets, the betrothed was at the same time dressed for the journey; she was shod and mittens put on her hands, as the dressing song described. Before being taken to the groom's house, *juohtomatka*, the bride's face was covered with a kerchief to shield her from the jealousies and harming rites of malevolent people; the covering of the face was also called *hunnutaminen* [veiling]. Protecting the neophyte in a liminal state from the evil eye is one of the universal reasons for covering the bride's head.

At village weddings, head-covering referred to the ceremony where the bride's hair was done up in the fashion of married women and the headdress worn by married women placed on her head. Medieval marriage formula dictated that the head-covering took place on the morning after the wedding night, once the newlyweds were wakened from the wedding bed; thus began the bride's first day as a wife and young mistress of the house. According to the material referred to in the Atlas, in western and southern Finland the head-covering normally took place similarly on the morning after the wedding night, also in the area of agrarianized kinship weddings.

The dressing of the young wife in festive clothing by her assistants was often followed by toasting the head-covering ceremony. Accompanied by the wedding fiddlers, the young wife might serve the wedding guests wheaten bread, cheese and wine, in eastern Finland beer and spirits. In the landed peasantry areas of Satakunta and Häme, the young couple stood behind a table like in other western serving rites, pouring drinks for the guests arriving in rank order to drink to the head-covering.

In Swedish-speaking and also Finnish-speaking Ostrobothnia, as well as many parts of Satakunta and other areas of western Finland, the change of the bride's costume has been passed to ritual dances. During a special round dance, the bride's crown was removed and she was taken away to be dressed; after the change of headdress, she was danced or lifted into the group of married women. However,

dressing her in the festive dress of a married woman has generally taken place on the following day, after the wedding night.

After the head-covering, the young wife was paraded in front of villagers, and she has also served refreshments to gatecrashers. On the Isthmus and in other southeastern areas, a special viewing of the bride was held after the head-covering, with the new wife dressed in her best displayed to the villagers in the same way as at the viewing ceremonies of kinship weddings (map 16). The viewers may have been served liquor or beer, the new wife might hand out gifts and receive cash in return. In southeastern Finland and on the Isthmus, the new wife has also visited the neighbors offering drinks, helped by the *kaaso* and other aides. In the area of agrarianized kinship weddings the introduction of the young wife had a ritual significance, as marriage ceremonies and often even weddings took place between the kinship groups. In western Finland, the young wife introduced herself to gatecrashers, members of the village community who had not been invited to the wedding.

**Acquiring the status of married woman.** The dressing of the bride as a married woman has been one of the universal base structures of wedding customs; in rites of passage, the neophyte's new status is usually indicated specifically through clothing and ornamentation. The head-covering ceremonies defined cultural categories necessary in local communities. In various cultures, married women have had their own headdress or clothing which distinguished them from unmarried girls. In European Christian agrarian communities, the Bible required respectable women to cover their heads in church and elsewhere outside the home, and indicating marriage through clothing, rings or other insignia has been retained in western countries as long as the institution of marriage has been significant in interpersonal relations.

According to the frequency figures of the map, proportionally the most records of head-covering are from the area of Karelian kinship weddings, where dressing the *antilas* was an integral part of the giving-away ceremonies. In the west, the head-covering was gradually omitted from the ceremonies, in common with other bridal rites of passage with the exception of the ecclesiastical marriage ceremony and wedding processions. The ceremonial changing of the bride's costume has been rare in northern Finland. In village communities, the serving of head-covering drinks was the concluding scene of the rites of passage. This was the moment when the young wife assumed the role of the young mistress of the house and entered the community of the neighborhood. In the era of landed peasantry culture, the change of dress turned into a status rite to show off the finery of the dresses and head decorations of the new daughter-in-law. The custom of wealthy brides changing their dress several times during the wedding even spread to Dvina.

1. Heikinmäki 1981, 504-. Lukkarinen 1938. Mahler 1960, 371-. Piprek 1914, 133.
2. E.g. Westermarck 1925 (1891) II, 432-. Meillassoux 1981.
3. Mahler 1960, 381-.
4. Heikinmäki 1981, 518-. Talve 1987. Elsewhere e.g. Bringéus 1987, 151-. Bondeson 1988, 25-. Deneke 1971, 124-.
5. E.g. Itkonen T. I. 1948 II, 397-. Kjellström 1981.

## 21. Hääparin avustaminen Contributions to the Bridal Couple

1. Rahan kerääminen nuorelle-parille häiden aikana  
Collection of money for the young couple at the wedding  
lahjamaljojen juonti  
drinking from the donation goblet

morsiamen tanssittaminen  
maksua vastaan  
dancing with the bride for a fee

2. Lahjamaljan nimityksiä  
Names for the donation goblet

*huomenlahja*  
'morning gift'

*huomentuuppi*  
'morning mug'

*huomenpikari*  
'morning goblet'

*huomenkuppi*  
'morning cup'

*lahjamalja*  
'donation goblet'

*lahjapikari*  
'donation goblet'

*morsiusfati*  
'bridal bowl'

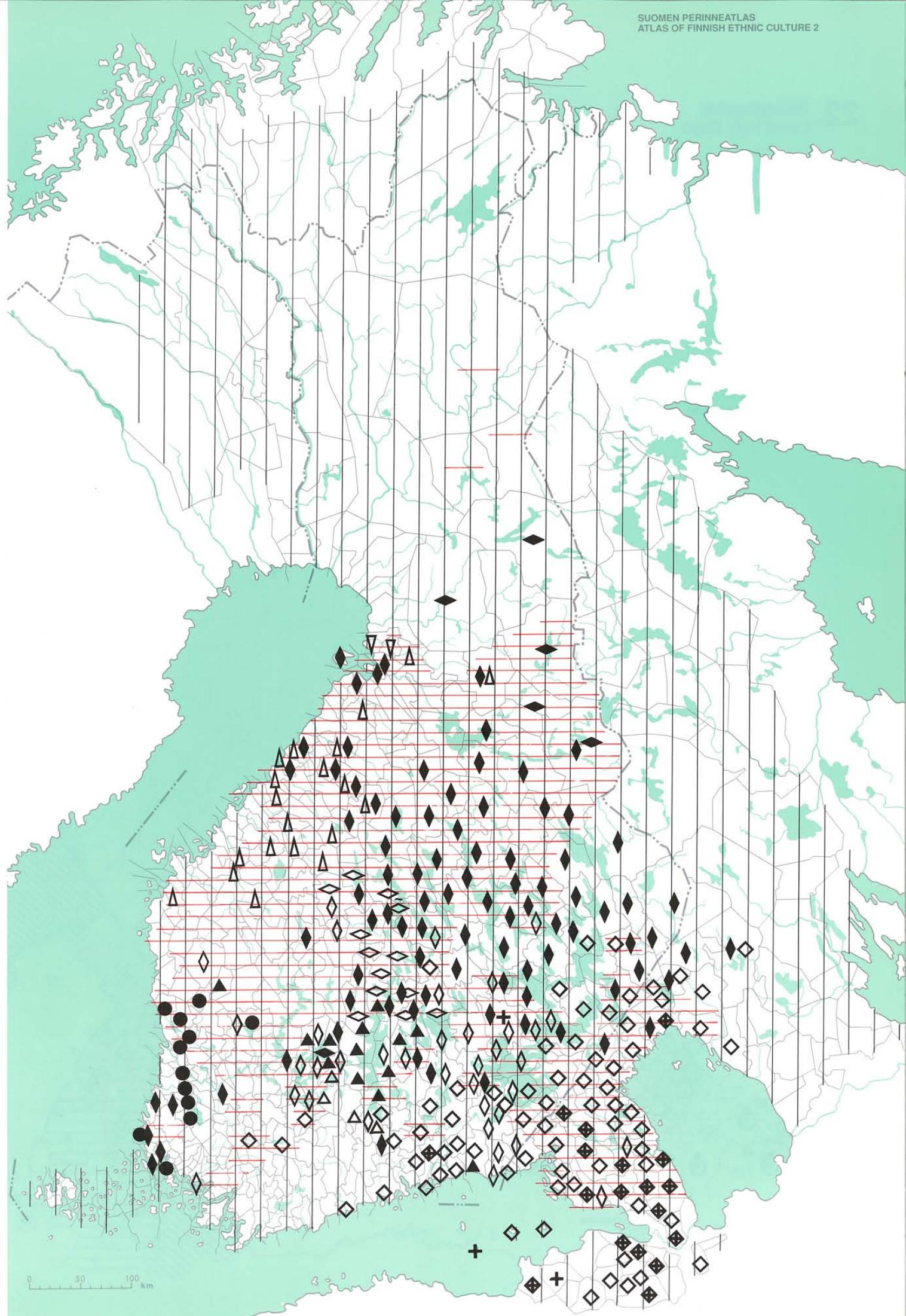
*morsiustalrikki*  
'bridal dish'

*kerranjuonti*  
'drinking one round'

*seulanjuonti*  
'drinking from a sieve'

*päänpitettäjien juonti*  
'drinking in honour of  
the head-dressing'

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BRIDAL COUPLE

### *Layers of wedding gifts*

**Drinking from the donation goblet.** Cash was collected during the wedding for the bride or the young couple by drinking gift toasts. The custom spread everywhere, including northernmost Finland, but was gradually forgotten in the 1900s when goods as gifts became more popular. In western and northern areas, wedding toasts were usually drunk with the bride or her assistant going around among the guests with a tray holding a bottle of spirits and a glass. Everyone who wanted to raise a donation goblet to the bride placed a sum of cash he considered suitable on the tray, whereupon she poured him a shot into the glass. The bridal couple may also have been seated behind a table with the spokesman, perhaps still surrounded by the bridesmaids and pageboys, with the tray in front of her.

In the eastern kinship wedding area it was more common to send the wedding cup, such as a beer tankard, around the table with the wedding guests seated, and each drinker put some cash on the bride's tray or pledged some gift to the young couple for their household. In central and northern Ostrobothnia the wedding gifts were collected after the wedding meal by sending a plate round the table to end the meal, as was also customary in Sweden. Wedding toasts were drunk specifically to the bride and she was the collector of the cash, although it was later deemed to belong to the couple and the husband might have taken possession of it.

The terms for donation toasts, *huomenlahja* and *huomentuuppi* (-*kuppi*, -*pikari*) [morning gift, mug, cup, goblet] have spread from the west across Savo-Karelia. *Huomenlahja*, like the Satakunta custom of drinking in honor of the head-covering, refers to the old custom of drinking the toast on the morning after the wedding night, when the bride had been dressed as a married woman. The term *huomenlahja* is derived from the Swedish *morgongåva*, evidently via ecclesiastical terminology. According to ancient Scandinavian custom, the husband gave his new wife a gift on the morning after the wedding night, and the gift was deemed to be the wife's private property under Sweden's old common law. The western terms *morsiusfati* [bridal bowl] and -*talrikki* [bridal dish] are derived from Swedish and refer to the dish or plate that was sent round the wedding table; sometimes there were two plates, one for the bride's gifts, the other for the poor.

The south-eastern term *kerranjuonti* [drinking one round] is unique and probably describes the custom of sending the beer tankard or shot glass around the table time and again, with the drinkers, usually relatives, seated around the table, or among the assembled wedding guests. The tankard or goblet did the

rounds on a tray, and having drunk his turn everyone put some cash on the tray, sending it back to the bride for a refill. On the Isthmus and in Ingria the bride collected the cash in a sieve [*seula*], giving rise to the term *seulanjuonti* [drinking from a sieve]. In Karelia, the sieve was a divining instrument in the same way as, for example, the shaman's drum with the Sami, and the bride's mother may have used the sieve on the morning of the wedding to divine her daughter's future happiness in marriage. As a divining instrument, the sieve is associated with good fortune, but also wealth (corn; cf. map 59). In the southeastern areas, *kerranjuonti* was one of the central ceremonies of the wedding in the 1700-1800s; it was ceremonialization of spirit-drinking in the same way as smoking bought tobacco at the betrothal celebrations on the Isthmus (maps 14-15).

**Dancing with the bride for a fee.** Dancing with the bride for a fee was a ceremony during which the wedding guests danced with the bride and gave her a cash gift. Originally the cash-ring was an old style group dance, but as a ritual dance it has only been known in Ostrobothnia and the Swedish-speaking areas of western Finland. Dancing for cash continued even after paired dancing became fashionable, and spread at the end of the 19th century right down to South Karelia. The custom was also spread by so-called cash weddings, where the bride could be congratulated not only by buying wedding drinks, but also dancing with her for cash.

**Ritualization of gifts.** The drinking of wedding toasts is one of the many ways kinship groups and later the village community have helped the new family. In Savo and Karelia, particularly in the area of agrarianized kinship weddings, toasts were originally drunk among relatives either at the departure or arrival ceremonies. While drinking his turn, each relative announced his gift to the newlyweds. The bride's and groom's parents might have disclosed during the donation toasts what they intended to leave their married son or daughter in their wills. Farm-owning relations have pledged barrels of corn, foals, swidden rights or parcels of meadow; the mistresses cows, sheep, and household implements. The gifts were of the kind that could be given in swidden communities and that would enable the young couple to set up their own household. The ritual, the public drinking of the donation toast, made the pledge binding.

The wedding was the culturally accepted and psychologically right time to gather collective presents. The newlyweds were permitted to openly exploit the occasion. The gift toasts were drunk after the wedding meal, and it was made into a great social occasion for showing off. In southeastern areas and in Häme, the toast-drinkers sat down at the table with the fiddler playing, or a hymn was sung to begin with and the spokesman or priest, like in Sweden, made a speech appealing to Christian love of one's neighbor. In Savo and on the Isthmus, the spokesman or a male relative of the bride, *nuodemies*, announced to the wedding party what each gave the newlyweds, and the toast-drinking became a public contest. As the announcer praised them and the guests applauded, the drunken wedding guests gave more than they would have done while sober. The competition was inflamed by setting kinship groups, villages or farmers known to be wealthy against each other. Guests from different villages argued over who would 'move the church into their own village'. Neighbors tried to outdo each other, and finally the contest culminated in who would put the biggest banknote on the table and get to drink 'all including the stopper of the barrel'.

The drinking of the wedding toasts became a status rite everywhere; it exposed the wealthy of the village and the whole parish. The village community also placed more financial obligations on those who could afford it. Among landed peasantry in e.g. Satakunta, drinking the head-covering was a solemn ceremony and part of the constantly increasing hospitality ceremonies. The bride, dressed in her festive costume, mingled with the wedding guests handing out cheese, candy or other new delicacies, as well as

shots of spirits. Alternatively, the bride was seated behind a special serving table with the glasses in front of her, pouring various drinks, wines for the women and hard liquor for the men. The guests took turns – in rank order – to collect their glass and other fare served, and left some cash on the table. At weddings of landed peasantry the drinking ceremony in general began to follow a rank order: the first to drink were the masters and mistresses of large houses, then other folk and finally the gatecrashers.

At cash weddings [*rahahääät*] or 'banns dances', organized by impoverished young couples in western Finland instead of an actual wedding, the bride collected money by openly selling liquor, and many records mention that she might have earned considerable sums for her home this way.

**From kinship aid to wedding presents.** In Finland as well as other Nordic countries, the gifts from kin and community were collected by the bride, both when collecting bridal aid (map 12) and drinking wedding toasts. In the era of extended families, the kinship group equipped the bride with a dowry, which equalled her inheritance. In the Iron Age and later within the area of Savo-Karelian swidden culture, the daughter's inheritance was apparently mostly handed over during the marriage ceremonies. The dowry, reciprocally agreed gifts from relatives, bridal aid, and gifts distributed by the bride to her new relations or neighbors, finally also the ceremonial drinking of wedding toasts or dancing with the bride for cash have all been facets of multi-layered financial and social support given to the newly married couple by their kin and later the village community.<sup>(2)</sup>

In agrarian communities the bride's dowry acquired new meanings. The bride's dowry indicated the wealth of the house; during the marriage ceremonies the dowry was put on display or paraded publicly through the village. Girls started making their trousseaux at an early age, and by her betrothal period at the latest, the bride had to finish the clothes and other items she took to her new home. In agrarian villages, the trousseaux and dowries were proof of the bride's prosperity, diligence and skill at needlework. They proclaimed the ideals expected of the mistress of a self-sufficient house.

Through drinking wedding toasts, the kin and neighbors have shown that they are socially included in the future life of the new family. Helping the new married couple financially on their feet is still one of the deep, enduring and ancient structures of weddings. In industrialized societies consumer goods replaced cash gifts, and the wedding guests, above all relatives, started to bring the young couple items needed in the new home, all laid out on the gift table for viewing. Since entering marriage became a private affair, the social network surrounding the newlyweds has diminished. The gifts have become increasingly symbolic and personal, and they no longer have the same communal significance as in the era of local cultures.

1. Heikinmäki 1981, 600-. Petersson 1973. Pietilä 1904. Ylikangas 1967. Jacobson 1967. 2. Cf. Kjellman 1979. In general: Comaroff 1980. Goody - Tambiah 1973.

### III.

## ANNUAL FEASTS

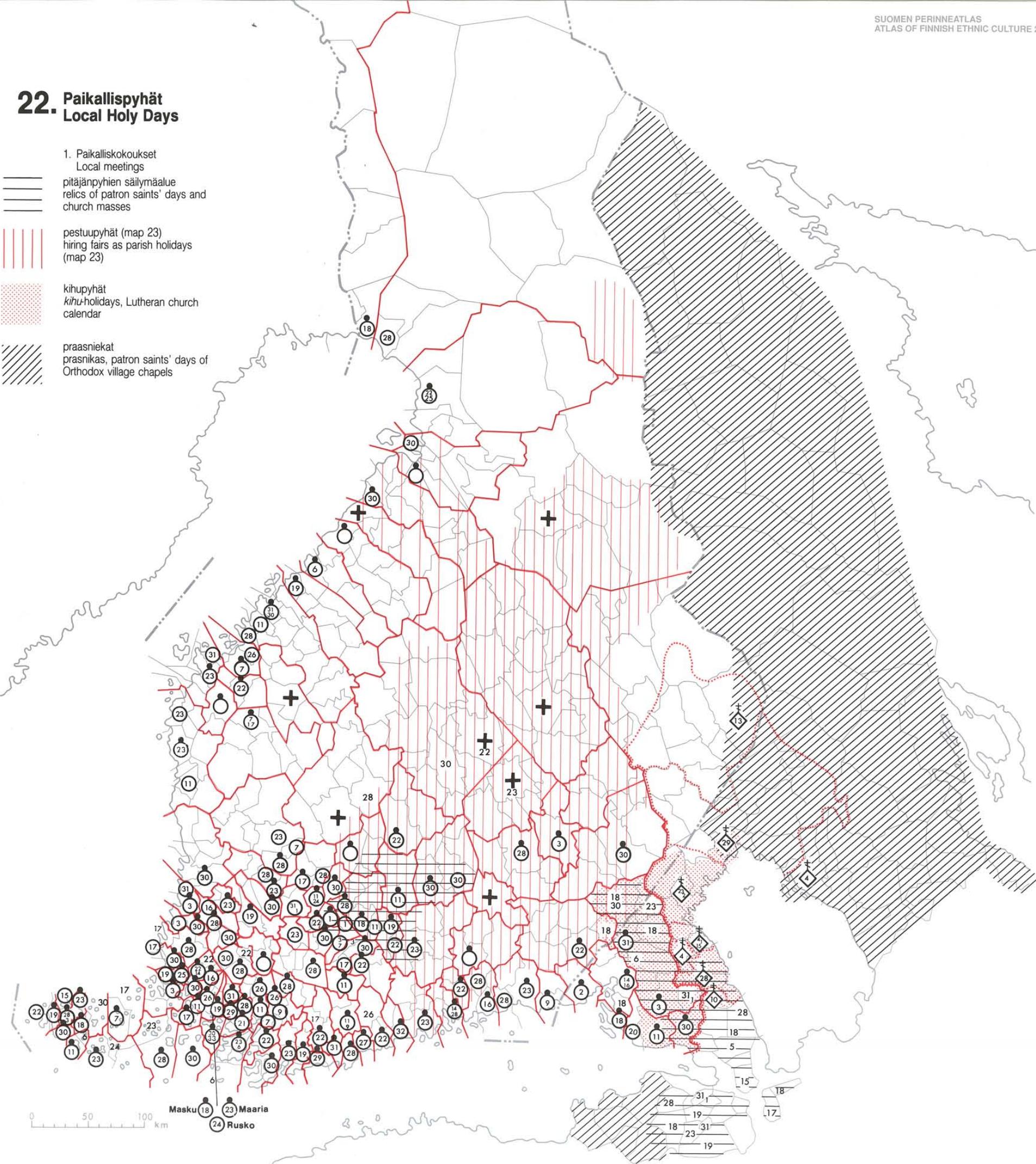
## 22. Paikallispyhät Local Holy Days

1. Paikalliskokoukset  
Local meetings  
pitäjänpyhien säilymäläue  
relics of patron saints' days and church masses

pestuuupyhät (map 23)  
hiring fairs as parish holidays  
(map 23)

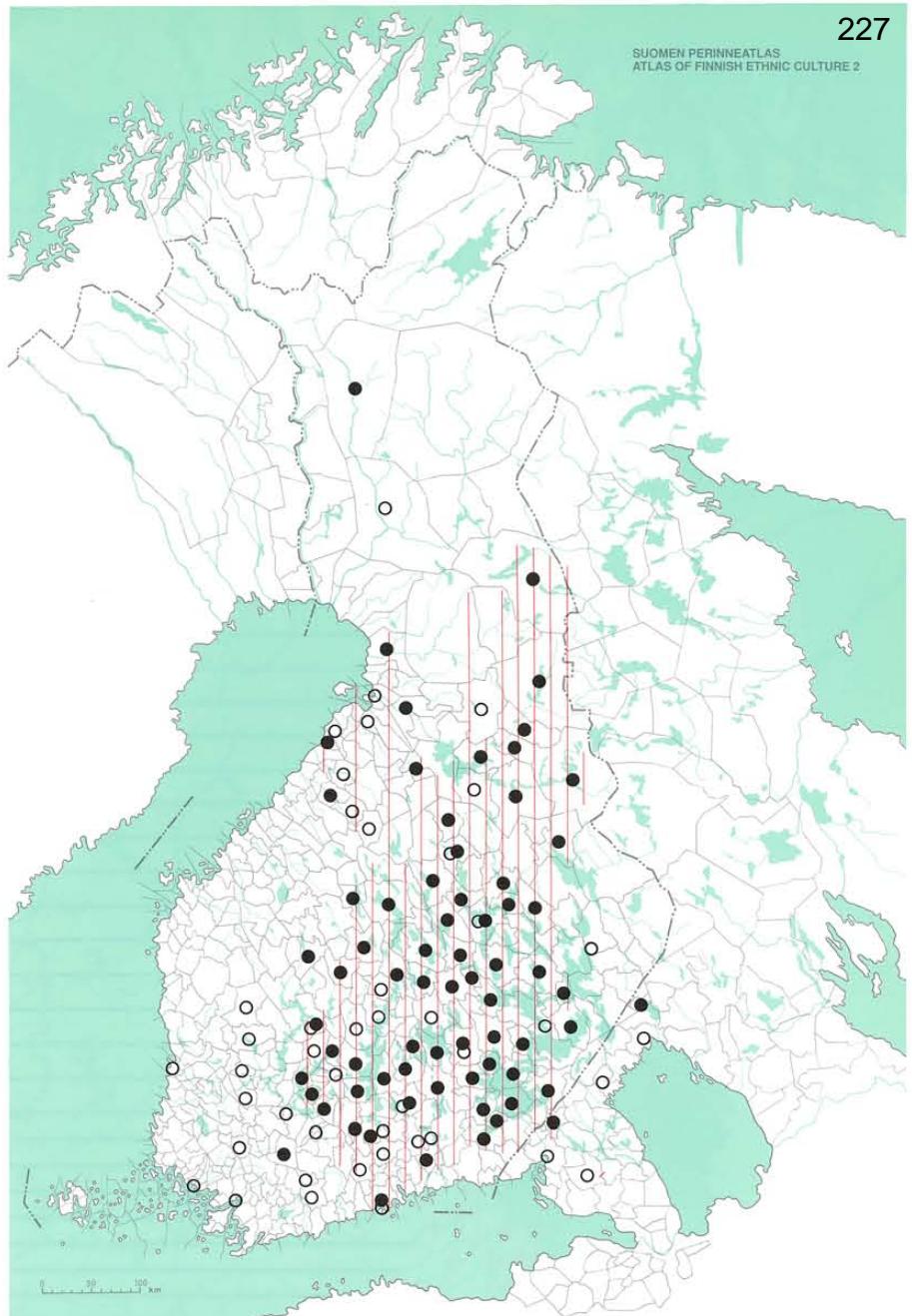
kihupyhät  
kihu-holidays, Lutheran church calendar

praasniekat  
prasnikas, patron saints' days of Orthodox village chapels



## 23. Pestuumarkkinat Hiring Fairs

- pestuumarkkinoiden ydinalue  
hiring fair core area
- pestuumarkkinapitäjä  
hiring fair parish
  - kaupallisia markkinoita, joilla on  
pestattu vuosipalvelijoita  
commercial markets at which  
workers were hired for a year
- Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 22. Paikallispyhät Local Holy Days



2. Historiallista taustaa  
Historical background  
keskiajan roomalaiskatolinen  
emäkirkko ja kappeli, jonka  
suojeluspyhimys tiedetään  
medieval Roman Catholic  
mother church and chapel,  
patron saint known  
keskiajan kreikkalaiskatolinen  
emäkirkko ja seurakunnan raja  
(luostareita ja kyläkirkoja ei ole  
kartalla)  
medieval Greek orthodox mother  
church and borders of congregations  
(monasteries and village  
chapels unmarked)  
luterilainen emäkirkko 1600-  
luvulla  
Lutheran mother church in the  
17th century  
Suomen luterilaisten seurakun-  
tien rajat 1600-luvulla  
borders of Lutheran congregations  
in the 17th century (Karelia  
and Ingria excluded)



- keskiajan kreikkalaiskatolinen  
emäkirkko ja seurakunnan raja  
(luostareita ja kyläkirkoja ei ole  
kartalla)



- luterilainen emäkirkko 1600-  
luvulla

- Lutheran mother church in the  
17th century

- Suomen luterilaisten seurakun-  
tien rajat 1600-luvulla

- borders of Lutheran congregations  
in the 17th century (Karelia  
and Ingria excluded)

3. Keskiaikaisen kirkkojen  
suojeluspyhimykset  
Patron saints of medieval  
churches
1. Pyhä Henki Holy Spirit
  2. Pyhä Kolminaisuus  
Holy Trinity
  3. Pyhä Risti 3.5. tai 14.9.  
Holy Cross
  4. Kristuksen Ylösnousemus  
Resurrection
  - 4.1. Vapahtajan Syntymä  
25.12. Nativity of the Saviour
  5. Aleksanteri Nevski 30.8.  
Alexander Nevsky
  6. Andreas 30.11. Andrew
  7. Anna 15.12. Anna
  8. Barbara 4.12. Barbara
  9. Bartolomeus 24.8.  
Bartholomew
  10. Basileios Kesarealainen  
1.1. Basil of Caesarea
  11. Birgitta 1.2., 7.10. Bridget

12. Dionysius 9.10. Dionysius
13. Elias 20.7. Elijah
14. Erik 18.5. Eric
15. Georgius 23.4., 26.11.  
George
16. Henrik 19.1., 18.6. Henry
17. Jaakob 25.7. Jacob
18. Johannes Kastaja 24.6.  
John the Baptist
19. Katarina Aleksandrialai-  
nen 25.11. Catherine of  
Alexandria tai/ja Katarina  
Sienalainen 30.4. or/and  
Catherine of Siena
20. Katarina Ruotsalainen  
22.3. Catherine of Sweden
21. Klemens Aleksandrialai-  
nen 23.11. Clemens of  
Alexandria
22. Laurentius 10.8.  
Lawrence
23. Neitsyt Maria (2.7.)  
The Virgin Mary

- 23.1. N. Marian Taivaaseen-  
astuminen 15.8.  
The Assumption of  
the Virgin Mary
- 23.2. N. Marian Syntymä 8.9.  
The Nativity of the Virgin  
Mary
24. Maria Magdalena 22.7.  
Mary Magdalene
25. Margareta 13.7. Margaret
26. Martinus 10.11. Martin
27. Matteus 21.9. Matthew
28. Mikael 29.9. Michael
29. Nikolaus 9.5. Nicholas
30. Olavi 29.7. Olaf
31. Pietari 29.6. Peter
- 31.1. Pietari ja Paavali 29.6.  
Peter and Paul
32. Sigfrid 15.2. Sigfrid
33. Simeon 9. 2. (28.10.)  
Simon

Lisäksi Suomessa on ollut roo-  
malaiskatolisia seurakuntia, jotka

ovat myöhemmin hävinneet,  
mm.  
There were in Finland also some  
Roman Catholic congregations  
that later disappeared. These  
included  
Lehijärvi 1 (Hattula), Jurmo 2  
(Korppoo), Soukainen 9 ja Unta-  
mala 31 (Laitila), Lemböte 30  
(Lemland), Kyrkstad 17 (Lohja),  
Hietamäki 17 (Myrämäki), Santa-  
mala 23 (Nousiainen), Jaakoppi  
17 (Paimio), Munapirtti 16  
(Pyhtää), Vartsala 18 ja Isoluoto  
17 (Taivassalo), Kaukjärvi 11  
(Uusikirkko Vpl.), Säriklahti 6 (Yli-  
tornio).

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 22.-23. LOCAL GATHERINGS

### 22. Local Holy Days

**Local feast.** Local feasts have been annual public meetings for the residents of the parish or village. In terms of structure, the gathering typically took place on a certain date every year, and the festival calendar formed a network of gathering days, when reciprocal visits to the feasts of other villages were possible. In Finnish conditions, local gatherings have usually taken place in summertime. The tradition probably stemmed from annual kinship gatherings and fairs of the pre-Christian era. In the Christian era, the date of local feasts was calculated in Finland according to the Roman Catholic calendar and in Karelia according to the Orthodox calendar of saints, and it is likely that when selecting patron saints for churches and chapels, it was important that their memorial days fitted in with the local festival calendar. The tradition of annual gatherings was preserved in various forms right up to the Prasnikas (Orth.) in the early 1900s.

#### *Local festivals at the turn of the 1800-1900s*

Western Finland	Eastern Finland	Karelia
parish holy days (saint's memorial day; church mass)	hiring holy days	kihu holy days (Luth.)
church holy days berry fairs	church holy days (confirmation days)	Prasnikas (Orth., village feasts) church holy days (Luth.)

Parish holy days (*pitäjänpyhä*) refers to the feast days of an individual parish, which also included hiring holy days (*pestuupyhä*) and *kihu* holidays (*kihupyhä*, 'crowding holy days'). Church holy days are general holy days of the church year, celebrated on the same dates in all Christian parishes. During the

Roman Catholic era, the parish holy day was usually derived from the memorial day of the parish patron saint, or the annual day commemorating the consecration of the church, a dedication feast (*kirkkomessu*, German *Kirmes*, Old Swedish *kirkiomessa*). In the Middle Ages, consecration of a church was a great parish feast; it was the culmination of decades of work, especially in the case of building stone churches. The parish holy days of the medieval mother parishes of western and southern Finland were originally patron saints' days or dedication days. In the Lutheran era, the church tried to discontinue the medieval holy days, called *arkipyhä* [weekday holy days], as they often fell on normal working days. The weekday holy days were moved to a nearby Sunday (finally in 1772) and general church holy days were designated alongside them. The original practice was preserved in the Orthodox area, for example in the Prasnika calendar; furthermore, the Orthodox church in Dvina and Olonets followed the old calendar, resulting in a time differential with the Gregorian calendar of almost two weeks by the beginning of the 1900s. The different holy day calendars highlighted the contrast between the churches, with representatives of the Lutheran church accusing the Orthodox of being lazy, as they held their Prasnikas in the middle of busy workdays.

## Parish holy days

**Legacy from the Middle Ages.** The map shows the Roman Catholic and Orthodox parishes at the end of the Middle Ages, together with the patron saints of their churches. In addition, the map shows the oldest Inner Finland Lutheran mother parishes which in those days comprised large areas. The area controlled by the medieval Roman Catholic church included the old agrarian areas of western and southern Finland in Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, and Häme, as well as the Swedish-speaking coastal parishes. As memorials of those days, great greystone churches have been preserved in these areas.

The boundary between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches ran across the Karelian Isthmus in the Middle Ages. The oldest Orthodox churches are situated around the Ladoga, while in the northern areas, in Dvina, Olonets and North Karelia, remote monasteries served as church centers. It was a characteristic of the Orthodox area that almost every village had its own small temple or *tsasouna*, and church festivals were also village feasts.

Only scant documentation remains on the medieval patron saint festivals and dedication feasts, *kirkkomessut*, of southwestern Finland. After the Reformation, the parish holy days have been preserved as church holy days and stripped of their Catholic traditions in Häme, in the waterway regions of the lakes Vanajavesi, Pälkänevesi and Längelmävesi, where large village church boats were used, also to visit church feasts of neighboring parishes. Further east, the old mother parish areas of Hollola and Sysmä formed their own church holy day district. In the Häme lake district, one of the most famous parish holy days was the Pälkäne *heinämaaria* ('hay-Mary', V. Mary 2.7.) and the Luopioinen *kirkastuspyhä* [transfiguration day], still celebrated today.

Historical sources confirm that of the mother parishes of Häme, the Hollola kirkkomessu and at the same time the feast of the patron saint has been on Annunciation Day (2.7.). In Lempäälä, St Bridget's day (23.7.) was a holiday or *runtu*-day until recent times, St Olaf's mass and fair were held in Vanaja, the 'Jaakko' or *jaakonkirkko* [church of Jaakko] of Renko was renowned for its church feasts and fair, which

were discontinued in 1675. On the day of St Lawrence, to whom Janakkala church was dedicated, it was still customary to give offerings of cash and metal objects at Lawrence's spring in the 1700s, and at Vesilahti, the church holy day was on the day of St Peter and Paul (29.6.). Historical documentation exists on celebrating patron saints' days also from Varsinais-Suomi, but the tradition has ended there earlier than in the Häme lake district.

The old tradition of patron saints continued on the Karelian Isthmus and in Ingria, where Lutheran churches built in the 1800s were still dedicated to saints. At the end of the century, the memorial feasts of saints became kihu holidays, the calendar dates of which followed the Lutheran church calendar. Parish holy days endured the longest in Lutheran Ingria; e.g. Toksova church held a widely known public festival on the memorial day of Alexander Nevski on 30.8.

**Church holy days.** After the Reformation, the Lutheran church endeavored to establish the feast tradition restricted to the great common memorial days of the New Testament: Easter, Whitsun, All Saints' Day and Christmas. However, in Finnish conditions, the great church festivals fall in the winter season and, with the exception of Christmas, have not become established as visiting holidays. In the 1700s, the church adopted two common confirmation holy days, one in the early summer around Midsummer and the other in the autumn.

After confirmation schools became established, confirmation holy days also became parish holy days, when the young people of the parish received their first communion. The confirmation holy day has varied in different parishes, but was generally always celebrated in the summertime. Especially in the conditions of eastern and northern Finland, communion or confirmation holy days became general churchgoing days and public festivals uniting the congregation or local population, with the same status as medieval parish holy days. Such assembly holy days were also favored by the clergy, as it could then collect its salary dues. In some parishes, people brought the priest's dues to church at confirmation events, placing them in front of the altar in the same way as offerings were previously left for the patron saint of the church.

**Berry markets and young people's holidays.** In some parishes, events comparable to parish holidays have been held as berry-picking festivals, called *mansikka-, lakka-* or *vaarainmarkkinat* [strawberry, cloudberry or raspberry fairs]. Some of the best known were the Vehkajärvi chapel strawberry fair in Häme, which attracted people from all neighboring parishes; similar events were the Valkeala strawberry festival (eastern Häme) and the Ruokolahti raspberry fair (South Savo). The name of the festival disclosed the timing of the church holy day in the natural calendar: for example the Vehkajärvi strawberry fair was held when the strawberries were ripe.

An actual berry-picking festival was the Ullava raspberry market in South Ostrobothnia. As a raspberry picking festival, it resembles the vine harvest of Continental Europe or the berry holy days of Sweden, such as the Kinnekulle cherry festival renowned in Götaland.<sup>(1)</sup> Similarly, communal cloudberry-picking festivals have been held in the north. Gathering holy days known as berry fairs and confirmation holy days, in common with other local festivals, became occasions for particularly young people to get together in the 1800s, and in the same way as in Sweden, young people particularly in northern Finland have kept their own church holidays, when they would gather in great numbers at the parish church.

**Parish holy day celebrations.** Celebrations of Catholic parish holy days and later Lutheran church holy days have shared common features in all areas. Local festivals have been annual occasions for getting together, with relatives and feasting friends arriving to visit from great distances, as far as the neighbor-

ing parishes, and staying over several days. Later in the 1900s, Christmas became the visiting festival equivalent to these holy days. Houses provided hospitality to their relations and friends, who in turn looked after their hosts on the church holy days of their own parishes. Evidently, parish holy days originated from the offering feasts shared by kinship groups or villages in the Iron Age. In the Middle Ages, the offerings were addressed to the patron saint and brought to the church altar at the start of the liturgy, as was still customary in the 1600s in some Lutheran parishes in Savo.

Drinking large quantities of liquor or beer on parish holy days was common; drinking toasts in honour of the saint was a downright ritual. Excessive eating and drinking alcohol are mentioned, without exception, in all the complaints voiced in western Finland against the celebration of patron saint holy days. On such holy days, drunken people were even seen in the church. One of the most visible common features particularly mentioned in the descriptions was the restless wandering around, *kihuaminen*, of the crowd on the church hill or other festival site. Young people in particular often roamed around the village lanes in large crowds, sometimes the girls and boys in separate groups, sometimes together. The crowd also promenaded back and forth on the church aisles and in and out of the doors. In some parishes, the priests were driven to stop services on the assembly holy day, or to order the doors to be locked from the outside during the service.

In the Lutheran era, parish holy days were still festival days of the whole parish, when no work was done, but everyone had the day off (*runtu*) if the patron saint's day fell mid-week. On that day, servants hired for the year also had the right to go off to church; this had often been agreed at the time of hiring. It was customary to go to the parish holy day celebrations by a horse-drawn conveyance, whenever possible. The house provided the servants with a horse, and the youngsters climbed on the same cart in great numbers. They drove the horses back and forth on the church village street, and in some parishes this turned into horse races and recklessness.

Patron saints' memorial feasts and *kirkkomessut* were also frequented by hawkers and itinerant performing artistes, singers of broadside ballads, fiddlers and hurdy-gurdy men. The trip to the church and the overnight stay in church halls or other hostelleries gave the young an opportunity of getting to know each other; at the end of the 1800s, dances were organized immediately after the church service. At the turn of the century, the parish festivals evolved to become programmed summer festivals organized by youth clubs or other associations.

## Prasnikas

**Orthodox village festivals.** Karelian Prasnikas were annual local festivals of Orthodox villages, occasioning visits from relatives and feasting friends from neighboring villages. Almost every Orthodox village in Karelia and Ingria had its own village church, *tsasouna*, the annual memorial day of whose patron saint was the date of the Prasnika. As interaction increased, more Prasnika days were designated, and large villages had two or even three Prasnikas a year. In addition to the dates of the birth and death of the patron saint of the *tsasouna*, special winter Prasnikas became customary around New Year. In all, almost 800 Prasnikas were celebrated every year in the Orthodox villages of Karelia and Ingria, and e.g. in

Ladoga Karelia, where the network of villages was dense, keen visitors had the opportunity of taking in scores of Prasnikas in the course of the year.(2)

**Celebration of kinship community.** The Prasnika institution operated on the basis of kinship and reciprocal feasting friendship. At village Prasnikas, each house would feast and accommodate its own relatives and guests, and the villagers would make return visits to the houses of their relatives or feasting friends at other village Prasnikas. Visiting relatives was considered an actual duty. The guests with furthest to travel would arrive at their host houses on the eve of the feast. In the Christian era, the principal events of the festivities were the service in the tsasouna, communal meals, and the Prasnika games that began immediately afterwards.

Preparation of the meals began early on the morning of the feast. This was an opportunity for girls to show off their skills in pie-making and other chores. After the visit to the tsasouna in the morning, the meal was served, and around midday the games of the day would start. For older folk, the meal was the highlight of the Prasnika. They would sit for hours after the meal drinking tea, while the young gathered for the day games, or for example at winter Prasnikas in Ladoga Karelia, to go on sleigh rides on the lake ice. In summertime there would be dances outdoors on the village green, in riverside villages on bridges, or in the *saraja* (hayloft above the byre) of Karelian houses. For the evening dances the boys would hire the largest room of some house and hire a fiddler (cf. map. 35).

The Prasnika tradition has included very archaic customs related to young people getting acquainted and socializing, such dances as *käsikisa* ('hand dance') or *pitkä paara* ('long paara'), and *pitkä kisa* ('long dance'). Records exist on them from Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia. *Käsikisa* was danced standing still, girl and boy facing, while *pitkä kisa* involved parading in pairs in a long line, back and forth on the village lane or playground. In *pitkä paara*, the girl and boy might stand for hours facing each other in the playing field, the boy holding the girl's hand or a corner of her kerchief. In the line of dancers, the girls swayed in front of the boys; according to one description, the girl would take a curtsying step to the left and right in a swaying rhythm, while the boy stood still throughout.

In *pitkä kisa*, the procession was started by the girls, who set off promenading through the village in a long line four abreast, hand in hand and row after row, singing. The wealthiest and most handsome girls would walk in the front row. The parade of girls wandered slowly back and forth along the village lane. At first, the boys watched from the side, but then joined in to walk alongside a girl they liked, trying to arouse her interest with his chat. This way, pairs of boys and girls were formed. In the procession, the girls would sing women's songs in the old meter, and later young people's round game songs in new meter; sometimes an accordion player would head the parade. *Pitkä kisa* was reminiscent of the singing processions or *gulanya-going* of peoples of northern Russia and Ingrian girls.

**From visiting to marriage.** An old Prasnika custom of kinship communities has been girls' *ativoissa käynti*.<sup>(3)</sup> A week or two before the Prasnika, girls of marriageable age may have been picked up to visit relatives in the Prasnika village, especially if there were girls of a similar age in the house. While staying in their relative's house, the girls had an opportunity in the evenings to meet young people from the village. The village boys organized evening social events and dances for the visiting girls; they were treated as the guests of the whole youth community, with established procedures. While on a visit, the girls would often find a suitor among the village boys, and the girls' parents could then agree on the marriage at the Prasnika. Outside the Prasnika region, *ativoissa käynti* visits were known until fairly recently also in South Karelia, where girls visited other villages around Christmastime.

Prasnikas were also scenes of public proposals of marriage. Parents would obtain information via friends and acquaintances on suitable bride and groom candidates and on how their parents might be disposed towards a possible proposal. At Prasnikas, young people were on show both at meals, in the crowd at the festival ground, and at games. The girls were under special scrutiny of their dress, movement and deportment. Marriage proposal parties would go out and about in the evenings, and late into the night, even through the night, negotiations on marriage deals went on in houses, while curious Prasnika guests looked on. The young would gather in the house where a proposal had been made to dance, and many kinds of events went on in the Prasnika village well into the night, events that affected the future of the young and the lives of kinship groups.

## **Kihu holidays**

**Young people's church holiday.** In South Karelia, old parish holy days became *kihu* holidays, and at the same time saints' memorial days were replaced by the kihu holiday calendar following Lutheran practice. The new holidays were determined counting from the day of the Trinity, as the summer season Sundays were named in the Lutheran Almanac. The kihu holiday calendar has undergone changes resulting from new parishes being established, and because church patron saints' memorial days were moved in the 1800s to the nearest Sunday. The heyday of kihu holidays was at the end of the 1800s and the first decades of the 1900s. At that time, kihu holidays formed a network of local festivals on the Isthmus, where each parish had its own kihu holiday, and to which new parishes were also smoothly joined.(4 Once the roads improved, young people in particular started to visit the churches of neighboring parishes, and so kihu holidays acquired their characteristic features.

### **Kihu holiday calendar**

Parish	Kihu holiday	Former church holy day
Antrea	3. intercession day	Andreas 30.11.
Heinjoki	7th Sunday after Trinity (Transfiguration)	
Hiitola	see Rautjärvi Ilmee	
Jaakkima	Ascension Day	
Joutseno	Midsummer Day	John the Baptist 24.6.
Jääski	Sunday after third intercession day in July	St Peter 29.6.
Kaukola	7th Sunday after Trinity (Transfiguration)	
Kirvu	Midsummer Day	John the Baptist 24.6.
Kivennapa	10th Sunday after Trinity	St Olaf 29.7., from 1812 St Peter 29.6.
Kurkijoki	(not established)	
Käkisalmi	9th Sunday after Trinity	
Lumivaara	see Jaakkima	
Metsäpirtti	6th Sunday after Trinity	
Muolaa	8th (9th) Sunday after Trinity	Holy Cross 3.5. or 14.9.

Parikkala	(Ascension Day)	(St Jacob 25.7.)
Pyhäjärvi	8th, 9th or 10th Sunday after Trinity	
Rautjärvi	Sunday of Lady Day	Annunciation Day 2.7
Ilmee	a week after previous	
Rautu	Whitsuntide	
Ruokolahti	Whitsuntide	John the Baptist 24.6.
Räisälä	Trinity Day or 8th Sunday after Trinity	
Sakkola	Michaelmas (8th or 9th Sunday after Trinity)	St Michael 29.9.
Sortavalala	Midsummer (previously Ascension Day)	
Terijoki	10th Sunday after Trinity	
Uusikirkko	All Saints' Sunday in November (21st Sunday after Trinity)	St Bridget 7.10.
Valkjärvi	9th Sunday after Trinity	
Vuoksela	see Valkjärvi	
Vuoksenranta	Midsummer, previously see Antrea	
Äyräpää	see Muolaa	

It was customary to set off to celebrate kihu holidays in a crowd, all the young people of the village together. The festivities became dominated by the wandering back and forth of the crowds of youth, which is the actual meaning of the word *kihuaminen*, as well as driving horses and taking girls on rides. Kihuaminen reached the inside of the church. People walked along the church aisles and in and out the doors, so that it was impossible to follow the service. Wandering in and out of the church was considered traditional, and the clergy did not intervene in the early days.

**Kihuaminen of the young.** According to descriptions from the 1800s, the way to travel to kihu holidays was on horseback, and on the way the boys would give rides to girls they liked. Boys would ask girls to sit behind them on the horse [*tarakkaan*], and after a short ride set them down and offer a ride to another girl. The same would take place on returning from kihu holidays. At the church village, boys would buy bagels and sweets from market stalls for their favorite girls; the presents were called *tuomiset*. A close count was kept of the horse rides and presents among the girls; they were discussed afterwards, as they were a clear indication of how popular a girl was among the boys.

When the roads improved, the village young would arrive at kihu holidays on horses and carts, with musicians. The horses' bridles and carts were decorated and polished. The girls also had their own horses, and it was customary for the girls to wear a uniform dress of their own village. The young would drive back and forth for hours at the kihu site and on the roads out of the church village. The horse rides also spread to the winter Prasnikas of Ladoga Karelia, where boys began to give rides to girls on a track cleared on the lake ice.

At the end of the century village fights spread to kihu holidays, at some of which boys are said to have driven their horses with scythes fixed to the cart shafts, like the Ostrobothnian village fighters (*puukkunjukkarit*). Due to the fighting, drunkenness and reckless horse racing, the local authorities tried to put an end to kihu holiday celebrations, and in some parishes troops had to be called in to maintain law and order. The celebration of kihu holidays continued in the 1900s, and after independence, they too gradually became summer festivals organized by non-profit associations, youth and farmers' clubs or the civil guard.

## 23. Hiring fairs

**Hiring of annual servants.** The distribution area of hiring fairs has covered the whole of eastern Finland, but one of the core areas of the institution is South Savo (map 22-23). The purpose of hiring fairs was hiring of annual servants for farmhouses. Young people went to the fairs to 'sell their skins', to take up an appointment for the next year. In earlier times, hiring of annual servants took place in western Finland during parish holy days and at commercial fairs; at the turn of the 1800-1900s, fairs known as hiring occasions have still been held in Häme, Satakunta, and also in places in Ostrobothnia.

The hiring fairs evolved at a time when serving girls and farmhands had to remain at their house of service for a whole year at a time. In the 1800s, the employment year began in the autumn on All Saints' Day, with the servants' annual holiday week falling in the same week, after which they would move on to their new place of service. Due to this changeover day the hiring fairs were held in the autumn, on a Sunday in September or October.

There are two layers to the hiring fair calendar. In the Middle Ages, the changeover day of annual servants and at the same time the turn of the year was Michaelmas, and the regulations of the time required servants to be hired between St Lawrence's Day (10.8.) and Michaelmas (29.9.). Before that, servants were obliged to give notice of termination and to take an *ulosseteli*, work certificate, if they wanted to leave their place of service. Some August or September saints' days from the old calendar may have been retained as hiring days, such as the days of St Lawrence, *pertteli* or St Bartholomew (24.8.) and the Holy Cross (14.9.). Such old parish holidays were *uotinpäivä*, St Olaf (29.7.) in Sysmä; it also survived as the hiring day of the old chaplaincies, Padasjoki, Hartola and Luhanka, of the mother parish.

In 1816, the changeover day was moved to All Saints' Day (1.11.). Annual servants had to give notice of termination a week before *Jälki-Maria*, Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8.9.) and September-October became the hiring season. In the 1800s, the hiring days of different parishes were designated by announcing the ordinal of the Sundays in September or October, e.g. the third Sunday in September.<sup>(5)</sup> In Savonian parishes hiring fairs might have been held on two, even three consecutive Sundays. They were called the first, second and third *pestuu* [hiring]. However, the most common hiring fair day was Michaelmas Day, when people would gather at hiring places in numerous parishes of eastern Finland. Hiring also took place at autumn fairs in towns, particularly around Michaelmas.

In Savo, for example in the Lake Saimaa waterway area, parishes formed themselves into hiring fair districts, within which people would also visit fairs in neighboring parishes, like at kihu holidays on the Isthmus or in Häme on church holy days.

**Hiring holiday celebrations.** The hiring fairs were occasions similar to other local festival events. They were held on the church hill after the service: people would walk around the site, meet up with acquaintances and purchase fair gifts to take home. Servants were hired by farmers and their wives by making an offer to a worker they liked the look of, and if agreement was reached on the annual pay, the new employers would seal the deal by buying a cup of coffee or a shot of spirits in a market stall. Customarily, the master of the house hired the farmhands and the mistress the female servants.

Intermediaries or spokesmen were often used at hiring fairs, like at marriage negotiations. Young people looking for positions in service asked friends and relatives to act as their spokesmen, and would

not move to a strange village without obtaining information on the house and its master and mistress. Landed peasants might use professional spokesmen to help them search for workers. They were often the same people who also arranged marriages for landed peasantry for a fee. The hiring event acquired various local characteristics. At Rautalammi, the girls were said to have walked on the church hill in a long row, holding hands. Farmers' wives picked out the plumpest and most robust wenches and offered them a cup of coffee to seal the hiring. In some parishes, the men stood in line for scrutiny by farmers, like soldiers in the army.

The hiring fairs in some Savonian parishes attracted thousands of people. Boys gave girls rides on horses and carts like on kihu holidays, and young people would come to hiring fairs to meet each other, even if they were not looking for a place in service. In eastern Finland, hiring fairs were real folk festivals in the 1800s, but they also had other social functions. Hard-working and diligent servants received public recognition at fairs, they were objects of competition, and wage offers they received were discussed among fair visitors. Hiring fairs were also means of sharing information on the kind of employer each house in the parish was, how they treated their hired hands. In Savo, the hiring fairs were the labor markets of the time, where the landed peasantry held their wage negotiations.

By the 1800s the situation of farm workers in southern Finland was already poor, especially in parishes dominated by manor houses, and the patriarchal relationship between farmers and hired hands had ceased to exist. Fairs became occasions for drunkenness and fights; particularly ill-reputed was the Elimäki parish hiring fair where a manslaughter took place almost every year towards the end of the 1800s. Due to the disruptions in maintaining law and order, many parishes tried to ban hiring fairs on pain of fines.

**History of annual service.** In eastern Finland and Karelia, hiring external labour is a relatively late practice. In the era of swidden economies, manpower problems were also resolved within the kinship groups by forming extended families or by taking in foster children. Records show that very small numbers of people were employed as servants in the 1700s in Savo and other parts of eastern Finland.<sup>(6)</sup> There, hiring fairs evolved as a facet of the structural changes brought about by the advent of private land ownership in the 1800s; as the parcelling out of land progressed, one of the effects was the demise of extended families.

During the era of hiring fairs, entering service with strangers was not yet demeaning in Savo, as annual servants were kind of absorbed into the extended family of the householders. The class contrasts of the western landed peasantry did not exist in eastern Finland, and in sparsely populated parishes the hiring fairs were as important as annual opportunities for getting together as the medieval parish holy days in their day.

In the area of agrarian culture of southern Finland, the hiring of annual servants dates back to the Middle Ages. When slavery was banned in Sweden-Finland in 1335, around a decade later (1349), common law already stipulated that those without a means of livelihood had to enter service. During the transition to intensive agriculture, 'decrees on hirelings' were issued in order to fulfil the manpower requirement; the most draconian was the decree of 1739, under which all those who did not own land, even the children of smallholdings, had to enter annual service. At the same time, the freedom of movement of the so-called itinerant population was restricted. The stipulations of the decree were not very closely observed in Finland, but entering annual service became established as a form of securing the livelihood of young people who were forced to leave their homes.

As an institution, the hiring of servants at church masses or fairs has also been known in Continental Europe; evolutionist theories have even linked hiring fairs to early slave markets. In Sweden, only a few

parishes (e.g. Sillhövda *städjemessan*) have had folk festivals comparable to Savonian hiring fairs.(7) Eastern Finland is one of the few continuous areas where an annual folk festival evolved around the hiring of labor.

## Regular gatherings

**Fixed place and date.** Annual or regularly repeated local gatherings are universal basic institutions of local socializing; in the Finnish-Karelian area, too, their roots lie in the pre-Christian era. The heritage of early culture eras has been best preserved in the Prasnikas of Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia. They were occasions for kinship groups to get together, to arrange marriages, remember the deceased and to perform offerings complete with communal meals, as was still the custom in some villages in the 1800s (map 4).

It is possible that beer- and spirit-drinking on the patron saint's day dates back as far as the *vakkove* feasts of early cultivating communities. In the Middle Ages, annual festivals and offerings of farm produce were addressed to the patron saint. The patron saint of the parish church was the new local deity, replacing the ancestors and supernatural guardians; the names of so-called pagan 'gods' of agriculture in Finland, such as those in Bishop Michael Agricola's list of 1552, are mostly corruptions of saints' names.(8)

Walking back and forth or *kihuaminen* may be a custom that became ceremonialized influenced by the Catholic processions of the Cross. Patron saints' days and church masses were marked by processions also in Finnish medieval churches, with a picture of the saint and perhaps his relics carried aloft. The procession might have gone around the village fields, praying for a good yield. (9) Blessing the fields in spring after sowing (at Whitsun) was preserved until recent times in the Lutheran Nordic countries, as were the summer saints' days important for agriculture, as they marked the start and end of various work periods. In the calendar of parish holy days, the most popular were the saints whose memorial days fell in early summer or autumn, the gathering and rite periods of agrarian communities maybe dating back as far as the hunting era.

Memorial festivals for patron saints and the celebration of church holy days are known in some form everywhere in the European culture circle. In Continental Europe, e.g. in Germany, church masses have been colorful folk gatherings and market occasions ('mass'). Church masses and patron saints' days are forerunners of modern local celebrations and festivals. Such local gatherings spawned the culture of professional performers and entertainers, including the theater, and it is possible that e.g. Romany gypsies have wandered as far as Finland as professional performers at church festivals.

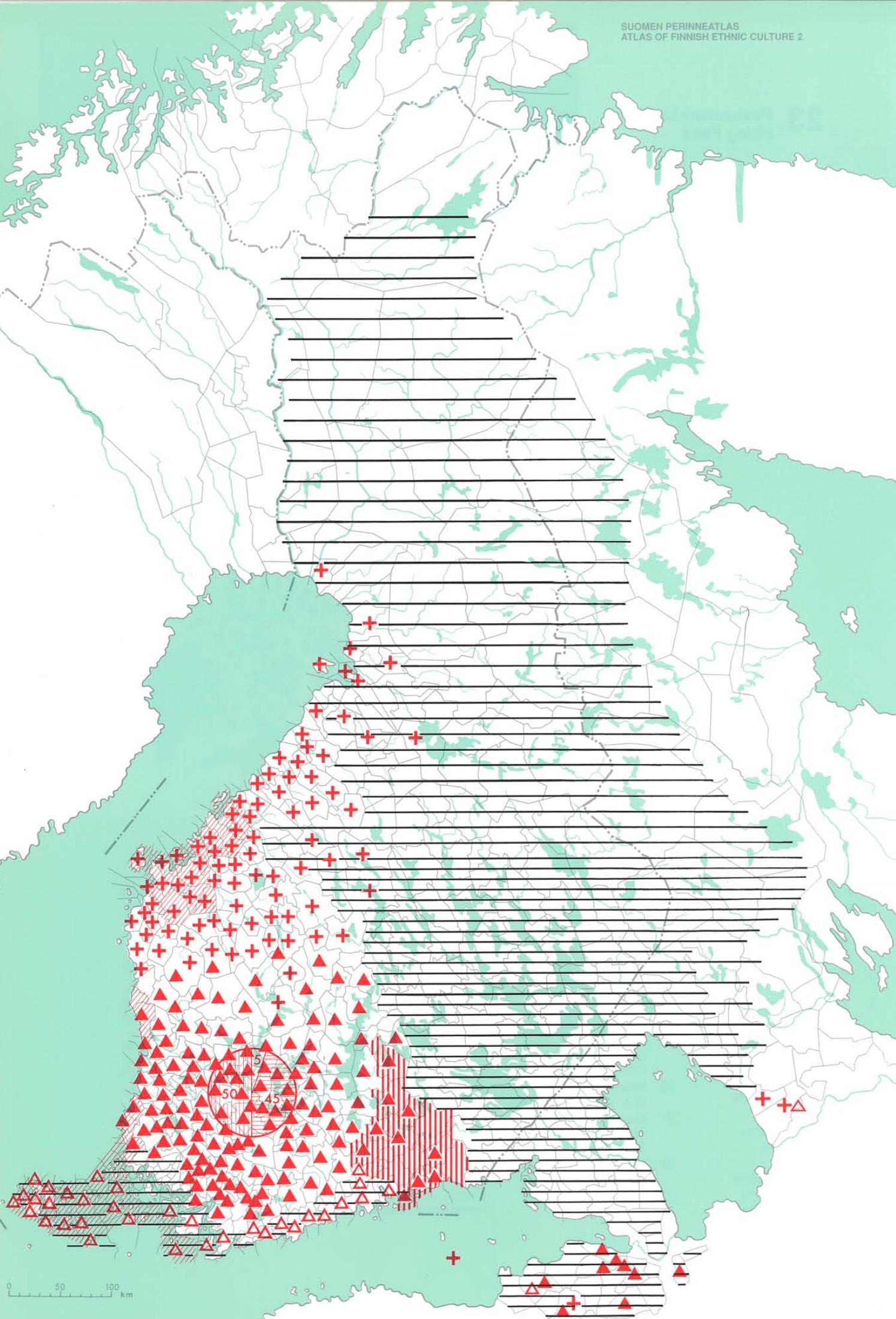
Local gatherings have defined the boundaries of collective mobility and the circle into which a person belonged outside his own community. In the hunting era and emerging cultivating communities, the routes of socializing were the occasions for getting together of kinship groups and totemistic groups (clans), and people have been able to move around quite extensive areas on the basis of kinship contacts. In agrarian cultures, the external circle of interests has narrowed to comprise the nearby villages and parishes. Socializing was concentrated in a certain area, one's own 'county', loosely bound by the network of local gatherings.

Regular local gatherings reinforced the sense of belonging to a place, to one's own home ground. Celebratory customs share the same structures as other institutions of local communities, set up by man in search of community. They included partaking in a shared meal, drinking together, walking back and forth together. The festivals served to unite experiences and made people reciprocally dependent on feasting friendships. In delocalized industrial societies, collective social intercourse has also undergone its structural change. New means of transport and sound reproduction technology have extended the boundaries of shared experiences, and the locality of gatherings has also gradually disappeared. Parish festivals have been replaced by countywide, then national events and international festivals. In his global media environment, postlocal man is able to experience an unlimited world and share the common consciousness experiences of mankind.

Sarmela 1969, 25- (sources); 1981a; 1984a. Sauhke 1971. *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* I: 10, 75. *Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde*: 139-140. *Etnograficky-atlas slovenska*: X 26. Banks 1937-1946. Bondevik 1938. Burgstaller 1948. Eskeröd 1953. Fehrle 1955. Gugitz 1949-1950. Hay 1960. Klersch 1965. Lindberg 1937. Lindblom 1943-1944. Sartori 1910-1914 III. Sokolova 1979. Tšitšerov 1957. Weber-Kellermann 1965. Wright 1936-1940. Karjalainen S. 1994.

**1.** Vilkuna K. 1964, 186-. Granlund 1948. Hobroh 1939, 141-. Kristensen 1929, 60-. **2.** Prasnika calendar: Sarmela 1969, 75-; 1984a, 252-. Sauhke 1971. **3.** Teräsvuori 1940-1941. **4.** Kihu holiday calendar: Sarmela 1969, 60-; 1981a, 238-; 1984a, 257-. **5.** Hiring fair calendar: Sarmela 1969, 50-. **6.** Kallio 1913. Nygård 1989. **7.** Forsslund 1928, 152-. Granlund 1944, 184-; 1948. Steensberg 1963-1964 1, 526. Weber-Kellerman 1965, 89, 249. *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* II: 100-106. Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas: 5-6. **8.** Haavio 1959c; 1967b. **9.** Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953, 326-.

## 24. Juhlatulien kalenteri Bonfire Calendar



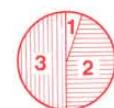
Polttamisaika  
Time of burning  
laskiainen (/askaisvalkeat)  
Shrovetide

+ pääsiäinen (pääsiäisvalkeat)  
Easter

△ vappu (majelder, vapputulef)  
May Day

▲ kevätpyhät (helavalkeat)  
Spring holy days

1. vappu  
May Day
2. helatorstai  
Ascension Day
3. hellunta  
Whitsun



Yht. 350 tietoa  
Total 350 cases

— juhannus (juhannuskokot)  
Midsummer

■ mikkeli tai kekri (1.11.)  
Michaelmas or All Saints' Day

Rekonstruktiokartta  
Reconstruction map

## 24.-25. FESTIVAL BONFIRES

### 24. Bonfire calendar

**Reconstruction map.** One of the old community traditions in western Finland has been the burning of spring bonfires. However, the eastern Midsummer bonfire was an expansive custom, spreading from the end of the 1800s throughout Finland, including the westernmost reaches. Midsummer became the summer festival of civic organizations, and so-called gentlefolk started burning Midsummer bonfires while spending the summer in the country in their villas. Along with summer residents, Midsummer bonfires have spread further into western and northern Finland; today Midsummer is a national summer festival and bonfires are burned on lakesides all over the country on Midsummer Eve. Map 24 shows reconstructed the local layers older than Midsummer fires expansive in the 1800s, and as a reconstruction map, it shows the widest known distribution areas of fires burned at Shrovetide, Easter, and Whitsuntide, as well as Michaelmas bonfires.

**Shrovetide fires.** The earliest date in spring for burning festival bonfires has been Shrovetide (40 days before Easter) or the preceding Shrove Sunday. Shrovetide bonfires are known in Swedish-speaking areas in Åland and the coasts of Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta and Ostrobothnia, where the custom has also spread to some nearby Finnish-speaking parishes. The bonfires of straw or tree branches were usually built and burned by children on the frozen water, sometimes on a field. Young people may also have taken part in bonfire-burning, along with dancing on the ice or an organized Shrovetide dance in some house. Bonfire-burning has also been accompanied by sledging down a nearby hill, a common Shrovetide custom in various parts of the country. Shrovetide bonfires are recent and not one of the actual community traditions in Finland.

**Easter bonfires.** Of the spring bonfires, Easter fires are known in southern and central Ostrobothnia. They were burned on Easter Saturday, or possibly later on the Sunday in some localities. Easter fires were burned by the young of each house, who built the bonfire of straw or tar barrels, usually on fields or other open spaces outside villages. While the fire burned, there was general noise, shooting and shouting; young people also did the rounds of the bonfires of other houses.

The function of fire-burning was to drive away evil, above all witches, who according to the Christian demonology flew around on Easter night to a gathering, to spend witches' sabbath (map 57). This was

rooted in the idea from the Catholic era that the devil ruled on the earth between Good Friday and Easter morning, while Christ was in his grave. The straw was said to be 'Jesus's bed straw' or straw from the manger. In Finland, Ostrobothnia is the core area of the *trulli* or witch tradition, and right up to the 1900s, stories survived of witches who visited cowhouses on Easter night, stealing the luck with cattle (maps 55-56).

Easter fires have also been burned on islands in the Gulf of Finland and some Ingrian villages, but they were communal spring bonfires of southern areas, although the timing is earlier than elsewhere in Finland. On the islands of Tytärsaari and Suursaari, the fires were made on Easter Sunday in established burning sites on the sea shore. The bonfire was built of branches, twigs and old boats, and games, dancing, music-playing and all kinds of merry-making took place around the fire, sometimes even including a communal meal. Children and young people often had their own fires.

**May Day fires.** The map shows the May Day bonfires (*majelder*) of the Swedish-speaking area separately from the spring holiday bonfires of southwestern Finland. In Sweden, May Day has been the most common date for burning festive bonfires, and May Day fires have become a national tradition like the Midsummer bonfire in Finland.<sup>(1)</sup> Among the core areas of May Day bonfires in Sweden are Svealand and Uppland, on the Finnish side of the gulf Swedish-speaking Uusimaa and Varsinais-Suomi, while in Åland the custom of bonfire-burning began around the mid-1800s. May Day fires have also been burned in Estonia and Ingria, and they may well be rooted in the prehistoric layers of the Baltic Sea and Gulf of Finland culture circle.

**Hela-fires – Spring holiday fires.** In the village culture area of southwestern Finland and in Ingria, festival bonfires have been burned on spring holy days, May Day, Ascension Day or Whitsuntide; the common name for the tradition has been *hela-fires* (<*helluntai* Whitsuntide). Within the reconstruction area, the burning dates do not form clear-cut distribution areas, but the timings have varied from parish to parish, even village to village, and apparently also year to year, depending on how early the spring arrived. The diagram on the map shows the distribution of hela-burning dates across the responses (total 350 descriptions). May Day has been a rare bonfire day (5%), while Ascension Day and Whitsun have been equally common (45 and 50%). Bonfires were burned on Ascension Day or over the Whitsun holiday, often on both festive dates; in some parishes young people have gathered at bonfires on several successive holy days in April and May.

Hela-fires (Whitsuntide fires) were part of village youth culture in the 1800s. At an established bonfire site, a high hill or playing field, the youngsters teamed up to collect wood, branches, old boats, farming implements and tar barrels placed high up on the end of a pole. Villages competed over which had the biggest bonfire. The fire was lit in the evening, and the young danced round games and sang around it, played tag or other catching and outdoor games popular in the villages. Village swings were also built on bonfire sites (map 38).

**Midsummer bonfires.** Bonfires have been burned on Midsummer Eve or the night before John the Baptist's day (24.6.), or less commonly on Midsummer Day. In Karelia and Ingria, the midsummer bonfire day may also have been St Peter's Day (29.6.). Midsummer bonfires have been preserved as festivals of the whole village community, attended by young and old alike. The bonfire sites have been high hills or rocks, but fires have also been lit on the shores of lakes and the sea. Midsummer bonfires were constructed of the same materials as hela-fires, such as farming implements and tar barrels, but

especially old boats. In some places, old tarred boats were always burned on the Midsummer bonfire, it was not permitted to dispose of them in any other way.

The entire village would gather at the Midsummer bonfire, particularly in the *säärikokko* [tall, narrow pyres built with stakes] area on the Isthmus, as well as in Ingria, South Savo and other southeastern regions. Like at western Whitsuntide fires, the young danced round games and sang around Midsummer fires and played chasing games. The bonfire sites were established and often included the village swing. When dancing became a popular form of entertainment, Midsummer bonfires were built near dancing places, such as bridges, piers and wooden outdoor dancing pavilions.

**Michaelmas fires (All Saints' Day fires).** In the Kymijoki river valley, bonfires have been burned in the autumn around All Saints' Day (*kekri*, dial. *köyri*), at Michaelmas or the oldest turn of the year known in Finland. The most common and the original bonfire day has been Michaelmas Monday, the first day after the end of the harvest season. The Kekri bonfire area reaches from the mouth of the Kymijoki river right up to Häme on the eastern shores of Lake Päijänne. The autumn fires were made of straw, sometimes potato haulms, and the village bonfires were built on rocky outcrops or other high places, or on the harvested fields. In addition to communal bonfires, farmhouses (farm children) have burned straw in their own fields (potato fields), roads or other open places. Then Kekri fires burned all around the village. Beer was drunk and turnips or potatoes roasted in the ashes of Michaelmas bonfires, but there is scant knowledge of the customary entertainments of the young.

The customs and beliefs associated with Kekri fires are dominated by coming last. The person who was last in anything on the bonfire day was called *kekri* (*köyri*), *kekriavaari* [*kekri-grandad*] or *köntys* [*oaf*], and he was ridiculed for being useless and lazy; there are chants and proverbs on *kekriköntys*. On the day after Kekri, it was essential to avoid coming last in anything, being the last to wake up, to arrive at the bonfire and to leave. Coming last was particularly to be avoided by cowherds, who would compete in bringing the cattle home from pasture as early as possible on bonfire day. The tardiest cowherd or arrival to the fire was walked through the smoke. And finally all would race home from the fires, not to be the last.

**Wolf-banishing fires.** Around the Lake Saimaa region in South Savo, it was customary in springtime on the night before St George's Day (23.4.) or May Day (1.5.) to burn bonfires on islands where sheep and other small domestic animals were brought for the summer to pasture (map 25). While the bonfires were burning, shots were fired and general noise created, horns blown, pan lids beaten etc. People would walk the pasture island end to end while making as much noise as possible.

The purpose of the custom was to drive the wolves away from the islands, and one of the bonfire chants was "*Pois sudet Pohjanmaalle!*" [Away with wolves to Ostrobothnia!]. In some parishes, the banishing of wolves took place on so-called *huutoyöt* [yelling nights] between St George's Day and May Day, sometimes on several consecutive nights, or on all the Sundays in May right up to Midsummer.

The wolf-banishing fires may be linked to the St Peregrin's Day (16.5.) bonfires of Vermland and northern West Götaland in Sweden. Village folk would walk around the forests at night, making a lot of noise and burning fires on high rocky outcrops, in order to drive the wolves away from the area before releasing the cattle to pasture. St Peregrin was told to tie up his dogs, or the wolves. The custom may have been brought along with Savonian swidden farmers who moved to Vermland. On the island of Lake Saimaa, the driving away of the wolves has originally been for a practical purpose.(2)

## 25. Juhlatulien polttaminen Burning of Bonfires

### 1. Seremoniallisuus Ceremonials

Osallistumisnormeja, rakentamis- ja sytytysseremonioita (%)  
Participation norms, building and lighting ceremonies (%)  
Yht. 140 tietoa, 930 kuvausta  
Total 140 cases, 930 descriptions



### 2. Agraariritit Agrarian rites

Hedelmällisyys- ja avioitumisriittejä (%)  
Fertility and marriage rites (%)  
Yht. 80 tietoa, 930 kuvausta  
Total 80 cases, 930 descriptions



### 3. Yhteisöllisyys Communality

Polttajina  
Burners

- 1. kylän nuoriso  
village youth
- 2. koko kylä  
whole village

Yht. 355 tietoa  
Total 355 cases



- 1. tuli kylän yhteinen  
communal village bonfire
- 2. tulot yksityisten talojen  
individual farm bonfires

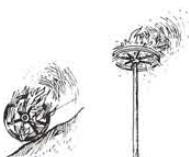
Yht. 290 tietoa  
Total 290 cases



### 4. Erityispiirteitä Special features



säärikokot  
high pyres with stakes



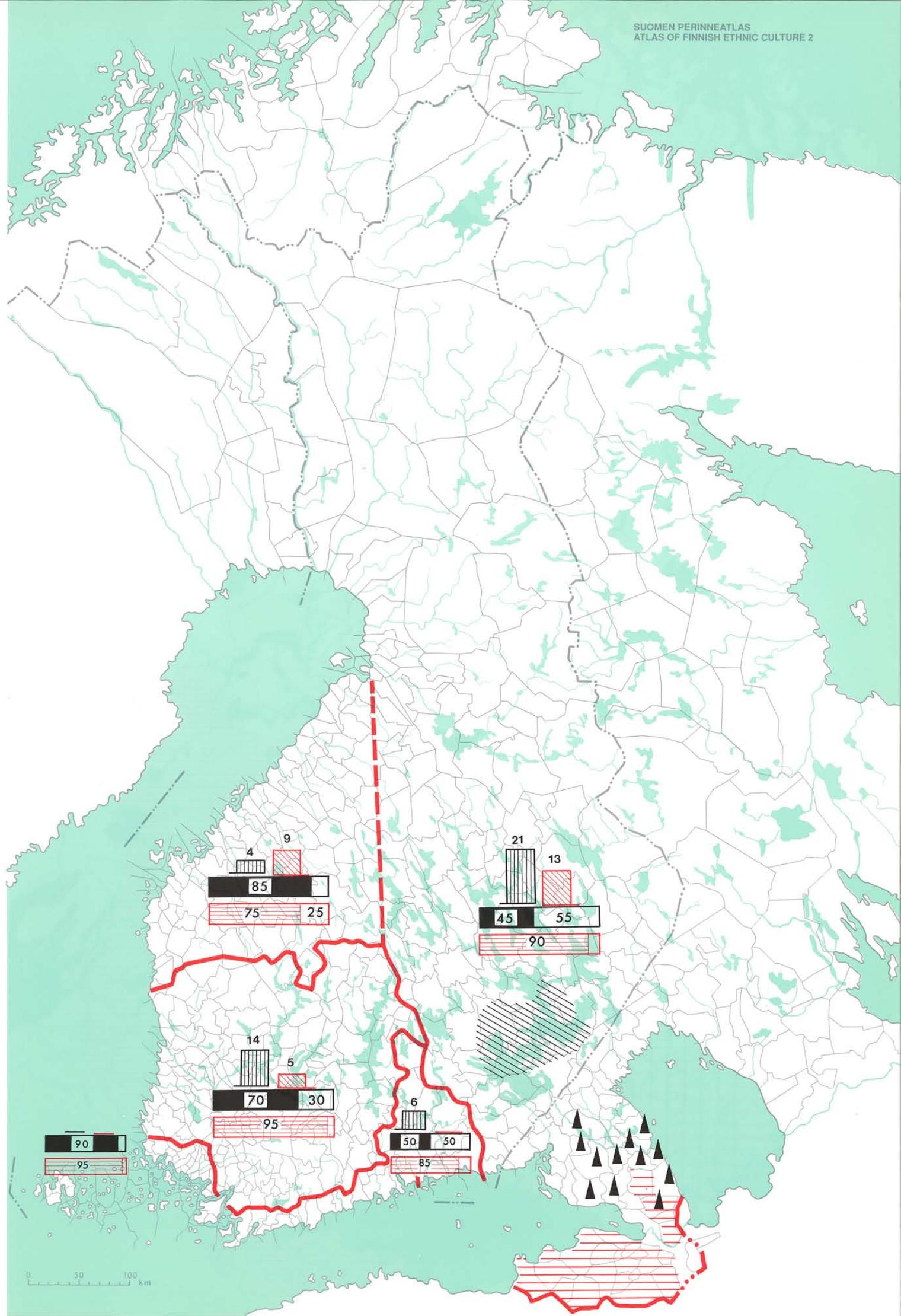
tulipyörät  
fire wheels



huutokokot petojen karkottamiseksi laidunsaarilta  
bonfires for driving off wolves from (island) pastures in spring



Tilasto- ja levinnäisyyskartta  
Statistical and distribution map



## 25. Burning of bonfires

**Säärikokko – a pyre with stakes.** In a limited area on the Karelian Isthmus and in northern Ingria, the Midsummer bonfire was built in the shape of a tall tower (map 25). The frame of the säärikokko [lit. 'bonfire with legs'] was four poles or 'legs' sunk into the ground, tied together at the top, with the tops of the trees left intact or with a decorative 'crown' made from birch bark fixed to the top. The framework of the pyre was reinforced with crossbars, and the space between the legs was stacked with logs chopped to size. Säärikokkos may have been over ten meters high and they were lit from the top, so the bonfire would burn like a torch.

The villages of the Isthmus competed over which bonfire was visible the farthest. An ordinary tree branch bonfire, or several, were often built alongside the säärikokko. They were called women's or children's bonfires, or starting, waiting and calling bonfires, because they were burned before lighting the säärikokko around midnight. The crossbars of the säärikokko had torches made from birch bark, *pirukkis*, hung from them, and the bonfire area was surrounded by a fence.(3)

**Fire wheels.** The custom of burning old, tarred cart wheels spread from the Baltic countries to Ingria and the Isthmus. The wheels were placed horizontally at the top of a pole, and often a tar barrel was added on top of the cart wheel. Village boys have also rolled burning tarred cart wheels down hills.

**Village community bonfire rites.** The burning of festival fires has been linked to (1) cyclic or calendric rites concerning the means of livelihood of agrarian and cattle-farming communities and to fertility symbolism. Old farming implements, such as harrows made of branched tree trunks and handles from ploughs and mattocks have been burned in the fires. Burning old boats has been very common, and according to one old source, hunting weapons, such as the wooden parts of a leg bow and arrows, have been thrown on the fire to ensure good hunting fortunes.(4) In the ancient agricultural areas of southwestern and southern Finland, grain was thrown into the hela- or Whitsuntide and Midsummer bonfire; for instance, a bag woven from multi-colored yarns was filled with grain of all the cereals sown that year.

The fire in itself was thought to fend off night frosts, especially spring frosts. The burning of tools, straw and corn has symbolized transferring of growing strength or the force of the soil to the fields in spring, at the start of the new growing season, or at Kekri. Along with the smoke and sparks, their strength was spread to the village fields. From the bonfire site, particularly from Midsummer fires, ashes and charcoal have been taken to turnip, cabbage and onion fields or scattered into cornfields, for example on sprouting rye. According to some sources, Whitsuntide and Midsummer bonfires have been lighted ritually using friction or rubbing two twigs together until they caught fire, or later, after the arrival of matches, by striking fire in the old-fashioned way using a tinderbox. Producing fire by friction has been a similar rite to the one for lighting swidden. In southern Finland, the fire was lighted by the village elder or sorcerer, according to some sources.

Rites in agrarian communities have been (2) divining happiness in marriage and the future spouse; by the 1800s, young people's rites were already taking precedence both at Whitsuntide and Midsummer bonfires. Marriage fortunes have been divined from the burning of the support struts of the bonfire. Girls would designate one of the supports for themselves and watch its burning to see if they would be married that year. If the strut burned poorly, they would have poor luck in courting. The direction into which the

strut fell would determine the direction of the home of the future spouse, or the direction confirmed the girl's own plans, i.e. whether the prospective groom living in a certain direction was Mr Right, the best potential husband, or whether a planned marriage would have to be cancelled. The girls have usually studied the omens secretly among themselves, but on the Isthmus, for example, the support struts of the leg bonfire were publicly allocated to certain girls among the young; the girl whose strut burned up the fastest would be the first to wed. Alternatively, the way the bonfire burned has indicated the number of girls and boys left unwed in the village. Bonfire-burning has been a reproduction rite which has also been believed to promote the growth of new generations.

Finnish folklore contains rites or symbolic customs founded on universal ideas about the force of fire. Annual fires have been burned (3) to ward off witches, evil spirits or forces. Warding off evil has been the purpose of Easter bonfires in Ostrobothnia, but also during the burning of hela-fires, Midsummer fires and other bonfires, people have shouted in concert, shot guns or cracked charcoals on rocks and blown horns. Spring fires have been believed not only to keep off spring frosts but also predators that threatened the village cattle, or other misfortune during the new cropping season.

The burning rites have also contained (4) cleansing rituals. People have commonly leapt or run through the fire or smoke; among the young it became a competition, a show of bravery. All over the world, fire has been thought to be a cleansing and tempering force, but in the agrarian community the leaping has been reinterpreted. It promoted the growth of crops, especially of flax; it would grow as high as the leapers could leap.

**Participation norms.** Descriptions of bonfire-burning mention that all the villagers had to turn up at the bonfire site and bring something to burn in the communal bonfire. Evidently, every house contributed something for the fire, old implements, boats or other objects used in the household. They symbolized the collective strength of the village and people's interdependence. Burning bonfires symbolically created new common vitality which could be taken home in concrete form as ashes and spread in the vegetable plots, on the homestead. Some norms dictated that all the women of the village were obliged to come to the bonfire, or they would not give birth to healthy children.

Records on Midsummer bonfires mention cowherds as a group with a special status as rite performers; the cowherd system was preserved in eastern regions and Ingria. The village cowherds are said to have built the 'leg' bonfires of the Isthmus, and later, too, it was specifically they who burned objects woven from birch bark on the cross-struts of the säärikokko, or fenced off the bonfire site with a ribbon of bark, which was finally set on fire. The cowherds have set light to Kekri fires and been particularly careful of tardiness, of being the last to bring the cattle back from the forest, on bonfire day.

While the festival fires burned, there were games, singing and dancing, even communal meals in the area of Whitsuntide and Midsummer bonfires. Togetherness and celebration brought good fortune for the coming season; the fun and games kind of stored happiness for the future. The divining of omens has been a part of all turning points of the year, being another facet of mentally preparing for what might happen in the future. The questions of agrarian communities have focused on future crops and cattle fortunes, those among the young on the new courting season, or the most important events of their own lives.

**Map diagram.** In the southern agricultural areas, bonfire-burning is probably part of pre-Christian heritage, while the Midsummer bonfire only spread to inland Finland and Karelia north of the Ladoga towards the end of the 1800s, and to northern Finland only in the 1900s. The map excludes customs that were confined to individual parishes or houses; for example, in some Orthodox Karelian villages bonfires

were burned on Prasnika days. In the southeastern tradition area in Ingria, South Karelia and South Savo, fires or torches (fir shingles, grease lamps) also burned in some houses on All Saints' Day and over the Christmas and New Year period.

The frequency figures of map 25 are based on material comprising of 930 descriptions. Communality (diagram 1) refers to participation and building norms which obliged the villagers to bring to the bonfire something to burn, or food, communal meals, and the ceremonialization of lighting the bonfire; making fire by friction and the custom of the village elder or sorcerer lighting the fire. Agrarian rites (diagram 2) include fertility symbolism, such as burning farming tools, scattering the ash in the fields, leaping over the fire, and the marriage rites of the young, divining omens of marriage, and other symbolism related to the future. Conversely, actual rites have no longer been deemed to include e.g. the burning of straw, since straw is a common fuel especially in winter bonfires, or shooting or noise-making, which were evidently originally means of warding off evil.

In Finland, Whitsuntide and Midsummer fires are the principal communal bonfire traditions. They have been communal village events (diagram 4) and both the young and old gathered at the burning site (diagram 3). Most of the records on fertility rites, but also on the ceremonial nature of the customs (diagrams 1-2) are from the Midsummer bonfire area of Savo-Karelia. Right up to the 1800s, Midsummer bonfires were in many places real community events attended by the whole population of the village, including old people. The descriptions received from the Whitsuntide bonfire area of southwestern Finland lists the largest number of bonfire sites by name, which indicates that the customs were established. Spring holiday bonfires have been occasions for eating and drinking together and performing farming rites in the same way as at Midsummer bonfires, but they have been overshadowed by the games and dances of the young. In western Finland, festive bonfires became increasingly clearly social events organized together by the young (maps 34-38).(5)

Kekri fires have marked the conclusion of the summer farming and pasturing season, but with the exception of straw-burning and the symbolism of coming last, no particular fertility rites were practised at them, and the fires were usually built by houses and not shared by the whole village. Shrovetide and Easter bonfires are different in nature from other festive bonfires and cannot be directly compared with Whitsuntide or Midsummer bonfires. The symbolism of Easter fires is Christian, dominated by warding off witches and protection from the devil. In addition to the repelling rituals, in Ostrobothnia signs of the cross were painted by the cowshed door. The bonfires were built on the village border to symbolically ward off threats coming from outside, in the same way as the young chased away strangers from other villages. Easter fires have had the function of reinforcing the social cohesion of the Christian village, the sense of security.

## ***Ritualization of bonfire-burning***

**History of Finnish burning rites.** In the Gulf of Finland coastal circle, including the Varsinais-Suomi archipelago, Midsummer bonfires evidently belong to the oldest layer, dating at least as far back as the Iron Age. The oldest record of Midsummer fires is from Turku in the year 1645. It records that the young gathered on Midsummer night to burn bonfires and play games at the spring of Kupittaa or St John. Other historical records also confirm the result shown on the reconstruction map. On the Gulf of Finland

coast, Midsummer fires are a part of the original layer and have not spread with the expansion of the 1800s.

Fire has held a special status in the Iron Age swidden-farming cultures, and it is possible that Midsummer has been the most fitting point in time in the subsistence year of the early cultivating people. Before or around Midsummer, swidden was burned and crops such as turnip, flax and hemp were sown; the origin myth of these crops is associated with the incantation on the Origin of Fire (maps 41-42). Spring fishing ended at Midsummer, and the season of collecting cattle fodder began. In the early cultivation economy of the Gulf of Finland coasts, Midsummer up to St Peter's day has been a critical transition period, when Vakkove feasts have also been held. Midsummer bonfires may have a symbolic link to fishing boats, swidden-burning and cattle pastures, even driving away of predators from pasture islands, which have belonged to old-style cattle husbandry especially in the Gulf of Finland archipelagoes. Cremation also became common in the Iron Age (map 7).

In the period depicted on the maps, the old boundary between Whitsuntide and Midsummer bonfires ran between the areas of cleared fields and swidden cultivation in Finland. Spring holiday fires are a tradition of agrarian villages in southwestern Finland and belong in the peasant ecosystem in the same way as the spring bonfires of Swedish village areas. In the 1700s, when the clergy tried to put an end to bonfire-burning in many parishes in Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta and Häme, the old bonfire meadows were described as sites of pagan worship.<sup>(6)</sup> The boundary between Whitsuntide and Midsummer bonfires appears to be ancient. In field cultivation areas, the summer growing season has begun in May and ended in mid-October.<sup>(7)</sup> In agrarian communities, spring festivals have become more important than Midsummer; spring fires marked the new working season, but also the period for young people's outdoor gatherings and village swings (map 38).

**European connections.** Annual burning of festival bonfires is known all over Europe, with the exception of some small areas. There are two main layers of the customs: fires associated with cultivation and with warding off threats. The timings of farming rites have varied in accordance with local conditions, but have gradually become concentrated on the great Christian church holy days.

Shrovetide bonfires are unknown in Sweden, but known in Denmark, where they have been a children's custom like in Finland. Shrovetide bonfires may have spread to the coast of western Finland in the heyday of peasant sailing in the 1800s. Bonfires to ward off witches corresponding to the Easter bonfires of Ostrobothnia have been burned in the southern provinces of Sweden as well as in Germany; they have been particularly common in the Catholic countries of southern Europe. Witch trials, and along with them witch folklore, spread to Finland mostly from the 1600s onwards (maps 55-61) and the burning of Easter bonfires is likely to have become established in Ostrobothnia during the following century.

In agrarian communities, the day for burning spring bonfires in large swathes of southern Europe has been Shrovetide, while further north, for example in northwestern Germany and parts of southern Sweden it has been Easter. The May Day bonfire area starts from Jutland and reaches up to Sweden. In Finland, even May Day has been too early in areas other than the Gulf of Finland coast, and the position of the spring festival have been taken by the Whitsun holidays.

The burning of Midsummer bonfires has been the most widespread tradition in Europe, forming the base layer everywhere, from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia. In the west, the unbroken Midsummer area reaches from Portugal to the British Isles. In Germany and other areas of central Europe, many associations and political parties made Midsummer their own summer festival in the 1800s, and this has perhaps contributed to the new expansion of Midsummer bonfires as far as in Finland. Bonfires to mark the end of the farming season appear in many places to have moved to the Christmas period (*calendae*

festivals) as the official or Roman calendar became established, but Kekri fires are found e.g. among the Celts of England and Ireland (Halloween fires) and in Germany: for example, in provinces along the Rhine, straw has been burned on St Martin's day (11.11.) which in continental Europe corresponds to the old Kekri (Michaelmas). It is possible that Finnish Kekri fires are a remnant of the old European tradition to mark the end of the farming season. The customs may have been passed on through German trade settlements known to have formed at the mouth of the Kymijoki river at least from the 1200s.

**Agrarian symbolism.** Within the circle of European agrarian culture, festival bonfire-burning acquired many uniform customs and rites. For instance, in Germany and France groups of young people have done the rounds of village houses collecting old tools and farming implements for the communal bonfire. Special collecting and threatening songs are also known from these same areas. Typical of agrarian communities have been sanctions that those who failed to attend the bonfire would grow a poor crop of corn or flax, or the family relations would meet with hard times. In various areas, bonfire-burning has involved features of a sacrificial festival. A shared meal has been taken at the bonfire site, and the leftovers, such as bones, thrown into the fire. The central themes in annual bonfire-burning have been the means of livelihood and the living environment of the agrarian community, the growth of crops, especially of flax, thriving of cattle, or successful marriage and producing children.

In central Europe, particularly in the German language area, tar barrels and wagon wheels were burned and in mountainous regions sent rolling down hills; torches made of bark, straw or shingles have been burned at the fires. This would correspond to the burning of e.g. old bark knapsacks on the ends of poles or the Isthmus pirukkis which were also catapulted into the air. The burning of an effigy made from straw may have originally been part of warding off witches; the custom has been known in many European countries, but never spread as far as Finland. Structures similar to the säärikokko of the Isthmus have been constructed e.g. in Croatia, Austria, and parts of Alsace. Customs in continental Europe have also included singing, dancing and other merry-making, as well as shooting, rockets and leaping over fire.

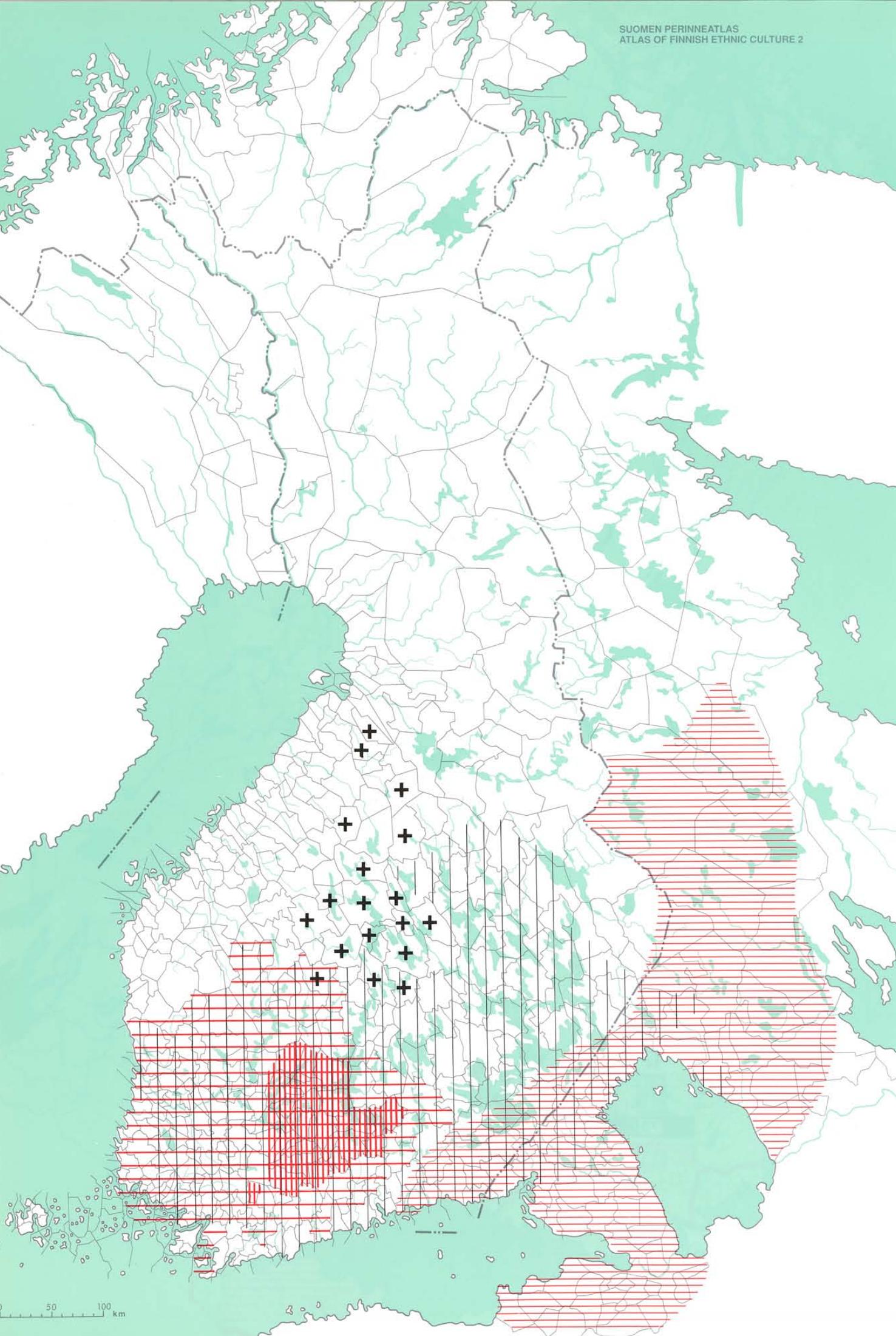
European spring and summer bonfires have been thought to be pre-Christian, although models have also been sought in the Judeo-Christian tradition, Jewish communion offerings and the symbolism of warding off evil and the burning of witches. In Scandinavia, in common with all of Europe, Midsummer bonfires are thought to have formed the oldest layer of all, although e.g. in Sweden they have been displaced by spring bonfires. According to some theories, bonfire-burning during Midsummer rites would have been part of ancient sun worship, traces of which would be seen in e.g. the Balder cult.

Communal burning customs must be seen as early farming rites, but hardly as sun worship. In many European countries, cowherds have played a special role in bonfire-burning, which is likely to be a remnant of the early swidden- and cattle-farming cultures. Bonfires have fallen at the start and end of the subsistence year, at the turning points of the natural calendar, one of which in northern regions has been the time of the summer solstice or Midsummer. Festival bonfires have perhaps been the earliest farming rites in the whole of Europe, descended from the era of slash-and-burn cultivation, when fire was a tool employed to occupy the environment and the future.

*Die Termine der Jahresfeuer in Europa 1980. Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde I:24-27. Atlas von Oberösterreich: 53. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 186-189. Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:22. Banks 1937-1946. Ejdestam 1944; 1976. Etnografický-atlas slovenska: XIII 21-22. Etnološki Atlas*

Jugoslavije: 6-7. Freudenthal 1931. Konkka A. 1980; 1992. Leskov 1894. Loginov 1986. McNeill 1959. Propp 1963. Sokolova 1979. Wright 1936-1940. Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas: 52, 68-69.

**1.** Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:22. **2.** Vilkuna K. 1973b. **3.** Talve 1964. **4.** Lönnrot 1902 (1828-1844) I, 75-. Mansikka 1940. **5.** Sarmela 1969, 131-. **6.** Lizelius 1930 (1780). **7.** Vilkuna K. 1961.

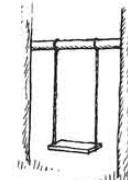


## 26. Juhlakeinut Festival Swinging

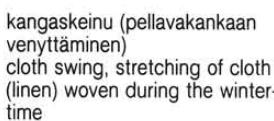
1. Pääsiäinen  
Easter



hypinlauta hakotarhassa  
jump board in the cow-shed  
yard



nuorten nuora- tai lautakeinu  
rope swing for young people



kangaskeinu (pellavakankaan  
venytäminen)  
cloth swing, stretching of cloth  
(linen) woven during the winter-  
time

2. Helluntai  
Whitsun
- helluntai keinukauden alkamis-  
päivä (kartta 38)  
Whitsun, the start of swinging season (map 38)

3. Kekri (1.11.)  
All Saints' Day
- lasten nuorakeinu  
rope swing for children

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 26. FESTIVAL SWINGING

### ***Time for swinging***

**Board-jumping at Easter.** In villages of southwestern Finland, the young gathered at Easter in the fir-chopping yards of their homesteads to jump board. The jumping board was a long board, on the ends of which stood the players, sending each other up in the air in turns. Jumping in the fir-chopping yard began on Easter morning and went on through the holidays. The see-saws were games for the young of the houses, but also for older folk, and large numbers of young people gathered in the fir yards of some houses.

The young would compete over who jumped the highest or stayed on the board longest without falling off. The object of the falling-off contest was to win many kinds of prizes, such as boys competing for girls or for 'houses'; each was given a number of toy houses, and each time one fell off the board he would lose one of his houses. The competitive games became fashionable at the end of the 1800s.

Board-jumping is known as a fertility rite in European village cultures. While see-sawing, the jumps had to be as high as possible, for the corn or particularly flax to grow tall. In Finland, too, board-jumping has originally had a symbolic meaning and the custom has spread to southwestern Finland, where flax-growing was important; Häme in particular has been Finland's prime flax country. In southwestern Finland, the fir yard was an integral part of the homestead, and spruce fronds have been chopped for cattle bedding at least from the 1700s. As jumping places, fir or dung yards may be associated with the growth of fields, but they have also often been the only level and snow-free places on the homestead, where board-jumping was possible at Easter.

**Rope swing at Easter.** In the southeastern area from Ingria right up to North Karelia, a rope swing was made at houses on Easter Sunday, for boys to swing girls. In Karelia, rope swings were also made for children. In Finnish climatic conditions, village swings were not yet erected at Easter, and the Easter swing was a rope swing only used over the holidays. It was suspended in a suitable place between out-buildings or under cover, perhaps in a drying barn or hay store. Boys swung girls on the Easter swing, everyone in turns, and the girls sang swinging songs.

In Ingria and on the Isthmus, swinging has marked the start of the spring outdoor games and courting season of the young, as was the case in villages of northern Russia or among the Setu-Estonians and elsewhere in the Baltic countries. In the eastern area, too, swinging has been thought to promote the

growth of flax or corn, in the same way as sledging down hills at Shrovetide. In the Votian villages of Ingria, the young were allowed to swing from Easter to sowing time, after which it was no longer permitted. Among the young, swinging was deemed to bring good luck for the summer courting season.

**Cloth-swinging at Easter.** In the Häme flax-growing area, home-woven linen cloth was stretched at Easter by hanging it from bread poles or the ridge beam in the farmhouse kitchen, so that it supported swingers. This was a method of stretching the linen cloth woven during the winter.

**Whitsuntide as starting date of swinging season.** Both in southwestern Finland and Savo, the young have gathered at village swings for the first time at Whitsun, as was the case with e.g. northern Estonia. Whitsuntide, including Ascension Day, has been more suitable as the start of the summer season than Easter in the Finnish climatic conditions. In southwestern Finland, Whitsun was also established as a date for bonfires (map 24), and around Whitsuntide, in April or May, possibly even the people of Iron Age cultivation communities have gathered outdoors on a meadow to welcome the summer season. When the young started to build village swings at their meeting places, the launch of the swinging season became integrated in the existing spring festival calendar. The distribution of records on Whitsuntide simultaneously defines the area where the building of village swings, and gathering of the young at the swing, had become established as part of the village culture by the beginning of the 1900s (map 38).

**Kekri swings for children.** Kekri swings were mostly hung for children indoors in the *tupa* [greatroom, main kitchen hall], and the custom may originally have been some kind of an initiation ceremony of the indoor season. In Karelia, children's Easter swings have also been installed in the *tupa* or other indoor areas. In eastern Finland, Christmas was replaced by All Saints' Day in the 1800s (map 27).

**Custom of calendar festivals.** In village culture areas, swinging has been an annual festival custom akin to bonfire-burning (maps 24-25). In southern village areas, the first swinging in spring at Easter or Whitsun has marked the start of young people's courting season. Easter and Kekri swings as children's customs have spread to the edges of the village swings distribution area (cf. map 38). In Europe, swinging on holy days has been interpreted as a fertility rite, but in Finland only board-jumping at Easter has included farming symbolism. Swinging has rather had a social message: the winter's grip has been broken and a new season is beginning in the life of the village.

Talve 1961. Sarmela 1969, 128-. Mansikka 1932. Bernštam 1988. Konkka A. 1980. Propp 1963.

## 27. Juhlakiertueiden kalenteri Calendar of Ceremonial Tours and Visits

1. Syyskausi  
Autumn season  
pyhäinmiestenpäivä (uusi kekri  
1.11. tai 2.11.)  
All Saints' Day (the new kekri)



◊ Martin (10.11.) tai Katariinan  
(25.11.) päivä  
St. Martin's or St. Catherine's  
Day



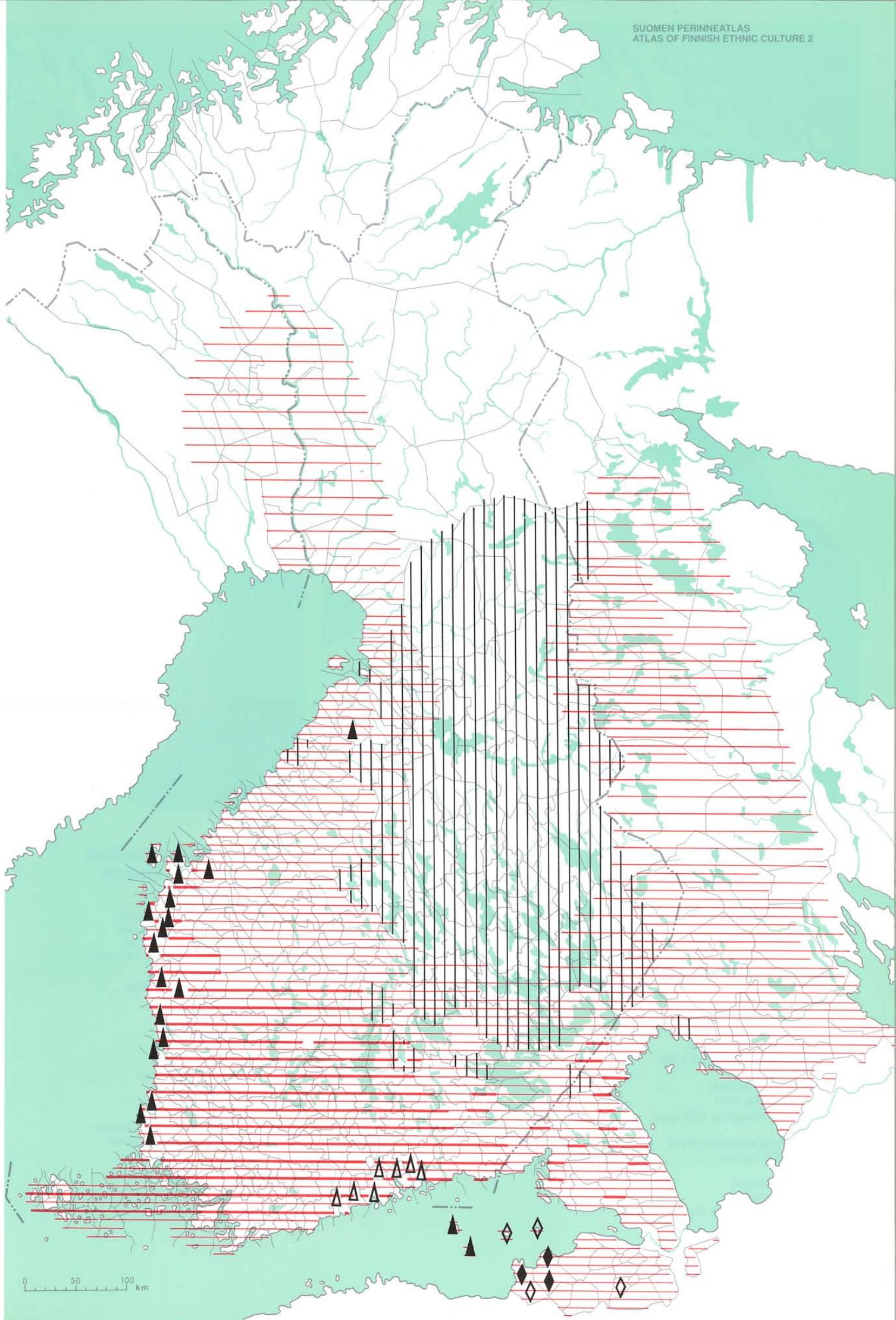
◆ miikkulanpäivä eli Nikolaos  
(6.12.)  
St. Nicholas' Day

2. Joulukausi  
Christmas season  
jouluksi Tuomaan päivästä  
Nuutin päivään (21.12.-13.1.)  
Christmas season, from St.  
Thomas' Day to St. Knut's Day



Nuutin päivä (7.1. tai 13.1.)  
St. Knut's Day (7.1. or 13.1.)

3. Pääsiäiskausi  
Easter season  
laskiainen  
Shrovetide  
pääsiäinen  
Easter  
Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 27–31. CEREMONIAL TOURS

### ***Village community carnivals***

**Touring tradition.** Ceremonial tours refer to doing the rounds from house to house, practised mainly in rural village communities at calendar festival times. The touring tradition has been linked particularly to the old festivals of the turn of the year and midwinter, or the present Christmas season. At touring times, generally just once a year, the community celebrations culminated in carnivals, where the behavioral norms that usually regulated daily life did not apply. At those times, villagers were permitted to break out of the limits of their usual circles and visit all houses without invitation, to receive and demand hospitality. The tourers often left their everyday personalities behind by dressing unusually, wearing masks and costumes, by disguising themselves; identifying the visitors constituted a part of the communal game. Even those appearing in their own clothing behaved in an unusual manner and entertained the hosts with their repartee and songs. The game rules permitted all kinds of jesting at others' expense, and the beer and hard liquor served to adults occasionally resulted in overly reckless actions.

Based on the number of people involved, composition of the group, dress and behavior, the following tour types in Finnish tradition may be defined: The tour has (1) a single tourer in costume or (2) with an attendant or (3) a group of attendants accompanies the character. The touring troupe may have been (4) a group of actors in costume or (5) a group in disguise with no particular role division, or the tourers form (6) a ceremonially behaving group without masks or costumes. Apart from actual tours, people have been generally mobile on holy days: village boys have visited feasts (map 30), children have called to *virpoa*, or run around the village ringing bells (map 31). Demanding refreshments has also been customary on other occasions, such as weddings (map 18), name days (map 36), local holy days (map 22) and social occasions of the young (map 36).

The maps depict the forms and distribution of the touring tradition at the end of the 1800s and the early 1900s. In old village communities, tours were on the one hand men's, on the other young adults' annual rites, which at the same time served the relations between farmers and hired help and the socializing needs of young people of marriageable age. Once a year, it was also possible to defuse the pressures accumulated in the relations with neighbors. With the pretext of a joke, it was permissible to visit uninvited and to talk straight about issues that were avoided in everyday contacts. When the adults' reckless entertainments occasionally aroused moral disapproval, the clergy and authorities turned against the touring tradition; appearing in disguise in public was already prohibited in town regulations during Swed-

ish rule. In many places, adults gradually abandoned the game, but the custom may have remained as an imitation of the tradition practised by children. According to surveys conducted in the 1960s and field studies of the 1970s, the relaxation of behavioral norms and the activity of people on local community issues had revived ceremonial tours e.g. in Häme and Satakunta.(1)

## 27. Calendar of ceremonial tours and visits

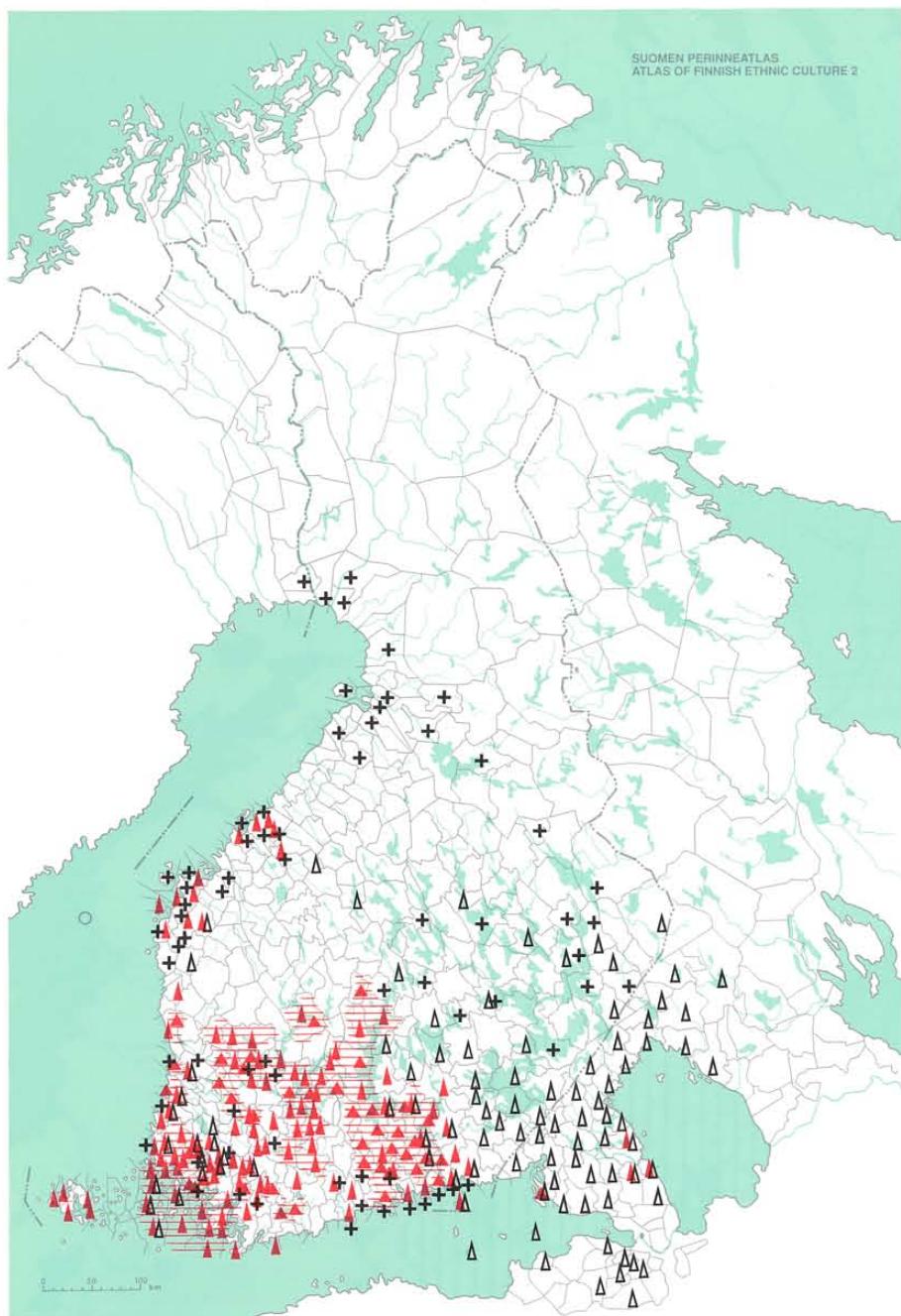
**Autumn season.** All Saints' Day (1.11.) and All Souls' Day (2.11.) represent the old turn of the year feast, *Kekri* (*Köyri*), which was determined by the ending of the cropping and pasturing season. *Kekri* was preserved for a long time as a touring holiday in Savo and Karelia, only losing its status as the greatest annual festival in this century (map 27). In southwestern Finland, too, voluntary straw-chopping parties to end the threshing work were organized, including a closing party (*raiskolliset*) with performances from similar role characters as in *Kekri* tours. All Saints' Day tours have been held in e.g. the British Isles and central Europe.(2)

At *Kekri* time, ghouls and various imaginary creatures (*köyriäiset*, *kekrittäret*, *köyrihönttänät*, *-möröt*, *-pukit*) have appeared at evening twilight in houses in eastern Finland and Karelia. A ghoul was created for example by a man dressed in a sheepskin supporting a head constructed from an axe and sheep shears or other such implements. There are records of such scarers from across the whole tradition area, including North Ostrobothnia, Kainuu, Ladoga and Tver Karelia. The pukkis and *köyriänens* were occasionally offered food and drink. At *Kekri*, men have also toured the villages without disguise from the morning, under the influence of drink, threatening to topple the house fireplace if no liquor was offered. Such demanding of hospitality has been the most wide-ranging custom (map 29).

The days of St Martin (10.11.) and St Catherine (25.11.) have corresponded to *Kekri* in Estonia, being the most important touring days of the year. The traditions attached to these days in western Ingria and Gulf of Finland islands are doubtless of Estonian influence. Behind St Martin's and St Catherine's Day tours are thought to lie pre-Christian turn-of-the-year rites with their animal figures, and on the other hand customs that have belonged to German celebrations of saints' dedicated days and have travelled to Estonia at the end of the Middle Ages. In Estonia, St Martin has been especially menfolk's and St Catherine women's and girls' ceremonial visiting day with singing and dressing in disguise (*martin-* and *katrinsantit*). The days also appear in German and British touring calendars.(3)

On St Nicholas's or Miikkula's Day (6.12.), a *Prasnika* was held in many villages in western Ingria, with girls touring in the evenings singing [*kiletoida*], dancing and demanding gifts. The songs were in the old meter and contained similar verses, requesting or giving thanks for fare and proffering good or ill wishes, as the touring songs of the Christmas season (SKVR III:2-3). In Europe, the memorial day of St Nicholas has been a general touring day, with Nicholas often also appearing as a character in the tours.(4)

**Christmas season.** In the Nordic countries, the Christmas season has included the period from St Thomas's Day (21.12.) to St Canute (7.1.); the latter has also been *tjugondedag jul* or the 20th day after Christmas (13.1.). In Finland, the festive period falling on either side of the turn of the year has accumulated almost every possible manifestation of the touring tradition. The tradition of the western



## 28. Juhlakiertueiden laulut Touring Songs and Plays

1. Lauluohjelmat  
Wassailing songs

▲ tapaninlaulut  
St. Stephen's Day songs

▲ nuutinlaulut  
St. Knut's Day songs

===== tapanin- ja nuutinlaulajat  
erityisissä asuissa  
Singing mummers on St.  
Stephen's and St. Knut's Day

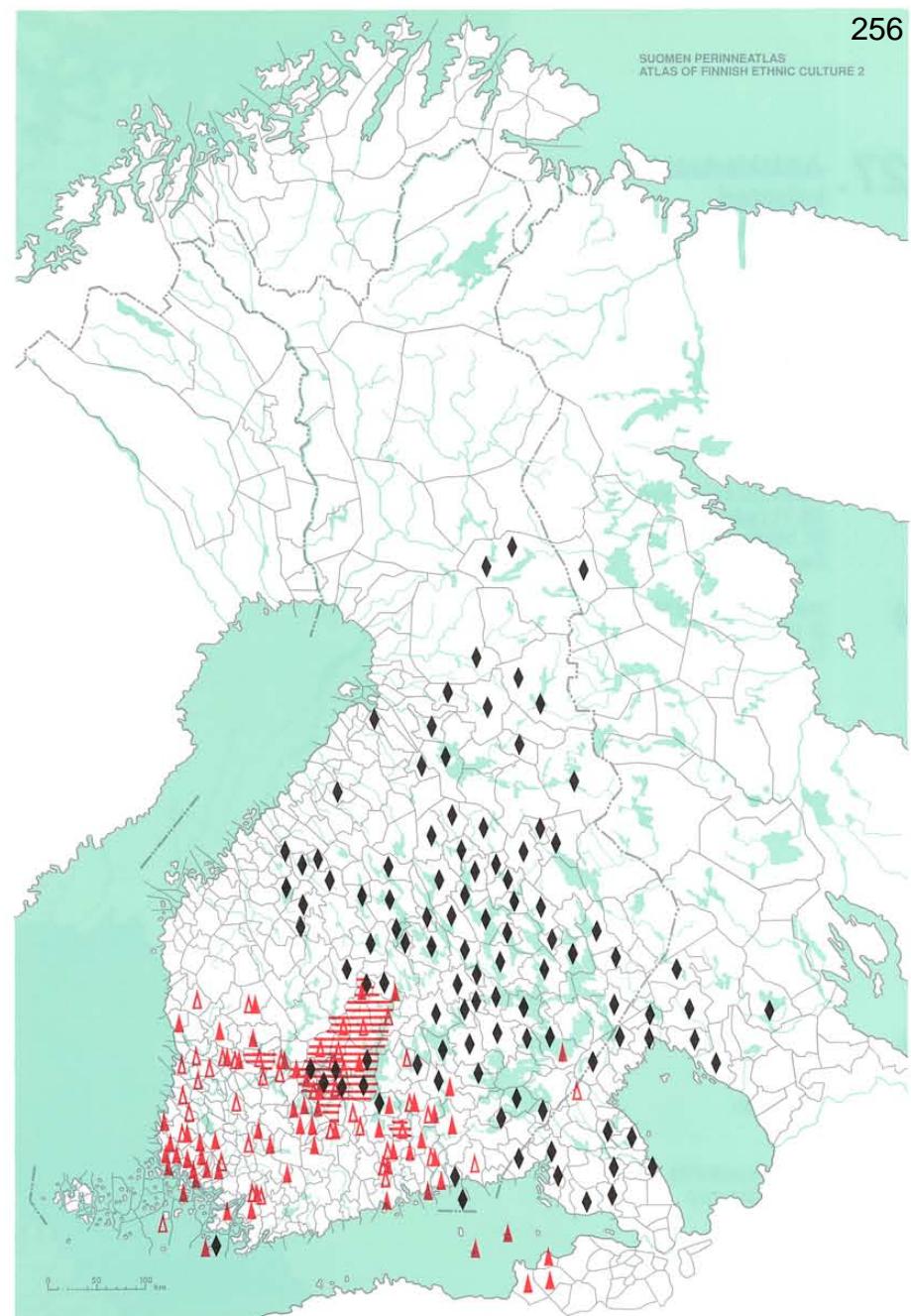
2. Kiertuenäytelmät  
Mumming plays

+ tähti- eli tiernapoja 1800-luvun  
lopulla  
Star Boys at the turn of the  
19th-20th century

3. Tapaninajelu  
Horse driving  
on St. Stephen's Day

- Δ tapanin kysyminen ("Onko  
tapani kotona?")  
stephening ("Is Stephen at  
home?")

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 29. Kiertäjien uhkaukset Threats of Visitors

1. Kestityksen vaatiminen  
uhkaamalla särkeä uuni  
Demanding a treat by  
threatening to break the oven

◆ uhkaus särkeä uuni  
threat to break the oven

===== riukukiertueet  
visiting with poles

2. Kiertäjien kosto  
Revenge of visitors

▲ pahantoivotosluku  
chant of ill intent

▲ talon merkitseminen ja ilkivalta  
marking the house, mischief

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

church has made the midwinter festive period the principal event of the year, and Christmas has attracted the majority of the customs from pre-Christian turn-of-the-year festivities or Kekri.

Local tours have been organized on certain days even before Christmas, for example in central Ostrobothnia on the days of St Ann (9/15.12.) or St Thomas (21.12.). Although visiting has been forbidden on Christmas Day, there are records from throughout the Christmas touring distribution area of tourers in character costume and disguise (*joulupukki*, *-putti*, *-muori*, *-äijä* or *-ropakko*) roaming around both on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day.

Generally, the jolly touring season has only begun of St Stephen's Day (26.12.), when in Satakunta and Häme, a human or animal figure (*tapani*, *tapanipukki*, *-putti*) dressed in straw, furs etc. has done the rounds alone or with attendants. In a small area in southern Häme a character dressed as a horse and rider (*valko*, *jouluheson*) has appeared, for which there are several western European models. In southwestern Finland it was typical for tourers to do the rounds of houses on foot, singing St Stephen's songs and demanding St Stephen's treats (*tapaninkousa*) (map 36). In contrast, in central and eastern Finland and Karelia, it was customary to go on St Stephen's rides, touring the houses by horse and sleigh and asking, hoping for treats: "Is Stephen at home?" As sleigh rides and visiting, St Stephen's rides became common throughout Finland in the 1920s and 30s.

Until 1776, Christmas in Sweden-Finland was celebrated as a four-day church festival. In places, tours were also customary on the weekday holidays after Christmas and St Stephen's Day, such as St John's Day (27.12.), Massacre of the Innocents (28.12), and the fifth and sixth Christmas Day. New Year's Eve or St Sylvester's Day (31.12.) and New Year's Day (1.1.) have not been particular touring days in Finland, but e.g. in Estonia they were days for much activity. In European touring calendars, Twelfth Night, Epiphany or Three Kings' Day (6.1.) has been the termination and culmination of the season, but in Finland it has been overshadowed by the subsequent holiday, St Canute's Day. Most of the old Nuutti tradition fell on the so-called *Vanha Nuutti* or the memorial day of St Canute, 7.1., although the day was moved back by a week as early as the 1600s to its current position (13.1). The day after Epiphany is a well-known touring day also in Europe. In Hungary it was named *Regelö* Monday after the touring singers, in England it has been Plough Monday, and the following day Straw Bear Tuesday.(5)

Touring while dressed in disguise has also been frequently practised on undefined days between Christmas and Epiphany, both in southwestern Finland and in the east, in the area from the Isthmus to Ingria and Dvina. In Karelia, the names given to the tourers (for example, *kummat*, *ropakot*, *smuutat*, *huhlakat*, *kuhlakot*, *igrišsat*, *tšuudot*, *tšydelkot*) indicate an influence of Russian tradition.

**Easter season.** In Catholic central Europe, Shrovetide was carnival time, which is also in evidence in folklore south of the Baltic Sea and, to a lesser degree, also in the Nordic countries. On the west coast of Finland, mainly in Swedish-speaking parishes and on certain Gulf of Finland islands, children and young people have toured at Shrovetide dressed as brides (*lappbruden*, *fettisdags-*, *fastlagsbrudarna*), Shrove elves, or otherwise in disguise. In recent years, too, *storvarvet* has been organized in the Vaasa archipelago, when adults have joined in touring the villages in the twilight of the Shrove evening and visited houses in disguise.(6)

At Easter time, singers, role-playing characters and beggars of treats have toured various parts of Europe. In Finland, touring dressed as Easter witches has mainly been known in the Swedish-speaking areas of eastern Uusimaa and South Ostrobothnia; the nearest models of the customs are also found in Sweden. During recent decades, the tradition of *virpominen* of the Orthodox church, mutated into children's tours, has even spread to the urban centres of western Finland and merged with the Easter

customs of Swedish-speaking areas; children began to visit houses dressed as witches, bringing offerings of decorated twigs and expecting treats in return (cf. map 31).

## 28. Touring songs and plays

**St Stephen's songs.** Performing songs has been typical especially of men's and boys' tours in western Finland (map 28). The actual season for singing tours has been St Stephen's Day. On the Swedish-speaking coastal and island regions, a religious song about St Stefanus was sung in Swedish. There are two main versions of the song, the more extensive of which is known as *Staffan stalleträng* (map 97). It is thought to have acquired a Finnish language form and the old meter as early as the 1400s. The legend of St Stephen has been performed as a wassailing song in the ancient village districts of southwestern Finland and Häme, and it has also been known in Ingria. Elias Lönnrot published a verse on the stable-lad Tahvanus, based on Dvinian versions, in *Kanteletar* (1840-1841) as part of *Luojan virsi* (map 97), but it has never been sung on tours in Dvina.

In the tour repertoire, the legend of St Stephen has been a kind of framework song to which other elements were linked, such as requests for hospitality and thanks or threats, if their treatment did not measure up to expectations. The repertoire of songs for St Stephen's tours has been very heterogeneous; numerous excerpts have been recorded from the actual song of St Stephen from Varsinais-Suomi, Häme and Satakunta (SKVR VIII-X), where only a few of the original motifs of the legend song have been preserved.

**Local programme.** The following songs originate from a parish in southwestern Häme, where up to the early 1900s men would still do the rounds, sampling liquor and beer and carrying with them a *tapaninputti* with a bunch of twigs for a tail.

### Tapaninlaulu

*Tanssas toi taitava Tapani jouluyönä korkiana,  
joulujuhlana jalona ovensuussa ortten alla.*

*Isäntää mä ensin kiitän, kun on suojan suosta tuonut,  
auran arosta ottanut. Kyntänyt pellon pehmeäksi,  
tehnyt talon taitavasti, asettanut ankarasti.*

*Tuonut hirret hirmulta mäeltä, pannut penkit paikalle hyvälle,  
portin tolpat poukottanut, pihtipielet piukottanut.*

*Emäntää mä sitten kiitän, kun on ohrist oltta pannut,  
makuvettä maltahista. Lehmäs hyvin lysäkööt,  
lampaas kaksin kantakoot. Sikoja kun sivukkaita,  
piikoja kun peräkkäitä. Koiran häntä kimarassa,  
kissan häntä pipurassa, sian saparo solmussa.*

*Muori kulta mustapilli, punaposki, lehtisilmä.  
 Jos mun nälkäni näkisit, juosten aittaasi menisit,  
 kipakoiten kellariisi, myöten mustia ratoja.  
 Toisit oltta tuoppisella, kantaisit kakshaaraisella,  
 viisivanteisella kipolla, viinakupin kuljeskella.*

*Tapania veisaan toisen talon oven edessä,  
 Suomen maata reissaan, enkä ole mitään saanut.  
 Tapanii! Onkos sulla korvii, ei o meillä myötä torvii. Tapanii!*

### **St Stephen's song**

*Clever Tapani [Stephen] he danced on the high Christmas night  
 at glorious Christmastide, by the door under the beams.*

*Thanks first to the Master who made the farm from the mire,  
 took the plow to the barren land. Plowed the field nice and soft,  
 built the house with great skill, set it good and square.  
 Brought the logs from high hill yonder, placed the benches well and good,  
 pounded in the sturdy gateposts, stretched the doorjambs tight and truly.*

*Then I thank the mistress here, who has brewed the beer from barley,  
 tasty water from mellow malts. May your cows milk in plenty,  
 your sheep bear twins in lambing. Your pigs grow fat and large,  
 your serving girls have plump behinds. Dog's tail curled over,  
 cat's tail tucked around her, pig's tail tied in a knot.*

*Mistress dear black-cunt, red-cheek, leaf-eye.  
 Should you see my hunger, you'd run to your store,  
 hurry to your cellar along black pathways.  
 You'd bring beer in a tankard, carry it in a two-handled pot,  
 in a vat with five hoops, to go with a cup of sturdy liquor.*

*I will sing St Stephen at another door,  
 I travel the land of Finland, and nothing I was offered.  
 Tapanii! Have you got ears, we didn't bring horns. Tapanii!*

### **Tapani, Ruotuksen tallirenki**

*Juotin mä Ruotuksen oritta, ei tuo ori vettä juonut.  
 Sivuin vettä sormellani, ei vedessä vikaa ollut.  
 Katsoin sitten taivaalle, näin tähdet taivaalla,  
 pilkun pilvien raossa. Menin mä Ruotuksen tupaan.  
 Ruotus vastas ruualtansa, tuima tuiski pöytänsä takaa:*

*"Sit mä sun sanas toteks uskon, jos toi sonni mylvänneeksi,  
jonk on liha syöty, luut kalvettu, kesi kenkinä pidetty."  
Sonni rupes mylvimään, tunkiota tuoksimaan.*

*"Sit mä sun sanas toteks uskon, jos toi kukko laulaneeksi,  
joka on paistina vadissa, höyhenet tulipadassa."  
Kukko lauloi kuudelta, kananpoika kahdeksalta.*

*"Sit mä sun sanas toteks uskon, jos toi veitsen pää vesoo."  
Veitsen pää vesoi viis kultasta vesaa, kunkin päässä kultalehti.*

### Stephen, Herod's groom (map 97)

*I watered Ruotus's [Herodes; Herod] stallion, but he would not drink.  
I felt the water with my finger, found no fault with the water.  
Looked up at the sky, saw the stars in the heavens,  
dots in between the clouds. I went into Ruotus's house.  
Ruotus replied from his meal, sternly behind his dishes:  
"Then will I believe your word, if that bull should up and bellow,  
that the meat is eaten, bones picked, hide worn as shoes."  
The bull he took a bellow, dug his hoof in the midden.*

*"Then will I believe your word, if that cock should up and crow,  
that lies on the dish roasted, his feathers in the fire-pot."  
The cock he crowed at six, hen's son he sang at eight.*

*"Then will I believe your word, if that knife-head should sprout afresh."  
The knife-head sprouted five golden shoots, golden leaf at every tip.*

The concluding yells are typical of many St Stephen singers from Varsinais-Suomi, where they would begin by asking "Is Stephen at home?" and demanded payment of *kousa* [tankard], or that drinks are served. The thanks extended to the hosts included in the men's songs are the best-preserved general elements of touring songs. However, they were usually only sung after other program items and the refreshments. If the singers were not allowed in or if they were unhappy with the victuals, ill-fortune was wished on the house with the traditional verse: "*Isäntä hirteen, emäntä orteen, poika korpeen, kontti selkään, piru konttiin, korvat pystyyn!*". [Master for hanging, mistress on rafters, son into deep forest, backpack on, devil in backpack, ears pricked up!] In Häme, the opening line of another popular version of the St Stephen song evidently referred to the appearance of the role character brought along: "*Tapani on takuista tehty, koiran karvoista koottu, sianvilloista sidottu, höyhenistä hörhötetty.*" [Stephen is tied from tangles, done out of dog's hairs, bound from pig's bristles, fluffed from feathers.]

In West Ingrian villages, girls did the rounds of houses on St Stephen's Day to sing, dance and ask for gifts, but these customs are not marked on the map. The girls' songs resemble Estonian performances of *martin-* and *katrinsanttis* (SKVR III:1-3).

**Broadside ballads.** Alongside songs imitating the old meter, St Stephen singers' repertoires in Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta and Häme were in the 1800s augmented by songs with numerous verses distributed as broadsheets and literary in style. For example in 1866, a 16-page pamphlet was printed in Pori town, entitled *Suloisia Nuorukaisten Lauluja niin myös Tapanipäivä-Lauluja, joita nuorukaiset ovat tavaksensa ottaneet käydä veisaamassa Tapanipäivä aamuna* [Sweet songs of youths as well as St Stephen's Day songs that youths have taken to touring and singing on Twelfth Night mornings]. The following is an example of the opening and closing lines of the first song:

*Voi tätä vaivaloista matkaa, kun olemm eteemm ottaneet!  
Ei suinkaan se vaivoij maksa, vaan kulkea tahdomm.  
Kun me oikein veisata aivomm,  
Tapanin muistoa julistaa tahdomm,  
jonka me, jonka me nyt alotamm tällä tavall.*

*Ette ole mahtaneet kielää, Tapaneita talosta estää?  
Ei ole meitä monta miestä, Italiasta lähteneitä.  
Ei ole meillä suurta hätää, emme tee näljän tähden tätä  
vaan julistamm, vaan julistamm, sen vanhan Tapanin muistoa.*

*Tapani vanhaan aikaan, tuoll valkia-valoll Joulun juhlall,  
ol sanken koviss paikoiss tuoll Juudalaisten keskell,  
kussa häntä kivistettiin, armottomast kuuletettiin.  
Kukaties, kukaties, ei hän maksanut koussaa.*

*Oh for this arduous journey that we have undertaken!  
It may not be worth while, but we want to make the tour.  
We really mean to sing,  
To proclaim St Stephen's memory,  
which we, which we now thus begin.*

*We hope you have not denied, barred Stephens from the house?  
There are not many men of us, come from Italy.  
We are not in great need, not doing this for hunger  
but we proclaim, we proclaim the memory of old Stephen.*

*Stephen in the olden days, at the firelit Yuletide,  
had a very hard time there among the Judeans,  
where he was stoned, mercilessly killed.  
Who knows, who knows, he wouldn't pay his kousa.*

The song has 15 verses in all, and the pamphlet also contains a couple of other songs suitable for the repertoire, including thanks and wishes of a merry Christmas. The same songs were published with slight modifications as several editions in the 1870s and 80s, spreading in southwestern Finland as hand-copied and orally transmitted versions.

**St Knut's Day songs.** St Knut's or Canute's Day tours with their role characters and songs have largely been identical with the St Stephen tradition. The songs requesting hospitality and giving thanks and incantations wishing good or ill are often the same verses in the old meter. Mainly in eastern and southeastern Häme, a special St Canute's song has been performed, with several versions in existence. This is a sample of the most common type:

### Nuutin laulu

*Nuutin syötin, Nuutin juotin, Nuutin nurkalle rakensin.  
 Nuutti nukkui nuttuihinsa, vaipui vaateräsyihinsä.  
 Tuoppa oltta tuoppisella, katajaisel kannusella  
 koivusen tapin takaa, jos siel viel jotakin makaa.  
 Joka ei Nuutille mitään anna, ei sen lehmät eikä lampaat kanna.*

### St Canute's song

*I gave Canute food, gave him drink, gave him shelter.  
 Canute fell asleep with his coat on, sank into his rags.  
 Bring us beer in a tankard, in a jug made of juniper  
 from behind a birch-wood stopper, if there should be any left.  
 Those that give Canute nothing shall have barren cows and sheep.*

**Asking for Stephen.** The question "Onko Tapani kotona?" (Sw. "Är Staffan hemma?"; "Is Stephen home?") may have been included in St Stephen singers' lines both in Finnish- and Swedish-speaking parishes. Asking for Stephen in conjunction with visiting called *Tapanin-, taffanin-, tahvananajo* has been a part of the Second Christmas Day (Boxing Day) celebrations particularly in Central Finland, South Savo and Karelia, but the custom is also known in Ostrobothnia, Kainuu and Ingria. The visitors were men, either alone or in groups and usually without costumes, who behaved in a ceremonial manner. According to Savo-Karelian tradition, Stephen had to be asked for in the early morning before the fires had been lit; the request for victuals may be reinforced with a joking threat to break the fireplace.

**Mumming plays.** Historically the oldest layer is represented by the medieval church plays performed on the Three Kings' Day or Twelfth Night and originating in Central Europe as far back as the 1200s. Religious singing plays spread with students and itinerant youths to Scandinavia in the course of the following centuries.(7 In Finland, the tradition was continued by star or *tierna* boys (Sw. *stjerngossar*, -*pojkar*).

Map 28 contains information on star boys' singing plays recorded before 1900. The map shows that the custom was known in Finland both in Finnish- and Swedish-speaking coastal areas and in the environs of old school towns inland; this background perhaps also explains the *tierna* boy tradition of the Oulu region, which has become a common item in school Christmas festivities, mainly through Samuli Paulaharju's publications. For example, according to a description from Kemi, a party of four 10-15-year-old boys included 'King Herod', 'King of the Blackamoors', 'Knihti, Herod's servant' and 'Mänkki, star bearer'. All wore white shirts; the cardboard hats, belts, epaulettes and braces were decorated with gold and silver paper. All except Mänkki carried wooden swords on their belts. The performance began with greeting verses and the introduction sung in chorus:

*Tähti se kulkeepi itäiseltä maalta,*

*josta sanomaton kirkkaus loisti.  
Ja se tähti oli Jumalalta uloslähetetty  
uhraamaan kultaa ja mirhamia.*

*The star it came from an eastern land,  
and shone with an incredible brightness.  
And that star was sent by God  
to bring offerings of gold and myrrh.*

Now follows a brief dialogue, during which Herod dispatches Knihti to Bethlehem to kill all male children under the age of two, and subjugates the King of the Blackamoors to kneel before him. Finally, the boys sing a song of thanks for the gifts they have received.

Thus, the performers of the song play were usually schoolboys, touring the area from the weeks before Christmas through to Twelfth Night in order to earn Christmas cash for themselves. The star tour was known specifically as a Twelfth Night tradition in the bilingual coastal parishes. During the 20th century, it has become a popular item on school Christmas shows via literary routes. In Finland, like elsewhere, the star play with its characters has merged with the more folk-based St Stephen's song and pukki tours.(8)

## 29. Threats of visitors

**Breaking the fireplace.** Breaking the fireplace has been a threat issued by men touring both on Twelfth Night and at Kekri time. In the core area of the custom depicted on map 29, the visiting ceremony was performed at Kekri time, in the outlying areas on St Stephen's Day or other post-Christmas holy days. 'Fireplace-breakers' were on the move either singly or as a group, armed with a pole, stick or hunting knife, which was shoved into a crack of the fireplace. On entering, Savonian Kekri tourers exchanged dialogue with the hosts:

### Demanding a treat by threatening to break the fireplace

*Annetaanko ryppy vai kaadetaanko uuni?*

*"Köyriä vai uunia?  
Minä sären uunin!"  
"Älä säre, tule ryppylle."*

*"Nyt säretään uuni!"  
"Älkää hiidessä, pannaan ryypyksi."*

*Will you give us a drink or will we topple the fireplace?*

*"Drink or fireplace?  
I will break the fireplace!"  
"Don't you break it, come and have a drink."*

*"Now we'll break the fireplace!"  
"The hell no, let's have a drink."*

Sometimes the visitors would, without uttering a word, shove their stick in the fireplace or grab the column of the fireplace and pretend to be pushing. Then the host would rush to intervene:

*Soh, soh, lähtekää kamariin!*

*Ei toki talvea vasten uunia anneta särkeä.*

*Älä tee, tule ryypylle!*

*Now, now, go into the parlour!*

*No good breaking the fireplace against the winter.*

*Don't do it, come and have a drink!*

On St Stephen's Day, the entry was performed in the same way:

*Onko tapania talossa, taikka kierrän muurit maahan? (Päijät-Häme)*

*Onko joulu kotona, tahvana talossa tahi mie uunin sären?*

*Onko tahvanaa takana vai murennanko pätsin? (Laatokan Karjala)*

*Tahvania eli tantari (takanotsan kannatinrauta) poikki! (Pohjanmaa)*

*Is Stephen at home, or shall I topple the fireplace? (Päijät-Häme)*

*Is Christmas at home, Stephen in the house, or shall I break the fireplace?*

*Is Stephen in the back or shall I smash the fire? (Ladoga Karelia)*

*Stephen or I'll break the tantari [supporting girder across fireplace] in half! (Ostrobothnia)]*

The fireplace-breaking scene may also have been a part of the pole festival in Häme, and Swedish-speaking Stephen singers have sometimes warned against ill-treatment by threatening to topple the fireplace or chimney. Scholars of the motif history of fireplace-breaking have suggested that it is grounded on both serious legal practices and sheer joking.(9)

**Touring with poles.** A couple of dozen parishes to the west of lake Päijänne in Häme celebrated a so-called pole festival after Christmas, either immediately on St Stephen's Day or the following days (mid holy days, 5th or 6th Christmas days), or usually not until after Twelfth Night on *hiiva-* or *sakkanuutti* [yeast or sediment Canute], which also marked the end of Christmas Peace. Usually in the early evening twilight, a group of village men would shoulder a long pole, perhaps hung with a wooden vat or other receptacles, sleigh bells, cow bells, brooms etc. The intention was to clear out the last of the beer from houses, either drinking it on the spot or collecting it in the vat, for drinking together after the tour. The party consisted of menfolk of all ages in a jolly mood, who joked, for example, by planing shavings from the pole as confirmation of good hospitality, or carving a notch in the pole as a sign of a wasted visit; the mark may have also been made in the door jamb or the table. The ceremony also included songs of thanks for the host and hostess; these were replaced by jeering songs, if the men left with dry throats. Occasionally the pole may have been used to threaten toppling the fireplace, more often the pole or beam was left in the house to annoy the inhabitants.

Pole tours have been thought to be remnants of former building feasts, where the voluntary working party would demand feasting by threatening to topple what they had built. However, European tradition has contained similar customs. A parallel custom is known in Estonia, where at the start of the Christmas season, on St Thomas's Day, men or 'thomases' did the rounds tasting their neighbors' beer, dressed in white and carrying cowlstaffs, as if wanting to help carry the water.(10)

**Visitors' revenge.** In western Finland, the village young (men), who were called *riu'unvetäjät*, *nuutinajat*, *tynnyrinpesijät* etc., toured on St Canute's Day to drink up any remaining Christmas season drink. The Canute drivers announced their business in a roundabout way, by demanding to see the barrel stopper of the house. The stoppers were confiscated, if no beer was forthcoming. Sometimes they carried brooms with which they feigned to sweep the straw off the cellar hatch or the floor. As revenge for poor treatment, the tourers would spread the floor with chopped straw or other litter they had brought. In Swedish-speaking parishes, the custom was known as '*sopa I. köra julen ut*' [sweeping or driving out Christmas]. In Uusimaa, young men would go around 'checking' or 'greasing' girls' spinning wheels, which were again taken out after the holidays. In Tytärsaari, men would ask for *rukkitölli* [spinning-tax] or shots of liquor after Twelfth Night, when the spinning season continued, and if they were refused, they might take a crucial part from the spinning wheel.

Dissatisfied tourers did various mischief in houses: slopped around with a wet *vihta* [bunch of leafy birch twigs used in the sauna], barricaded the door from the outside, covered door handles with soot, dropped a beam down the chimney, toppled the privy, hid the sled or sleigh from the yard. And instead of a song of thanks, they would chant ill-wishes and threats as they went:

### Chant of ill-intent

*Joka ei nuutille olutta anna, ei sen lehmät kunnialla kanna!*

*Perkele peltos kyntäköön!*

*Isäntä hirteen, emäntä orteen, verinen puukko pöytään.  
Lehmäs verta lysäköön, sudet varsas syököön!*

*Rapa on sun tynnyrissäks koko joulun ollut*

*enkä ole sun lihas murenaa ja voitas nähdä saanut.*

*Kaikki hyviä taloja ja yks on paska.*

*Kun et nyt tynnyrinpesijälle ryyppiä antaa jaksa,  
et sinä minua ensi kesänä elopellolla näe!*

*One who refuses Canute his ale, his cows shall not calve well!*

*May the devil plow your fields!*

*Master for hanging, mistress for stringing, bloody knife on the table.*

*May your cows give blood, may the wolves eat your foals!*

*You've had mash in your barrel all through Christmas  
and I've not seen a crumb of your meat or your butter.*

*All good houses and one is a shit.*

*Since you can't muster the barrel-washer a drink,  
you won't see me at your harvest come next summer!*

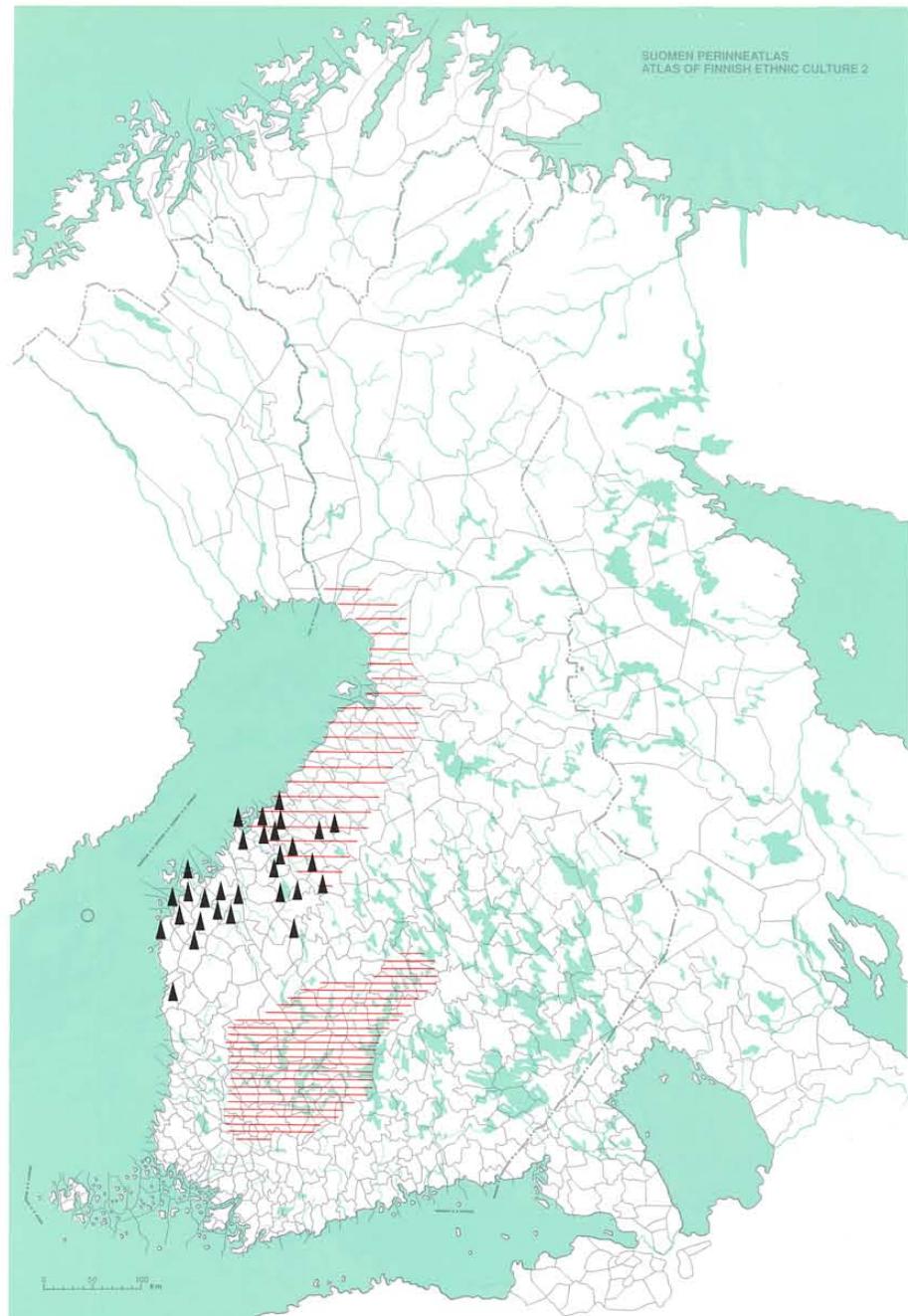
Similar insults and threats were also chanted in Swedish-speaking areas. Feasting neighbors was village community internal public relations, and it was reinforced through beliefs that good treatment of tourers brought the house fortune and a good reputation.

## 30. Treating visits of boys

**St Stephen's Day visits.** During annual holy days, village young men have taken up the habit of going round visiting girls, with the girls offering them ceremonial treats (map 30). In Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia and nearby Finnish-speaking parishes, young men (*tapani-* or *taffanipojat*, Sw. *ostbisarna*; St Stephen boys) visited houses where they knew to be girls of marriageable age. The girls would treat the boys to a shot of liquor with cheese, and 'Stephen's yarn', or coloured wool yarn and stocking ribbons, which would be affixed to their cap, coat button or pipe stem, as a mark of their popularity. In Swedish-speaking parishes, the boys even strung the pieces of cheese they had been given on a ribbon hung around their necks.

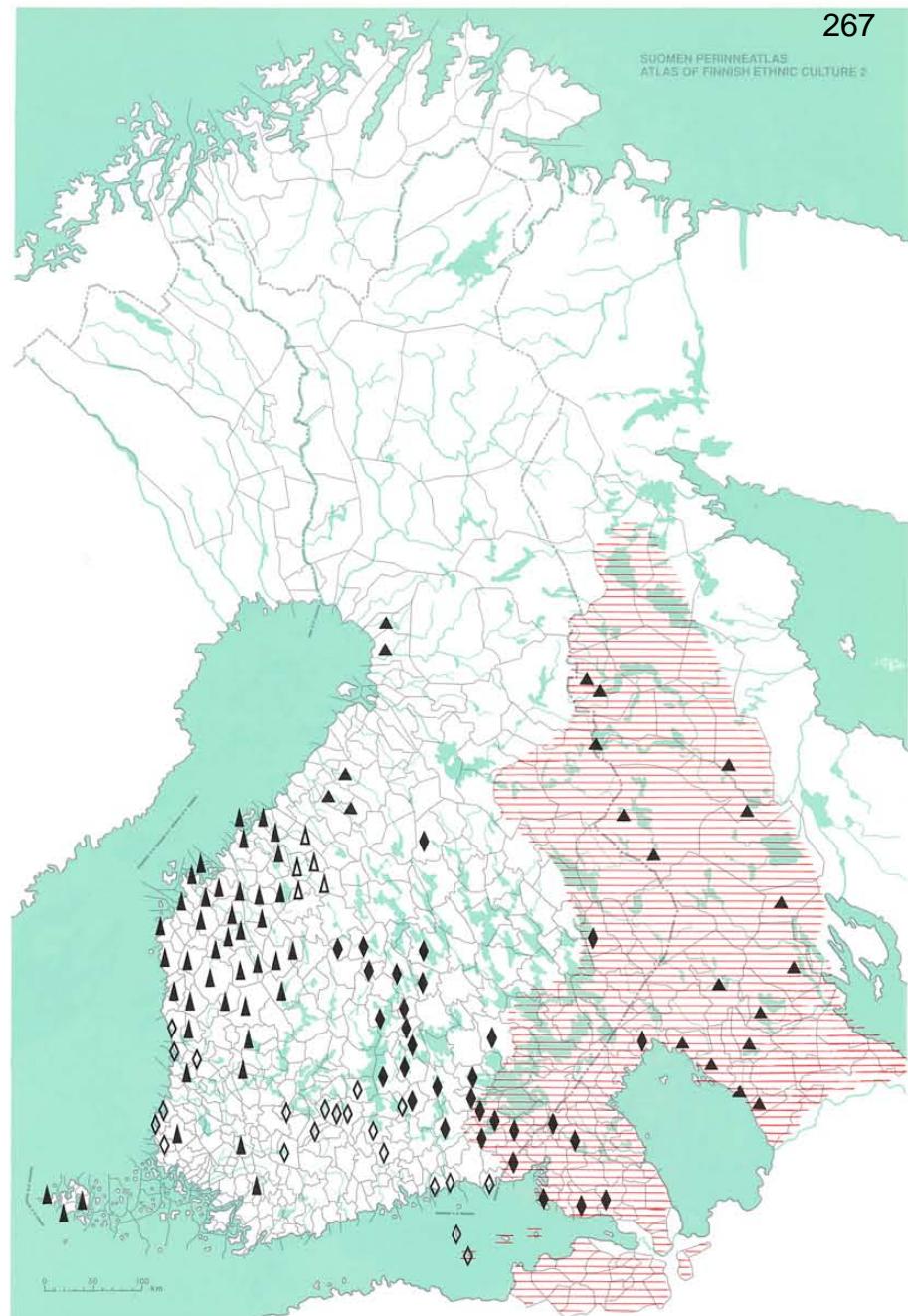
In the Finland-Swedish St Stephen's song, tourers might say on entering: "*Staffan var en sjuk man, öl och brännvin behöver han*" [Stephen was a sick man, beer and brandy would do him good]. As the boys often also had their own liquid refreshments, fights would easily break out between gangs of youths from different villages. In West Estonia and Saaremaa, boys (*joulu-*, *nääripoisid*, *pühade pojaid*) have toured girls' homes over Christmas to collect nuts, stockings, mittens or belt ribbons.(11)

Visiting has also been customary at other calendar festival times. On the days of St Tiburtius (14.4.), St George (23.4.) and St Valborg (1.5.) in spring, boys would receive 'summer shots' from girls. In Orthodox Ingria, when a women's Prasnika was celebrated on St George's Day, the women would give treats to male shepherds.



### 30. Poikien kesteissäkäynti Treating Visits of Boys

- ▲ Kesteissäkäynnin ajankohta  
Timing of visit
- ▲ tapaninviinoilla käynti  
St. Stephen's Day spirit
- juhannusuutoston maistajaiset  
Midsummer cheese
- juhannuslettujen tai -vohveiden hakeminen  
Midsummer pancakes or waffles
- Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



### 31. Virpominen ja lasten kiertueet Easter Palms and Children's Tours

- 1. Virpominen  
Birching with Easter palms  
palmsunnuntaina virpomisen kanta-alue  
main area of palm birching on Palm Sunday
- 2. Kellojen soittaminen  
Ringing of bells outside  
Heikin päivänä (19.1.)  
on St. Henry's Day
- laskiaisenä  
on Shrove Tuesday
- pääsiäisenä  
on Easter
- ▲ Yrjön päivänä (24.4.)  
on St. George's Day
- ▲ vappuna (1.5.)  
on May Day
- Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map
- Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

**Midsummer cheese-tasting parties.** In North Ostrobothnia and Oulujoki river valley right up to Kainuu, it was customary to make milk cheese or red whey at Midsummer. Girls cooked milk cheese in large cauldrons at cattle huts or farm cattle kitchens, and the cooking had to be continued through the night for the milk to reduce and form a sweet red whey. Village boys did the rounds of cheese-making sites to taste the Midsummer cheese and to chat with the girls.

Midsummer cheese-tasting parties were similar night watches as malt saunas and laundry-steeping parties (map 34). The red whey cheese was a special festive dish served on Midsummer Day both to the folk of the house and to visitors who might drop in.(12)

**Serving Midsummer pancakes and waffles.** In Häme and many places in the rest of southwestern Finland, boys visited girls on Midsummer Day, when they would be served cheese, oven-baked pancake, small fried pancakes or waffles. The daughters and servants of the house were given flour and other necessities for the purpose, and the girls fried Midsummer pancakes (*juhannuslättjä*) in baking huts, cattle kitchens or outdoors. The boys would usually start the round of Midsummer treats in the afternoon, and sometimes the girls made pancakes or waffles late into the night. In some houses the young were also allowed to play games and dance.

## 31. Easter palms and children's tours

**'Birching' with Easter 'palms'.** *Virpominen* ['birching'], visiting houses with decorated willow or birch twigs, *virpovitsa*, on Palm Sunday has been a way of wishing good luck and health to family and neighbors (map 31). *Virpominen* refers to blessing by whipping with palms – substituted in northern Europe with pussy-willows and birch twigs – and the custom is one of the traditions of Orthodox Karelia and Ingria. It was originally an adults' custom, but later became one of children, spreading with Karelian migrants after the Second World War even to western Finland.

In recent decades it has become merged with the custom of young girls touring dressed up as Shrovetide or Easter witches (*påskhäxor*, -*troll*, *trullit*, *juosta posktrollia*). Dressing up as Easter witches has spread from Sweden, first to coastal Swedish-speaking areas, and later crossed the language barrier. The Swedish children's Shrovetide, Easter and locally even Christmas tradition of whipping, *piiskaaminen* or Sw. *piskning med ris* is in Finland only known in bilingual central Ostrobothnia and in a few parishes of eastern Uusimaa. In some localities of Ostrobothnia, even special role characters (Risu-Tuomas, Piiska-Paavo, Palla-Jaakko) have done the rounds of houses with their bunches of twigs to punish children on St Thomas's Day.(13)

The actual tradition of 'birching' or *virpominen* originated and has been preserved within the Karelian Orthodox church, spreading in the early part of the 1900s also among local Lutherans. In Orthodox Karelia, the rites were religious. Willow 'palms', *virpovitsat*, were brought to church on the eve of Palm Sunday and blessed during the vigilia. The 'birchers' set out with their twigs on the morning of Palm Sunday. Members of their own families might have been treated first, then godparents and neighbors. The willows used were kept behind an icon usually until St George's Day (23.4.); he was the patron saint of cattle. They were used for 'whipping' the cows on letting them out to pasture for the first time in spring.

The verse accompanying virpominen with willow twigs was e.g.: "Virvon, varvon tuoreeks, terveeks. Sulle vitsa, mulle palkka" [With this whipping I wish you good health. Whip for you, treat for me.]. The treat was paid at Easter, when the performers would do the rounds again, collecting Easter eggs. Today, the treat is given to the children immediately as cash or candy.(14)

**Ringing bells outside.** Noisy groups of village children have done the rounds on various holy days in the spring season, ringing bells. They did not usually try to enter the houses, although may have been invited on occasions. The first bell runs of the year were organized in some southern parishes of central Ostrobothnia as early as the evening of St Henry's Day (19.1.), which was said to 'break the winter's back'. The children announced that the winter's back was broken by ringing cow and sleigh bells, drumming on tin pots and hitting the walls with a washing stick.

In some places in Häme, Gulf of Finland islands and eastern coastal parishes, as well as on the Ostrobothnian coast, children and young people have run around at Shrovetide, making a commotion under house windows. In the area stretching from central Finland to the Karelian Isthmus, there was an Easter time custom of making a noise around houses with bells, horns and whistles.

On the late spring holy days of St Tiburtius (14.4.) and particularly St George's Day (23.4.), also called *suvipäivät* [summer days], there has been general racket-making and blowing shepherds' horns for example at the tip of the Gulf of Bothnia and in Karelia. In central Ostrobothnia and East Karelia from Dvina to Olonets, children would run with cow and sheep bells around houses and cattle sheds, and sometimes even in nearby forests, on St George's Day, its eve or the day after. The purpose of the custom is often cited as chasing off predators before the start of the pasturing season (cf. map 25). In fact, it was a case of an actual cattle spell, as in Olonets the bells were first kept overnight in the icon corner in candlelight, and while running the children chanted: "*Pyhä Jyrki syötä koiras, pane hurttas kiinni vaskisilla vantehilla, rautasilla seipähillä!*". [Saint George, feed your dogs, fasten them up with brass rings to iron stakes!]

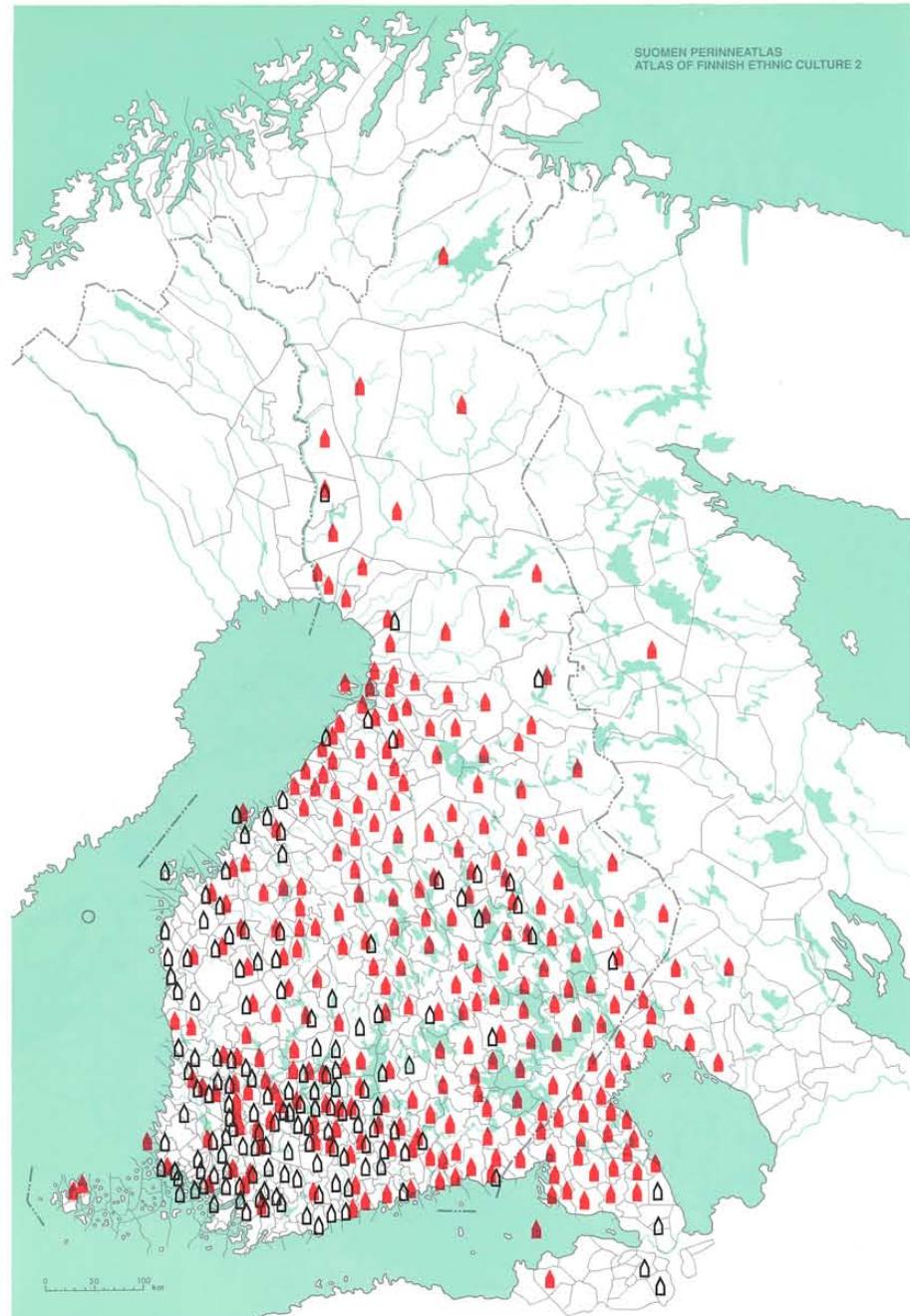
May Day, St Valborg (1.5.) was the time for bell-running (Sw. *springa med skällor* or *klockor* or *bjällror*, Fi. *kellottelu*), especially in South Ostrobothnia. In some parishes, girls sewed bells onto their skirt hems and dressed in white, while the boys might drive around with decorated horses.

### Urpo Vento

*Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde I:39-74. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 151-185, 191-200. Atlas von Oberösterreich: 18-20. Etnografický-atlas slovenska: XIII 3-16. Etnološki atlas Jugoslavije: 8. Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas: 88-90, 107, 112-114. Balys 1948. Bernštam 1988. Bregenhøj 1974. Bregenhøj – Vento 1975. Celander 1950. Eskeröd 1953. Fehrle 1955. Glotz 1975. Halpert – Story 1969. Konkka A. 1980. Leskov 1894. Loginov 1986. Propp 1963. Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde: 63-64. Siuts 1968. Sokolova 1979. Chicherov 1957. Vilkuna K. 1973b. Vinokurova 1986. Wetter 1933.*

1. Bregenhøj – Vento 1975. 2. Vilkuna K. 1963, 94-, 111. Wright 1936-1940 III, 121-. Wetter 1933, appendix. Siuts 1968, 78. 3. Vilkuna K. 1969, 301-. Tampere 1960, 11-, 63-. Tedre 1969, 305-; 1974, 121-. *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde I:40, 65. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 192. Wright 1936-1940 III, 177-* 4. Fehrle 1955, 22. *Etnološki Atlas Jugoslavije: 8.* 5. Tampere 1960, 15-. Tedre 1976, 85-. Dömötör 1959. Wright 1936-1940 II, 93. Weber-Kellermann 1978. (Sauermann 1996.) 6. Lönnqvist 1973. Bregenhøj – Sahlström 1991. 7. Eskeröd 1961, 228-. 8. Rousti 1959, 24-. Celander 1950, 345-. 9. Talve 1975. Vento 1978. 10. Vilkuna K. 1946, 142; 1963, 149. Tampere 1960, 17. 11. Tampere 1960, 17.

**12.** Vilkuna K. 1938b. Sarmela 1969, 121. **13.** Eskeröd 1953, 36-. Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:23. **14.** Kuronen 1979, 115-.

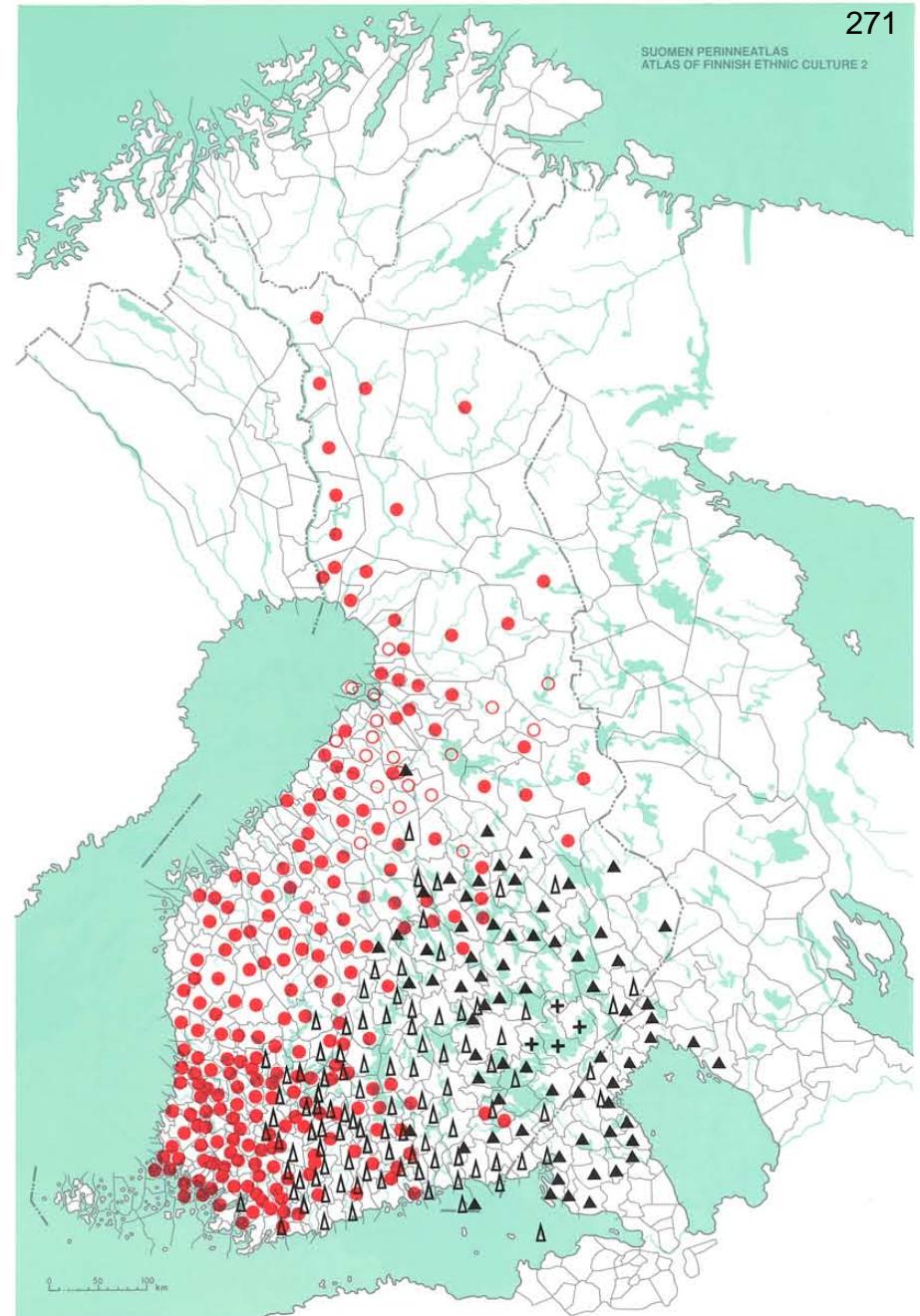


### 32. Vartointileikit Guarding Games

Leikin juonena kaskiviljelyn ja lampaanhoidon jäljittely  
Imitation of swidden cultivation and herding

- ▲ nauriisilla-leikki  
turnip game
- △ lampaisilla-leikki  
sheep game

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



### 33. Rangaistusleikit Punishment Games

Rangaistus nauramisesta  
Punishment for laughing

Liinanmyynti-leikki  
Cloth-selling game

Leikin nimi  
Name of game

- liinanmyynti  
selling cloths
- hollanniiliinan myynti  
selling Dutch cloths
- △ kankaamyynti  
selling fabric
- ▲ palttinamyynti  
selling linen
- ✚ veranmyynti  
selling broadcloth

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 32.-33. PARTY GAMES

### ***Intensity of being together***

**Finnish folk games.** Folk games are a part of the colorful and varied tradition people have used to enrich their lives in their leisure time, especially in festive periods. Loosely defined, games are pleasure-inducing activities performed for fun according to voluntarily agreed, but unequivocally binding, rules. Thus, games can just as well belong in adults' as children's tradition, and they may have been practised both outdoors and in. Games have also been defined as expressive models of culture. They reflect customs, beliefs, values, attitudes and gender roles prevailing in the community either currently or in the past. In common with other tradition, games may contain remnants from a very distant past.

Game-playing has been tied to the annual cycle and calendric holy days. Christmastide from the evening of Christmas Eve to Twelfth Night was the most popular time for folk games. Therefore, they are generally referred to as Christmas games. They consist of certain games testing suppleness, fast-footedness and strength or multi-phased dramatized group games, played among the own folk of the house and using little in the way of implements. The latter type may last for hours, and people gathered in turns in different houses to play them. Games of suppleness included e.g. *Kukon kengitys*, *Kiisken onkiminen*, *Vaarin kalamatka*, *Avaimen potkaisu*, *Saappaan paiskaaminen*, *Harakan ampuminen* or *Ämmän taakka* [Shoeing the Cockerel, Fishing for Ruff, Grandad's Fishing Trip, Kicking the Key, Boot-Chucking, Magpie-Shooting or Old Woman's Burden]. Strength was required for games such as *Rangan nosto*, *Kannon väätäminen*, *Suolan punnitus*, *Väkikapulan*, *Kissanhännän* or *Niskanuoran vето* [Log-Lifting, Wrenching the Stump, Weighing Salt, Pulling the Stick, Cat's Tail or Pulling the Neck Rope]. The ancient origin of this type of game is proven by the fact that e.g. Pulling the Neck Rope is pictured in the wall paintings of the medieval churches of both Hattula and Taivassalo.

It is interesting to note that several Christmas games made use of the straw spread on the floor in one way or another. Such games were *Paistisilla*, *Kauran syöttö*, *Suutarin sohiminen*, *Sian pistäminen* and *Passin lyöminen* [Eating the Roast, Feeding Oats, Prodding the Cobbler, Pig-Sticking or Passi-Hitting]. The game Eating the Roast demands good concentration: the 'Roast' sits blindfolded in the centre of the room and tries to hit with a straw club other players who 'pick' at the roast. In Feeding Oats, one of the players hides his face in another's lap and the others slap his palms which are behind his back. The player must guess who hit him. The history of both of these internationally widely known games has been traced back to the Antiquity. A picture of the Feeding Oats game has been found in an Egyptian tomb drawing dating back four thousand years. The Greeks knew the game as *Kollabismos*.

Prodding the Cobbler was great fun and a very popular Christmas game demanding agility. Two players back-to-back take turns to use a pole placed through their legs to topple the 'cobbler' in the shape of

a sheaf of straw; the job of the opponent was to prevent this. It has been suggested that this Scandinavian-Estonian-Finnish game may be based on turn-of-the-year fertility rites, or at least of the supernatural guardian of corn, who played a considerable role in Christmas ceremonies in any case.

Christmas games might be played until Shrovetide, albeit only on Sundays after Twelfth Night. But soon the young began to gather outdoors, too, on specifically shaped tracks trodden in the snow, to play their winter catching and running games, such as *Saukkosilla*, *Hirvisillä* and *Porosilla* [The Otter, The Moose and The Reindeer]. These were followed later in spring by Easter time swinging and board-leaping, and later, from Whitsuntide on, by various catching games, e.g. *Hiipan juokseminen*, *Leskiset*, *Karhuset*, *Seulaset*, *Haukkaset* or *Kintaan kantaminen* [Tag, Widows, Bear, Sieve, Hawk, or Carrying the Mitten] (maps 24-25, 26, 38). Many of these games are also adopted from abroad, but the names of the games and other terminology were obtained from the immediate environment.

Spring festivities took place on meadows or hills near the village. Later, they were also the places for dancing, but depending on the participants, games were also played through the summer. Because the majority of the players were young folk, almost all the games may also be associated with a pretty strong erotic undertone. The erotic aspect is especially prominent in the love-themed group games of autumn 'evening sittings', including *Kiven tai Sormuksen kätkeminen*, *Parisilla*, *Numeroisilla*, *Vesikenkäsillä* or *Marjasilla* [Hiding the Stone or Ring, Pairs, Numbers, Water Shoes or Berries] (cf. map 34).

In summary, Finnish social games can be divided according to the action of the play as follows: (1) dramatic games (agrarian work games), (2) song games, (3) rejoinder (dialogue) games, (4) catching and identifying games and (5) choosing pairs (erotic games).

**Dramatized group games.** The oldest layer of Finnish games tradition is represented by dramatic group games divided into several scenes, sometimes also described as improvised miniature plays performed within the constraints of a certain plot and traditional set lines. The fun of the plays was based largely on the participants' acting ability and wit. It was also crucial that an experienced game leader was present, or a director of the plays. Central European folk play tradition is unknown in Finland, so these games are exceptionally interesting in terms of our overall folk culture. Long drama games remained alive the longest in South Karelia.

A vibrant picture of the nature of these games is provided by Kaarle Akseli Gottlund's colorful narrative of the events in a farmhouse kitchen in Juva at Christmas 1814. He describes how, directed by a quick-witted old person, actors imitated a mill and a sawmill, how an angler disguised as a Russian priest enters, and how an affluent merchant riding on horseback gathers joints of meat and chickens into his sleigh – an upturned wooden tub – with his hired man. These Christmas games imitated many workaday activities: hay-making, building, going to the mill, spinning, churning butter, or washing dishes. Animals appearing among the players brought hilarity: Christmas cranes, Christmas cuckoos, a wolf, sheep and a dancing bear. Supernatural folk might also turn up: devils, dead ancestors, death itself in his white robes and scythe in hand. Thus, the varied gallery of roles offered opportunities for improvisation on many levels.

The longest games, such as Ships, might last several hours. The game began with the building of the 'ship' from the participants themselves, its building materials, i.e. each player's personal characteristics, were evaluated humorously and even critically, then the ship was tarred, masts were erected, the ship sailed, and finally, after many stages, the cargo was sold and offloaded. Equally multi-staged, and interesting also in ethnographic terms, was the game portraying swidden cultivation. Such drama games might include very daring or crude details. They also provided an opportunity for merciless mocking at the expense of some player's lack of initiative or weaknesses. If certain annual work was left undone in

some house, or for example, building work was unfinished, they were taken up at Christmas games and the work completed, at least in the game. Thus, the games also had a function in controlling and even instructing the community.

Among drama games, dramatic singing games fall in the middle ground between dances and games, forming their own group. In the oldest games, *Leikarisilla*, *Hirvisillä* or *Orosilla*, [Jesters, Moose or Stallion] the songs are in the old meter. They are proof that the archaic meter must have still been alive and well at the time these games were assimilated in the games tradition of western Finland. More recent layers are represented by singing games, such as *Hanhet ja joutsenet* [Geese and Swans] and *Alene alene, hyvä emäntä* [Humble, humble, Dear Mistress], where the songs have already been modified to a later meter. Many singing games open up intriguing vistas to life in the Middle Ages. The Rich and Poor game juxtaposes a poor beggar and a rich nobleman. The plot of the game *Simosilla* [Simon-game, Sw. Simon i sälle] is an aristocratic youth's eventful marriage proposal trip with his brothers-in-arms and attendants. Some games, such as the Alderman, are evidently based on the medieval guild organization.

## 32. Guarding games

**Imitation of work.** Map 32 shows the distribution of two old drama games. There are records of the Turnip game [*Nauriisilla*] from practically throughout Finland, while the distribution of the Wolf and Sheep game [*Susilampaisilla*] is limited to western and southern Finland. Turnip-growing was part of swidden culture, so it is obvious that the Turnip game has been displaced earlier in agrarian Finland, and its actual distribution area in the final stage has been Savo-Karelia.

The plot of both games was similar. The players were 'turnips' or 'sheep', the leader of the game raises them to form a turnip field or a flock of sheep, which he tries to protect from a thief or in the sheep game from the 'wolf'. Nevertheless, the player of the antagonist's role succeeds through some ploy in transporting the turnips or sheep to his own side. The Turnip game begins with a description of how the turnips are planted, often in a swidden. As the crop grows, the quality of the turnips is tested and they are pressed more firmly into the ground. At this point, the players acting as turnips sit on the floor in one group. The Sheep game begins with sheep husbandry, for example, the shepherd 'shears' his sheep. The game leader builds a sturdy fence around his turnip field and flock of sheep, and protects his property by chanting incantations.

Then the turnip-grower or sheepfarmer leaves to do other jobs, to bake or spin, and drops off to sleep at his work. A thief comes, wakes the sleeper and asks for a key, in order to get a forgotten object from the sheepfold or turnip field, but having gained entry, starts to steal. According to some records, a guard dog wakes the owner to count his turnips or sheep. When the owner finds that some of his sheep have vanished, he tries to look for them, repairs the fence and goes off to his work or to bed, and the thief carries on stealing. When all the turnips or sheep have gone, the owner goes around the room, seeking and asking questions, and having found the thief, can reclaim his property, for example by beating him in an argument. The found turnips or sheep may also be separated, the blemished and faithless go to the thief or wolf and are punished, but the good are rewarded.

The events of the Turnips and Sheep games arise from the living environment of agrarian man. The players were originally young people, later children, especially girls. Enclosing the turnips or sheep dur-

ing the game in a tight compound or planting, pulling up and carrying to the earth cellar of the turnips gave the young opportunities of contact with each other and of expressing erotic messages. The game leaders, who were often older, played a major part in the success of the play. They might have improvised various amusing episodes into the turnip-growing and sheepfarming.

**European background.** Drama games such as Turnips and Sheep are known to have been widespread in Europe. There are written records from Central Europe from the 1500s, and from the Nordic countries as early as the 1600s. The games also share similarities with written plays, such as the medieval play *Master Patelin*, and legends of the Antiquity, e.g. the satyr play *Ichneutai* by Sophocles. In Finland, the Sheep game is first mentioned in the newspaper *Åbo Nya Tidningar* in 1789. The Turnip game has continued to be expansive up to recent years, while the Sheep game is disappearing. A third game that was similar and has already been displaced from living tradition was *Marja-* or *Maitopyttysillä* [Berry or Milk Tub].

Detailed comparison of Turnips and Sheep games shows that the games have traveled to Finland via a number of routes and that they have merged together there in various ways. In Varsinais-Suomi and South Häme, the Sheep game has clearly retained Baltic characteristics, which indicates the early origin of the game; descriptions from Kymenlaakso of the Turnips game have similarities with the Estonian game. The games recorded in North Häme, Savo and Karelia have been shown to contain a number of eastern features. The Turnips game of Savo-Karelia has acquired elements from a different local tradition, other games, wedding and chain verses, incantations and customs. These games juxtapose a swidden farmer or landed peasant and a thief. They are a very concrete reminder of the kinds of dangers that may threaten the work of agrarian and cattle-farming man.

### 33. Punishment games

**Cloth-Selling game.** Map 33 shows the distribution in Finland of the various names for the Cloth-Selling game, a dialogue game demanding self-control, containing dramatic stages, and ending in paying a forfeit. The course of the game is as follows: One of the players is elected leader or seller. He or she leaves the room, the others sit down around the room.

The first scene consists of the seller coming in dressed as a merchant and bearing a measuring stick; he greets everyone, moves over to the nearest customer and asks: "Would you like to buy some cloth?" The customer replies: "Yes please." Seller: "How much?" The buyer gives some measure, possibly a nonsensical one. Seller: "Are you rich or poor?" Depending on the answer, the poor customer is given extra, the rich one receives less than he ordered and a clip round the ear to boot. Then the seller issues instructions on how to behave when someone comes to collect the price of the cloth: "When our master comes to collect his debt, you are not to say yes or no, nor to laugh nor show white teeth, but you can only say this word I am now telling you." Then the seller gives, possibly whispers, this key word. After visiting everyone, the seller departs.

In the second scene, the seller enters, now disguised as the debt collector, and again greets everyone. He then goes over to the first customer and asks: "What did you make from the cloth?" Without laughing, the buyer answers only the word ordered by the seller. Now the debt collector begins an improvised bar-

rage of questions, usually ending with the debtor incapable of complying with the prohibitions. A player who breaches the rules must give a forfeit.

The third scene is paying the forfeit. Two people are now required to lead the game. The judge kneels and the assistant twirls one forfeit at a time over his head and asks: "Whose forfeit is boiling in fire and tar, and what must he do?" The owner of the forfeit comes forward and the judge asks: "How will you pay your forfeit: with work, cash or bodily suffering?" The judge orders tasks in accordance with the answers and relationships between the young players: hugging the fireplace, log-pulling, love-carrying, French position or building a long bridge.

Cloth-Selling is one of the most popular group games in Finland, originally a part of the plentiful array of Christmas games. Later it became a children's tradition and it was played at any time. The game in three scenes is known in a relatively homogenous format all over Finland. Its various names reflect the geography of dialects more than differences in the content of the game.

**Playing without laughing.** As well as in Finland, Cloth-Selling is a well-known game in the Nordic countries and Estonia. Central European games tradition also contains relatively close counterparts. Certain drama games containing the buying and selling motif from that region also forbid laughing or saying certain words. The Cloth-Selling game has come to Finland from Sweden, evidently rapidly becoming common in western and southern Finland right up to the Vyborg region. The Oulu area appears to have been one of the centers of its distribution. In Sweden, the 1700s are deemed to have been the culmination period of group games. Maybe the Cloth-Selling game came into fashion in Finland around that period, too. Its rapid popularity is probably also based on the fact that it is one of the funniest of Finnish games ending in paying a forfeit.

As an entity, Cloth-Selling does not belong in the oldest layer of Finnish games tradition, but the scenes or motifs it contains may reflect very old customs or beliefs. As well as imitation of everyday events, games containing the buying and selling motifs have sometimes been thought to contain remnants of demon cults, the conflict between good and evil. Conversely, forfeit games have been thought to mirror the former trial proceedings of Germanic peoples.

In the Cloth-Selling game, the most pivotal crystallized line is the prohibition of what absolutely must not be said or done when someone calls to collect the debt. A close parallel exists for it in the Bible: "And do not take an oath by your head, for you cannot make one hair white or black. Let what you say be simply 'Yes' or 'No'; anything more than this comes from evil." (Matt. 5:36-37) This detail helps to show that the world of the Bible has also in many ways influenced the dramatic tradition, including folk games.

Pekka Laaksonen

Dencker 1960. Enäjärvi-Haavio 1925; 1932; 1935; 1936; 1939. Hirn 1918. Laaksonen 1968; 1981. Okkola 1928. Ranta-Knuutila 1962; 1967. Raussi 1966. Sarmela 1969, 135-. Simonsuuri 1949. Tillhagen - Dencker 1949-1950. Virtanen L. 1978. Wessman 1962.

## IV.

# VILLAGE YOUTH

## YOUTH CULTURE

### ***Self-sufficiency of youth***

**Youth organizations.** In the agrarian villages of western and southern Finland, young people began to form their own separate group and to operate their own local institutions. The village young organized 'evening sittings', village dances and name-day parties, gathered at the village swing (maps 34-38) and bonfires (24-25). The young people of a village moved around as their own group at the church on Sundays, in other parishes on church holy days (maps 22-23) and at markets and fairs, or at events such as weddings in neighboring villages. In the heyday of local village culture, the young had their own initiation rites, and they supervised social interaction between girls and boys, such as young men's night courting visits (map 37). Gradually, age groups would also form among the young, going around the village in their own groups evenings and Sundays; the most definite was the boundary between minors and those who had come of age.

As youth became organized, the periodicity of social interaction became less pronounced. Previously, socializing of the young, too, had been tied to calendar festivals (maps 24-30), regular local gatherings (maps 22-23) and reciprocal working parties and other working games (map 34). In the area of organized night courting (Ostrobothnia) and village dances, the young met regularly and throughout the year; gatherings, dances and night visits even had designated and agreed days of the week.

Thus, peasant villages were the birthplaces of the first 'gangs', insider or membership groups of young people based on mutual solidarity, and presenting themselves as one group against those from other villages and often also against the adult community. The village youth groups had their leaders, membership ceremonies, behavior norms and spiritual traditions. Particularly in Ostrobothnia, the youth group operated like a social organization, with the unity of boys from the same village reinforced by institutionalized night courting and village fights. The functioning of Ostrobothnian youth groups has been akin to that of village areas in Sweden and Estonia, or further south within the agrarian culture of continental Europe. Social customs of the young, such as village dances and night courting, have largely spread from Scandinavia via Ostrobothnian Swedish-speaking coastal parishes, on the other hand young people's village culture has also entered South Karelia via the Baltic region and Ingria, as well as other parts of the southeastern region.

**Own initiation.** As the confirmation school system was becoming established during the 1700s, having attended confirmation school and taking the first communion became the precondition of marriage or adulthood everywhere. Among the young, those who had been confirmed were classified as eligible for courtship, and minors or those not yet passed confirmation school were sent away in good time from young people's gathering places and social occasions in the evenings. In Ostrobothnia, in common with some locations in Sweden, boys who had been confirmed had to organize a clandestine dance where they provided older boys with food and liquor. Subsequently, they were accepted among the young of courting age. Young people's own initiation celebrations have also been known elsewhere in densely populated villages, e.g. in Ingria. As alcohol use became more common, a tankard or bottle of spirits has been a kind of entrance fee which the initiate had to provide for older boys, if he wanted to go along with them on a night courting jaunt.(1)

In Ostrobothnia, young girls often stayed with their older girl friends in their sleeping quarters in the granary or storehouse loft, in order to learn courting customs. Similarly, a newly confirmed boy was like a novice in a group of boys and was permitted to 'play gooseberry' or 'mind the brick kiln' in a sleeping loft where an older boy had been left to stay the night with a girl. The brick kiln minder may have had to spend the night on the floor on several occasions, before being 'put with a girl'.

Along with organization culture, new youth idols were created, youth gang leader types, and specific forms of social competition spread among the young. In Finland, in common with Sweden, so-called 'power stones' were kept on the church hill and other young people's gathering places. They were round stones that young boys would lift at confirmation school time to show that they had reached maturity or to compete with each other. Sacks of corn, barrels of tar and wagon wheels were lifted as proof of strength and maturity.(2) The young also began to play many kinds of sporting games, such as discus and hitting games, between different parts of the village or sometimes between different villages. Village sport was born among local youth groups, later to be developed into international top level and mass sports by official organizations of state cultures.

**Spread of youth activities.** The advent of youth culture can be traced from decrees given by the clergy and parish committees against young people's night courting jaunts, dances, swings, card-playing and village fights.(3) The oldest documentary evidence of village dances is from the end of the 1600s, but the actual night visiting and dancing are on the agendas of church and parish committees from the mid-1700s, first in the Swedish-speaking parishes and later also in the Finnish-speaking regions of Ostrobothnia. At the end of the century, the wave of prohibitions progresses to Satakunta, Häme and Varsinais-Suomi. Provincial governors forbade night courting jaunts and the organizing of dances in Ostrobothnia in 1751 (1757), in Satakunta and Varsinais-Suomi in 1778 and in Häme in 1792. It took another hundred years before prohibitions were issued in Savo, in the 1850-60s, and on the Karelian Isthmus in the 1870-80s.

Local regulations on law and order banned the new youth customs on pain of fines, and householders were obliged to ensure that their children and hired help were not running around the village in the evenings. In many Ostrobothnian parishes, anyone informing on a village dance was even promised a reward. Organized dances were strictly regulated in various parts of the country; they were subject to tax and they were permitted only on major holidays or once a week.

There is a delay of decades, even a century, in the rate of the spread of youth culture between western and eastern Finland. The heyday of young people's own village culture in western Finland was the end of the 1700s and early 1800s, when night courting became organized and arranging dances,

building swings and other youth cooperation became established. With agrarianization, the importance of the kinship group and extended families waned also in Savo-Karelia, but with the exception of the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria, the eastern regions did not witness the formation of the kind of youth village culture seen in southwestern Finland.

**Generation gap.** The spread of youth culture has resulted in detachment of the young from the kinship circle. With time, the young began to make their own decisions on their courtship and marriage; a generation gap was created for the first time between the young and their parents. The change was gradual. At the time when handicraft games and village dances were already purely occasions for the young in western and southern Finland, in Karelia female relatives of the young people – grandmothers, aunts and godmothers – gathered at the venue with their needlework to watch the evening's entertainment and at the same time the young people's behavior. While in Dvina kinship groups gathered at a proposal of marriage to discuss it (map 11), in western Finland the young were creating their own ideologies of life, resisting marriages arranged by their parents, and defying control by the village community. Western ballads rose against kinship and class marriages (map 99). At the close of the 19th century, the objects of their defiance were already the village environment restricting their lives, gossiping old women, and the narrow-mindedness of the community. The central themes of the songs in new meter were new emotional values, romantic love and true friendship, on the other hand partings and treacherous friends.

Conflicts between the young and the older generation began to manifest even in the life of the village. Parents chased off night visitors lurking in their houses, at the end of the 1800s farmers smashed up village swings and plowed up dancing meadows, especially on the Isthmus. The young wreaked revenge by all kinds of vandalism in the houses. At the time of the watershed of village culture in the 1800s, a new wave of prohibitions began in western and southern Finland, concerning young people's alcohol consumption, fighting and vandalism.

## ***Structural changes in youth culture***

**Period of village-centeredness.** The peak period of self-governing village communities in western and southern Finland was the end of the 1700s and early 1800s, further east in Savo and Karelia the turn of the 1800s and 1900s. In the Christian environment, the young also maintained good manners and absolute norms of morality, equally applicable to men and women. Especially in the area of organized night courting in Ostrobothnia, village discipline imposed by the young was severe. A boy caught on a nocturnal visit alone and without leave was punished with a thrashing or by shutting him in a pigsty. If a village girl tried to keep her courting private and refused to let a group of boys into her sleeping quarters, the door was broken down. Those who had breached the norms of decency were excluded from the youth community, they were mocked and often given nicknames which many had to bear like a branding.

Mocking songs were composed about those who had deviated from the norms; some have survived to the present day as folk songs. Mocking talk, nicknames and songs were effective weapons, especially

since it was not really possible to leave one's home village to earn a living. A good reputation and decency were required among the young, too; the honor of the kinship group was replaced by the honor of the village.(4)

In agrarian communities, the village boundaries were kept prominent in almost all areas of living. The village spirit was manifested in mocking or *kölli* names given to other villages, along with other teasing folklore, songs, jokes and idioms. Within organized night courting, boys from another village were chased away or tormented in many ways. In Ostrobothnia and other areas of western Finland, fights between village gangs of boys acquired regular formats. Fighting forays were made to neighboring villages observing certain rules and norms of honor; for example, using knives was forbidden for a time. Village fights were a form of sport and the fighting gangs represented their village or part of the village, often with names designating their location. The fighting gangs set standards on being accepted, and they had their own leaders and hierarchies, even a fight protagonist who would provoke the opposite side to attack. They also cultivated internal discipline, punished cowardice and damage caused to the reputation of the village. Village fights also created many kinds of insider group traditions: insulting names of other villages, abusive phrases, fighting and mocking songs, stories of fighting heroes.(5)

Antagonism between villages preserved the unity of youth groups, but prevented marriages between villages, formerly promoted by the institutions of kinship communities, such as visiting Prasnikas. Efforts to break down village-centeredness were also made among the young, and a boy from outside was accepted in youth groups of other villages after certain initiation ceremonies and payments. In Ostrobothnia, youth groups have organized interaction between villages through so-called big dances and by agreeing reciprocal visits.

**Breakdown of village culture.** The changes in peasant society also affected youth culture. Farming no longer provided a living for all the members of the new generation, not even the children of landowning peasantry, but the young were increasingly forced to seek their living outside the village. In other respects, too, as social mobility increased, the village-centred way of life began to seem narrow-minded and restrictive. With the breakdown of community culture, Christian moral values also began to lose their importance; romanticism turned into eroticism, and gradually increasingly more open sexuality permeated the relationships of young people, particularly in southwestern Finland.

Among boys, sexual experiences became new kinds of heroics, a form of proving oneself, and particularly boys of the landed peasantry class exploited vulnerable serving girls in order to gain experiences. The absolute norms of morality of the Christian village community were replaced by masculine double standards of morality. Eroticism and sexuality invaded young people's pairing-off games, evening sittings, even in the Orthodox region as far as Dvina. Night courting turned into sexual interaction, especially in Savo and other areas of individual night visiting. The critical change in customs is discernible in the statistics on children born out of wedlock.(6)

The breakdown of peasant society is also evident in the statistics on violent crime. In Ostrobothnia, the new development began in the mid-1800s, when organized village fights became fights and murders between individual knifemen, *puukojunkkarit*. Manslaughters were very prolific in Ostrobothnia, especially in the 1860s, and village dances and weddings in many places usually ended in a general free-for-all. Users of puukkos and other weapons at first had a reputation of some kind of a village hero, and songs were written about them which spread all around the country. It has been suggested that the puukko-heroism was based on social problems characteristic of the conditions in Ostrobothnia; for example, it has been proposed that the puukko-heroes terrorizing villages were mainly farmers' sons who no longer inherited land, but were faced with the same fate as the landless.(7)

However, the reasons are likely to be much more wide-ranging. The structural change began in Ostrobothnia, but the violence phenomena reached all the old areas of landed peasant culture in one way or another. In Ostrobothnia, religious Pietism, social organization, and emigration to North America quelled the puukojunkkari phenomenon, as well as other social conflicts, but in southwestern Finland the crisis and violence continued and still erupted in the civil war of 1917-1918.

**Centralization of youth culture.** From the 1880s, young people's self-organized activity moved to youth associations, first in Ostrobothnia, but gradually spreading to other village culture areas. Youth associations were new civic societies, a part of the centralized social and political organization. They adopted the enlightenment ideologies of patriotic culture and endeavored to educate rural young people to become citizens befitting the new idea of civilization. Village dances were perceived as crude and uncivilized, and youth associations attempted to replace paired dancing with a revival of the tradition of singing and group dancing, by developing so-called folk dancing.<sup>(8)</sup> Youth associations created the tradition of local performance culture and amateur dramatics in Finland. They started to organize evening shows [*iltamat*] and other occasions where the young people themselves took the stage: they sang and played music, performed plays, read poetry and made speeches. Finland was building her national culture.

Local civic activity had its heyday in the 1920s and 30s, when ideological and political societies built their own premises in parishes and even many villages, organized evening shows, study clubs and new leisure activities. Youth association, workers' association or civil guard houses were local cultural centers, as were village schools or village stores. In the 1930s and 40s, young people's self-organized activities and the association culture still coexisted. The young organized their own 'corner dances' and were active in their own associations.

After the Second World War in the 1950s, the associations died off and were replaced by summertime outdoor dancing venues, where music was provided by professional musicians or records were played. Music, in common with other culture, passed over to centralized professional systems; it became an entertainment industry. In a commercial system, young people are a consumer group, and the elements of their culture shadow technological developments. With the advent of car transport, entertainments for the young were centralized at provincial giant dancing venues, and after the developments in sound reproduction technology in the 1960s and 70s, youth masses migrated to mammoth pop music performances, rock festivals, where the common idols of the age groups performed. Each developmental stage of the communications technology has helped shape youth culture to become increasingly more delocal, and in the media environment of the future, locality will evidently be finally replaced by global culture.<sup>(9)</sup>

Youth culture has also had a basic system: periods of (1) local village culture and (2) association culture, (3) centralizing, delocalizing professional culture, and finally (4) postlocal global culture. The pivotal elements of the structural changes have been centralization and delocalization. Self-organized local activity has become externally directed transnational culture industry.

1. Wikman 1937, 17-. Haavio-Mannila 1958, 48-. Sarmela 1969, 181-. Toiviainen 1966; 1967. Erixon 1921. 2. Stejskal 1954. 3. Sarmela 1969, 206-. 4. Wikman 1937, 70-, 202-. Sarmela 1969, 199-. 5. Haavio-Mannila 1958. 6. Nieminen 1951, 285-. Frykman 1977. (Forsström 1996. Pohjola-Vilkuna 1993. Apo 2001.) 7. Haavio-Mannila 1958, 149-. Huttunen 1958. Ylikangas 1973. 8. Numminen 1961. Kurkela 1989. 9. Sarmela 1984c, 41-; 1989a, 166- .

### 34. Nuorten työkisat Young People's Work Parties

1. Työkisat  
Work parties  
käsityökiisojen levinneisyys  
distribution of handwork parties



Nimityksiä  
Names  
*illanistujaiset, illatsut, iltaset*  
*illanistujaiset, 'evening sittings'*



öitsit  
'night sittings'



yötsyt  
'night sittings'



ehdat  
'evenings'



ehkät



öhkät



kökät

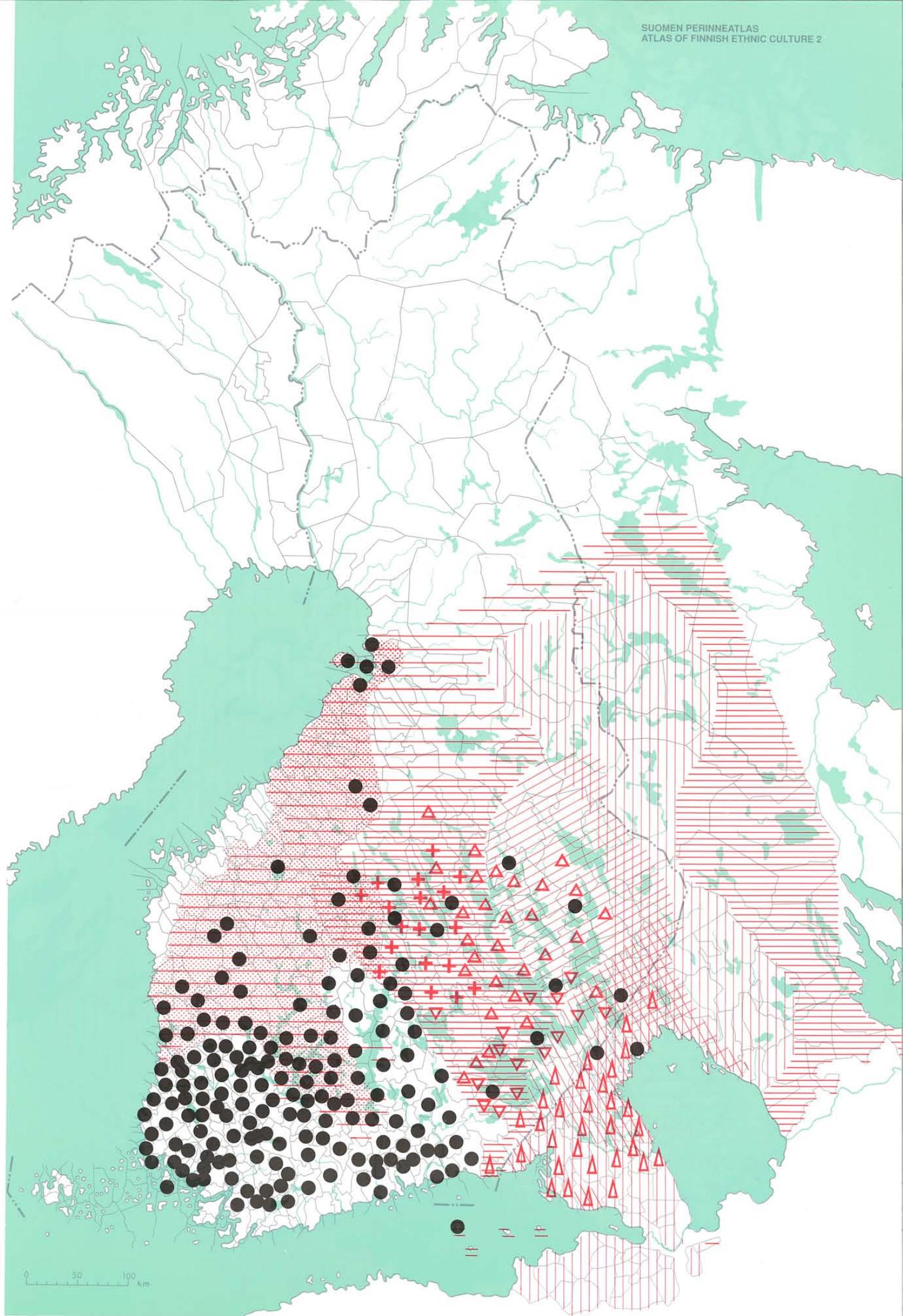


köpelöt



2. Valvojaiset  
Watches  
mallassaunat  
malt saunas

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 34. YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK PARTIES

### ***Organization of getting together***

**Work and entertainment.** Map 34 shows young people's work parties and night watches; they are examples of numerous work parties that were an integral part of the peasant's working year. Of the work parties, (1) *talkoot* were communal work events organized by individual houses or persons, which the villagers attended voluntarily or some houses also reciprocally, to lend a hand. The work was rewarded with food and drink; in the 1800s it was already common to arrange a dance to round off e.g. the harvest working party. Voluntary communal work has also been used to help the poor or to implement communal village building projects. Village people have also gathered at (2) communal working events where everyone did their own work; such events were, for example, girls' handwork parties. The village youth have also attended (3) overnight watches, such as malt saunas, to watch some prolonged work being done. Working parties have also evolved from (4) starting and ending parties of work stages; they have been held in individual houses and among working groups.

The autumn talkoot season began from the harvest. The greatest village working parties were the harvest talkoot, ending with a communal meal and a dance. The harvest was followed by the flax talkoot, when home-grown flax was broken and scutched. The flax working parties started the indoor season, and they were held in saunas and drying barns right up to November. In the autumn, the young also held watches in malt saunas. In wintertime they had handwork parties and evening sittings; they were occasions for girls to gather together regularly to sew their trousseaux. At the height of village culture, there were numerous communal talkoot, watches and ending parties in the course of the year, where the young would meet each other, and at the end of the 1800s such working parties had spread throughout the country. For example, one of the occasions for a party in Dvina was the ending of late winter seine fishing, when the young from the villages taking part in the fishing gathered on the ice to play games and dance.

**Handwork parties.** Before village dances became common, the most important social occasions for the young were evening sittings, where the village girls gathered to card wool, spin, sew, knit or do other handwork. The girls would agree among themselves on the handwork party, gathering after the day's work in some house, sauna or barn, each bringing their own work and food ingredients which were used to prepare a communal meal. The handwork parties were held in saunas and barns in the early autumn,

when flax-hackling or some other dusty process was under way; spinning parties were preferably held in houses. Boys visited handwork parties as guests, to keep the girls company. The evening sittings ended with games or dancing, as did other social occasions of the young. At gatherings taking place in the sauna, couples that had paired off during the evening might spend the night sleeping on straw spread on the floor.

Handwork parties were particularly popular at the end of the 19th century in Savo and Karelia. From Varsinais-Suomi, Uusimaa, and parts of Häme and Satakunta, only scant records survive on girls' handwork parties, and they have been rare or totally unknown in the north.

In the western parts of the distribution area in Ostrobothnia, North Satakunta and North Häme, handwork evenings were most commonly called *kökät*, or *köpelöt* in central Finland, words meaning working parties in general. In eastern Finland and Karelia, the terms were associated with evening or night [*iltä*, *ehtoo*, *yö*]; such names in the Savonian area were *ehkät*, *ehdat* [evenings] (South Savo, the Isthmus) or *öhkät* (South and North Savo). In Karelia, we find *öitsit* [night sittings] (South Karelia and Ladoga Karelia) and *yötsyt* (Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia) or *illanistujaiset* or *illatsut* [evening sittings], which in different dialect forms are known all over both Ingria and Karelia, and also in Dvina and Olonets. In East Karelia and Ladoga Karelia, *yökezräät* [night spinnings], derived from the Karelian-Olonetsian *kezräätä* 'to spin', has been relatively common. In Ingria and Karelia, the Russian-based term *beseda* has also been used, but later acquired the meaning of a village dance (map 35).

In Dvina and Olonets, women's communal handwork sessions have been a part of everyday village life. Village women went off to communal handwork sessions or *päiväkezräät* [day spinnings] in the afternoons, flax bunches and spindles [*kehruukuosalit*] under their arms, gathering together at some house to drink tea and spin; girls in turn would gather for the evening party [*iltakesräät*]. In Karelia, no distinction was always drawn between young people's handwork sessions and those of older people. On the Isthmus, too, handwork parties were still a way of spending the evening together, and the men would also gather at the venue to sit around. In Ingria girls held evening sittings among themselves, with saunas particularly favourite venues.

In Karelia and Ingria, girls' handwork evenings have been the first occasions where boys could come to see them, and in the same vein as in Russian villages, the boys' socializing often consisted of teasing and tormenting the girls. The boys would eat or mess up the girls' food. In Ingria, both a well-known anecdote and a satiric song concerned girls who cooked a dead cat, dropped in the pot by the boys, at their evening sitting. In Savo, evening sittings corresponded to village dances for a long time, as there were no other occasions for the young to socialize. In Ostrobothnia and elsewhere in western Finland, handwork evenings were mostly organized by betrothed brides who were preparing their trousseaux. The final trousseau-sewing party was considered the bride's separation night, and the village young would gather for the occasion.

Girls' handwork parties and communal working parties to help brides are known as young people's social occasions in wide areas in Europe, among both Germanic and Slavic peoples. In Russia, handwork parties have also spread among agrarian Finno-Ugrian peoples. For example in Ukraine, young people have settled to sleep on the floor as courting couples at the end of handwork parties, like in Finland. Records on girls' handwork sessions and bridal working parties exist from as early as the 1600s, and in village areas they have held an important position at a time when dances were still unknown or rare, as was the case even later in Savo and Karelia.

**Malt sauna watches.** In southwestern Finland, malt sauna watches served the functions of handwork parties, with the village young gathering in the autumn to keep girls company while they were drying malt.

The grain was sprouted, malted and dried in saunas or drying barns, which in southwestern Finland had special malt racks. The drying of the malt had to be carefully watched; the work took all night, and when large quantities of malts were prepared, malt saunas were kept heated for long periods in the autumn, in some houses right up to Christmas. Villages had skilled old women, maltsters. They were assisted by daughters of the house and servant girls with their girl friends, taking with them food for cooking on the sauna stove. Boys came along to malt saunas to 'taste the malts' or to 'turn the maltster', to keep company. The social intercourse was similar to that at girls' evening sittings, and in malt saunas, too, paired-off girls and boys may have spent the night on straw spread on the sauna floor.

Malt saunas are also known in Sweden and other parts of Europe. In Finland, they have spread into the same areas as western beer-making; beer and malted foods have particularly belonged in the food economy of southwestern Finland (Atlas of Finnish Ethnic Culture part I, maps 55, 56). In the Middle Ages, Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta and Häme were renowned for their beer, which was even exported to Sweden.

Same kinds of watches in southwestern Finland have been laundry-boiling parties (map 35) and at the time of home distilling, spirit-tastings; even the night watches at home distilleries were trusted to young girls. At the end of the 19th century, night watches were so popular in southwestern Finland that boys would even gather at meat-curing saunas, when meat was smoked in the autumn (cf. part I, map 59), as well as in cattlesheds and piggeries where girls watched over calvings or farrowings. In North Ostrobothnia, further occasions for young people's night watches were places where curd cheese was made on Midsummer nights (map 30; part I, map 58). In Kainuu and other northern parts, the young gathered on Saturdays and Sundays to *haudanpartaiset* ['pit-side party'] to dance and play games at tar pits which were kept burning in the spring for weeks on end (part I, map 5).

## **Communal working and amusements**

**Social interaction of the young.** Young people's folklore was plentiful at handwork sittings and night watches. In Ingria and Karelia, girls were still singing lyric women's songs in the old meter in the 1800s, to be later replaced by new style folk songs. Handwork parties were the very place for practising tunes heard elsewhere, learning song lyrics and making up new songs. Girls' evening sittings and night watches have been the origin of many a local dancing, swinging and satiric song. Boys entertained the girls by telling jokes, recounting humorous tales and mock sermons and setting riddles, and in the autumnal saunas and drying barns, ghost stories and other horror stories were most effective. The evening sittings have helped preserve folklore that was part of the evenings of the household.

Talkoot have also played a part in mediating the view of life of the agrarian community. Every person's work ability and skill was assessed at working parties in western and southern Finland. Especially in Ostrobothnia, talkoot became working contests among men and women for the reputation of best worker. Working parties created the spirit which was transferred to forestry work camps and contract work of the industrial society. At working parties, working skills were assessed and norms established on how each job should be done. They were occasions where work skills were passed on to the young and they were also particularly under observation as workers; girls' skill at handicrafts and their diligence were on display in their sleeping quarters, where all their wardrobe was hung up, and later at weddings. Talkoot

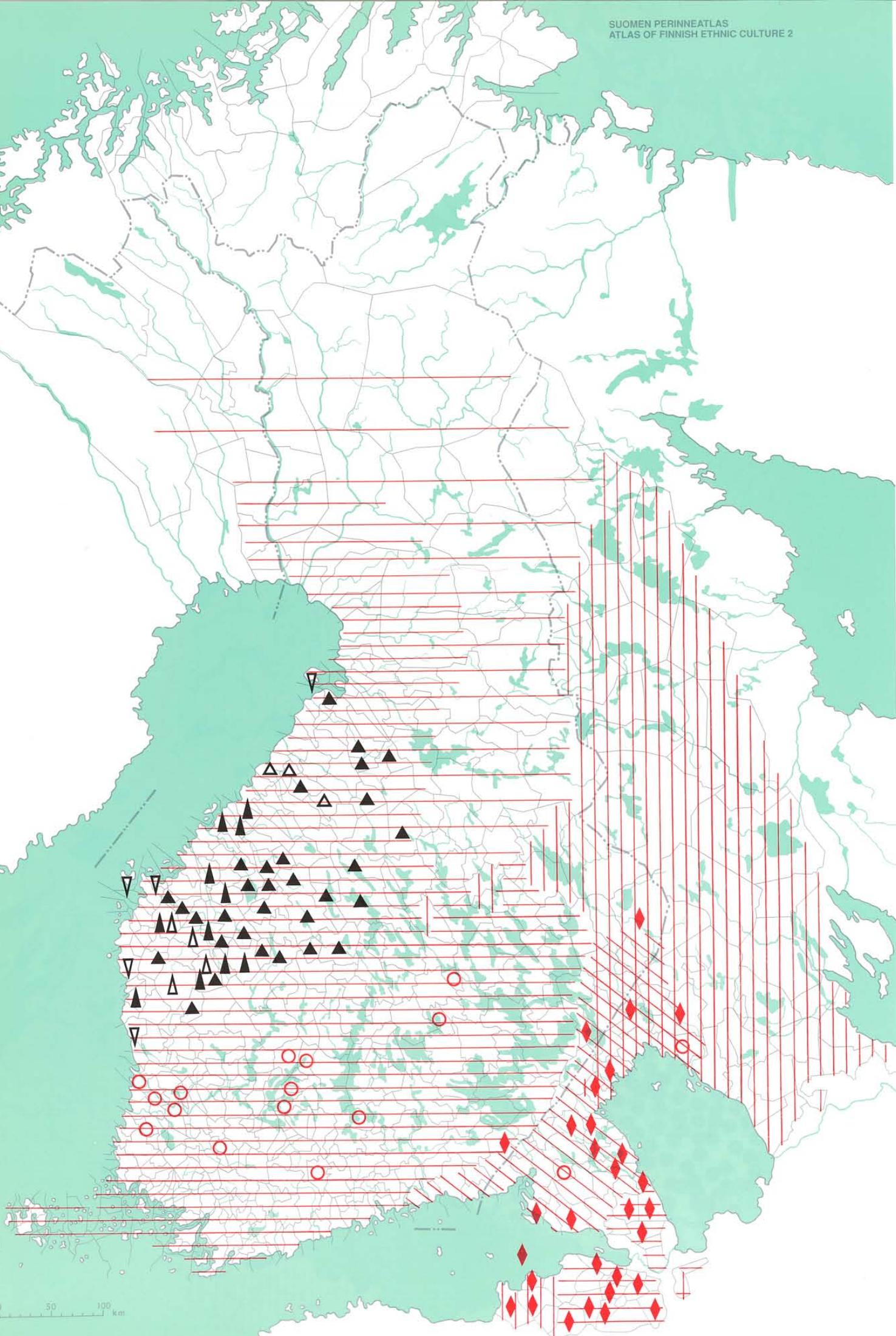
and work parties maintained the basic values of village communities, coping together, respecting work and skills.

**Background of work parties.** Reciprocal neighborly help has been one of the fundamental economic structures of local agrarian societies. The social security of peasant villages relied on cooperation, but talkoot also got heavy and monotonous periods of work quickly finished, combining work with social interaction. As village culture became established, the forms of cooperation increased. When building, people have held log talkoot and roofing talkoot, topping-out parties and housewarmings, in coastal parishes also ship-launching parties. Talkoot and night watches have been the most common in western and southern agrarian areas, where the growing economy involved more and more periodic work and shared goals of the village.

Within the hunting and swidden culture of Savo-Karelia, village working parties have been unknown; they have spread only with agrarianization in the 1800s. Help with work was provided reciprocally within the kinship group, or kinship groups joined together to form work companies or *arttelis*, in the same way as when cultivating swidden. The difference between agrarian village culture and kinship culture is also evident in the distribution of handwork parties. In eastern regions, handwork parties were occasions for communal working, where the girls did their own handwork. Conversely, the western girls' kökät were handwork talkoot, to which the bride's friends came to help her prepare her trousseau. Bridal talkoot were once also known in the landed peasant culture area of southwestern Finland, but at the end of the 19th century they gradually waned, as farmers' daughters began to have their trousseaux made by professional seamstresses. As village dances became common, events like evening sittings and night watches lost the interest of the young in any case.

Sarmela 1969, 110-. Vilkuna K. 1944; 1946. Wessman 1962. Wikman 1937.

Other countries: *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde II:30-34. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 89-93. Bernštam 1988. Eskeröd 1953. Hobroh 1939. Konkka A. 1980. Konkka U. 1980. Nilsson A. 1944. Nilsson M. P. 1948. Sartori 1910-1914 II. Schmidt 1940; 1950. Steensberg 1963-1964 I. Surhasko 1977. Tillhagen – Dencker 1949-1950. Tšitšerov 1957. Zelenin 1927, 343-*.



### 35. Kylätanssit Village Dances

1. Kylätanssit  
Village dances  
kylätanssien levinneisyys  
distribution of village dances

||| besedat, bessodat, pessontot  
(from Russian besedki, 'hand-work parties')

\\\\\\ kalenat  
(from Russian kolyadki, 'Christmas songs')

◆ Tanssituwan pyntö -runon  
saantipaikkoja  
places where requests for  
dance room songs were  
obtained

2. Valvojaiset  
Watches  
○ pyykinhautojaiset  
laundry watches

3. Leikkihääät  
Mock weddings  
▲ lastenhääät, barnbröllop  
'children's weddings'

▲ pikkuhääät, pikkulikkain häät  
'little girls' weddings'

▲ pennihääät  
'penny weddings'

▲ pökönhääät  
'blockheads' weddings'

▼ muu nimitys  
other name

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 35. VILLAGE DANCES

### **Dancing for the young**

**Organizing village dances.** Village dances organized by the young themselves, called *nurkkatanssit* [corner dance], were known everywhere both in Finland and Karelia at the end of the 1800s, and they had become the primary social occasion for the young.(1) They usually arranged their own village dances on Sunday evenings, as the regulations on spending sabbath defined the holy day as starting on Saturday evening at 6 and ending at the same hour on Sunday. When the regulations on spending the sabbath lost their significance, entertainments for the young began on Saturday. In western and southern Finland, boys took care of organizing the dances, less often girls and boys in turns. The largest room in some farmhouse was hired for the dance, and refreshments procured, ale, beer, coffee and pastries. A fiddle or accordion player was also booked, if there was one in the parish. The fees for hiring the dance hall, the musician and other costs were met by voluntary contributions collected from the boys during the dance. The mistress of the house where the dance was held may have taken care of the catering for a separate fee. The organization of dances acquired a similar format in all village regions. Village dances were feasting parties for the young, where they ate and danced.

In small villages in eastern Finland and Karelia, the young might decide to set up a dance spontaneously, going round the houses in search of a venue. In larger villages, houses no longer allowed groups of young people into their rooms, but the dances were arranged by a certain house or tenant farmer, and the village dance became a regular entertainment.

In the 1800s, the young organized village dances at every possibly opportunity, during calendar festivals, parish holidays and to round off talkoot and even periodic work, such as threshing. In Karelia, the young came along for a dance at proposals of marriage; in Ladoga Karelia it was considered that the young had the right to organize a dance in the proposal house every night for a week (map 13). When resistance to dancing arose e.g. among the Revivalists and their number was restricted in numerous parishes, the young sought occasions where dancing might be combined with work or other social interaction. In western and southern Finland, lottery dances [*lotteritanssit*] were in vogue at the end of the 1800s, the costs of which were covered by the sale of lottery tickets during the dance. Lottery dances could be organized by anybody, perhaps the master of a house or a village youth, who might hand over his watch as the lottery prize. He could keep any cash left over after the musician had been paid and

other costs met. The era of young people's lottery dances did not last long, but at charity events and in the operation of societies lotteries became a permanent fixture.

As young people's social circle expanded at the end of the 1800s, inter-village dances also became common, called *isot tanssit* [great dance] in Ostrobothnia; they were held on the major holidays, most often at Michaelmas, in the 1900s also at Christmas, either on Twelfth Night or New Year's Day.

**Names of village dances.** Village dances have had several local names descriptive of dancing, such as the Ostrobothnian *hypyt* ['jumps'], but the most common are names meaning drinking parties or feasts, among them international loan words, such as *kalaasit* (Sw. *kalas*; *gala*) and *paalit* (*ball*). The map shows the distribution areas of the names *besedat* and *kalenat*, which show the differences between village dances in western Finland and Karelia. *Besedat* (Ru. *béseda*) were originally girls' handicraft evenings, then dances held at Prasnikas, and finally village dances in general (cf. maps 22, 34). The background of *kalenat* is likely to have been the touring festivals (Lat. *calendae*) of the Christmas season. From the Slavic direction, they have spread to Ingria (*kiletoiminen*), both to the Isthmus and also further north. The name dates back to the time when games and dances were a regular part of a certain annual festival, in cultivation communities particularly the turn of the year.

**Requesting use of room for dancing.** The song *Tanssituvan pyyntö* [Requesting use of a room for dancing] in the old meter was originally performed at turn-of-the-year festivals – Kekri and later Christmas – or at Prasnikas, when led by the girls, the young did the rounds of village houses looking for a room for dancing. It is known in the same region as the name *kalenat* for dancing or games. The song begins with a requesting sequence, and depending on the reception, ends with verses thanking or mocking the householders. The song *Tanssituvan pyyntö* reflects the nature of organizing dances in the Ingrian-Karelian region. The young arranged dances on an ad hoc basis, spontaneously, girls and boys together, asking around the houses for a venue, and the dance music still consisted of songs, even round game songs in the old meter, performed by the girls led by a lead singer. It was specifically the girls who sang at dances, and they might have also danced together, while the boys stood aside to watch.

**Laundry watches.** In Satakunta and Häme, the young would organize a dance at the times of the great spring and autumn laundry sessions, when village girls gathered in houses to give one another a hand. The saying went that the washing was danced to become 'swans' or pure white. The laundry parties have been night watches; soaking the washing in ash lye took all night, and the boys came into wash-houses to keep the girls company in the same way as in malt saunas (map 34). As an occasion for dancing, laundry parties are also known in Sweden, and they were held especially at the time of the big spring laundry session. In Finland, laundry parties have spread across the area where it was customary to do two large washes a year; the spring session included washing and bleaching the linen cloth woven during the winter.(2)

**Mock weddings.** Mock weddings, a custom that spread to southern and central Ostrobothnia and partially to central Finland, were village dances which imitated crown weddings (map 16). A bride and groom were dressed up for the mock wedding, and a tall home-made crown placed on the bride's head like at real Ostrobothnian weddings. The pretend couples at dances have been children of youngsters not yet passed confirmation school, only in more northern areas the bride may have been of the same age group as the young themselves. The actual set piece at mock weddings was dancing with the bride for a fee; the bride kept the money she made for herself. There was no wedding drama or other wedding

ceremonies, and shots of spirits were not publicly served at mock weddings, as was the case at real weddings.

The mock weddings were organized by the village young, or often by the bride's mother, as a way of earning money for her daughter. As a social occasion for the young, mock weddings were no different from normal village dances, with the exception that when dancing with the bride, *raharinki* [money ring] would sometimes be danced and *purpuri* and other old wedding dances were played. The mock wedding usually began on Sunday afternoon and went on until midnight.

In South Ostrobothnia, mock weddings have been called *lastenhääät* [children's wedding], *pikkuhääät* [little wedding] or *pikkuflikkain häät* [little girls' wedding], in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia *barnbröllop* [children's wedding]; the terms indicate that the bride was a child. The most common name outside South Ostrobothnia has been *pennihääät* [penny wedding], and in places, the term has come to mean village dances in general. *Pökönhääät* (blockhead's wedding; *pökö* = rotted treestump) is connected with the idiom *pökön morsian* [*pökö*'s bride] and meant that at mock weddings, the bride had no groom, or an object, such as a block of wood, was dressed up as the groom.

The models of Finnish mock weddings are thought to have been Swedish calendar festivals with role players in wedding dress. In Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, pretend brides have appeared in colourful Shrovetide tours or Christmas season tours (*lappbrud*, Ostrobothnia), in Åland e.g. at Midsummer festivals (*midsommarbrud*; cf. maps 27-29). In village regions in Sweden, spring brides (*majbrud*) have been deemed to represent the goddess of fertility, and the customs would thus reflect the spring carnivals of more southern countries.

The name *Jumin häät*, mentioned in some documents concerning the parish of Muhos from 1758, has been associated with mock weddings. According to them, a girl became pregnant at a *Jumin häät* and later killed her child, for which she was sentenced to death. The word *jumi* derives from *jumala* [god] and *Jumin häät* has been interpreted as an ancient Finnish fertility rite, an orgy. However, the source has been shown to be false.(3)

In Finnish-speaking Ostrobothnia, mock weddings have no connection with ceremonial tours or fertility rites, although they were perhaps originally held at a time appropriate for charity, such as Christmas. Instead, pretend brides may have been distantly modeled on the Whitsun brides (*pingstbrud*) of village regions in southern Sweden. The girls were poor children, who as 'Christ's brides' would go around collecting 'bridal aid' for themselves. Finnish mock weddings were village dances where aid was collected for some poor girl, and show the community spirit that prevailed particularly in Ostrobothnian villages. The oldest record of mock weddings is from Lapväärtti in the year 1794.(4)

## ***Structural changes in dancing***

**Era of singing and group dancing.** Young people started organizing their own dances towards the end of the 1700s. Dancing at the time was done in groups and involved singing, with the dancers executing the dance movements together, sometimes swapping partners. Dancing songs were originally performed in the old meter, which was retained in Ingria and parts of the Isthmus as late as the end of the 19th century.

There were two types of songs in the old meter or round game songs, (1) promenade dances and (2) round dances. Ballad songs were performed in 'long voice' (Ingria) or 'great note' (Isthmus), when the singers, usually all girls, walked slowly in line around the dance hall, or in the summer back and forth on the village lane. Lyric songs were sung in 'tender voice' (Ingria) or 'high note' (Isthmus), with the girls joining hands to dance in a circle around the lead singer. These performing styles are also known in northern Russian tradition. Boys did not usually take part in the dancing, but watched the girls from the sidelines.

In Ingria, girls would parade on the village lanes in a *gulanya* on summer Sunday afternoons, as they did in Russian villages. Girls wandered two or four abreast back and forth on village lanes, singing both old ballads (map 99) and Russian songs. Boys would gradually join the girls' lines and walk alongside a girl they liked, chatting with her.

From the 1600s, ballads, dance ballads and lyric dancing songs in new meter, as well as dance music, spread to western and southern Finland; the performers of the music were originally wedding musicians. The four-line (*enstrofing*) dancing songs in new meter evolved into their own tradition among the young. Particularly in Ostrobothnia, girls at young people's gatherings performed round game dancing and swinging songs they had written about love and other new romantic themes, but also local events, fights, manslaughters and blood feuds between knife heroes. The content of the folk songs in the new meter reflected young people's view of life, romantic love, longing for a friend, disappointments, the bitterness of being forsaken; they were part of the experiences of the young within their own social circles. The new meter round-dancing tradition also included mocking songs, used to maintain group discipline, and increasing numbers of boasting songs, manifestations of young people rebelling against their parents and the norms of the village community.

The group or social dances were accompanied with a *kantele*, the Finnish zither, which is an ancient eastern instrument, as well as the clarinet and fiddle, which spread from the 1600s mainly from Scandinavia. Group dances, such as the polonaise and minuet were danced at weddings, and the old rite dances of weddings, e.g. *raharinki* [money ring] (map 21) were polonaises, as were most of the main sequences of the wedding pururi. Wedding dances were danced or practised also at young people's own dance events, but the tunes were sung when there were no musical instruments at hand. Of the old group dances, the anglaise (*engelska*) and the quadrille, which became fashionable in the 1830s and 40s, appear to have spread to young people's dances. In Karelia, young people's group dances corresponding to quadrilles were contradances, such as the cross contra, and under this category perhaps comes also the old slow waltz that spread to Finland in the early 19th century. In Karelia, contradances featured solo parts for both girls and boys: the girls spun prettily on the spot or around their boy partner, and the boys danced the Russian gopak for their girls.(5)

**Era of paired dances.** Halfway through the 1800s, a structural change took place in dance styles, when paired dances came into fashion. The three basic dances were the polka, the mazurka and the waltz. In paired dancing, couples moved together holding each other in an intimate way in view of the attitudes of the day; this allowed the boy and girl to devote themselves to one another while dancing in an entirely different way from group dancing. In the course of time, paired dances became ever more fast-paced, but on the other hand also increasingly more intimate. This trend continued in the 1900s, and the tango and cheek-to-cheek waltz represented a kind of culmination of 'proximity dances'. Paired dances may also be seen as a facet of the new erotic interactive customs, along with which romantic love turned into eroticism and resulted in the sexual revolution of the 1970s; in the western countries, the self-evident purpose of becoming acquainted and 'going out' with someone became sexual intercourse.

Paired dances also brought into fashion a new instrument, the accordion. It spread from both the west and the east and displaced the kantele in Karelia. The old single-row accordion was easy to learn and a loud dance music instrument. However, in western Finland, particularly Ostrobothnia, the fiddle retained its position as the ceremonial instrument, specifically at crown weddings.

As an institution, the organizing of village dances has spread from continental Europe, mainly Sweden. In the village regions of western Finland at the end of the 19th century, young people's dances already consisted of paired dances accompanied by fiddlers or accordionists. Village dances had displaced games events and handwork games. At the Prasnika dances of East Karelia, Russian accordion music was played, but under normal circumstances young people's dances were still largely occasions for singing games, especially in the villages of Ingria and also South Karelia. Girls might also gather outdoors in the summertime on playing fields and village lanes, and after paired dances became fashionable, river bridges were utilized as dancing venues, especially in Karelia.

In western villages, the arranging of dances became organized, specialized and professionalized; in the east young people's entertainments remained spontaneous, with dances organized mainly on calendar festivals, Prasnikas, and when suitors were abroad in the village. With the spread of the new instruments, above all the accordion, the village girls' singing died away, and in the 1900s dances were accompanied by self-taught musicians and finally professional entertainment artistes. In the latest structural changes, the songs and music of the era of local cultures have merged to become a part of postlocal consciousness industry, world culture.

**1.** Sarmela 1969, 144-. **2.** Sarmela 1969, 121-. **3.** Vilkuna K. 1974. **4.** Sarmela 1981b. **5.** On the history of dancing in general: Ala-Könni 1956. Andersson 1934a; 1963-1964. Eskeröd 1953. Nikander 1929. Norlind 1930; 1941. Sarmela 1969, 210-. Tillhagen – Dencker 1949-1950. Troels-Lund 1932-1945 (1903-1904) VI, 125-. Karelia: Konkka A. 1980. Konkka U. 1980. Surhasko 1977. Cf. also *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde II:115-120. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 148-150. Etnografický atlas slovenska: XVIII 1-19, X 28. Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas: 87.*

## 36. Nimipäiväjuhlat Name-Day Parties

### 1. Nimipäiväkestitys Name-day treating

nimipäiväkestityksen ja laulutervehyksen levinneisyys  
1930-luvulla  
area of name-day treat and  
congratulatory singing  
in the 1930s

nimipäiväkestityksen vaatimi-  
nen kylätapana  
demands for name-day treats  
(drink) a village custom

*kousan* vaatiminen  
demand for *kousa* tankard

2. Nimipäiväpilailu  
Name-day jests  
nimipäivänukke pihalla  
name-day doll of human size in  
the yard

3. Lahjakoristeita  
Decorations  
lahjapuu ("joulukuusi", sisällä)  
gift tree ("Christmas tree", in-  
doors)

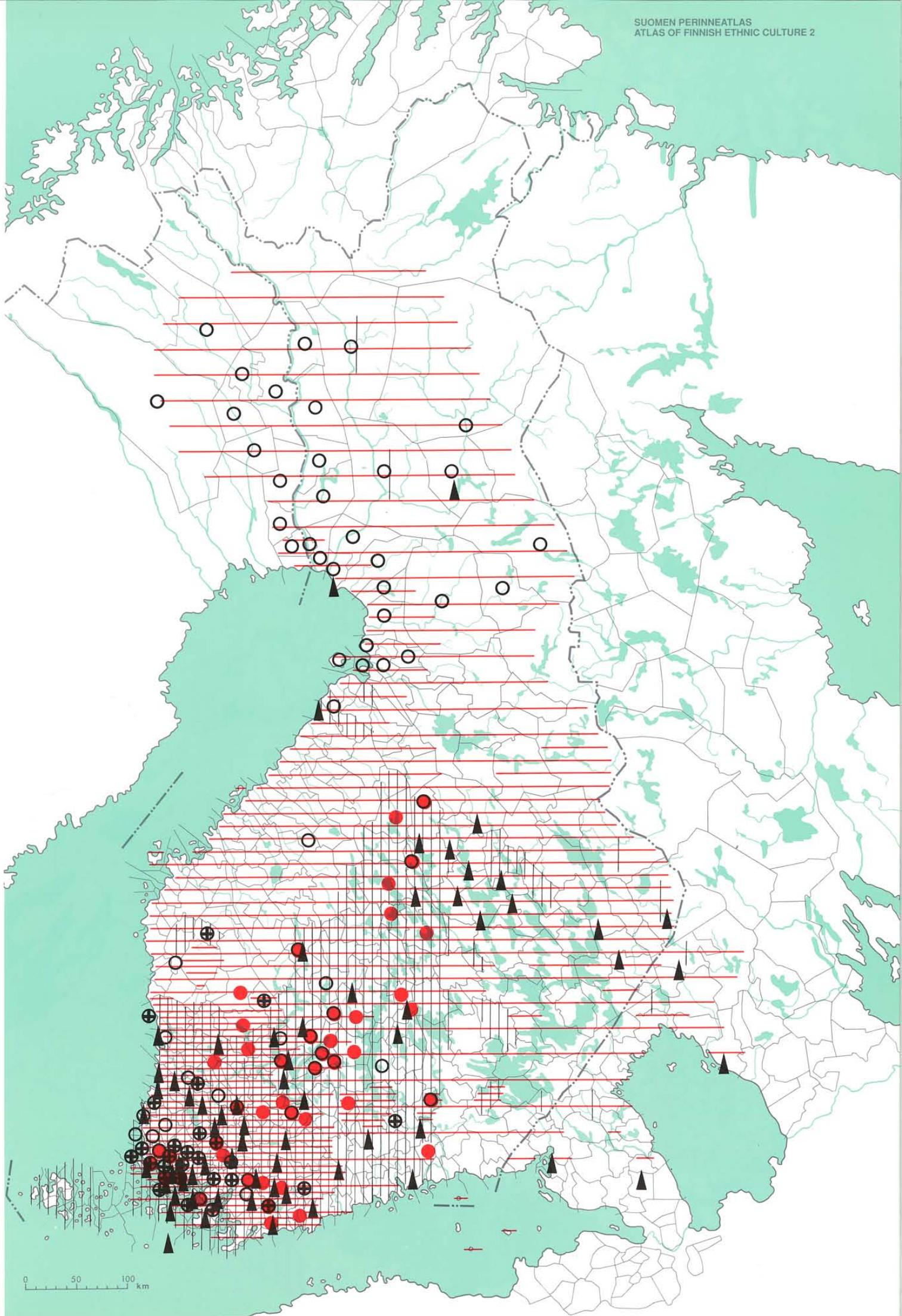


▲ nimipäiväseppele  
name-day wreath

○ nimipäiväpuu (pihalla)  
name-day tree (in the yard)

⊕ nimipäiväsalko tai maistonki  
name-day maypole (in the  
yard)

Distribution map



## 36. NAME-DAY PARTIES

### **Personal occasion**

**Demanding name-day hospitality.** In the western village areas of Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Häme, South Savo, and evidently also in the Ostrobothnian coastal regions, celebrating name-days dates back to the Middle Ages, when the oldest saint calendars were adopted and Finns were baptized and named after some Biblical character or saint. A feature of the oldest layer of name-day customs is demanding drinks of beer or spirits from the person in question on the annual memorial day of his or her namesake saint. As well as in Ostrobothnia, the custom has been known in southwestern Finland, where it was called *kousan juominen*. The person celebrating his name-day had to offer a *kousa* (two-handled beer tankard), or a pot or goblet of beer to everyone who came to the house. The obligation to entertain was called *kousan maksaminen* or *lunastaminen* [paying or forfeiting the *kousa*]; if the party celebrating his name-day did not pay his *kousa*, he was threatened with being locked up in the pigsty or with some other punishment. Sometimes, those who failed to pay their *kousa* were given a lifelong nickname by attaching the word '*hako*' to their first name: Hako-Mari, Hako-Fretu etc. [the word means a piece of fir tree branch, used as cattle bedding].

The provision of a name-day *kousa* has been a part of celebrating saints' memorial days in the Catholic era (map 22) and may have originated from the beer-huts in which people would gather on the memorial days of the patron saint of the parish church. The word '*kousa*' and demanding one show the medieval original region of name-day celebrating and hospitality customs.

Later, the custom has continued in the form of name-day parties. The person celebrating a name-day has been the center of attention by being woken on the morning of his name-day in some special way; in return he had to provide food and drink to the wakers or hold a name-day dance in the evening. In southwestern Finland, the person celebrating his name-day was woken by shooting or making a racket; the custom of serenading under the person's window is likely to have originated among gentlefolk. In the 1900s, performing a greeting in song was adopted by youth associations and other societies, and name-day parties spread throughout Finland and Finnish Karelia.

**Life-sized name-day effigy.** Among the young, attention was drawn to the person celebrating a name-day by making him a large, human-sized effigy, *nimipäivä-äijä* or *-ämmä*. The distribution area of the name-day effigy reaches from southwestern Finland to central Finland. The effigies were made from straw, dressed in old clothing and set standing under the name-day celebrant's window, on a ladder or in

front of the steps. The effigy had its own symbolism among the young. A pretty girl was given a pretty effigy, a girl or boy who had lost their reputation was given a rude effigy, a girl awaiting a suitor was given a groom effigy, perhaps dressed in full suitor's regalia and stood in a sleigh under the girl's window.

A large effigy appeared behind the window in the night may have been an unwelcome surprise for the recipient, who would quickly hide it from the eyes of passers-by. Boys might have made an effigy for girls so large that it took several men to carry it away. In southwestern Finland, the effigy might have represented a bringer of felicitations, arriving with a letter of congratulations and cane in hand. Name-day effigies have also been vehicles of cruel mockery in western village communities, for example highlighting the name-day celebrant's physical disability, or ridiculing one of the village wealthy, at the same time defusing social ill-feeling in the peasant community.

**Gift table.** Evidently towards the end of the 19th century, it became fashionable to bring the person celebrating a name-day gifts, which were placed by his or her bed in the night on a special gift table or chair. The gift table was covered with a cloth and decorated with artificial flowers, garlands, or silver and gold paper. The candy, cookies and other gifts bought or made by the young people were set out on the table.

**Gift tree.** The custom of placing a gift tree by the name-day celebrant's bed, either on the floor or a cloth-covered table, has spread as far as central Finland. The gift tree was usually a spruce, and its branches were hung with candy, apples and other delicacies like on a Christmas tree; the actual gifts, if any, were placed under the tree. At least further to the east, in Savo and central Finland, the gift tree is a late phenomenon, modeled on the Christmas trees of folk school Christmas parties.

**Name-day wreath.** In a number of locations, a message of congratulations in the shape of a wreath, *kranssi*, was brought as a name-day gift and nailed to the exterior door. The wreath was made of climbing plants, flowers or paper decorations, with verses of congratulations written in the center. The scattered area of distribution of the name-day wreath covers all of Finland, albeit having arrived in eastern Finland very late, in the 1900s. As a gift, the wreath is reminiscent of the congratulatory boards given to bridal couples, or Christmas decorations, and belongs to the customs of the bourgeoisie which spread to rural areas along with the tradition of visiting and offering congratulations.

**Name-day tree and maypole.** In western and northern Finland, a delimbed tree or *karsikko* (cf. map 6) or a pole decorated with garlands, *maistonki*, was sometimes erected in the yard of the house. The name-day pole is known in southwestern Finland in the same areas as the wedding pole (map 17); it was a sign of a house celebrating a name-day. Karsikkos were made particularly in southern Lapland and the Finnish areas of Norrbotten in Sweden. The name-day karsikko was a young spruce, delimbed except for the topmost branches, and it was erected in the homestead in the same way as an initiate's karsikko (*hurrikas*). In many places in southwestern Finland, the name-day karsikko was a decoration similar to the wedding spruce.

**Significance of celebrating name-days.** The origin of the medieval name-day kousa may be the pre-Christian custom of drinking in honor of one's supernatural guardian on certain annual sacrificial days. In the Catholic era, the guardians were displaced by name-sake saints, and after the Christian calendar was adopted celebrating of personal memorial days also became established. Originally, drinking toasts

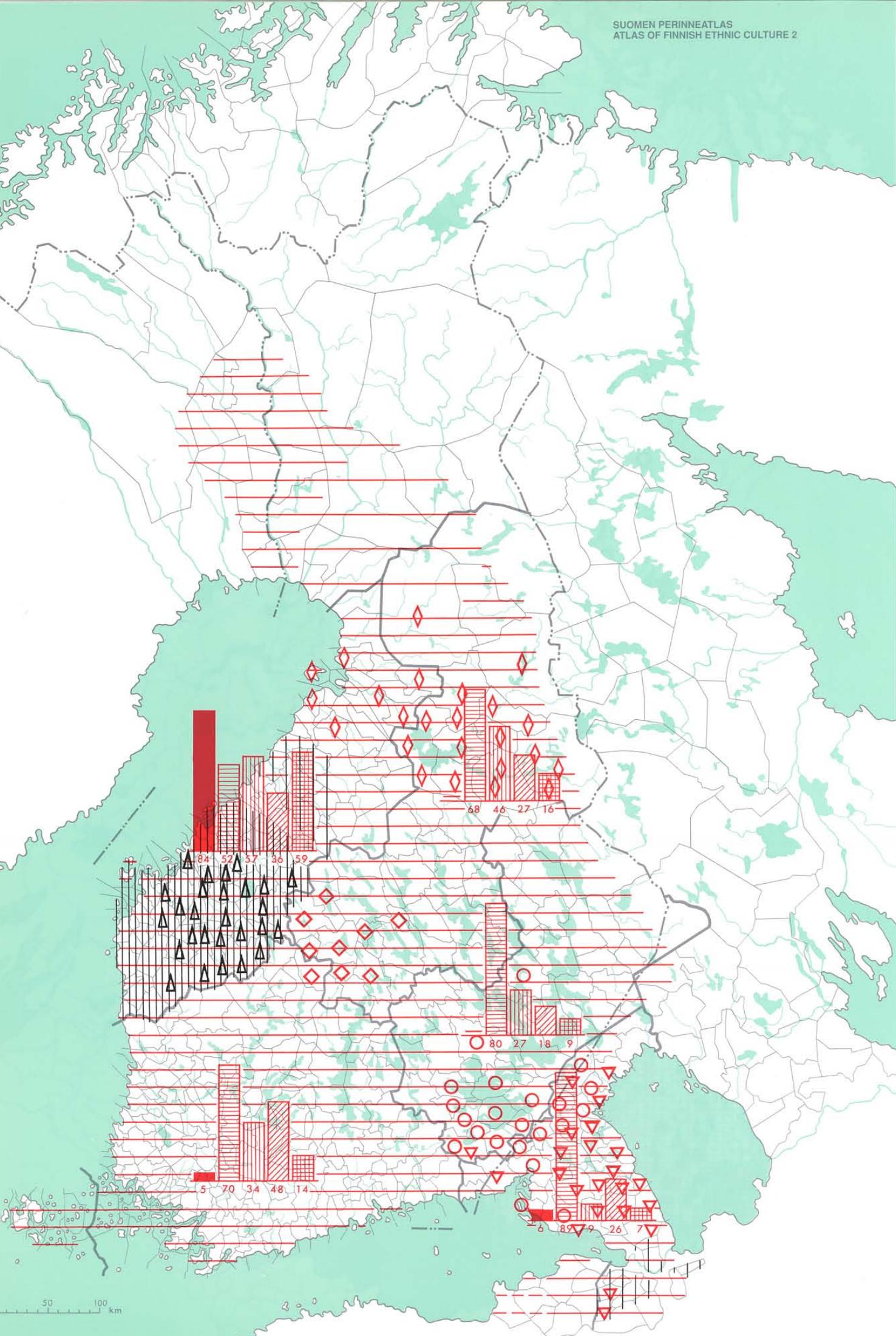
may have been associated with celebrating parish holy days, and the provision of kousas fell on those who shared a name with the patron saint of the church.

After the Reformation, two traditions evolved e.g. in Germany: celebrating name-days has been customary in the Catholic area, while in the Lutheran area birthdays became the personal memorial days. Perhaps celebrating birthdays has corresponded to the Lutheran concept of man. Age-related celebrations became a 'hierarchy rite', parties are a mark of honor to the work and status in the community of the person celebrating a birthday.

Proffering congratulations, giving presents and organizing name-day parties may have spread among Finnish gentry in the 1700s. Gift trees, even the making of effigies, are evidently based on Christmas customs and date back to the celebration of Roman *calendae* festivals (cf. maps 27-29). In village communities, bourgeois customs of proffering congratulations, gift tables, and name-day and wedding boards are likely to have been adopted only in the era of landed peasant culture.

In 19th century Finland, celebration of name-days was above all a form of entertainment for the young. Name-day parties were also held by serving folk, and their spread was partially aided by the prohibitions and restrictions on village dances which were not deemed to concern family occasions. For the village young, a name-day of one of their peers was a reason for organizing a dance. On the other hand, the celebration of name-days and birthdays has been part of a new community culture, considering neighbors and friends, and reinforcing personal bonds.

Talve 1966. Sarmela 1969, 106-. *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde I:35. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 215-217. Österreichischer Volkskundatlas: 4. Danver 1942. Boehm 1938. Düring 1954.*



### 37. Yöstelytavat Night Courting by Youths

1. Yöstelytapojen levinneisyys  
Spread of night courting  
organisatorisen yöstelyn alueet  
areas of organised courting



indivisaalisen yökulun  
levinneisyys  
area of individual night  
courting



2. Yöstelyn paikallismimityksiä  
Local names for nocturnal  
courting  
krossottelu  
'crushing'



konkalla käyminen, konkan ajo  
'hobbling', 'going by horse'



luuhalla käyminen, luuhattelu  
'going for a loiter', 'loitering'



pyrkiminen, pyrkimässä käynti  
'trying to get in the girls'  
sleeping quarters'



yöstäminen  
'nighting'

3. Yöstelytapojen  
vakiintuneisuus  
Establishment of night  
courting customs

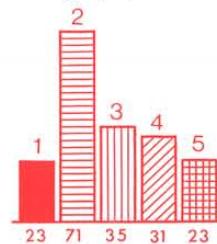
1. järjestätyneitä poika-  
ryhmiä  
organised groups of boys

2. pyrkimäluku  
endeavour or knocking  
rhyme to get in the  
sleeping quarters

3. vierailut tapana ympäri  
vuoden  
visits customary throughout  
the year

4. kestystapaja  
treating customs in the  
girl's bedroom

5. yökosintatapoja  
night proposal customs



Tilastollinen otanta 240, koko  
aineisto 1200 kuvausta  
Statistical sample 240, total  
1200 descriptions

Levinneisyys- ja tilastokartta  
Distribution and statistical map

## 37. NIGHT COURTING BY YOUTHS

### **Night jaunts of the young**

**Boys' nocturnal visits.** Night courting, *yöstely*, refers to boys' nocturnal visits to girls' sleeping quarters. The visiting customs are of two types: organized group visiting and individual or unorganized forms.(1) Organized *yöstely* is a facet of the village culture of continental Europe, and spread from the end of the 1700s from Sweden, possibly first to Swedish-speaking and then on to Finnish-speaking Ostrobothnia. As an individualized custom, boys' night courting had become known everywhere, including eastern and northern Finland, by the turn of the 1800s and 1900s. Only in Orthodox Karelia was the custom totally unknown.

In Finland, night courting has commonly been called *yöstely* ['nighting'] or *yöjalassa käynti* ['night-footing']. In southwestern Finland and elsewhere, too, common terms were the Swedish-originated *flikastaminen* (Sw. *flicka* 'girl') and *friiuulle meno* (Sw. *fria* 'go out together, court'). The map shows some local terms, all of them purely descriptive; in Ostrobothnia the custom was called *krossottelu* [crushing], in Kainuu *luuhalla käyminen*, *luuhattelu* [loitering], in the Karelian Isthmus *pyrkiminen*, trying to get in the girls' sleeping quarters. One of the most unusual is *konkalla ajo* (South Savo - Isthmus), meaning a group of men riding around on a horse cart doing the rounds of villages; in Savo the night visiting was often done with a horse.

**Organized night courting.** In Ostrobothnia and elsewhere in the agrarian village culture area, where youth had become organized, night courting was ceremonial visiting of a group of boys in the village girls' sleeping quarters, lofts and bedchambers. The visiting ceremonies included rituals for requesting entry, hospitality and night proposals, and the young people of the village also controlled the interaction and punished those who behaved in an unacceptable manner. In the area of organized group courting in Ostrobothnia, the village boys gathered on pre-assigned nights in order to visit all the girls in their social circle. The same kind of night visiting by groups of boys has also occurred in the Baltic countries and sporadically also in Ingria.

**Individual night visits.** Outside the Ostrobothnian area of groups of youths, boys were on the move alone or with a friend, trying to gain entry into the bedrooms of girls they fancied. They tried to get in by knocking on the door and performing entry formulas, rhymes in the rhythm of the knocking. Attempts to gain entry were surreptitious, as the girl's parents usually did not approve of night visitors. It was usual

for other boys to play all kinds of tricks on their mate who had been allowed into a sleeping loft, such as barring the door from the outside. The nature of the night visits depended on the girl and on how long the relationship had lasted. The customs followed general views of morality, which in the 1800s varied between the different social classes and parts of the country.

## **Social intercourse customs**

**Visit by night courting group.** In the densely-built villages of Ostrobothnia, young men would gather on Saturday nights and sometimes also on other pre-agreed weekdays at a village crossroads or other established meeting places, to go visiting girls or on a krossottelu jaunt. The gang of youths was headed by the leader and in wintertime the bearer of the knocking pole; the pole was long enough to reach the girls' bedroom windows. In summertime girls slept out in the lofts of granaries or storage cabins, where they had their own sleeping quarters. For longer trips, the sons of farmhouses may have had the use of a horse, or horses were taken from pasture without leave. When the group leader knocked, the girl would open the door of her bedroom and hurry back to her bed under the covers.

On yöstely nights, the girls wore over their nightdress a special white frock called *krekkumamekko* or *odotuströijy*, ('waiting frock'; Sw. *väntanträja*, *vitmecko*). Inside the girl's room, the boys found a place to sit, lit their pipes and examined the girl's store of clothing, which was hung on the walls and rafters. At the end of the 1800s, girls had visitors' books, into which the boys wrote verses or good wishes. The girl might also have refreshments on offer, such as a bottle of wine in a trunk, from which she would offer a small welcome drink.

If one of the boys wanted to stay the night or *jäädä hialle* ['to stay on the girl's sleeve'], a formalized request was made, *tehtii koetukset*. There were various forms of night proposals. A common way of making koetukset was that the boy threw himself, fully clothed, next to the girl on the covers, and if the girl did not push him off, the answer was in the affirmative. In some parts (Kauhava, Lapua) there was a chair or bench, *meinaamalavitta* ['intention stool'], at the head of the girl's bed, upon which the boy sat down as an expression of his intention. Boys have also employed the help of a spokesman, who would sit on the edge of the girl's bed, speaking on behalf of his mate. If there were more than one requester, the girl's opinion was expressed in symbols. In the Swedish-speaking area and also elsewhere, the boys threw their caps on the girl's bed, and the one whose cap she did not throw back was allowed to stay the night. Sometimes in Ostrobothnia, as well as in Sweden, the group leader has decided which of the boys was to stay in the girl's chamber. When the night proposal had been accepted, the spokesman or rest of the group 'undressed' the boy, placed him alongside the girl, and continued on their way to the next destination. The boy was only permitted to remove his coat, waistcoat and shoes.

**Social norms of night visiting.** Young people's choices of partner mirrored the social value judgments of the peasant community. In the night courting system, it was important that equally matched people found each other. The status of every young person was above all else determined by the prosperity of his or her home, but also by personal qualities, such as energy, capacity for work, looks etc. Every sleeping pair or *koko* was evaluated later and an assessment made of whether either party had 'slept

alongside shit' or demeaned his worth in his choice of courting partner. A close count was kept of rejections, or *rukkaset*, *nahat* or *viisikoipiset* ['leather mittens', 'skins' or 'five-leggers'], received by the boys.

In a few Ostrobothnian parishes, a boy who had been rejected had to forfeit or *pruuKKUUTTA* (tan) the *nahat* [skins] by finding another girl (Sw. *skinnskarverska*) on the same night to agree to lie alongside him; he then had to '*hieroa nahkaa*', 'rub the skin' or bargain with the girl over the price she demanded before agreeing to be the tanner of the skin. Being rejected always reduced the boy's status in the eyes of the village, and this was one of the reasons why the request to lie alongside a girl was prepared via a friend.

Sleeping together took place to precise rules, including on how to change sides when the boy's arm went numb or the girl 'overlay the boy's arm'. In the group night courting area of Ostrobothnia, sleeping together or *hiallaolo* ['being on the sleeve'] did not mean sexual intercourse until after the young couple was engaged. The group of youths on a night jaunt might even return to check the *koko*, the pair sleeping together, to make sure nothing untoward had taken place. They might also leave a young boy or *tiilenpolttaja* ('brick kiln minder', Sw. *tegelbrännare*) in the pair's bedroom to learn respectable night courting manners.

Those who had breached the norms of morality were excluded from the night visiting circle. In many parts of Ostrobothnia, the village young have punished those who contravened night visiting norms very harshly, having found a boy who had entered a girl's sleeping quarters without leave, or that the boy had undressed inappropriately. As in an area of village fights it was not advisable to go to neighboring villages for fear of a thrashing, every boy had to submit to the norms of morality and courtship set by his own peer group.

**Regional variations in night courting customs.** The diagram on the map shows regional differences in night courting customs in the base material consisting of 240 archive descriptions. Organized night courting groups (block diagram I) occur almost exclusively in Ostrobothnia (South Ostrobothnia) and some (5%) in the group villages of southern regions. It is possible that organization by young people has taken place everywhere in the area of agrarian village culture, where e.g. village swings were built (map 38), but in southwestern Finland, social class divisions and conflicts have also broken up the cohesiveness of youth.

In eastern Finland, the groups of boys have been temporary, with village youth becoming organized in the same way as in Ostrobothnia only on the Isthmus and in Ingria, but organized night courting never evolved on the Isthmus. As the elders were against movements by the young, the activities of youth gangs, particularly on the Isthmus, focused on being a nuisance and vandalism.

Formulas to gain entry (block diagram II) are known everywhere, but most references to them occur in records from Savo and the Isthmus (80% and 89%). Finnish entry formulas have the same structure and clichés as in the Swedish night courting areas. The basic verses are waking and greeting the girls, introducing those outside the door, a request to open the door or to raise the hasp, and a comical justification for the request to enter. The applicants appealed to the long journey and bad weather; if the door remained shut, a suspicion followed that there was already someone in the bedroom, and finally the request turned into mocking the girls. In Savo, the entry rhymes have been long with humorous quips, especially grounds used to plead for the girls to open their doors or at least to answer the applicant.

In the area of individual night courting, knowing the entry formulas was essential, while in Ostrobothnia the *kopistossanat* [knocking words] were brief, usually consisting only of a greeting, introduction, and request to open the door. In Ostrobothnia, the entry formula was one of the set lines of courting, and it

was not necessarily needed, since the girls could not refuse to open their door. At the least, they had to come and open the door a crack in order to show the comers that she was not harboring a boy from another village or a night visitor who had come without the knowledge of the others.

Night courting in winter (block diagram III) shows the attitude of older folk to young people's night visiting. In Ostrobothnia groups of boys went around night courting all the year round, and as girls slept in attic bedchambers in wintertime, the knocking and tramping of the gang of youths on the stairs was heard through the house. Parents were not opposed to boys' visiting, as they were a reflection of the girl's popularity among her peers. Winter night courting has also been relatively common in southwestern Finland, where girls, serving girls too, had their own bedrooms in winter. In the north, in the *luuhattelu* area of Kainuu and in central Finland, the nocturnal movements of the young have been viewed with relative tolerance, particularly when opportunities for their socializing have been few. Parents have even been proud of their daughters' popularity, keeping a close account of their night visitors. However, night courting usually started in spring, when the girls moved out to sleep in an *aitta* or *luhti*, granary loft (Part I, map 28). At the start of the courting season the girls 'dressed their lofts', set out on the rafters and walls their entire stock of clothing and linens, the trousseaux they had made themselves, for all to see.(2)

The provision of refreshments for night visitors (block diagram IV) is an old custom; at the time of home distilling the girls offered liquor, and the oldest records of night courting from the 1750s express disapproval of boys running around the villages in order to obtain drink. Even at the end of the 1800s, the girls were in the habit of having refreshments, even food, ready in their sleeping quarters on visiting nights. In Ostrobothnia the offering of refreshments has not been very common, as enticing the boys was not considered honorable. Elsewhere, too, girls have mostly only served refreshments to their favorite boys who were regular visitors.

Established public night proposal customs (block diagram V) have occurred only in the Ostrobothnian group night courting area, but symbolic language has been used also elsewhere when asking for leave to lie next to a girl. In Savo, boys have taken a friend along on the first visit, to act as spokesman. The customs also vary in terms of content. Within organized night visiting circles, requesting a place at a girl's side was a part of the visiting ceremonies, through which 'steady couples' gradually emerged. In the area of individual night courting, the boys would from the start try to get to girls with whom they wanted to start a regular courtship.

## ***Interpretations of customs***

**Background to the institution of night courting.** Evolutionist theories explain night courting as a remnant of the promiscuity (heterism) of the early stages of mankind, or the original stage of development when all moral norms were still absent. A theory representing another line of developmental thinking postulates that night courting may be a remnant from so-called trial marriage, testing the girl's fertility before marriage.(3) Among the scholars, K. Rob. V. Wikman refutes the evolutionist explanations, but believes that the custom dates back to prehistoric times in Europe and also in Scandinavia. In his view, visiting girls has been a part of the old cattle hut culture in the Germanic region, and its organizational form originated from group visits of boys to girls living in remote cattle huts in summertime.(4) The theory would

appear to be supported by the distribution area of night courting in Europe, corresponding to the areas of cattle hut culture in Scandinavia and the mountainous regions of Switzerland, Austria and Germany.

On the other hand, some point out that in small living accommodation, sleeping in communal beds (Fi. *siskonpeti* ('sisters' bed'; Sw. *i tro och lov*) was commonplace in the Middle Ages also among the upper social classes. In medieval Europe, a curtained bed has been women's private reception area where they might also meet men, observing certain rules of propriety. Companionable nocturnal socializing between a man and woman would reflect the same kind of medieval sexual idealism as chivalric romanticism and worship of the Virgin Mary.(5 Finnish night courtship customs may also manifest a kind of peasant chivalric romanticism. Girls and boys have lain side by side on occasions such as weddings and their own night sittings (map 34). In the Votian villages of Ingria and in Estonia, young people slept in *katuset* (shelters); girls and boys went into a barn in pairs to socialize, and sometimes a leader elected by the group assigned the pairs or the boys 'kidnapped' the girls.

Night visits by groups of youths are a facet of agrarian village culture not found in kinship communities. Organized night visiting and village fights went closely together and reinforced the integration of the youth community. It is not necessary to seek the origin of the customs from ancient times. In Finland, Ostrobothnia is the core area of peasant village culture. In South Ostrobothnia, village administration or the alderman institution with its written rules and village committees was widely adopted (Part I, map 1). In Swedish village regions, as well as to some degree in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia, the rules and admission ceremonies of youth groups have followed the models provided by the alderman system and medieval guilds. The organization culture of industrial society had local predecessors in Ostrobothnia, and in fact the youth associations continued similar activities to those of the groups of village young men.

**Critical change in youth culture.** The social disintegration of villages was mirrored in young people's sexual behavior and night courting customs. At the height of peasant village culture in the 1700s and 1800s, social intercourse was subject to absolute agrarian or puritanical moral norms, which also applied to boys. Night courting served the purpose of getting to know members of the opposite sex with a view to marriage, and as a social institution it afforded an opportunity of meeting almost all potential marriage partner candidates within the village or neighboring villages. Group night visiting was systematic searching for a marriage partner, but also intimate courting, and it would not have withstood the loss of young people's mutual trust and solidarity.

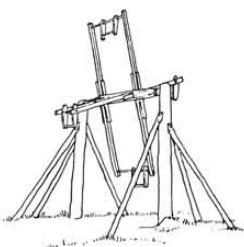
Erotic songs, masculine sexual folklore, paired dances and other new trends transformed the norms of morality and added to the pressure among boys to gain sexual experiences. New male idols appeared among rural youth, too, sexual heroes who were capable of seducing girls. In southwestern Finland, village boys began to exploit the vulnerable position of servant girls; peasant village discipline could not even reach itinerant forestry and log-floating workers. Particularly in southwestern Finland and Savo, night courting was labeled as seeking sexual experiences, and daughters of landed peasants and girls who wanted to hang on to their reputations no longer received nocturnal visitors. In the 1900s, the search for a marriage partner transferred to dances organized by youth clubs and Workers' Associations and within one's own occupational or interest group. The structural changes affecting youth culture have been a part of the disintegration of local culture, which reached from the customs to the religion and moral values of peasant society.(6)

1. Wikman 1937. Sarmela 1969, 155-. Toiviainen 1966. Swang 1978. 2. Vuorela U. 1979. 3. The trial marriage theory was supported by the Germans F. Fischer (1898) and H. Schurtz (1902), of Finnish

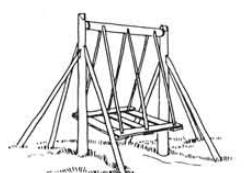
scholars Lukkarinen 1933, 103. Peuckert 1955a, 325-. **4.** Wikman 1937, 270-. **5.** Troels-Lund 1932-1945 (1903-1904) X, 12-. **6.** Sarmela 1969, 180, 219-. Frykman 1977. Nieminen 1951.

## 38. Kyläkeinut Village Swings

Keinuttyypit  
Types of swing



kelakeinu  
reel swing

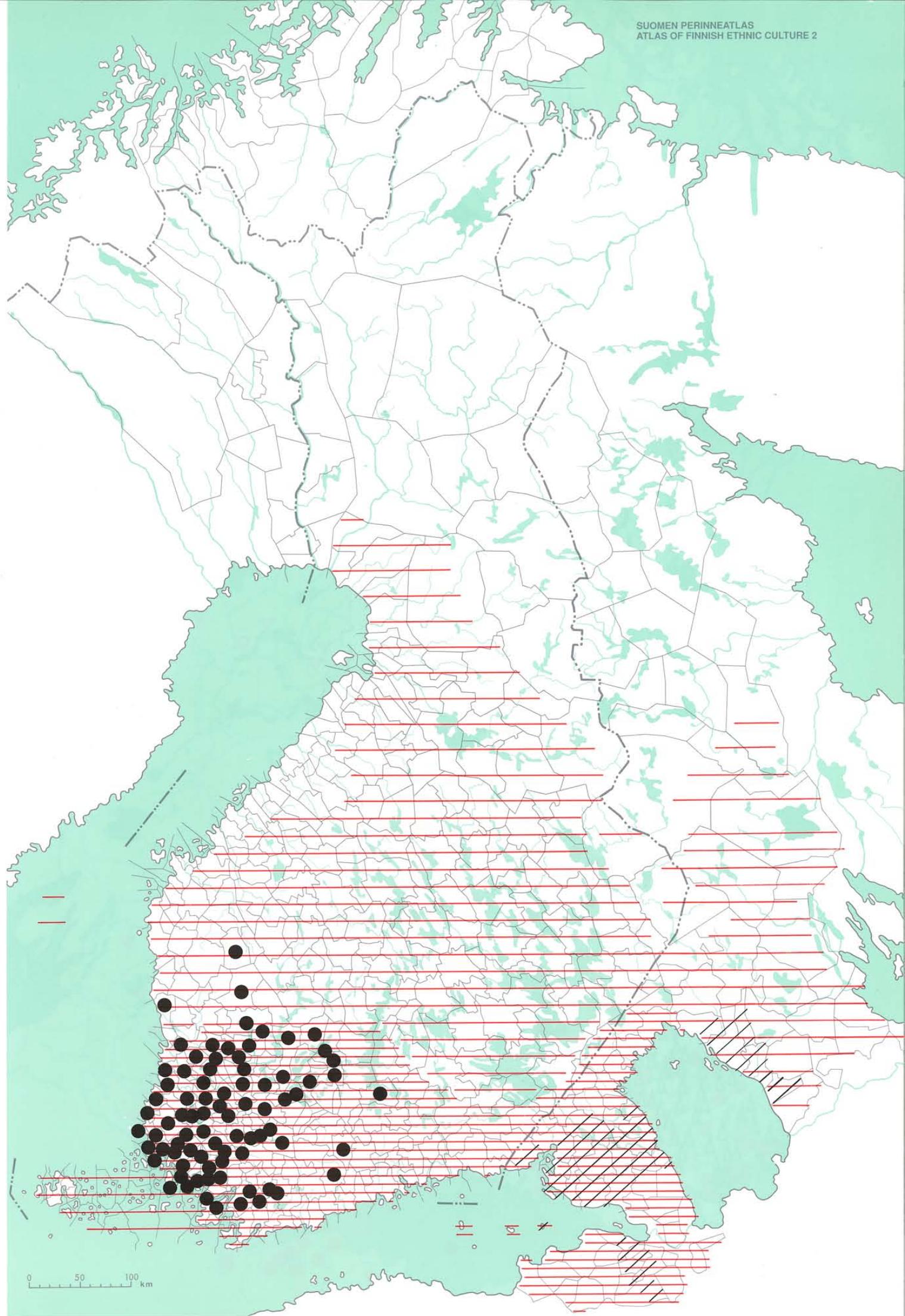


aisakeinu  
pole swing



lautakeinu  
board swing or pole swing  
provided with a cross-board

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 38. VILLAGE SWINGS

### ***Communal swings for youth***

**Meeting place of village youth.** In the southern village culture region of Finland and Karelia, swings were the most important gathering places of the young in the 1800s. Village swings were usually situated on a hill in the vicinity of the village, often the same places where people gathered to welcome the spring, to burn Whitsun and Midsummer bonfires (maps 24-25). The village youth erected their own swing together, the boys building and the girls seeing to the refreshments; the building materials were obtained from the communal village forest.

The summer courting season began in spring with refurbishing the swings. Village youth gathered at the swing on Sundays, towards the end of the 19th century often on weekday evenings too, to swing, sing and play outdoor games. Occasionally they would get a musician and organize a dance at the swing. The folklore of the young contains special swinging songs, which in Ingria were still in the old meter. At the swings, as at night sittings (map 34), the village young learned old songs and wrote new ones; under the name of *keinu-* or *liekkulaulu* [swinging song], many of the pop songs of the day spread quickly from village to village.

The old village swing area covers southern Finland – including the Karelian Isthmus – and Ingria. Swings were established meeting places of the young especially in the peasant villages of southwestern Finland and Ingria, but also in many villages in South Karelia and Olonets. Towards the end of the 1800s and early 1900s, the young started building swings in other areas too, right up to northern Finland, while at the same time the swinging tradition was already dying out in southern Finland. In Ostrobothnia, young people's social intercourse was dominated by organized night courting (map 37). In Savo and elsewhere in eastern Finland, village swings were small and often temporary as meeting places, while in Dvina and elsewhere within old Karelian kinship culture, village swings have been unknown. Outside the southern core area the building of village swings has varied, depending on how active the young generation was. Even within the same parish, swings were built in some villages and not in others, and in a few villages swings were preserved right up to World War II.

## Types of swing

**Pole swing.** The most common type of swing in Finland was the pole swing. The basic model has four poles supporting a square seating frame (map 38, figure 1). This kind of a swing seated around ten people, but the poles might number six or even eight, making the swing big enough to seat 30-40. The pole swing was built for the purpose of socializing. The girls and boys sat side by side, girls usually singing and boys pushing the swing either by kicking off the ground or standing on the seat corners holding on to the poles.

**Reel swing.** As a swing type, the reel swing or mill swing resembles a fairground big wheel. It generally had four seats on opposite sides, each suspended from its own axle (figure 2). The reel swing rotated around its shaft vertically, and depending on seat size, four people or four boy-girl pairs could go round at a time.

**Board swing.** The eastern type board swing has a seat board lengthwise (figure 3). The board swing has only spread around Lake Ladoga to the Isthmus, North Ingria and Ladoga Karelia. The lengthwise swing board has been common in Karelia also in Easter swings built in homesteads (map 26).

**Swinging tradition.** The old Baltic-Finnic name for the swing has been *kiikku*, with *liekku* also used in Karelia. Finnish swing types have also been known elsewhere in European village cultures. The pole swing and reel swing of southwestern Finland are structurally similar to young people's swings in Swedish village areas, while the lengthwise board swing is found e.g. in Estonia and other Baltic countries, and it belongs to the eastern village tradition.

Especially in western Finland, boys also erected small single-pole swings near large village swings. The small swings were used for a form of sport, with boys competing over who could make the swing turn full circle the most times. They would stand up on the swing, and the seat had holes for the feet or straps for tying them down. The best competitors turned the swing hundreds of times around its axle, the record exceeding 400 times.

Swing hills were originally meeting places for the village young, open only to those who had completed their confirmation school and been admitted in the social group; reciprocal visits to the swings of neighboring villages might also be made. In southwestern Finland, the heyday of village swings was the 1800s right up to the turn of the century. That was when the swinging culture changed along with other kinds of interaction among the young. Boys began to gather at the swings to play cards or get drunk, or they went round other village swings, vandalizing and fighting. Swinging itself acquired reckless forms, and archive records show that some boys and girls were injured in swinging games, some becoming disabled for life. In western and southern Finland swing hills became disreputable, and in some villages farmers took joint action and destroyed the village swings. As the youth community began to disintegrate, village swings were left unerected in spring and youth associations or other civic societies no longer built them.

V.

SHAMANS, SORCERERS  
AND WITCHES

## STRATA OF BELIEF

### Shamans

**Heritage of hunting culture.** There is preserved knowledge of three eras of religious thinking in Finland: shamanism, sorcery and witchcraft. Shamanism was the religion of hunting communities, replaced by sorcery or so-called magic rite technique when the cultivating (swidden) economy became established. During the era of landed peasant communities, Christianity displaced sorcery. As Christian village culture took shape, sorcery lost its accepted social status; it became labeled as counter-religion, anti-Christianity, known as witchcraft as a historical phenomenon.

Shamanism has many features common to Palearctic peoples. The shaman of northern peoples was originally the spiritual and social leader of small hunting communities, acting as intermediary between the worlds of the living and the dead, providing answers to vital questions for the individual and community on subjects such as illness and death, the movements of quarry animals or reasons for unexpected events. The status and role of the shaman have undergone numerous structural changes, but in its original form, the idea of shamanism must be viewed as a part of the culture of hunting communities.

The basis of everyday faith and hope in the coping thinking of hunting period man was probably eternal return, the restoration of nature to its former state, the rebirth of everything that is living. Perhaps the essence of shamanistic thinking is the belief in the soul, the idea that all living things have an inner substance that makes it living and is constantly reborn (map 39). Different peoples have many different interpretations of the soul, but particularly in shamanism, the soul has had a kind of a separate form that is independent of the body. It might leave the body when a person became sick or died, or take on different forms and wander around the world of souls or dreams, outside visible reality. The evolutionist theory of the origin of the soul concept was based on the idea that a person could in his dreams experience how his self kind of wanders outside the body. They have also appealed to so-called NDEs (near-death experiences), when people have felt that they have left their bodies. Especially in hunter-gatherer communities, the idea of an eternally living soul has reinforced the belief in the rebirth of man and animals, reincarnation, and more generally sustained belief in the regeneration of all life, the continuity of nature. Against this background, it is possible to understand the fear of losing one's soul, felt by man in the crises of his life, such as in sickness, or the concern over the soul of a deceased person making it to the right place in the world order of the time.

The rite technique of northern shamans has been characterized by entering a state of trance or altered consciousness, which has been deemed to be an identifying sign of shamanism.(1) In a state of trance, the shaman was able to go off on a soul journey, to detach his soul from his body and to guide it in different forms, usually of some animal or among some Arctic peoples of various ancillary spirits, to the invisible world on the other side, to the dimensions of the dead and supernatural guardians. To enter a state of trance, shamans have used drums and various hallucinogens, such as the fungus fly agaric, and the performance of shamanistic rites may have become a drama of many acts, including special effects. But more important than rite technique has been the belief that the shaman had a special spiritual ability, skill or power of controlling his own soul and functioning in the realm of souls, which hunter-gatherers have also called the dream world. In the realm of souls, the shaman was able to 'manipulate souls', to control something that was understood to be the deepest essence of living and even inanimate nature.

The shaman was a religious interpreter operating in the environment of souls. On his soul journey, the shaman was capable of contacting the souls of ancestors or the supernatural guardians of nature and influencing the basic issues of living. He might get a newborn child its soul, restore the soul of a sick person or animal in his body, guide the soul of a deceased person to the realm of the ancestors, as well as the soul of a bear killed in a hunting rite back to its original home (map 1), and also entice quarry animals to the hunting grounds of his community. The innermost essence of animate beings was controlled via the soul, and through the soul technique, the shaman of hunting communities was able to obtain information on matters significant to them, on nature and the future, which were controlled by the inhabitants of the world in the hereafter, the souls of the deceased and the supernatural guardians of animals, 'gods'. The shaman of hunting communities took care of the constantly reincarnating soul, the continuity of life, the future.

In the shamanistic world view, the cosmos surrounding the environment of the living was divided into various layers, worlds or compartments. At the top, on the canopy of the heavens supported by the cosmic pillar, lived the heroes of stories, while on other lower levels or down below in the underworld lived the souls of the dead (cf. maps 1, 71, 87, 88, 90). The universe had its own map, of which the shaman had thorough knowledge. The soul was also an instrument of narration, a monitor to the invisible. The shaman described his journeys through the eyes of his soul or his soul characters; this made the description plausible and credible. Among Palearctic peoples, evidently also in early Finland, the shamanistic rite – the soul journey – was often performed as a dramatic play, with the shaman or his assistant recounting in song the course of the journey, the difficulties, dangers and battles the shaman's soul had encountered. Maybe the shamanistic sessions are the origin of the dialogic manner of performing poetry in the old meter, found for example in bear rites and old wedding runes.

The shaman's soul traveled as a fish in the subterranean river separating the realm of the dead from the world of the living, or as a bird in the night sky. The shaman's dress, his role costume, mostly symbolized the animals in whose habitus he was believed to go about. Entering a state of trance, the fast tempo of drumming or the rite technique were not so much designed to affect the forces on the other side, but the audience. The shaman also manipulated his listeners, endeavored to whisk them away with him to the stage of the souls, and to strengthen the concepts held by the community on the constantly regenerating natural order, the world on the other side, and the causal relationships of the environment.

**Traces of shamanism.** In the Finnish-Karelian area, sorcerers have displaced shamanism, but in terms of his rite technique, the Arctic shaman was the witch of the Sami; the term *noita* in the Finnish language has originally referred to a shaman. Admittedly, in the historic era by the early 1600s, the Sami witch had

turned into a soothsayer; his drum with its patterns was above all an instrument of predicting the future. Some elements of shamanism remained in the technique of healers who dealt with mental illness, cared for man's soul, maintained relations with the ancestors, souls of the dead, or obtained the correct personality for a newborn child, the correct 'name', a soul (map 91). In early Finnish cultivating communities, women have increasingly taken charge of lifestage rites, and women often operated as spiritual healers who communicated with other-worldly 'spirits' (souls, supernatural guardians) or possessed the souls of the ancestors of their kin. Shamanistic healers preserved their own task, but shamanism was no longer the everyday religion of swidden-cultivating Finns or even the Dvina Karelians, but sorcery.

The status and functions of the shaman may have already undergone a change when commercial hunting for furs penetrated hunting communities or when reindeer husbandry became more common, as was the case among the Sami. The preserved drums of Sami shaman-witches already contain many Christian symbols. Of old sources, *Nestorin kronikka* (Ru. *Povest vremennyh let*) from the 1100s and Christian Lencqvist's description of sorcerers from 1782 indicate, however, that both Karelian sorcerers (shamans) and those in Häme have used the ecstasy technique. Entering a state of trance is probably also the meaning of the Finnish expressions of the sorcerer *lankesi* ['falling to'] *loveen* or *luotteisiin*.<sup>(2)</sup>

Of the incantations included in the Atlas, at least Birth of the Bear (map 1) and Origin of Fire (41), as well as the explanation of disease, which is based on the loss of the soul (39), date back to the shamanistic era. However, shamanism is unlikely to be the source of exorcism practised by sorcerers who had whipped themselves up into a state of 'furious anger', when they used their incantations to exorcise something 'evil', such as illness, envy by others, or when stanching bleeding (map 45).

Shamanistic in origin, albeit constantly transforming, are the plot patterns of hunting communities' narration: journey, chase and duel (map 88), and the setting of events in the world of the souls. Of runes in the old meter, Creation of the World, Journey to Tuonela, and partially perhaps Antero Vipunen (maps 87, 90), but also Lemminkäinen's Journey to Tuonela, may be classified as shamanistic. Evidently, something of the shamanistic stratum remains in the chase descriptions of the Stealing of Sampo (map 93), and even later witch tales (56-59). Although the culture of hunter-gatherers and their narrative environment have disappeared with the structural changes, shamanistic thinking has evidently survived in the ideas of soul forces, spiritual power, in narratives widely known even in Europe, according to which witches are capable of transforming themselves into e.g. werewolves.

## Sorcerers

**Rite expert of the swidden community.** In early Iron Age swidden communities, the basic religious structures were the ancestral cult (map 7) and sorcery. As religious role-player, the sorcerer dealt with supernatural forces, *väki* (*mana*), the energy – or antienergy – of growth and fertility, but no longer souls. The sorcerer knew the correct technique of making an impact, which has also been termed magic. People expected answers from the sorcerer on how to influence the swidden farmer's living environment, how the danger threatening man's environment had come about and how to repel it. In Finnish folklore,

an essential element of rites was the incantation or the formula for possession. Värmland Finns called the sorcerer *runoi* [*runo* = rune, poem], perhaps indicating that the incantation was in verse form, sacral expression. In preserved folklore, incantations adhere to the same old meter as ancient epic poetry.

The position of the swidden farmer and cattle farmer in nature was different from that of the hunter-gatherer, and during the era of cultivating economy, another thing to change was man's relationship to his peers. The sorcerer no longer operated in the world of souls, but within a community of people competing among themselves, where kinship groups and extended families built their own living environment ever more permanently. Cultivating man was no longer interested in the fate of quarry animals; his reality consisted of swidden clearings and forest pastures, gradually also the village and the cultivations around it, everything he had cleared and fenced off for himself. In swidden communities, sorcery has been about repelling dangers threatening the diversified economy. Rites were employed to preserve vitality, fertility, and to repel extraneous danger, misfortune and disease.

In preserved oral tradition, too, proofs of the sorcerer's power are from swidden cultures. The sorcerer's fundamental tasks were to protect livestock from beasts of prey, swidden crops from bears, and fish nets or trapping tracks from outsiders; the sorcerer prevented the fire from spreading at swidden-burning (map 41), raised the rain and wind, released the cattle from the cover of the forest (map 54). Sorcery has largely been about defending man's own resources. The swidden farmer who was familiar with the rites was capable of wreaking revenge on outsiders, of stopping thieves who plundered his swidden cultivations or removed the catch from his traps without leave. The sorcerer shot illnesses, witch's arrows, sent a raised snake or raised bear into the cattle of his enemy, dried up cows' milking or stole the vitality of animals, spoiled traps and fish nets.

Sorcery belief has both white and black effective mechanisms. In the swidden farmer's environment, evil was caused by an outsider: an angry supernatural guardian of the place (maps 66-68), the hostile soul of a deceased person, or a malevolent person. Disease could be a witch's arrow shot by a hostile sorcerer (maps 40, 49). The sorcerer had power in the environment threatened by external evil, bad luck; the key words of magic powers were *paha silmä*, *kateet* and *pilaukset* [evil eye, envies and spoilings]. A bear that had attacked cattle near houses was a raised bear, sent by someone for revenge. Man's environment had become uncertain and threatening in a number of ways. The task of the sorcerer was to provide answers, to create security, and to maintain equilibrium in the community of hunter-farmers. The fear of magic revenge has maintained social order in wilderness conditions lacking legal authorities, or where swidden farmers were surrounded by a hostile society, as in the forests settled by Finns in Sweden.

**Cognitions of sorcery.** Sorcerers' incantations in the old meter have been collected particularly from the Savo-Karelian swidden culture area (see the chapter The Poetic Tradition). Sorcerers' incantations of control usually contain three main sequences: (1) explanation of origin, (2) gathering of sorcerer's powers, and (3) formula for expulsion or settling (eliminating). In the explanation or origin element, the sorcerer explains the origin of the disease, accident or evil, takes it under his spiritual control. In gathering his own spiritual strength, the sorcerer has usually relied on established sorcerer formulas with which he has raised his nature, his supernatural guardians. The sorcerer may also have elevated himself above his opponents through various boasts or by appealing to other-worldly forces.(3 In the expulsion sections or invocations, the evil is eliminated, rendered harmless, or sent back to where it came from, or to some place outside the community, or out of the human world altogether. In Finnish invocations, diseases and misfortunes are often sent off to '*kipujen kivi*' [rock of pain] or the pole of the earth or '*pimeää Pohjola*'

[dark North], Ultima Thule, from where fevers, death or cold came from, or to Manala, the Underworld, the seat of death, pain and illness. Like the shaman earlier, the sorcerer dramatized his effective rites and their script. Through his demeanour and boastful formulas, the sorcerer appeals to his powers or to the supernatural strength or energy that he controls through his knowledge.

Sorcerer tradition has employed symbols and mental images that arise from the swidden farmer's environment.<sup>(4)</sup> The basic structure of repelling incantations and rites is a fence, an iron fence, which the sorcerer symbolically erects. The vision of the fence perhaps originates from the swidden fence with which forest cultivations were enclosed. Common fence symbols of repelling rites are circling, for example circling a wedding procession with an iron object (map 18), going round cattle pastures with substances that repel predators, etc. The rites also employed elements with a symbolic effect, with which an attempt was made to manipulate the forces at work in sorcerers' world order.

In the philosophy of Asian peoples, in common with old European magic literature, the base elements of the world order are earth, water, fire and air. In Finnish sorcerer culture, the concepts of *maanväki*, *vedenväki*, *tulenväki* and *tuulenväki* corresponded to them. Active substances, plants or animals were classified under one of the basic dimensions of the universe. Aquatic creatures, such as frogs, possessed *vedenväki* [force of water] and could be used to counteract *tulenväki* or force of fire, e.g. on burn injuries. Particularly effective was *raudanväki* [force of iron], iron objects or bladed instruments, which in northern conditions made expansive crop cultivation possible and were associated with the skill of the blacksmith. In malevolent or injurious rites, one of the most effective elements was *kalmanväki* or the force of death: corpse earth and other substances originating from the dead body. The force of death could be used to cause a prolonged disease or lingering death to befall the victim, or he could be fed to become mentally ill (map 52).

Sorcery was knowledge of the elements of the world order and their behavior; it was an understanding of the symbolic information system of the time. As a religious influencer, the sorcerer was capable of disturbing the equilibrium of active elements and of utilizing supernatural force, energy, bound up in the visible world, but on the other hand also of returning it, restoring order; in Finnish sorcery language, settling down.

**The heritage of sorcerers.** Something of the sorcerer tradition remains in all areas of life: cyclic rites, wedding customs, the celebration of calendar festivals. The tradition of which sorcerers possessed mastery consists of incantations and invocations; the sorcerers themselves are central characters of epic poems in the old meter. Sorcery is a part of the dominant layer of Savo-Karelian culture. Oral folklore distinguishes between *tietäjä* [sorcerer] and *noita* or *velho* [witch]. The sorcerer had to have a 'strong nature' or a 'firm personality', and he was usually unable to decide his own fate, but his abilities as healer, seer or clairvoyant emerged naturally, demanding that he should work for the benefit of his fellow men. The abilities of a great sorcerer, in common with the shaman, were inborn, they ran in families. A very common idea was that a child who was born with a tooth would become a sorcerer, and as a sign of special power, sorcerers had to have strong teeth even in old age. A real sorcerer was deemed to be a helper who never did harm to others, nor must he demand payment for his work, but only accept a gift which the recipient of his help wanted to give.

A powerful sorcerer and healer was able to raise his strength, to concentrate his spiritual powers and to impact on nature, particularly on animals (maps 1, 5, 54). Without magical instruments or rites, a powerful sorcerer able to enter a furious state could stop a raised bear or snake and send it back (map 5).

Sorcerers had their own initiation narratives, as did the shamans. The sorcerer was understood to have received secret knowledge, having been apprenticed to an older sorcerer or inherited his knowledge from his father or mother. In Finnish folklore, the idea recurs that a powerful sorcerer had received his knowledge, his 'words' or incantations, from his predecessor, who had chosen him as his successor. The role history was the more impressive if the sorcerer had obtained his training elsewhere, especially in Lapland, as Lappish sorcerers (shamans) were thought to possess spiritual powers that Finns had already lost. On the other hand, everyday sorcery no longer required special innate abilities of soul, but anyone could learn the rites and use them for his own purposes. Magic knowledge became a part of the occupational technology used by farmers and their wives in their own spheres of work, the women particularly in caring for cattle. Actual sorcerers were those who became renowned as wise masters of rites and incantations. People turned to them in crisis situations, when their own skills proved ineffectual.

In the Atlas, the examples of incantations (maps 41-51) are mainly from sorcerer folklore, and the oldest layer is the pre-Christian culture of hunter-swiddeners. Typical sorcerer incantations are e.g. the Formulas of Iron (maps 43, 44) and the Incantations for Stings (49). Rite technique was needed at swiddens when making the fire (maps 41-42), letting out cattle in the spring into forest pastures, repelling predators, or liberating the animals from the cover of the forest (53-54). The Savo-Karelian sorcerer had an incantation for various diseases, injuries, animal bites, even for raising love or cooling off love affairs. Many sorcerers already had their own specialties, and in the Savo-Karelian folklore, it is appropriate to identify healers, blood stanchers (maps 45-48) and directors of wedding ceremonies (11, 16, 18, 19, 20), even sacrificial priests for cultivation rites (4). The old sorcerer incantations, such as Creation of Fire or of Iron, are close to epic poetry, while later folklore contains an increasing number of standard verses and metaphors, from which the healers assembled formulas for potions or ointments and healing words. As European medicine spread, it is likely that sorcerers also used ointments more, obtaining ingredients for them also from the apothecary. The technique of many well-known 19th century sorcerer-healers included an ointment and an incantation said 'over' it, the formula for ointment.

In the environment of Savo-Karelian swidden farmers, the sorcerer, as well as the blacksmith, were ecological winners, models of successful people and heroes, like Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen of the old runes. The sorcerer sought information from the dead, healed the girl fed with sickness (map 52), bound and released the forest (54), stopped the horse drawing the corpse (61). In Savo and Karelia sorcerers were respected, and they were never the objects of the same kind of moral judgment as was characteristic of western witch folklore.

**Layers of incantations.** The folklore archive of the Finnish Literature Society holds about 52,000 variants of incantations, most from the swidden culture area in eastern and northern Finland, as well as Dvina and Olonets. With South Karelia and Ladoga Karelia included, two thirds or 32,800 variants (64%) of the incantations originate from the Savo-Karelian tradition area. But the figures do not reveal that in the east, the old incantations were still really known and used, while in the west they have only been preserved as snippets, or the statistics include new Christian-based incantation types of European agrarian societies, even quasi-incantations.

(1) Sorcerer incantations dating back to pre-Christian times have been preserved in the Savo-Karelian living environment; they belong particularly to Savonian culture. In the Middle Ages, incantations acquire (2) a layer of Catholic saint incantations. In saint incantations, the iconography of supernatural helpers changed. Supernatural guardians were replaced by Christian cult personas, and the texts of etiological

myths were taken from Bible stories. The first healer or primordial hero is the Virgin Mary or Jesus himself, as in the Incantation for Sprains (map 50). Expulsion verses containing Christian symbolism, such as the Blood-Stanching Injunction (maps 45-48), also spread into Finland, but evidently in the Middle Ages, the cognitive formula of the incantations changed from injunctions to prayers. The medieval incantations still followed the alliterated trochaic meter (old meter). They are likely to have acquired their Finnish-language form in the medieval peasant villages of Häme and spread as far as Savo-Karelia (e.g. Incantation for Stings, map 49).

During the era of witchcraft culture in the 1500s and 1600s, rite texts became (3) witches' spells, the background to which was the devil doctrine of the church. The witches' spells appealed to the devil; the frightening, threatening and forbidden Antichrist operated through them. New witches' incantations such as the Blood-Stanching Injunction (maps 46-48) have spread to agrarian village communities in western and southern Finland, as did witch hunts and in the main also the devil tradition (maps 52-61, 76-77). In accordance with their context, saint and witch incantations are termed Christian-based incantations in the Atlas.

The latest incantation types, (4) number formulas (maps 49, 51) already used alliteration, and they have spread to western Finland perhaps only in the 1700-1800s. The supernatural world has vanished from these incantations completely; their effect was based on everyday suggestion, healing methods experienced in daily life, or number magic. It is possible that they were originally based on occultistic or astrological wisdom.

In the Savo-Karelian area, incantations in old meter were among the rites through which the sorcerer was able to control the natural environment of the swidden farmer, interpersonal relations, sickness and other misfortunes. Specifically in eastern Finland and Karelia, sorcery has retained cultural structures that have already disappeared from the rest of Europe. In Finland, the original environment of sorcery was the early cultivation culture of the Iron Age, of which Savo-Karelian swidden farmers were descendants, and evidently all over the world, sorcery or so-called practice of magic has been the religious ecostructure of extensive or early swidden and horticulture societies.

In the village cultures of western and southern Finland, Christian-based incantations have displaced sorcerer incantations. The old common original layer is only evident in Creation of Fire and Creation of Iron, both of which may have been employed in both calendric and healing rites (maps 41-44). Some incantations contain several layers, with medieval and later incantation structures alongside the old sorcerer version, as in the Incantations for Blood-Stanching or Stings (maps 45-49). Incantations in the formula in the new meter belong spiritually to the Protestant tradition of agrarian society, having arrived in Finland specifically from the west via Scandinavia. From the southeastern areas, Ingria and South Karelia, few incantations have been recorded compared with other poetry in the old meter.

## ***Witches***

**The banning of sorcery.** Medieval Catholic folk religion was in many ways just christianized sorcery. Supernatural guardians were superseded by saints, and sorcerers' formulas acquired a medieval layer of saint incantations (maps 41-50) and Christian symbols were used in sorcerer rites; offerings to guardian spirits and ancestors became church offerings on patron saints' memorial days (map 22). Many names of supernatural guardians occurring in incantations and poetry in the old meter, in common with the 'gods' of the people of Häme listed by Michael Agricola in the foreword of his *Psalttari* (1551), are vernacular adaptations of saints' names.<sup>(5)</sup> Catholic priests accepted the new structures of sorcerer rites at least in remote areas, as they expressed faith in the omnipotence of Christian 'instruments of mercy'. In any case, the practice of magic continued in the Middle Ages throughout Europe, and as science of the day, scholars engaged in e.g. demonism, occultism and alchemy.

Gradually, the church became a totalitarian system like all high religions, and protection of true doctrine became a facet of ideological use of power. Resistance to various heretical doctrines arose in the 1300-1400s, and as the church began to control all areas of life, it also defined increasingly severely its opponents, counter-faith and non-humans. In social terms, witchcraft doctrines were scientific discourse of the time, not folk belief. The debate on witches was conducted by church politicians who wanted to be involved in building a centralized ideological power structure. The doctrines also engendered opposition, but dissidents only made themselves heard at the end of the 1600s. The best-known church-political proclamation on witches was the work of two Dominican monks, Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Institoris, titled *The Hammer of Witches* (*Malleus maleficarum*, 1487), which was increasingly used as the handbook of witch recognition. But similar dissertations and handbooks, directions for inquisition, torture and sentencing were written by inquisitors and scholars specialized in witchcraft issues in almost all European countries. As Christian hegemony became established, religious officials created a more and more homogeneous doctrine of witchcraft, making centralized ideology an instrument of social power.

**Maleficium and diabolism.** Ideas of witchcraft are based on the belief that a practitioner of black magic was capable of causing harm through his malevolent rites, for example by feeding or poisoning a person to make him sick or kill him. Witchcraft, evidently meaning injurious rites, is condemned in the Old Testament, and in the Nordic countries, too, sorcery was defined as a crime, in other words criminalized, as early as the pre-Christian era. For example, Sweden's old provincial and national legislation (1350, 1442) likened death caused through magic to other capital crimes. In the first era of witchcraft trials, those prosecuted were usually (1) sorcerers or villagers with rite skills suspected of practising malevolent magic. In ecclesiastical language it was termed 'maleficium'. The actual Christian interpretation of witchcraft was formulated in the 1400-1500s. According to the witchcraft doctrines of the church, witches had fallen to (2) the religious-moral mortal sin of diabolism, or undertaken to serve the Antichrist. The diabolism interpretations comprise three basic elements: the doctrine of the devil, the contract a person yielded to the devil has signed regarding his soul, and the witches' sabbath, the worship ritual attended by those who had abandoned the Christian faith. Participation in a witches' sabbath in Finnish narrative involved *trullis* or witches flying to a mill or some other assembly point, in Swedish *blåkulla* (map 57). Diabolism was a doctrine of people who were debauched, lecherous and plagued by an inner demon, and who abandoned Christianity and the virtuous life prescribed by the church.

The majority, about two thirds of the victims of European diabolism trials were women, who under interrogation told fantastic stories of flying to hell, the debauched ceremonies practised there, and devil rites or celebration of the witches' sabbath. The incrimination of women was unlikely to stem purely from

the misogyny of the authors of *The Hammer of Witches* or the repressed status of women in general, but from the use of cultural opposites. The ideal of the medieval Catholic and 17th century puritanical agrarian culture was a chaste and faithful woman, a virgin bride. A woman sunk to diabolism from the pedestal of the Virgin Mary had sunk to lower depths than it was possible for a man to sink. In diabolism trials, women were, on account of their femininity alone, pitiable, horrifying and socially effective examples of people who had sunk to sexual debauchery, victims of the devil. Indictments of diabolism were usually combined with social evil, maleficium, because this also provided a social justification for the death sentence.(6)

The doctrine of diabolism gained little foothold in Finland, but witchcraft consisted of rites performed in the name of the devil, above all the use of Christian symbols, such as the communion wafer, for magical purposes, and after the Reformation, appealing to the saints of the Catholic era or Christianity-based sorcery.

**Witchcraft trials.** The earlier, maleficium phase of the trials began in continental Europe towards the end of the 1300-1400s, but in many countries, the nature of judicial processes was transformed as early as the end of the 1500s. The witch hunt became a social institution led by the church or secular administration. The object of the charges became diabolism, above all participation in devil rites. The general course of the development of witch hunts is possibly best traced in Finland and the Nordic countries, where trial documents have been much researched.(7) Maleficium trials already occur in Finland and Sweden during the Catholic era, but they only became commonplace after the Reformation. The diabolism phase reached Sweden at the end of the 1600s, but in Finland scarcely any witches' sabbath cases were heard, with the exception of certain trials in Ostrobothnia and Aland island (cf. maps 55-57). In southern European countries, e.g. Spain, witch hunts were usually led by church officials, inquisitors, who interrogated and tortured prisoners and created an institutional witch hunt culture around the doctrine of diabolism.(8)

The object of questioning and the trial was to establish whether the accused had made a pact with the devil and attended a witches' sabbath. In witchcraft processes executed by the investigative organs, the suspects had little chance of escape, as the accused was tortured until a confession was obtained. The stories of the tortured followed a uniform formula, originally they were international tales of devils and creatures flying around on broomsticks. The witch folklore was employed by the learned and church artists as source material in their descriptions of phenomena belonging to witchcraft. In witch trials the folklore became reality.

There are no precise statistical records of those sentenced as witches, but nearest the truth are perhaps estimates that in the Europe of the 1500-1700s, about 110,000 witch trials were conducted, in which about 60,000 accused were sentenced to death.(9) Witches were the most persecuted in the German-speaking areas of Europe. Maybe up to 50,000 witchcraft processes were conducted in Germany, with the southern counties and Swiss cantons the most fanatical and with proportionally the greatest numbers of death sentences. Witchcraft trials in Finland, in common with Estonia, were introduced by the Swedish administrative authority, and as social science of its day, witchcraft and devil debate was practised in the universities of both Turku and Tartu. Initially, the trials were also conducted among the learned, and many renowned bishops and priests were spiritual leaders of the witch culture, but also judges and learned laymen who had familiarized themselves with European witchcraft literature and even the directions for examining and sentencing witchcraft processes.(10)

Records of about 1,100 trials in Finland between the years 1520-1689 have been collected.(11) Although the number of trials was relatively high, fewer death sentences were passed than was general in countries in western Europe: perhaps 115 in all, of which around 60% were implemented. In Finland and Estonia, trials usually took place at local district courts, with one of the villagers acting as prosecutor and the judgment relying on neighbors as witnesses. It is noteworthy that there are scarcely any trials in the actual sorcerer region of Savo-Karelia, only in western and southern Finland, in addition to Swedish-speaking areas, particularly the peasant villages of Ostrobothnia and Satakunta. In the early stages, the accused were male sorcerers and healers; almost half of those sentenced to death were men, and the further east you go to the Isthmus, the fewer women are found among the accused. In the western village areas of Satakunta, many beggars were also sentenced, suspected of getting their revenge for poor treatment from a house. In agrarian societies the position of beggars changed, too. In Savo-Karelian sorcerer narratives beggars and cowherds have been guardians of social conscience, who through their rites might avenge any humiliations suffered at weddings or funerals (map 61).

## **Peasant witchcraft belief**

**Witches of agrarian communities.** Cases heard in local courts of justice have usually been of suspected misdemeanor, and the accused might be found guilty if he was unable to prove his innocence or could not muster enough villagers to witness for him. Guilty verdicts were passed when there was apparent evidence of the malevolence or revengefulness of the suspect, and the charge concerned causing death or serious illness. People also informed on suspects for serving the devil. Such cases were usually quarrels between villagers; the trial has been an act of revenge or an attempt to destroy the adversary by exploiting ideas of witchcraft, means provided by Christian society.

In the Nordic countries, as in Estonia, the most common charge has been causing illness and death, but those held to be witches were also accused of doing financial damage, such as spoiling fortunes in milk and crop production, even of ale-brewing. A subject area of its own is the theft of cattle fortune or obtaining other kinds of advantages through magic means (maps 58-60). Suspicions and informants have often targeted villagers with rite skills: for example in Estonia, the accused might be the village 'sages' to whom people had turned for years for help, but who had suddenly become scapegoats, even the objects of villagers' hatred. In many court cases, some village house had met with an exceptional number of misfortunes, such as lost cattle or unexpected deaths or serious illness in the family. If the losses were considered in some way intolerable, the cause of the misfortunes was sought among enemies who had been heard or suspected of issuing threats and malevolent wishes. In connection with quarrels between neighbors, people have been informed on for everyday sorcery, such as cattle, healing and other rites, even love spells, which in Karelian kinship communities were still important in more recent tradition.

Special rites of ill-intent mentioned in court records include *tyron* or *tyrän asettaminen* [setting of a hernia] (maps 40, 54). In South Savo and the Isthmus, a common charge has been raising wild beasts to

attack cattle, or sending a raised bear (cf. maps 1, 53, 54). Setting a hernia, surreptitiously feeding an enemy to make him sick or kill him, and dispatching a raised bear are examples of sorcerers' malevolent rites. Accusations of witchcraft have been founded on real fear, but probably also a desire for revenge and blaming outsiders for misfortunes, particularly if the losses harmed the reputation of the house. On the other hand, many sorcerer-beggars have evidently wanted to engender fear around their personas, and those charged and tried for witchcraft have been claimed to wreak revenge for even very minor slights. In the experience of the people of the time, witchcraft was possible, and in the absence of other cultural explanations and communal solutions, culprits were sought from the immediate environment, from among those suspected of being hostile, jealous or otherwise malevolent people.

In the course of time, trial numbers rose and death sentences became increasingly common, with at least 41 known to have been passed in the 1670s. The doctrine of diabolism became influential also in Finland, although rather than a journey to hell, the reports concerned consorting with the devil and misusing Christianity. The accused were increasingly often women, and trials were also more often between women. The charges concerned spoiling or stealing cattle fortunes or other witchcraft related to domestic life or cattle husbandry (cf. maps 55, 58).

**Preconditions of the occurrence of witchcraft culture.** Theories on reasons for witch hunts follow various lines. The classical understanding is that witch hunts arose because Christian churches wanted to decimate competing cult groups or the opponents of the ecclesiastical system in general. Alternatively, witch hunts have been seen as a facet of the power politics of Christian rulers and the masculine hegemony.(12) On the other hand, people have searched for reasons why witch hunts reached such great proportions in the communities of the 1500s and 1600s. The salient features have been deemed to be the crises and social conflicts affecting peasant communities at the time. They would have already existed before public accusations of witchcraft, but only the evolution of the judicial system would have made it possible to resolve conflicts in local courts.(13) Some anthropologists have pointed out that people seek refuge in witchcraft in societies where economic and social uncertainty prevail and members have no legitimate means of influencing the crucial issues in their lives.(14) Witch trials might be seen as a sign that the peasant of the Middle Ages and early New Age no longer controlled his own environment.

The centralizing state, provincial system and increasing land ownership of the gentry, and even the unpredictability of judiciary practices, made the peasant's life uncertain. In the Middle Ages, as urbanization increased, Europe was faced with sudden diseases, epidemics of people and animals, causing many people real losses that threatened their entire livelihood. It has even been argued that in order to prevent depopulation and labor shortages, the Catholic church directed its witch hunts at old women who possessed knowledge of contraception.(15) Although disease epidemics, infant mortality or crop failures are not directly linked to witch hunts, they have played their part in creating uncertainty and an atmosphere where competition for resources led to the persecution of scapegoats or public substitution rites, even witch-burning displays. In Finland, too, the social environment of witch culture was the agrarian society prior to the general land reparceling, when farmland was communally owned by the village. A village community practising collective farming was perhaps no longer able to secure the basic rights of those who cleared the fields, nor equality between the village houses.

Social conflicts or competition for resources are unlikely to have led to witch hunts without the ecclesiastical power system and its doctrines of witchcraft. More significant than the development of the judicial system has been the advent of a centralized government society, permitting interference by state and church officialdom in the lives of citizens. Researchers have not addressed the reasons why witch perse-

cutions did not occur everywhere in Europe. Why were there hardly any trials in the area of Savo-Karelian swidden culture, where sorcery and the ancestral cult, competing with Christianity, remained more viable than elsewhere in Europe? In Sweden, too, Värmland Finns remained almost totally outside the persecutions, although they were renowned throughout Europe for their sorcery.(16) Conversely, informing on witches and mutual accusations became downright institutionalized in the Christian agrarian communities of western Finland, where sorcery had already lost its real importance. A crucial question is: why did witchcraft doctrines arise in Christian agrarian societies in the 16th and 17th centuries, or only when paganism no longer posed a real threat to neither the churches nor Christian society?

If one wanted to propose a general etiological theory, witch hunts were a process that is an unavoidable element of the internal development of all totalitarian culture systems. Western man who has lived through Nazism and communism has himself witnessed the birth and essence of witch hunts. Christianity had gradually become a social ideology encompassing secular government, the judiciary, universities. The Reformation, Puritanism, adoption of Mosaic Law, common use of the death sentence, forced church attendance, severe Christian child-rearing, increasingly rigid views of morality, and condemnation of all things deviating from Christianity characterize the same era as the persecution of witches. It was precisely in the 17th century that a centralized, uniform ecclesiastical-administrative power, a Christian cultural hegemony, was created also in Sweden-Finland.

**Enemy of village culture.** In Christian interpretations of witchcraft, the devil was embodied and personified and became an ideological archetype, the omnipotent enemy of the soul.(17) The devil became material like the haunting ancestors and supernatural guardians of households, able to operate in visible ways, to transport goods, and to work (maps 58-60, 62-68). In European culture, the devil was the first great 'enemy of the people', a character from experiential tradition, feared, mocked and cheated in narratives. The archfiend was the target of discharged fears, hatred and tension. European agrarian societies increasingly believed in the devil and the supernatural, and finally the devil could be blamed for any deviation from the environment corresponding to the Christian ideal.

A witch was the devil's assistant, apostate of faith, non-human, but also some kind of a go-between of Christian society and the world of the devil. In Finnish narratives, too, the witch has made a pact with the devil and obtained his or her power from it. As the price of earthly success, the witch has given up his share of heaven, his immortal soul. The witch was a farmer's wife or farmer who consciously utilized the help of the devil or sacred objects to procure supernatural helpers and earthly gain, above all to steal good fortune and prosperity from other villagers. As in studies of witchcraft by the learned, folklore also contains variations on the theme of the devil and people who have submitted to its power, users of the black bible, freemasons and their fate; how the devil appears at the deathbed to fetch the soul of the person who has succumbed to his service (map 61).

Even abnormal natural phenomena were increasingly explained through cultural devil and witchcraft ideas. Shooting stars, and especially the unpredictable movements of globe lightning, were now explained as flying witches; the witch traveled in a whirlwind or dust-devil gathering hay or corn for himself, and the *paras* left traces when they went around sucking milk (map 58). The ancestral cult, skulls and other skeletal parts, even corpse earth and soap used to wash a corpse became instruments and substances of devil magic, carried by the devil's servants in their witching bag (map 7). The mysterious witch's pouch was the occultist identifying sign of a practitioner of witchcraft. Witchcraft doctrines are also echoed by Finnish narratives of witch mistresses flying around on Easter night, of their meetings and pact with the devil (map 57, cf. also map 24). The remaining sorcerers and healers in western and south-

ern Finland have even become legendary figures, said to have had powers that enabled them to perform the devil's miracles, to row on a rock, to supersede the laws of nature.

**Village man's devil folklore.** The devil and witchcraft permeate almost all folklore describing the supernatural; ghost stories, moral tales, horror stories (e.g. maps 69-72, 76). On the other hand, with the help of the devil, man was able to obtain things that were only possible in utopias: secret knowledge, lifelong wealth, supernatural musical skill, an ability to become invisible (maps 69, 72). Devil folklore has transformed shamanistic soul experiences into earthly miracles, and evil into thriller dramas. Tales of werewolves in the yard fascinated listeners more than events in some esoteric world of the souls. Belief in the devil operating on earth and the incarnate existence of evil forces has rendered the supernatural events of narratives possible, although people might not have believed in them in real everyday life.

Witchcraft folklore has in its part strengthened agrarian community culture and the moral norms of village life. In an agrarian village tied to its environment, resources became finite, a fact that was expressed through concepts that only a finite amount of fortune or fertility existed. In order to increase his share, one had to steal it from others. The devil with its servants symbolized lack of solidarity, immorality, even sexual profligacy, or everything the agrarian village community saw as threatening its social existence. In European Christian peasant societies, the Antichrist has helped to define the everyday ethical norms and values of village communities. Through tales of the devil, the mark of sin could be attached to almost everything that deviated from the ideal life of a diligent Christian. The devil has pursued young people who wanted to dance, musicians, whistlers, card-players, drinkers of alcohol, even people who performed some job of work badly and carelessly, in an unchristian manner. Moral tales renewed and reinforced the utopia of a good Christian life.

**New folk culture.** The tradition of hegemony has been used to maintain ideological discipline and to monitor uniform thinking. The structures and forms of witchcraft doctrine, the rumors, interpretations and predetermined sentences were repeated in Nazism and communism. Witches, *trullis* and *paras* were a part of the discourse on sin, which in ever greater detail endeavored to draw a distinction between the socially good and bad, but at the same time also between the ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical. In the shadow of the doctrines of sin and witchcraft, both Catholic and reformed churches extended their influence into all areas of life. The churches also transformed Christianity into a cultural system that attempted to produce its citizens in the same way as later totalitarian societies. Agrarian villages were fertile ground for domination by the church, as they were later for communism in an industrial society, and creation of the controlling ideology exploited the ways of thinking, selfishness and life realities of village community man.

People do not really believe in a tradition of hegemony, and it is not intended to be believed, but for the ideological control of the human mind. Who, then, needed witches, and why are counter-humans created? Witchcraft doctrines were deployed above all in the internal competition for resources of the centralized religious system, when competing for positions in the church or state organizations, in obtaining prestige and eliminating enemies. In many European countries and principalities, persecutions of witches were also economically important, as the church or secular administrative authorities received the fines and the property of those executed as witches. People accused of witchcraft in village communities were often not poor, helpless old women, but informants' real competitors for resources, mistresses of farmhouses, even local gentry. In Finnish conditions, too, there were people who could use witchcraft doctrines both among the ruling class and the common people.

They were needed by 'minor clergy' and Christian laymen, the organization men of their time, who in all their centralized systems needed to ensure the purity of the doctrine, to define common good and to strive in their own environments for ideological and moral dominance over others. Their environment is the church, civic organization, party, fascist or communist society. In the same way as church demonologists defined the phenomena of counter-faith and created local informants' behavior patterns, ideologies of later totalitarian systems have also defined the boundary markers of the correct faith and identified the counter-forces: the Jews, kulaks, revisionists and enemies of the people. Counter-ideologies like witchcraft doctrine rendered the use of power acceptable, necessary. Numerous inquisitors and scholars deemed the persecution, torture and executions of witches to be favorable to God, morally and socially right. The same approach was adopted by the defenders of Christianity also active in village communities, people who used various means to point out the sins of their neighbors. They devoted themselves to the organization, the work of the church, even torturing an accused person in order to obtain a confession. The doctrines of witchcraft became internally indispensable for ecclesiastical authorities.

According to some definitions, delegitimization refers to the classification of some group of people as extremely evil, antisocial, and operating outside all norms of morality.<sup>18</sup> Those delegitimized are labeled with a stereotypical brand of collective evil, a pre-idea that becomes folklore and is transmitted as a self-perpetuating tradition, as culture, from one generation to the next. The fate of witches has been experienced by many groups of people, for example indigenous peoples, Jews and gypsies. Delegitimization is grounded on fear of people tied to totalitarian systems, 'minor clergy'; stereotypes are a culture of fear. Practically no-one can stop witch hunts, once they are under way. Stereotypes of counter-humans accompany all centralized systems, they belong to the infrastructure of their existence.

Witch hunts formed a turning point in the history of the development of uniform western super-culture. In Europe, culture became the foundation of the organizational construction of the church and later the state. The centralized system gradually destroyed independent village cultures, the new elite took possession of folk culture and turned it into Christian, national and finally state civilization. The function of culture became production of organizational development, education of the people and their integration into the centralized, delocal system. The centralization appears to be continuing. After state culture, man is evidently going to be integrated into continental culture and finally into a postlocal scientific-technological world order.

Finland lies on the periphery of witchcraft doctrine, showing the polarity of the new centralized organization culture and local subsistence culture. In the swidden areas of Savo-Karelia, organizational morality was still alien and the message of ideological counter-humans failed to gain a foothold, in common with other dualistic, condemning folk narrative (e.g. maps 73-75). In Savonian narration, the devil became the hero of amusing tales, but sorcery was taken seriously at least as long as swidden communities remained. Thus, in Finland it is possible to trace how the doctrine of witchcraft met with sorcery, how ideological control comes about and culture gradually becomes an instrument of social influence. The Christian church effected what later political religions have failed to do, but the scientific-technological development cult may yet succeed.

**Shamans:** Karjalainen 1918, 546-. Harva 1922a; 1933ab. Kuusi 1963a, 31-. Honko 1969; 1972, 182-. Siikala 1978; 1992ab. Siikala – Hoppál 1992. Hoppál 1984ab. Hoppál – von Sadovszky 1989. Hultkrantz 1973. Bäckman – Hultkrantz 1978. Honko 1969. Basílov 1995. Louheranta 2006, 285- (collections of Kai Donner). General: Michael 1963. Edsman 1967. Diószegi 1968. Diószegi – Hoppál 1978. Hoppal –

Pentikäinen 1992. Pentikäinen 1996; 1998. (Eliade 1964. Harner 1980. Vitebsky 2001.) **Sorcerers and incantations:** Hästesko 1910; 1918. Krohn K. 1914, 10-; 1917. Manninen 1922. Mansikka 1909; 1935; 1937; 1943a. Hautala 1960b. Haavio 1967b, 283-. Laaksonen – Piela 1983. Piela 1989. Siikala 1989; 1992b, 64-. (Stark-Arola 1998.) *Suomen kansan muinaisia taikoja I-IV.* **Witch trials in Finland:** Hertzberg 1888. Heikkinen 1969. Heikkinen – Kervinen 1987. Nenonen 1992. Nenonen – Kervinen 1994. Eilola 2003.

1. Eliade 1964. Siikala 1978. 2. Haavio 1967b, 283-. Lencqvist 1870 (1782). 3. Piela 1989. Siikala 1989; 1992ab. 4. Sarmela 1987b. 5. Haavio 1959c. 6. Generally e.g. Kieckhefer 1976. Ankarloo – Henningsen 1987. Cohn 1975. Russell 1988. 7. Heikkinen 1969. Heikkinen – Kervinen 1987. Nenonen 1992. Ankarloo 1971. Lagerlöf-Génetau 1990. Naess 1982. Jensen 1988. Alver 1971. 8. Henningsen 1980. 9. Levack 1987, 19-. 10. Madar 1987. 11. Nenonen 1992. 12. Ankarloo – Henningsen 1987. Murray 1962. Larner 1981. Karlsen 1987. 13. Macfarlane 1970. Behringer 1988. Nenonen 1992, 142-. 286-. 14. Kluckhohn 1944. Sarmela 1972a, 325-. 15. Heinsohn – Steiger 1987. 16. Tarkiainen 1990, 201-. 17. E.g. Danielsson 1932. Russell 1986. Wolf-Knuts 1991. 18. Bar-Tal et al. 1989.

## 39. Sielu The Soul

Elohiiren nimitykset  
Names for facial tics

● elohiiri  
'life mouse'

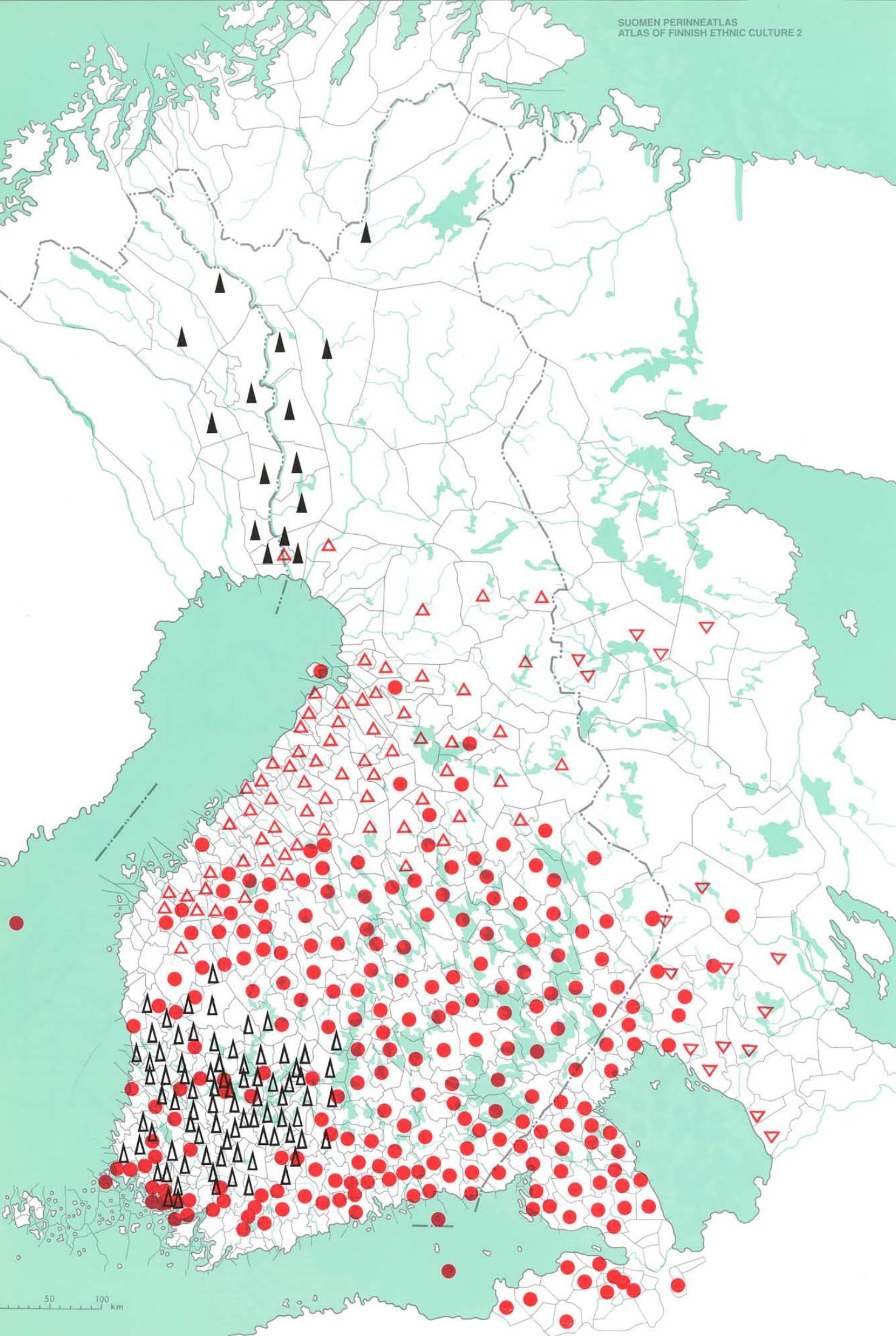
△ ihohiiri  
'skin mouse'

▽ hipiähiiri, hibjuhiiri  
'skin mouse'

▲ vaimas  
(< 'breath')

△ vaimanen, vainonen, vainos  
(< 'breath')

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 39. THE SOUL

### **Seat of immortality**

**Engine of life.** Map 39 contains names for *elohiiri* ['life mouse'], the involuntary tic or neural fibrillation visible on the eyelids, lips or skin. In the folk belief system, the tic was interpreted as movements of the life force contained in the human body, and the names thus reflect soul concepts dating back to pre-Christian times. The restless beat of the tic, for example the involuntary fibrillation of a sick person's eyelids or skin was thought to augur death, when the soul is already attempting to leave the body. Conversely, the tic has been thought a sign of vitality still remaining in the sick person (Dvina). When the trembling ends in death, the living soul has left the human body.

The concept of *elohiiri* associates the pulse of life with a jumping, small and timid creature, the mouse. In Finnish dialects, *elo* is 'the beat of life', felt as the heartbeat and the pulse, trembling and neural reflexes of the skin or eyelids, such as cause a fish to kick even while it is being gutted. It is also felt as movements of a foetus in the womb. The location of *elo* has also been pinpointed in some body part, such as the heart, artery or stomach, where the pulse is felt the strongest; they are places 'sensitive to life' or where the 'life vein' lies.(1)

**Map diagram.** The names *elohiiri*, *elämänhiiiri* (southern Finland), *ihohiiri* [skin mouse] (northern Finland) or *hipiähiiiri* (Karelia) thus mean the pulse of life felt in the human body, particularly tremor seen or felt under the skin; in Karelian *hipiä*, *hibju* means 'skin'. Descriptive of fibrillation are also *väryväinen* or *värviäinen*, known in places in southern Lapland for *elohiiri* and already found in the Ganander dictionary (1786-1787). *Vaimas* (southwestern Finland, western and southern Lapland) and *vainonen* (North Ostrobothnia) derive from the root form tracing back to Ugrian languages (\**vaibma*), the old meanings of which are 'breath', 'breathing', 'steam' and further e.g. 'soul', 'living being, person' or the abode of the soul, such as the Sami *vaibmo* 'heart'; from the same root derives also the Finnish *vaimo*, 'wife'.

Thus, in the Finnish language, the concept of life-soul is derived from two roots. The original term *vaimanen* has been retained in the area comprising prehistoric Häme or Pirkanmaa, North Ostrobothnia, Norrbotten and the river valleys of southern Lapland, which in the Middle Ages (1200-) belonged to the usufruct of *pirkkalaiset* and before them *varsinaissuomalaiset* or *kainulaiset* long-distance hunters, fur traders and tax collectors of Lapland. *Vaimanen*, like *hiisi* 'deceased, abode of the dead', is a word preserved specifically in Häme, perhaps for the precise reason that it has been of crucial importance within the kinship cult of early cultivating communities.

Elohiiri, on the other hand, represents the European layer. It may be a translation loan (Sw. *livmus*, later term *livmössa*) or possibly rather a shared metaphor already used in early prehistoric times in the Baltic area. Corresponding metaphors are the Estonian 'life bug' or 'skin bird' (*elulutikas*, *ihulindu*), the Votian *elotiro* or 'life bat'. In several European languages, the original meaning of the word 'muscle' is 'mouse' (e.g. Latin *musculus*), and in German folklore, for example, the human soul was thought to leave the body in the form of a mouse.(2 The mouse is also associated with the tremulous sensations a human being experiences in his body at moments of terror. Thus, among European peoples the mouse is an ancient 'soul creature', the symbolic embodiment of vitality, perhaps dating back to the era of shamanistic hunting cultures.

**Soul categories.** Many soul types, each with a specific function, have been identified in the folk belief system of northern peoples. In accordance with Wilhelm Wundt's categories, Finnish scholars have usually distinguished two main classes of soul concept: a man's body contains a life-sustaining 'breathing soul' (spirit, body soul), as well as a 'ghost soul' or 'shadow soul' capable of detaching itself from the body.(3 The ghost soul has also been called the 'free soul', and in phenomenological terms, it is possible to distinguish a number of classes of soul concepts.(4

Soul categories can also be viewed from a different perspective. They are varying explanations proffered in different situations, needed by man for interpreting the deepest questions of life, such as the existence of life, birth, death, transmission of hereditary factors within the kinship group, ecstatic spiritual experiences, or even the fact that during sleep, the human consciousness can kind of move around outside the body allowing one to experience things without being physically present. The soul concept has been used to explain at least the following basic questions of life:

**1. The life soul** (breath soul) is the life force initiating life and sustaining it, leaving as the body dies, perhaps with the final breath. The presence of the life soul may be felt as the heartbeat or rushing blood, and the terms for it in Finno-Ugrian languages have meant e.g. 'breath', 'vapor' and 'spirit' and 'life' itself. This kind of soul concept has been used to explain the beginning and end of life, but also conception, transmission of life from mother to child.(5 The breath soul distinguishes living, breathing beings from the dead, those who do not breathe.

**2. The persona soul** (ghost soul) is an immortal, personal substance residing in all living things, a psyche or 'genetic memory' into which a person's individual spiritual experience is collected. The persona soul resides in the innermost recesses of a person, but during dreaming it may travel outside the body or leave the body when the person becomes ill and dies, and after death it may continue wandering independently in a new form. In Finno-Ugrian languages, the term for this ghost or shadow soul has corresponded to the word 'self' in modern Finnish. This self- or I-soul is what makes a newborn baby human, gives him his own consciousness and personality.

After death, the persona soul moves over to the realm of the dead, living as a ghost in the form of its 'owner', resembling the deceased person in outward appearance. According to the explanation prevalent within the ancestral cult, it was capable of returning from the other world by being reborn in a new member of the kinship group. If the ghost soul of a person or large quarry animals, such as the bear (map 1) is not taken care of, it continues to wander as an evil spirit and to seek its share from the living. The haunting spirit has been excluded from the order of the other side and is seeking moral compensation (maps 73-75) or to be reborn in some child; for this reason, certain locations frequented by evil beings, often restless souls, were considered dangerous, sacred or forbidden, for women of childbearing age.(6 The concept of soul permits interpretation of the value of human life, distinction between a good life and a bad one, and the provision of an ideological explanation for shamanism, the ancestral cult, and finally also

Christianity.

**3. *Haltia soul*.** The folklore of the Finns, in common with that of other northern peoples, also includes man's supernatural guardian, *haltia*. A person's *haltia* might appear as an external double or doppelgänger (Sw. *dubbelgångare*), called *etiäinen* in Finland; it has been seen to walk ahead of the person and to arrive before he has arrived himself (narrative type Si A 1-100). The *haltia*-soul has been used to explain the variety of human fates, man's luck and success, the mental abilities of strong personalities such as shamans and sorcerers; a strong person had a strong *haltia*. The concept of soul has also helped express the reason behind the individual strength of each living being, the strong or weak psyche, and the distinguishing features of his personality.

As the cosmic view changed, interpretations of the soul have also emphasized different areas or acquired new features. With many northern peoples, the number of soul categories has increased, and man was believed to possess many different souls, some of which may have remained in their home environments as some kind of supernatural guardians, as the house *haltia* in Finnish folklore (map 62).

The soul capable of leaving the human body and reincarnation has been a structure of thought upon which the shamanistic interpretation of life was built. The metaphor of the twitching mouse, *elohiiri*, is evidently a remnant of the soul-creature which was able to move around outside the body in the form of a small animal, butterfly or other insect, for example in the world of dreams, and which the shaman found and restored to the patient during the healing rite. The metaphor is shamanistic; at times of sickness or even when a person suffers a fright, the soul is dislodged and apt to leave the body.

*FSF VII:3. Harva 1930; 1948, 234-. Paulson 1958. Toivonen 1940-1941; 1941. Vilkuna A. 1956, 110-; 1959a. Waronen 1898.*

**1.** *Vilkuna A. 1959a, 137-. 2. Toivonen 1940-1941. Frazer 1927. 3. Wundt 1905-1909 II. Munkácsi 1905. Paasonen 1909. Harva 1914, 11-; 1915a; 1915b, 14-; 1933a, 171-; 1942b, 16-. Karjalainen 1918, 19-. Kannisto 1958a, 29-. Itkonen T. I. 1948 II, 349-. Storå 1971, 186-. 4. Arbman 1926-1927. Hultkrantz 1953. Paulson 1958. 5. Cf. Harva 1942b, 17-. 6. Vilkuna A. 1956, 126-*

## 40. Sairauden alkuperä The Etiology of Disease

1. Tautiprojektilit  
Disease projectiles  
(shot by a sorcerer or witch)

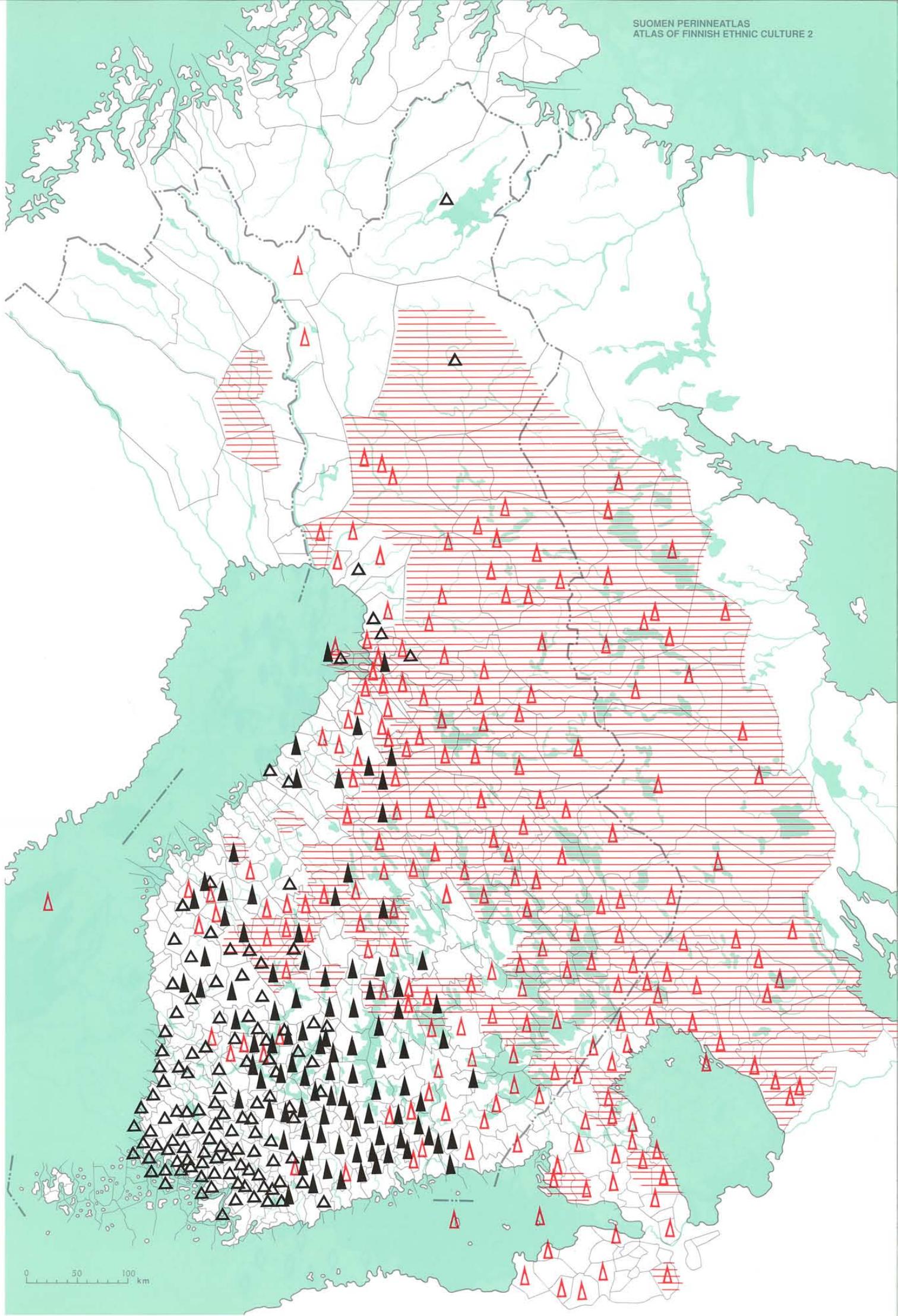
△  
lentotauti  
flying illness  
*letty, letti*  
'flown'

▲  
lento, lennos  
'flight'

■  
amputauti  
shooting illness  
*ammus, olla ammuksissa*  
'shot'

2. Tarttumat  
Contagious illness  
*metsän-, veden-, maan-, tuulen- ja kalmannenä*  
'forest-, water-, earth-, wind- and death's nose'

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 40. THE ETIOLOGY OF DISEASE

### ***Explanations of sickness***

**Etiology of diseases.** Map 40 contains names of diseases that also reveal ideas of the origins of the illness. Peoples of the world have held many general explanation formulas or cognitive structures employed when interpreting the nature of illness. The sickness may be caused by (1) loss of the soul (shamanism), (2) some outsider has sent it, shot it into the person (sorcery), (3) the disease has been caught from some place or substance (contamination explanation) or (4) the sick person has been invaded by an evil spirit, the wrong soul (ancestral cult) or (5) a worm gnawing inside the body and finally causing death when it penetrates the heart, liver or other organ; in addition, sickness may be caused by (6) a breach of taboo or defying divine forces.(1 Loss of the soul has been the dominant explanation among northern peoples, as well as elsewhere within the circle of shamanism. In Finland, the departure of the soul has remained, for example, in the concept of *elohiiri* [life mouse] (map 39), but interpretations of sickness prevalent during peasant society have been part of the sorcerer and witchcraft tradition.

**Disease projectiles.** The terms *amputauti* [shot sickness] (*ammus, olla ammuksissa*) and *lentotauti* [flight sickness] (*lennos, lento, letty*) refer to diseases that have been shot by someone, or that fly through the air and hit the victim. A shot sickness in Finnish folklore has most commonly been a sting, healed with the Incantation for Stings (map 49). Causing injury by magic is one of the basic doctrines of sorcery, distinguishing it from shamanism. The explanation is based on the idea that the illness has been caused by some outsider; it may be an act of revenge, a punishment, but also the malevolent act of a rival. In sorcery, disease has had social and moral reasons, no longer fright or insulting supernatural guardians or ancestors. An individual's health, in common with good fortune or a good life, was bound up with interpersonal relations, social harmony. On the other hand, sickness was an event that upset the equilibrium of the community; it was necessary to interpret it also in moral terms.

Rites for dispatching and repelling sickness were part of sorcerer culture, and originally a shot sickness was sent by a sorcerer with good rite skills. In the era of Christian hegemony, the sorcerer was replaced by the witch or the devil itself, and in European explanations of disease the agent administering the shot is already predominantly a witch, the devil, or an evil supernatural being, such as a fairy or troll. In Scandinavia, the sorcerer layer is still in evidence in the old Swedish and Norwegian terms of *lappskott* and *finnskott*, disease shot by a Lapp or a Finn; the Sami as well as Finnish swidden farmers were feared specifically as sorcerers.(2

In Finnish healing folklore, the disease projectile is described as a small arrow-like object that penetrates the victim's skin, leaving a black mark or a very tiny hole. Evidently during the era of belief in witchcraft or the devil, the explanation has also become widespread that the witch's arrow is like a burning spill or torch, flying above the treetops. Witch's arrows were also shooting stars, or they are described as light phenomena similar to globe lightning, like the flight of a *para* (map 58). In Scandinavia and Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, sickness could be shot with a gun, with a round pellet the disease projectile that penetrated the body.

The terms *amputauti* and *olla ammuksissa* or 'shooting illnesses' occur in the reserve of sorcerer belief in Savo-Karelia. Flying illnesses *letty*, *letti*, 'flown, sent to fly' and *lennos*, *lento*, 'moving through flight' are western and novel as explanations of disease. Besides shot sickness, flying illness usually refers to diseases explained to fly through the air with the wind, often in the form of an animal, such as the cock. Such flying diseases were the plague, cholera, dysentery and other epidemics that from the Middle Ages onward spread rapidly around Europe, literally flying from village to village.

**Technique of injury.** In Finnish folklore, sorcerers and witches have mainly used three techniques to cause the illness and death of a person or animal. The victim was destroyed (1) by shooting a disease projectile, (2) by making a hernia pouch, or (3) feeding him with a substance to make him sick.

To shoot a sickness, a doll representing the victim was made or a picture of him drawn perhaps on a piece of board. The doll or picture was tied to a tree, and an arrow made from alder wood or a shingle shot into it with a small bow, or a pin was stuck in it. Records from Värmland Finns indicate that an image of the person was carved directly into a spruce trunk and pins that had pierced snakes' eyes driven into it; the pins were gradually knocked deeper into the tree, causing the sickness to worsen, and the victim died when they were finally driven fully home.(3)

The *tyro* or *tyrä*, hernia, has been described in a number of ways, but its deepest association is probably a man's scrotum, in imitation of which substances symbolizing the victim's life force, such as hair, nails or intimate secretions were placed in a leather pouch or bandage. The *tyrä*-pouch was destroyed by burying it in the ground or trapping it tightly in a place of torture, such as between two trees rubbing together or under a rolling stone in a rapids. The treatment was reflected on the victim who began to languish, and finally died after suffering great pain.

Feeding someone to cause sickness was effected above all with corpse power, secretions of a dead body or substances that had been in contact with a corpse, corpse earth taken from the graveyard etc.; they were secretly mixed with the victim's food or drink. The substances may also have been real plant-derived or other poisons known by sorcerers and folk healers.

The sorcerer was also capable of repelling the effect of the witch's arrow. The healer of a shot sickness looked for the site where the arrow had penetrated the skin, and removed it by sucking, squeezing or anointing the place with substances that weakened the effect of the arrow, such as tar or spirits. Sting arrows might also be repelled through Christian rites, pages from the Bible, signs of the cross and prayers.

In Finnish and Finland-Swedish folklore, the shooting explanation has persisted in the treatment of sudden illnesses of domestic animals, such as colic in cows and horses; the expression that the animal is 'shot' has particularly applied to enteritis or colic. Of human illnesses, sciatica is still known as *noidannuoli* [witch's arrow] both in Finnish and several other European languages. Few descriptions and little real information has been preserved in Finland on the preparation and shooting of sting arrows. Healing shot sickness did not usually focus on finding the sender of the arrow, but the site of its penetration from the animal's leg or flank. Sorcery concentrated on repelling the disease projectiles, and

Finnish culture of the swidden era evidently did not contain such social conflicts that would have led to the dominance of black magic. (Si D 61)

**Contagious disease.** *Nenä* [nose] was a disease that was caught from the earth, water or wind, and particularly in Finnish folklore, from the forest. The infection could be caught from a dangerous or polluted substance, such as excretions from a corpse (death's nose), or from a place felt to be polluted, such as under the sauna platforms or from women who were in an unclean condition. Thus, in Finnish folklore, *nänä*-diseases have been associated with ideas of supernatural energy, a force that causes ill-effects or pollutes a person.(4)

There are two types of transmission mechanisms. One could catch the *nänä*-disease through (1) infection or abrasion, or (2) through a fright; it was both a skin disease and a mental illness.

*Maannenä* [earth nose] or *maanvihat* [earth feuds, curses] is usually a skin disease, an infection, eczema or boil, caught from dirty earth. *Tuulennenä* [wind nose] meant a whirlwind or sudden storm, and as a disease usually a skin or eye infection caught from such whirlwinds or wind in general, a dry, cold spring wind and strong sun. *Maannenä* was healed by sending the disease back to the earth. A square turf was cut from the supposed source of the infection or 'strong' earth, and applied on the infected place, after which the turf was replaced in its original spot. Alternatively, a square turf was cut from the ground so that it was still attached at both ends, and the painful foot or hand placed under the turf or the patient crawled through the gap.

*Metsännenä* [forest nose] might 'rub on' in the forest or it may be a cut obtained there, where the force of the forest or *metsänvihat* [forest curses] have entered it and the wound has become septic. It was possible to be infected by a slain bear or other dead animal. Most frequently, however, *metsännenä* is described as a fright. The person has been frightened by a bear in a forest or startled to the core by falling in a bog. As a concept, *metsännenä* was apparently a kind of general term for diseases originating from nature – either the earth or water (*vedennenä*). Such a fright remains in a person's soul and causes a long-term neurological ache or other pain without an external cause. The long-lasting pain may even make him mentally ill. *Metsännenä* could be healed by fetching some substance from the site of the fright, such as bear droppings, an anthill or water, into which the ache was transferred and which was then taken back. Originally, *metsännenä* was perhaps caused by upsetting the supernatural guardian of the forest, and the healing rites were aimed at 'appeasing' the forest, or compensatory offerings had to be given to the guardian. *Metsännenä* is a combination of different etiologies: shamanistic loss of the soul, a breach of taboo against the supernatural guardian of the forest, and ideas on contagious diseases.

There are no cartographically significant differences in the names of *nänä*-diseases. The established terms for infections are *metsännenä*, found in the whole Savo-Karelian area, and *maannenä*, of which most references are from South Savo and South Karelia. *Vedennenä* is the most common in Ladoga Karelia, *tuulennenä* is rare, and fire is almost entirely absent from Finnish contagion folklore, with *kalmanväki* [death force] perhaps in its place. In the Savo-Karelian contagion map, of prime importance is the forest which is conceptually close to the earth.

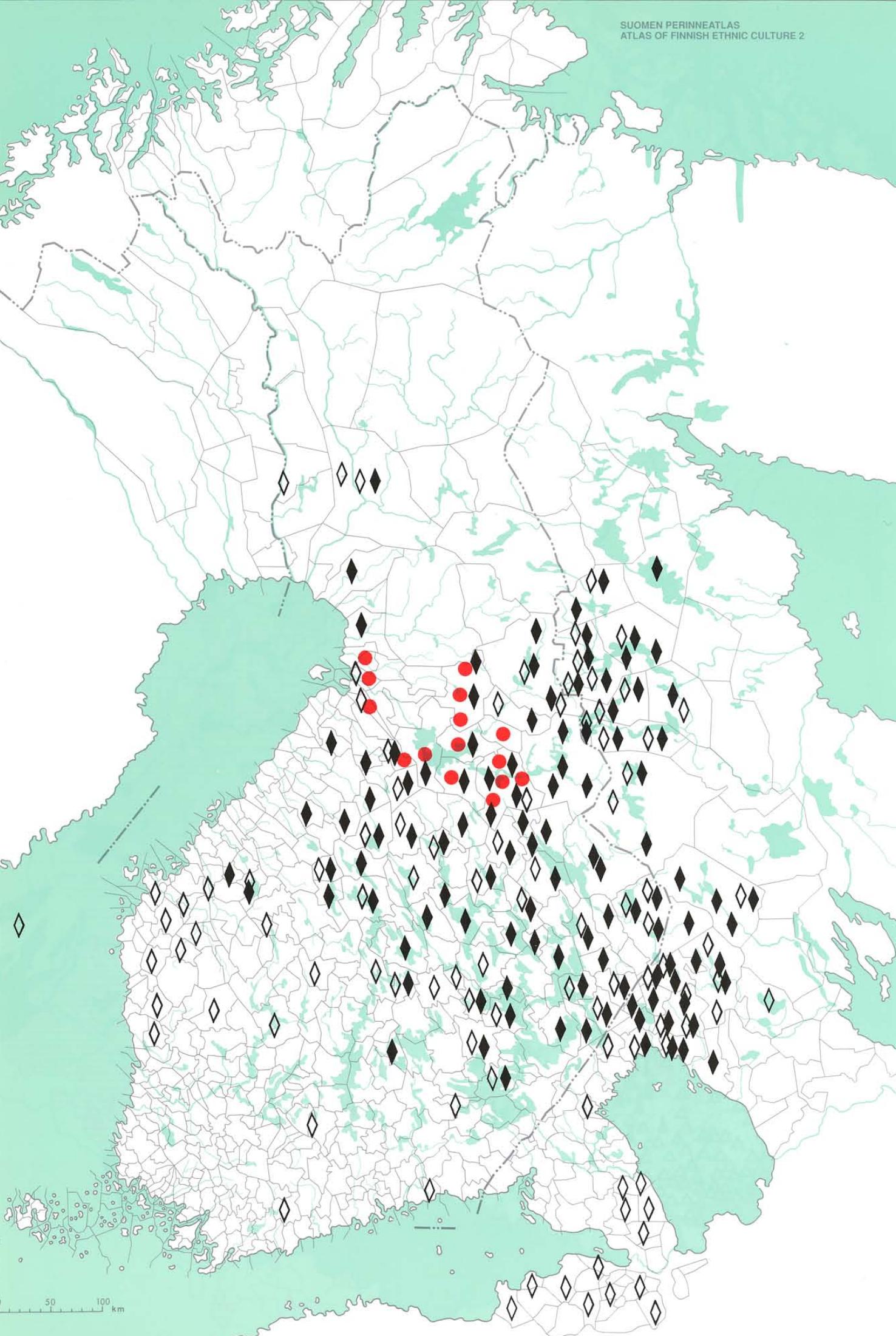
*Nenä* has referred to a disease caused by the force of the four base elements of the world, earth, water, wind and fire, and upsetting their equilibrium. The four universal base elements are central to the thinking of Asian peoples in particular, and they were adopted e.g. in the medicine of ancient Greece, including in the system of diseases of the philosopher Embedocles (5th century B.C.). In the Finnish-Karelian area, *nänä*-diseases were possibly of eastern influence. On the other hand, in explanations of

disease, too, Karelia has been an archaic region and perhaps retained ideas that have disappeared from the rest of Europe.

(Si C 1601-1700, K 49, L 151)

*Forsblom 1917. Honko 1959ab; 1960c. Lid 1921; 1928. Manninen 1922. Mansikka 1935. Nikander – Wikman 1927. Räsänen M. 1950. Åstedt 1960.*

**1.** Clements 1932, 185-. Honko 1959a, 23-; 1960c. Cf. Murdock 1980. **2.** Lid 1928. Honko 1959a, 41-. **3.** Kettunen 1935, 55-. **4.** Hako 1957, 2-. Manninen 1922. Åstedt 1960.

**41. Tulen synty**  
**The Origin of Fire**

- ◊ tuli isketään taivaalla  
striking fire in the sky
- ◆ tuli tuuditetaan yläilmossa  
rocking fire in heaven
- tuli, auringon poika  
fire, son of the sun

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 41.-42. INCANTATION FOR FIRE

### 41. *The origin of fire*

**Three performances.** The incantations on the Origin of Fire in the old meter contain three main sections: (1) Striking of Fire or Rocking the Fire (origin of fire), (2) Falling of Fire and the destruction it causes on earth (liminal state, lack of order), and (3) the Fire Fish and catching it (possession of fire), when the possession of fire is taken for people to use.

**Striking of fire in the sky.** In accordance with the evidently oldest, shamanistic myth, it was Ilmarinen or Väinämöinen, the supernatural guardian of the heavens or air, who struck the fire up in heaven, on the sky canopy, or on top of the pillar supporting the sky. The strike is lightning, of which various metaphors are used. In poetry in the archaic meter, the metaphor for lightning is a multicolored snake. A remnant of the ancient layer is apparently also the vision that the lightning is shot down from heaven by the original hero or demigod as an iron-tipped, three-feathered arrow that hits a rock and strikes sparks of fire (cf. map 49). The third Palearctic lightning metaphor is an iron-clawed firebird, also appearing in some verses of Origin of Fire. In all these versions of the etiological myth, fire was struck high on the canopy of the sky, and deflected or shot from there down to earth.

According to a second original redaction, Väinämöinen strikes fire on the primordial ocean from his own nails, either with a tinderbox or without any fire-making aids. In the primordial ocean version of Origin of Fire, the legend is evidently based on the myth of Diving for the Earth, as suggested by Martti Haavio, although the creation of the earth does not feature in Finnish incantations.<sup>(1)</sup> According to the diving myth, the world originated from land that some animal or water fowl dove from the bottom of the primaeval ocean (map 87). In the Christian myth versions of Russian peoples, an extension of the creation of the earth is a battle between the creator and his opponent, during which each issues bolts of lightning from his hands upon the other. In some variants, the diving animal brings the creator a tinderbox from the depths of the sea. The creator uses it to strike sparks from which angels and other celestial armies are created; correspondingly, the devil strikes up his own auxiliary forces from the flintstone. Thus, the primaeval ocean version of Origin of Fire would be a part of a diverse myth complex, describing alongside other primordial events the origin of fire-making tools and the first striking of fire with a flintstone tinderbox.

#### Striking of fire in the sky

*Iski tulta Ilmarinen, välytti Väinämöinen kirjavalla käärmeellä, kolmella kokon sulalla pääällä kuuden kirjokannen, pääällä taivaan yhdeksän/ pääällä pystyn pilven reunan.*

*Ilmarinen struck the fire, Väinämöinen flashed with a multicolored snake, with three eagle feathers above six bright canopies, above nine heavens/ above a steep cloud edge.*

Old fire-words recorded in the 1700s follow the question and answer formula:

"Kussa tulta isketään?" "Pääällä taivaan saranan."  
 "Kuka siellä tulta iski?" "Itse ilman Jeesus..."

"Where is the fire struck?" "Upon the sky's hinge."  
 "Who struck the fire there?" "Jesus of the air himself..."  
 (Ostrobothnia 1658).

### Striking of fire at sea

*Iski tulta Ilmarinen, välytti Väinämöinen. Iski tulta ilman piitä, ilman taulaa tavoitti selvällä meren selällä, lakialla laineilla/ keskellä merikiveä.*

*Ilmarinen he struck fire, Väinämöinen he did flash. Struck fire without a flintstone, without tinder caught it on the clear ocean, on the open waves/ in the center of a sea rock.*

Striking of Fire contains many mythical elements. In preserved folklore, different motifs – lightning, striking of fire with a tinderbox, the sky canopy and primaeval ocean – are intertwined, and the various redactions can no longer be shown on a map.

**Rocking the fire in the heavens.** The structure and metaphors of the Rocking incantation are the same as in the Birth of the Bear (map 1). The incantation progresses in question and answer format, with the Virgin Mary named as the rocker of the fire in some variants.

### Rocking the fire

"Missä on tulta tuuditettu, valkeasta vaaputettu?"  
 "Tuolla taivaan navalla, maailmanvuoren kukkulalla/ pääällä taivaan yhdeksän/ ylisessä taivo-sessa."  
 "Miten alas laskettiin?"  
 "Kultaisessa kätkyessä, hopeisten hihnojen varassa."

"Where was the fire rocked, bright flame swung?"  
 "There on the pole of heaven, peak of the world mountain/ on top of nine heavens/ in the highest heaven of all."  
 "How was it let down?"  
 "In a golden cradle, hung from silver chains."

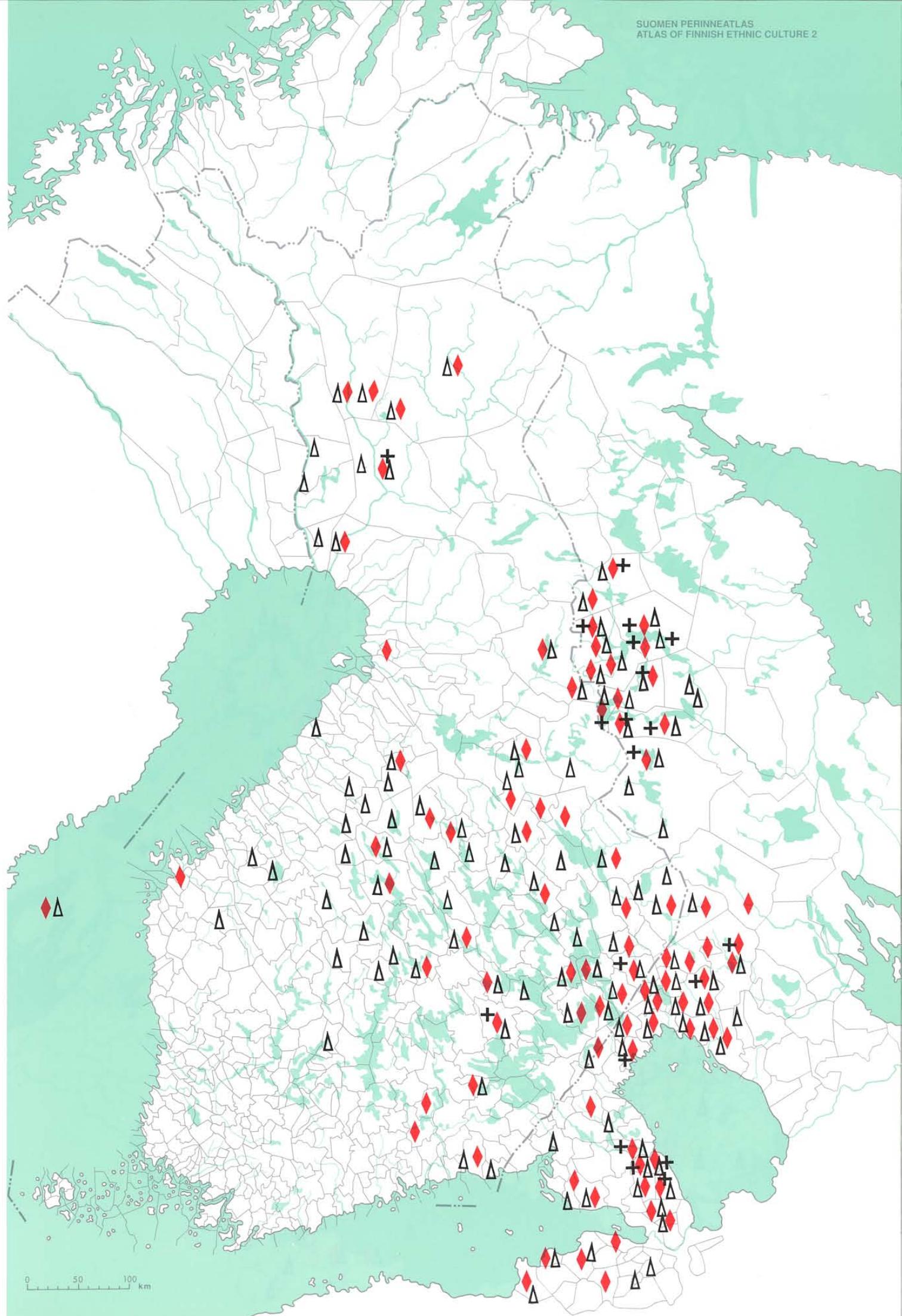
## 42. Tulen haltuunotto Possessing Fire

+ tuli putoaa kirveen- tai neulan-  
silmän läpi  
fire falls through eye of axe or  
needle

♦ tuli tuhoaa maan  
fire devastates the earth

Δ tuli vangitaan kalan vatsasta  
catching fire from the stomach  
of a fish

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



**Fire is the son of the sun.** In a limited area of North Ostrobothnia and Kainuu, a short rune in the old meter is known where fire is called the grandson (son) of the sun:

*Tuli kulta aurinkoinen, aurinkoisen pojapoi, auringottaren tekemä.*

*Fire golden made of sunshine, grandson of the sun, born from his mistress.*

## 42. Possessing fire

**Falling of fire and the devastation.** The sequence on the falling of fire (map 42) describes how a spark or fireball is let loose from heaven, falling through several layers and ending up in Lake Alue, probably the cosmic sea or primaeval ocean. The power of the fireball caused the lake to bubble up (thrice) to the height of spruce trees, threw the fish up onto dry land, or panic set in among the fish and other sea creatures. Finally, a fish comes and swallows the spark, but the fire burns its innards and the fish swims in agony around the shores of spits and islands. The fire fish theme has been expanded, especially in northern rune areas, by using three repeated sequences. First the fireball is swallowed by a whitefish, which is devoured by a pike, and finally a salmon eats the pike. Some variants go on to recount how the fish moans in its agony, which people hear and come to catch the fish.

Falling of Fire also contains a sequence describing how the fireball falls through (six) eyes of needles or axes, and finally through a smoke hatch into a house. There it burns a baby in a cradle and the breasts of the nursing mother or a girl. Alternatively, the fireball burns wide swathes of land and forest.

### Fire falls into Lake Alue

*Kirposi tulikipinä läpi maan, läpi manalan, läpi taivaan yhdeksän, läpi kuuden kirjokannen keskelle Aluen järven. Silloin tuo Aluen järvi kuohti kuusien tasalle, ärjyi päälle äyräittensä. Niin tuli sileää siika, nieli tuon tulisoroisen. Oli aikaa vähäisen, tuli tuska nielijälle. Uksenteli, voksenteli sadoin saarien nenää, tuhansia niemen pätää tuskissa tulen punaisen.*

*Fell a fire-spark through the earth, through the Underworld, through nine heavens, through six bright canopies into the middle of Lake Alue. Then did Lake Alue froth up to the spruce-tops, roar over its banks. There came a smooth whitefish, swallowed that fire-spark. A little while passed by, the swallower was in pain. Swam around, drifted around a hundred islands, a thousand spits in agony from the red fire.*

### Fire falls through the eye of an axe or a needle

*Kirposi tulikipinä, läpi taivosen yhdeksän, läpi kuuden kirveen/neulan (kuokan) silmän, läpi räppänän retuisen. Poltti lapsen kätkyeen, rikkoi rinnat tyttäreiltä.*

*Fell a fire-spark through nine heavens, through six axe-/needle- (hoe-) eyes, through a smoke-hatch. Burned a child in its cradle, broke the breasts of a maid.*

### Fire devastates the earth

*Vierivi tulisoronen, vieri soita vieri maita, poltti maan polttti manalan/ poltti puolet Pohjanmaata.*

*Rolled on the fire-ball, over marshes over lands, burned the earth, burned the Underworld/burned half of Northland.*

**Catching the fire fish.** The third main sequence of the myth of the Origin of Fire is catching the fire fish. It is often preceded by the runes Sowing the Flax and Weaving the Net, which have been seen as separate myths of the Catch Net and at the same time Origin of Fishing. The sequence Sowing the Flax gives an account of how the flax was sown at night and reaped by moonlight, sisters wove the net in the night and brothers took it into the water at night. The night probably refers to the darkness prevailing on earth while fire was under the surface of the cosmic sea, to the fireless era. In some variants, the net was let out in the river both against and with the current, and the fish was only captured after many attempts or after Väinämöinen himself took over the fishing. When the fire fish was landed, its belly was slit open and the fire taken for people to use. The stylistic extensions of the incantation describe how a pike was first found in the salmon's stomach, a whitefish inside the pike, and the fire only inside the whitefish. Sometimes the sequence Fire Devastates the Earth only follows after Catching the Fire Fish, as the fire escapes from people's control.

### Catching the fire fish

*Yöllä liina kylvettiin, kylvettiin kynnettiin. Kuutamolla korjattiin, yöllä vietii veteen. Sisarukset kehräsvät, veljet verkkoa kutoivat. Saatiin verkko valmiiksi. Viettiin vesille verkot. Myötävirtaan potkettiin, vastavirtaan vaittiin... Saatiin sileää siika. Halaistiin siian vatsa, siellä oli tulikeränen. Sai talo tulelliseksi, maailma valkealliseksi.*

*In the night the flax was sown, sown and plowed. In the moonlight it was reaped, at night taken to the water. Sisters did the spinning, brothers wove the net. They got the net finished. Took the net to the water. Laid it with the current, against the current... Caught a smooth whitefish. Opened up the whitefish belly, a fireball found they there. Got the fire for the house, lighted up the world.*

**Map diagram of Origin of Fire.** Of etiological versions, Striking of Fire is preserved in the most widespread area, and variants on the devastation by fire and the fire fish have been recorded from an equally large area; the motifs are also found in the folklore of Vermland. The Rocking of Fire version occurs in Savo-Karelia in the same areas as bear runes (map 1), while the motif of the fire falling through the eye of an axe or a needle is limited to Karelia. The Son of the Sun version appears to be a later, local rune product.

The map diagram shows that The Incantation of Fire originally had three base sequences: Striking of Fire, Falling of Fire and the consequent bubbling up of water or other kinds of destruction, and the Fire Fish and its capture; they may be held to be the oldest mythological elements of all. Falling of the fire spark or fireball through the eye of an axe and escaping inside the house, where it burns a woman's

breasts or a child in a cradle, is an independent rune describing the danger posed by a natural phenomenon like globe lightning. It may be founded on real events.

## ***Fire in human culture***

**Study of the origin of fire.** There are common themes running through the myths of the origin of fire shared by the peoples of the world. A common legend concerns the fireless primordial times, when people did not yet know fire, or it was only possessed by gods, or some demon had taken possession of it. The liberator of fire, often an animal, perhaps a bird, fetches or steals the fire and brings it to the people. In Greek mythology, Prometheus stole the fire for the people from the Olympian gods, and was punished for it. In various parts of the world, rational legends are also found, according to which fire originates from lightning, volcanoes, or that man learned to make fire by chance, such as having noticed that tree branches rubbing against each other in the wind become hot.(2 In Finland, the liberation of fire does not feature in the Origin of Fire, but the motif is found in the rune Release of the Sun.

Of Finnish scholars, F. A. Hästesko made the assumption that the creator of fire is Väinämöinen, who struck lightnings on the heavenly primaeval ocean; as the deity of water he also created the nets and captured the fire fish. Since the work of Kaarle Krohn, the elements of Origin of Fire were held to be based on Christianity, with e.g. the falling of fire being based on a medieval legend with the Virgin Mary the central character. Martti Haavio interpreted the primaeval ocean version as authentic, and postulates that the striking is based on the struggle between the creator and anti-creator also occurring in the Bible; the multicolored snake or viper metaphor would refer to Satan, flung down to earth when the heavens opened. Early on, Julius Krohn suggested that Catching the Fire Fish was modeled on the Scandinavian myth of capturing the seagull.(3

Uno Harva looked for links to the folklore of northern peoples. In his view, the striking of fire refers to lightning, and the original is the image of an iron-clawed giant bird, the cause of thunder and lightning in the interpretations of northern peoples. Matti Kuusi has accepted the ideas that the elements of preserved Finnish fire-striking are mainly of Christian origin, but considers the etiological myths to have a pre-Christian background; at least the fire fish and fire bird are motifs also found with peoples in Siberia and North America.(4 Rocking the Fire has generally been thought a later variant, adapted for the rune Birth of the Bear.

**Interpretation of the origin of fire.** It is likely that the Finnish Incantation of Fire contains more than one myth version.

(1) The oldest explanation of the origin of fire, evidently dating back as far as the Uralian hunting period, is the vision of a bolt of lightning striking the earth during a thunderstorm, or shot down from the sky's canopy by the supernatural guardian of weather and storms. Behind Striking of Fire lies a shamanistic world view, and the stage is the sky's canopy. In Finnish runes in the old meter, the supernatural guardian of weather is Ilmarinen, in ancient Scandinavian folklore Thor. Metaphors for lightning include the multicolored snake, an iron-tipped three-feathered arrow, bouncing off a rock with sparks flying. The weather bird appearing in some variants may be the iron-clawed giant bird of Palearctic peoples, tearing up trees and causing destruction during thunderstorms.

The earliest Finnish etiological myth would also fall in the category of lightning interpretations. The first fire was struck high up on the canopy of the sky, on the cosmic central mountain or on top of the pillar

supporting the sky (maps 49, 93). The fire strikes down, threatening to scorch the earth and to dry up the sea surrounding the world, to shake the foundations of the existing cosmos. Finnish folklore, too, contains the idea that a lightning strike brings down to earth stone projectiles, *ukonnuolia* or –*vaajoja* [thunder arrows]; for example, Iron Age flintstones, stone axes and other stone weapons found in the ground have been explained as thunder arrows.

(2) A second etiological version is the first striking of fire using a tinderbox. According to the archaeologist Jorma Leppäaho, the arrow or projectile metaphor fits in with the older, Neolithic method of striking fire with a quartzite-tipped arrow or an oblong firestone made of quartzite.(5 Striking fire with a fire iron from a flintstone into tinder is a later technique, adopted from the 7th century, and preserved right up to the 1800s. The shard of flintstone was held in the fingers, and the references to striking with 'nails' would mean specifically making fire with a fire iron. In the firestone version, the demiurge was placed in the primaeval ocean and the frame narrative was taken from cosmogonical myths. It is possible that underlying the Finnish rune, too, are Bible stories of the creation of the world, the battle between God and Satan, and the expulsion of the devil from heaven. The myths recounting the struggle between God and his opponents explain such mysteries as the fragmentation of the earth, the meaning of shooting stars, the existence of the forces of good and evil. It is possible that in the Middle Ages or as early as the Iron Age, as fire irons become common, the origin of fire was reinterpreted. Placing fire-striking in the center of primordial events or Biblical stories has afforded small fire sparks a powerful cultural significance.

(3) The Finnish Devastation by Fire would be a description of globe lightning, the unpredictable course of which is emphasised through similes to the eye of an axe or a needle.

Thus, in Origin of Fire, the lightning strike, fire falling through the universe, and the fire fish, are likely to date back to the shamanistic era, to be the heritage of Nordic peoples. In hunting era interpretations, catching the fire fish might have been a narrative about a shaman who sends his soul in the forms of various animals to search for the fire spark from the primaeval ocean or the waters of the Underworld. Origin of the Catch Net may also be one of the hunting era myths, but in its preserved form, the description of growing flax (originally hemp), processing it and weaving the net, belongs to the layer of the cultivation era. The logical plot of Origin of Fire may have been preserved in the archaic Savo-Karelian cultural environment. It would describe how the lightning strikes from high in the sky into the sea, where its power is quelled, but before it is completely extinguished, a fish swallows a spark, and by catching the fish people acquire fire, the power of the lightning.

**Handling of fire.** The Origin of Fire incantations are thought to have been a part of specific fire rites, but there are no records of fire worship. In general, burning has been just a rite technique through which e.g. offerings were transported to the world on the other side. In Iron Age communities, fire incantations were needed for burning swidden, lighting the blacksmith's furnace or charcoal kiln, or repelling house fires and lightning damage. In preserved sorcerer lore, Origin of Fire in conjunction with formulas for anointing burn injuries was often used specifically to remove fire damage or healing burns.

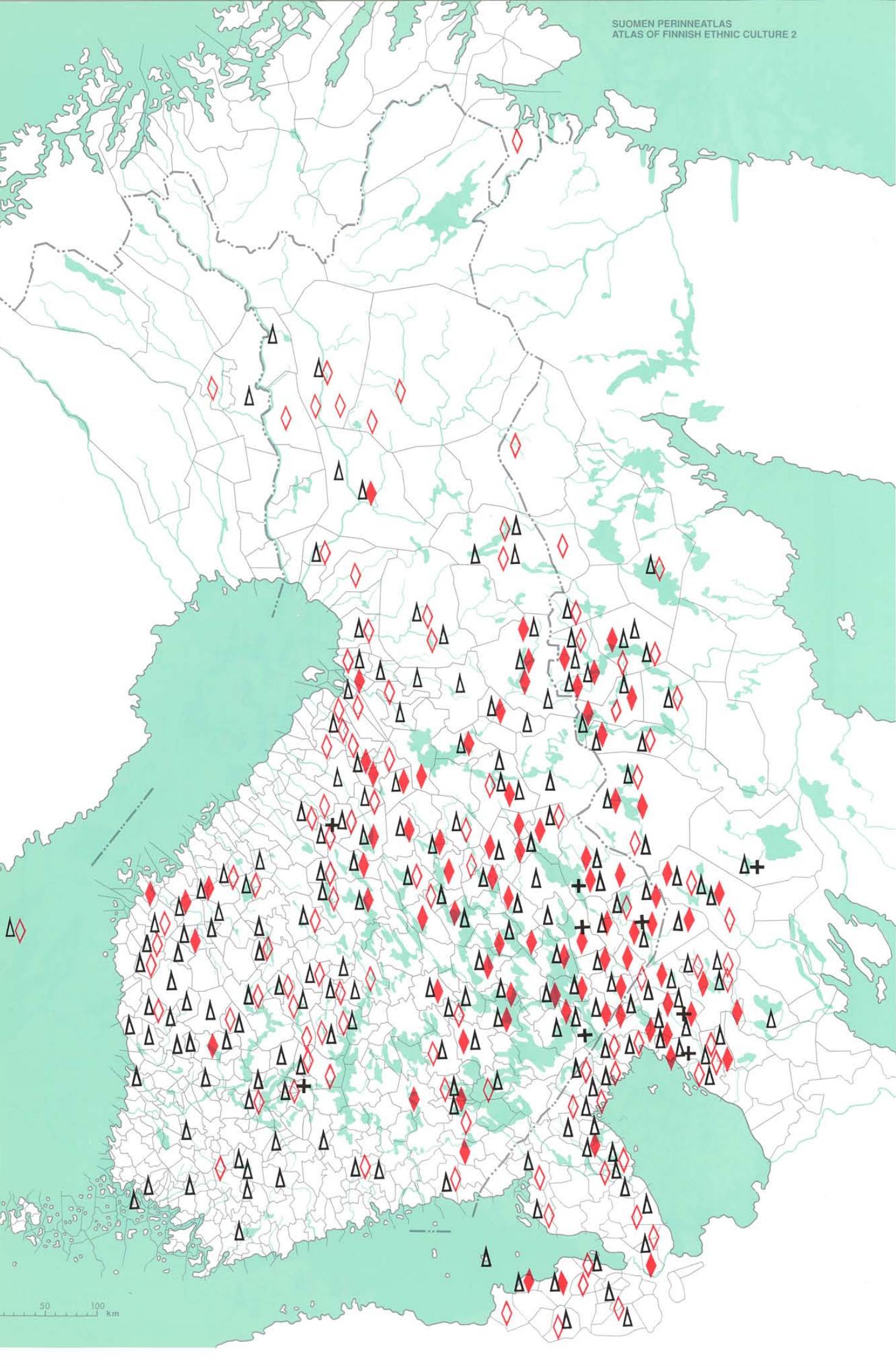
Fire-lighting rites may have been performed when burning swidden or festival fires (maps 24-25). A felled swidden clearing had to be burned properly right down to the surface earth, but at the same time the fire had to be prevented from spreading to the surrounding forest. The Origin of Fire incantation would have been said as fire was struck with a firestone, later with a fire iron. The power of lightning has had a symbolic meaning, especially in rainy summers when it was difficult to get swidden to burn. Thunder and lightning are fundamentally associated with the biohistory of northern forests; it was lightning that burned and regenerated old, dead conifer stands, which is what swidden clearings made in

virgin forests usually were. Swidden was also lit using friction, by rubbing a piece of hard wood against a pitchy wood base. In sorcerer thinking, friction fire has perhaps been associated with slow-burning swidden from which the fire could not escape, and it may have been used when there was a danger of forest fire. Controlling the fire was also crucial in making iron or in charcoal-burning and tar-burning in pits.

Myths of the origin of fire specifically recount the transfer of fire into human culture. In common with rites of passage or crisis rites, possession of fire also had three stages: detaching of fire, an intermediate or liminal stage, and finally the submission of fire for human use. During the liminal stage, the fire was out of order; uncontrolled fire flashing around the universe was a threat to nature, to cosmic order. If Origin of Fire is to be interpreted as a thriller drama, it has been a battle to restore order. Possession of fire ended in victory for man and his culture.

(MI A 142, A 1414, A 1457.3)

**1.** Haavio 1961; 1967b, 367-. **2.** Frazer 1930. Kuusi 1963a, 55-. **3.** Hästesko 1918, 35-. Krohn K. 1917, 101-; 1918. Haavio 1967b, 379-. Krohn J. 1885, 250-. **4.** Frazer 1930, 157-. Harmjanz 1932. Harva 1948, 74-. Kuusi 1963a, 57-. Salo 1997b. **5.** Leppääaho 1949. Salo 1997b.



### 43. Raudan alkuperä The Origin of Iron

1. Raudan löytyminen suosta  
Discovery of iron in a swamp

Δ eläinten jalanjäljistä  
from the tracks of animals  
(wolf, bear)

+ rautaruoho, rautakasvi  
iron grass, iron plant

2. Rautamaito  
Iron milk

◊ rautanainen tai rautaneito  
lipsäät rautamaidon  
from the iron woman or maiden  
flows iron milk

◊ rautaneidot, erilaiset rautalaadut  
iron maidens, various types of  
iron

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 43.-44. INCANTATION FOR IRON

### 43. *The origin of iron*

Origin of Iron is a symbolic account of the discovery of iron ore and making of iron (map 43). In preserved folklore, Incantations of Iron have been employed for healing wounds caused by bladed weapons, with the formula ending in Poisoning of Iron or Breach of the Oath of Iron; the incantations explain how iron was contaminated and became dangerous to man. Finnish folklore contains two main versions of Origin of Iron: (1) iron ore was obtained from a swamp, from the footprints of a wolf and a bear, and processed to make iron (swamp motif) or (2) iron originated from milk that has dripped to the ground from the breasts of a woman or several young maidens (iron milk motif). The sequence of the discovery of iron ore is followed by Forging of Iron.

**Discovery of iron.** The etiological incantation probably began with an account of how (1a) the wolf and bear ran along the swamp, when their footprints revealed iron rust, swamp or iron ore, or (1b) the footprints of the wolf and bear sprouted iron grass, iron shoots, from which iron is made.

#### Iron ore is discovered from animal tracks

(1a) *Susi juoksi suota myöten, karhu kangasta samosi. Suo nousi suden jaloissa, kangas karhun kämmenissä.*

(1b) *Kasvoi rautaiset oraat suden suurille jäljille, karhun kannan polkimille/ tuohon kasvoi rautaheinä suden kynnen kääntimille...*

(1a) *A wolf ran along the swamp, a bear roamed on the heath. The swamp rose up on the wolf's feet, the heath on the bear's paws.*

(1b) *There grew iron shoots on the wolf's big tracks, on the prints of the bear's heels/ there grew iron grass on the turves turned by the wolf's claw...*

When healing wounds, the etiological formula begins with negation:

(1c) *Voi sinua rauta raukka, koito kuona!*

*Et sinä silloin suuri ollut, kun sinut suosta sotkettiin, vetelästä vellottiin/ kun läikyit lähteessä, järven pohjassa syvässä.*

(1c) *Oh you poor iron, wretched slag!*

*You were not very big when you were trod from the swamp, squelched from the mire/ when you glimmered in the spring, deep in the bottom of the lake.*

**Iron milk.** At least two types of female figure have been associated with Origin of Iron: an earth mother figure and four maidens. In the earth mother version, the milk is spilled by (2a) a woman, addressed as the daughter of the earth, black in appearance, sometimes Hiisi's wife. In some variants, the milk ran out while the woman slept, without her knowledge, and ended up in the swamp. According to the second principal version (2b) there were four (three) maidens, each of them producing milk of different colors, from which the varieties of iron originate.

### Iron maidens

(2a) *Maan tyttö Manalan neito, sillä on muoto mustanlainen, iho innon karvallinen. Se maidon maahan lypsi utarista uhkuvista, nännistä nimettömistä suon selällä, maan navalla...*

(2b) *Oli ennen neljä neittä, koko kolme morsianta. Istuivat itään rinnoin, lypsivät maahan maidoon. Yksi lypsi mustan maidon, toinen valkean valutti, kolmas veripunaisen. Joka lypsi mustan maidon, siitä on tehty meltorauta. Joka valkean valutti, siitä on tehty teräkset. Joka lypsi punaisen (verensekaisen) maidon, siitä on tehty rääkyrauta (takkirauta)./ Kulki kolme luonnotarta, koko kolme morsianta. Lypsivät maalle maitojaan, nurmelle nisukksiaan. Yksi lypsi mustan maidon...*

(2a) *Earth's daughter maid of the Underworld, she is dark in form, with nasty-colored skin. She milked her milk into the ground from her mighty udders, incredible nipples, on the open swamp, in the center of the earth...*

(2b) *There were once four maidens, three brides. Sat abreast to the east, milking their milk into the ground. One milked black milk, the second flowed white, the third blood-red. The one who milked black milk, from it is soft iron made. The one who flowed white, from it is steel made. The one who milked red (bloody) milk, from it is made pig iron./ There walked three nature maidens, all three brides. Milked their milk into the ground, their nourishment onto the turf. One milked black milk...*

As a healing incantation, the iron milk version also begins with a negation:

*Et sinä silloin suuri ollut, kun maassa maitona makasit nuoren neitosen nisissä.*

*Nukkui neito mättääällä, auki rintansa unohti. Siitä maito maahan juoksi...*

*You were not very big when you lay on the earth as milk, in a young maid's nipples. The maid slept on a tussock, left her breasts undone. Her milk ran onto the ground...*

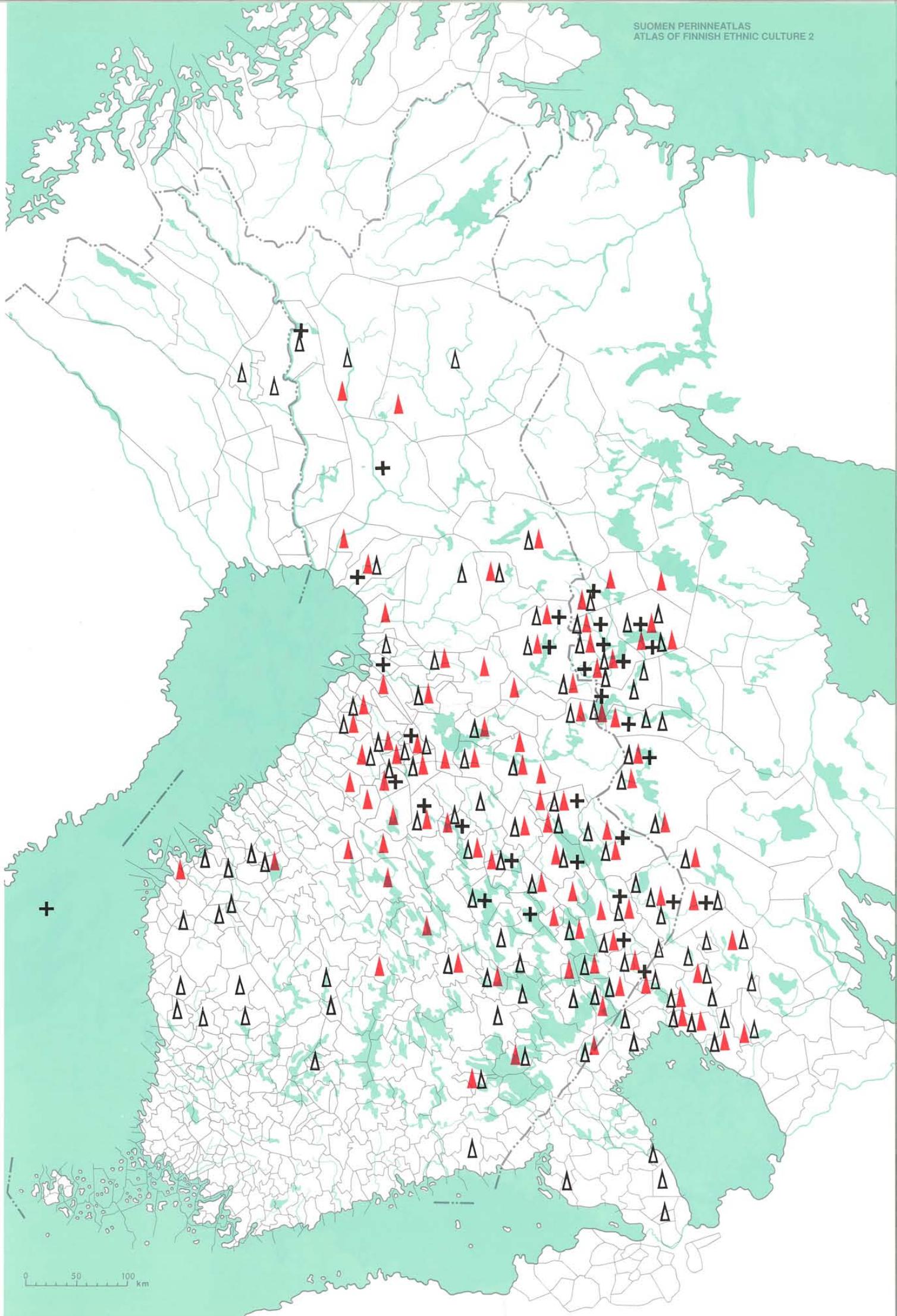
#### 44. Raudan vaarallisuus The Danger of Iron

Raudan valmistus  
The manufacture of iron  
raudan takominen  
forging of iron

Δ raudan karkaisuveden myrkytymisen  
the poisoning of iron in hardening water

+ raudan valarikko  
iron breaks its oath

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 44. The danger of iron

**Smelting and forging of iron.** Origin of Iron is an account of how the first iron-maker, in Finnish folklore Ilmarinen, finds iron ore in a swamp and erects his smithy on the spot (map 44). The rune begins with the search for a site for the smithy or for iron ore; in the parallelistic formula, the blacksmith Ilmarinen searched for a day, searched a second day, and on the third day found the raw materials of iron in some animal tracks and erected his smithy there. After blowing the bellows for three days, having the slaves bellow, or trying three times, smelted iron glistened in the furnace.

### Forging of iron

*Itse seppo Ilmarinen löysi suolta rautaheinän. Siihen ahjonsa asetti, siihen painoi palkeensa. Lietsoi päivän, lietsoi toisen. Rauta vellinä venyvi, kuonana kohottelevi.*

*Blacksmith Ilmarinen himself found the iron grass in a swamp. There he set his forge, there placed his bellows. Blew the bellows for a day, blew another. The iron spread as gruel, boiled as slag.*

Making of Iron is usually followed by Forging of Iron, which as a rune contains the same metaphors as Forging of the Sky, Sampo or Gold Maiden (map 93). Ilmarinen uses his shirt or pants as bellows and his knee as the anvil; various objects emerge from the furnace: an ox, a pig, a golden maiden, and only at the third attempt smelted iron or an iron object.

**Poisoning of iron.** The iron or a weapon made from iron has become dangerous and turned against man, as it has been poisoned during hardening. An animal sent by evil forces has managed to pollute the hardening water with poison from a snake, frog or an ant. The iron poisoner in Finnish incantations is usually a hornet, but also an evil woman, the old woman from Pohjola, or the devil. The poisoning may also have occurred by Ilmarinen asking a bee to bring nectar (water of life) for the tempering water. But a figure from the counter-forces deceives the bee, or the hornet gets there first and infests the iron with poison, pain and suffering.

### Poisoning of iron

*"Mehiläinen ilman lintu, lennä tuonne kunne käsknen, ylitse meren yhdeksän... Mene mettä noutamaan, simaa tavoittamaan!" Mehiläinen ilman lintu lähti mettä noutamaan.*

*Herhiläinen hiiden lintu oli siiviltä siveä, kynälulta liukkahampi; tuo ennätti edellä. Nouti käärmeen kähyjä raudan karkaisuvesiin.*

*"Honeybee air-bird, fly to the place I ask, over nine seas... Go fetch nectar, collect mead!" Honeybee air-bird went to fetch nectar.*

*The hornet, Hiisi's bird, was swifter of wing, smoother of pen-bone; got there first. Fetched snake's poisons to put in the iron hardening water.*

**Breach of the oath of iron** The incantation accuses iron of breaching the oath it had made and hurting man. In the beginning of time, iron had made a blood oath with man, making it a member of man's kin that should not harm its brother.

### Oath of iron

*Voi sinua rauta raukka, koito kuona, kun veistit veljeäsi, lastusit emosi lasta! Söit vaivainen valasi, petit koira kunniasi. Silloin vannoit veljeyttä, kun sinut tuleen tuotiin alle ahjon Ilmarisen.*

*Oh you poor iron, wretched slag, for slashing your brother, swiping your mother's child! Wretch, you ate your oath, dog, betrayed your honor. You swore brotherhood when you were brought into the fire under Ilmarinen's forge.*

**Map diagram.** Origin of Iron, along with the formulas of blood and fire, are among the Kalevalametric incantations preserved as fragments also in western Finland. The most widespread is the swamp motif, according to which iron was found in animal tracks. Descriptions of iron ore as sprouted corn or other plant is rare, found mainly only in Karelia. The making and forging of iron are closely linked to the swamp version. In terms of preservation area, the iron milk redaction is a little more limited than the swamp theme: the theme of four iron maidens is concentrated in the core areas of Savo-Karelia, but isolated variants of it have been recorded as far as Ostrobothnia. The map diagram would indicate that both etiological versions have existed in parallel and they have been used for different purposes. Poisoning of Iron and its breach of oath have only been preserved in the Savo-Karelian sorcerer area.

## Symbolism of iron

**Research background.** Jorma Leppäaho has thought the incantation containing the swamp and animal elements a reality-based description of iron-making. He also believes that the animal symbolism is ancient linguistic imagery of iron-makers. In Europe, lumps of raw iron solidified on the bottom of the furnace have been called by animal names. In Germany, a lump of raw iron was a 'Wolf' or 'Luppe' (Lat. *lupus* 'wolf'), terms known in other parts were 'pig' and 'furnace pig'. The Finnish bear, which according to certain verses recorded in Kainuu is associated with a 'fiery midden' and which 'eats fire, drinks fire, pisses fire waste etc.', would be a metaphor for iron slag collected in the furnace pit.(1)

Christfrid Ganander was the first to link the milk flowing from maidens' nipples to the streams of milk that according to the Edda ran from the udders of the cow Audumbla. Martti Haavio also likened the iron milk to the widespread legends of the Eurasian culture circle of the center of the world where the spring of life, a milk lake, is situated. The same paradise themes also run through the legends of the inexhaustible milk-producing animal, a cow or goat, whose udders or 'horn of plenty' flow with an endless stream of milk. The woman described as black would in turn be the earth mother and also stand for fertility, 'mother earth', who in the folklore of many peoples is depicted as a deity with multiple or large breasts. In the Christian era, the role of the earth mother and goddesses of fertility would have been assigned in folk belief to the Virgin Mary and the four women of the Bible, who in medieval tradition have often been given various color codes .(2)

Thus, the Finnish incantations of Origin of Iron would contain various allegories of fertility: a multi-breasted earth mother, goddess of fertility, center of the earth, where in the mythologies of numerous peoples lay Paradise and the spring of life. From there originated the streams of earthly virtue running into the four corners of the earth, such as the Paradise river with four branches described in Genesis in the Bible. For cultivating peoples, a woman symbolized fertility and also white grain, as did white milk. Thus, iron is associated with fertility and the earth mother.

**Iron Age incantation.** The incantations of iron probably include several rite poems used for different purposes. In preserved lore, Origin of Iron has commonly been a part of a healing incantation, used for healing wounds caused by a *puukko* [Finnish hunting knife], an axe or other bladed weapon. In the healing rites, the incantation has included the negation of iron: 'you were not very big when etc.', and accusations of a breach of the oath. Annulling the force of iron has been used to alleviate fear awakened in the patient by an open, bleeding wound. The iron weapon was turned into a blood brother who would not mortally injure man, or the breach of oath has been used as an invocation to frighten the patient so that the bleeding was stanch (cf. maps 45-48). Then, the purpose of the healing rite was to stanch the blood flow and to make the wound knit together.

The oath of iron or the sword may originally have been an incantation of Viking warriors. Poisoning of Iron was said particularly against the wraths of iron or infection setting in a wound, or treating already infected injuries. The cognitions of healing incantations concern explaining the existence of the harmful force of iron and taking possession of the injury by the healer.

Finding of Iron in the Swamp is fundamentally a blacksmith's incantation, used when making iron from swamp or lake ore. As a rite text, the swamp version is an account of making the first iron, where animals assisted man, as they did in taking possession of fire. The incantation gives a very realistic account of how swamp ore was purified in the prehistoric era. The iron-makers searched for ore in bogs and lakes and processed the iron on the spot, in furnaces (forges) dug into the hillside. Maybe the rusty water or ore particles in impressions, such as animal footprints, or certain plants have revealed the spot where there was ore; the sheets of ore may also have been called 'tracks' or 'plants'. The ore was purified using charcoal, made to glow by using bellows to blow air into the furnace, the fiery churn of the runes. The iron was collected in the bottom of the pit in porous lumps, which had to be cleansed of slag by forging. Thus, forging the iron was part of the processing.

The iron-maker was the possessor of the most important technical knowledge of his time and one of the first professionals in northern societies. The institution of sorcery and iron-making skill may be closely interconnected. Blacksmiths were still commonly held to be sorcerers in peasant communities, and iron processing, i.e. casting, tempering and forging, was thought to demand supernatural knowledge and skills. Even in the early Iron Age, those who mastered the new technique have doubtless ritualized iron-making and taken possession of the knowledge, the cultural authority, of their time.

**Force of Iron.** The iron milk motif was employed to explain why there is ore in the soil and from where it originates. The earth mother interpretation may have ancient roots, whereas the motif of four maidens is recent. Producing various pig irons and bar irons or steels was made possible after the smelting technique became known in the 1400s, and if the incantation originally did not describe the making of bronze, the verses on molten boiling iron and different kinds of iron may only have originated in the 1600-1700s. By then, iron was no longer processed only in village smithies, but using more industrialized methods in huts.

The historiola of the iron milk incantation may not actually concern the origin of iron at all, but iron milk may be a metaphor linking iron to the earth mother and fertility. As a mythical rune, Iron Milk was probably originally a part of farming rites, specifically used in taking possession of the earth at the start of sowing.

The spread of iron-making signalled a change in cultivation techniques and also other use of natural resources and was reflected in all cultural structures. Iron implements established the cultivation economy as a static village culture. The iron axe and fire irons are evidently the very oldest rite objects of farming or fertility magic. Preserved folklore shows that the axe or other bladed weapon was used in the spring in sowing rites, and also in rites linked to letting out the cattle for the first time into the forest pastures. At the start of sowing, an axe was buried in the field or swidden clearing, in order that the corn would grow a good 'blade' (full of grain), but also to protect the swidden from outsiders. An axe or other bladed weapon was put in newlyweds' bed to bring good luck with children and fertility (map 20). A bladed weapon was used to protect the environment, to draw 'iron fences', for example to protect wedding guests (map 18), to ward off evil forces or malevolent intentions of jealous people. By throwing a bladed weapon into a 'will of the wisp' or the cattle of the supernatural guardian of water, a person may have taken possession of something that was protected by magic or belonged to the realm of the supernatural (maps 83, 85). Control of the 'force' of iron was needed to render hunting weapons lethal (e.g. at bear hunts, map 1). Iron tools and implements gave Iron Age man new opportunities for operating in their living environment, and they also became the most influential instruments for controlling the supernatural environment.

(MI A 1432.1)

*1. Leppääho 1951. 2. Ganander 1789, 52-. Haavio 1967a; 1967b, 358-. Krohn K. 1914, 224-; 1917, 74-. Hästesko 1918, 44-. Levón 1904b.*

## 45. Verensulun loitsut

Blood-Stanching Formulas

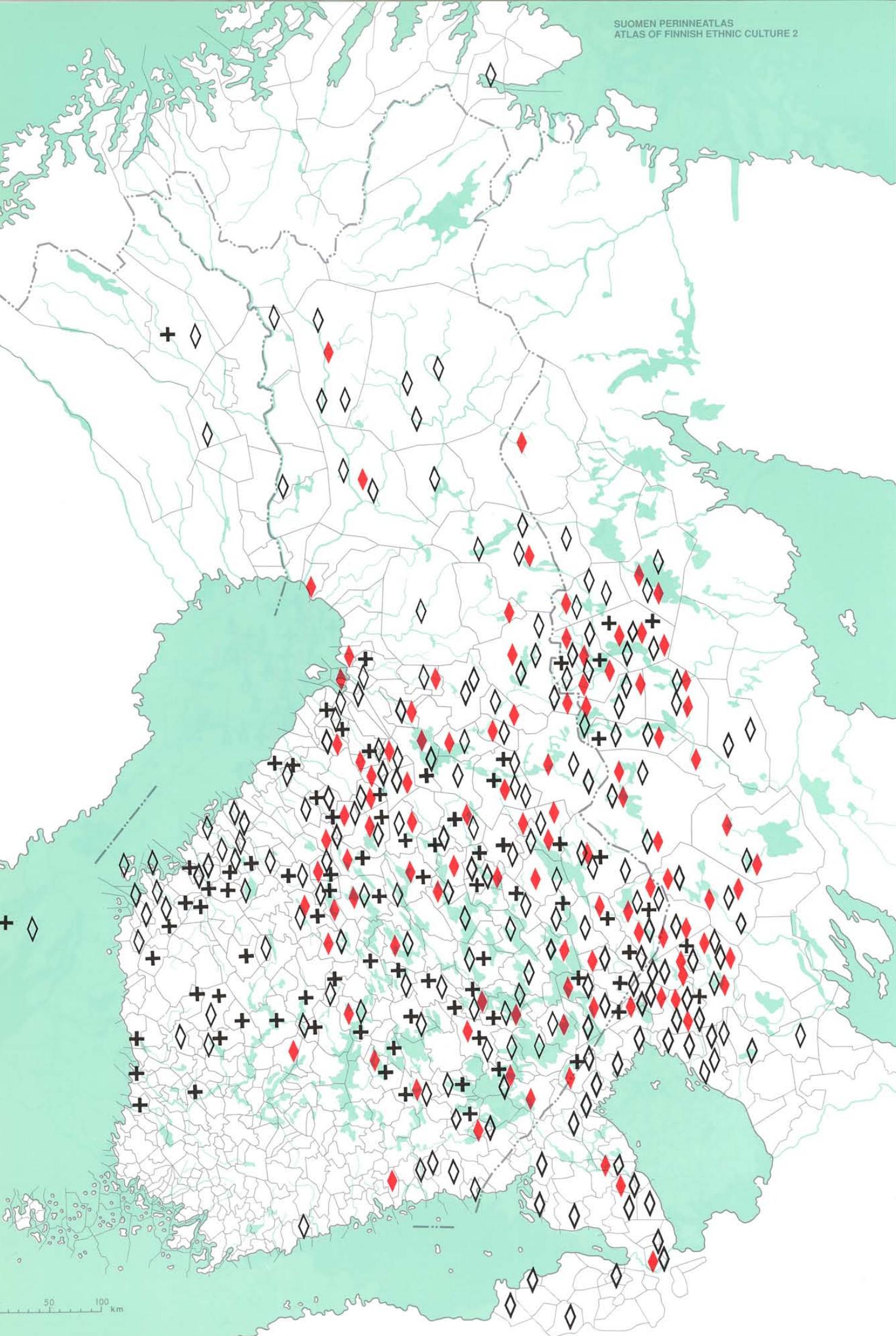
Kaskikauden loitsut  
Incantations from the swidden era

◆ Väinämöisen polvenhaava  
Väinämöinen's Knee Wound  
(the first healing)

◊ verensulun rukous  
blood-stanching prayer

+ veren keitto  
blood boiling spell

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 45-48. INCANTATIONS FOR BLOOD

Maps 45-48 depict incantations used for stanching bleeding and healing open wounds (cf. also Formulas for Iron, map 44). There are three basic types of blood-stanching formulas: (1) Väinämöinen's Knee Wound is narrative rune in the old meter; as a cognitive incantation structure it is a description of the first stanching of bleeding. (2) Blood-stanching injunctions are intended to frighten, based on the premise that if the patient has a fright, the blood flow will stop. The injunctions include Boiling of Blood and the Christianity-based Blood-Stanching Injunction, which is called a *similic incantation*. The motifs of these incantations are examined on maps 46-48. The Blood-Stanching Injunction comprises a brief command and simile, intended to shock the patient's psyche by impinging a Christian horror image on his consciousness. The third incantation type is (3) the prayer, where the Virgin Mary or Jesus is beseeched to stanch the bleeding.

### 45. Blood-stanching formulas

**Väinämöinen's knee wound.** The incantation tells the story of Väinämöinen carving a boat on a rock when the axe slips and cuts his leg. The cut bleeds so profusely that it threatens to flood the earth. Väinämöinen sets out to find someone to stanch the flooding blood and drives from house to house, until in the third house he finds an old man who is able to stanch the bleeding.

#### Väinämöinen's knee wound

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen veisti vuorella venettä, kalkutteli kalliolla.*

*Luiskahti kivestä kirves, kasa kalhui kalliosta polveen pojан päöisen, varpaaseen Väinämöisen.*

*Veri jokena juoksi, hurme koskena kohisi./ Veri tuiskuna tulevi, hurme juoksevi jokena.*

*Peitti maassa marjanvarret.../ Ei ollut sitä mäkeä (vuorta), joka ei tullut tulvillensa...*

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen jo näki tuhon tulevan, häitäpäivän päälle saavan. Siitä reuhtoikse rekeen. Ajoi tietä ylimmäistä (keskimmäistä, alimmaista) ylimmäiseen taloon. Kysyi kynnyksen takaa, alta ikkunan anovi:*

*"Onko talossa tässä tämän tulvan tukkijata, salpaajaa verisateen?"*

*"Ei ole talossa tässä tämän tulvan tukkijata, salpaajaa verisateen..."*

*Kolmannella kerralla (alimmaisessa talossa) Ukko uunilta urisi:*

*"Suljettu on suuremmatkin, jalommatkin jaksettuna! Joet suista, järvet päästä, selät niemien nenistä."*

*Steady old Väinämöinen carved a boat on a hill, hacked on a rock.*

*Slipped the axe from the stone, slid the lug from the rock into the true boy's knee, into the toe of Väinämöinen.*

*The blood ran as a river, the gore roared as rapids./ The blood came like a snowstorm, the gore ran like a river.*

*On the ground it covered berry stalks.../ There was not a hill (mountain) that was not flooded...*

*Steady old Väinämöinen saw his end coming, trouble coming on.*

*So he got into his sledge.*

*Drove along the upper (middle, lowest) road to the upper house.*

*He asked behind the threshold, begged from below the window:*

*"Would there be one in this house who might block this flood, stop the blood-rain?"*

*"There is no-one in this house who might block this flood, stop the blood-rain..."*

*At the third time (in the lowest house) an old man growled from the stove:*

*"Bigger things have yet been stopped, greater things overcome!*

*Rivers at mouths, lakes at heads, open waters at headland tips."*

**Blood-stanching prayer.** In the prayer incantation, the Virgin Mary, Jesus or some saint, occasionally also the supreme god Ukko, is asked to use a silken cloth, finger or other means to close the bleeding wound or to stitch it up. The prayer incantation, like sometimes the similic incantation, may have ended with three Amens or some lines from the Lord's Prayer.

There are four versions of the prayer incantation:

- (a) *Neitsyt Maria emonen, ota silkit silmiltäsi, kultalanka kulmiltasi, (sido silkkiliinallasi, paina palmikollasi)...*
- (b) *Tule avaksi Herraa Jeesus! Paina paksu peukalosi, vedä pääälle lemmenlehti (etc.), tukkeeksi tuiman reijän, paikaksi pahan veräjän.*
- (c) *Kuro Jeesus, kuro Jumala! Ompele utuisin neuloin, tinaneuloin tikkuele, (Sitele sinisin langoin, pujottele punaisin langoin,) ettei maito maahan juokse, puna peltoon putoa.*

(a) *Virgin Mary, dear mother, take the silk from your eyes, golden thread from your brow, (tie up with your silken cloth, press on with your braid)...*

(b) *Come to our aid Lord Jesus! Press on your sturdy thumb, pull on a good leaf (etc.), to block a great hole, to patch a bad gate.*

(c) *Knit Jesus, knit God! Sew with your misty needle, stitch with your tin pin, (tie with your blue thread, string with your red thread,) to stop the milk running to the ground, the crimson flowing in the field.*

(d) *Injunction or witchcraft version. An anti-Christian mythical being, usually the devil or sometimes an ancestor, is commanded to bring the flesh of Jesus, God's fur coat, Virgin Mary's cloak, whore's pants etc., to stop the wound.*

## 46. Verensulun manaus Blood-Stanching Injunction

Agraarikauden loitsu  
Incantation from the agrarian era

Seiso veri niin kuin rikollinen  
helvetissä  
'Stand blood like an offender in hell'

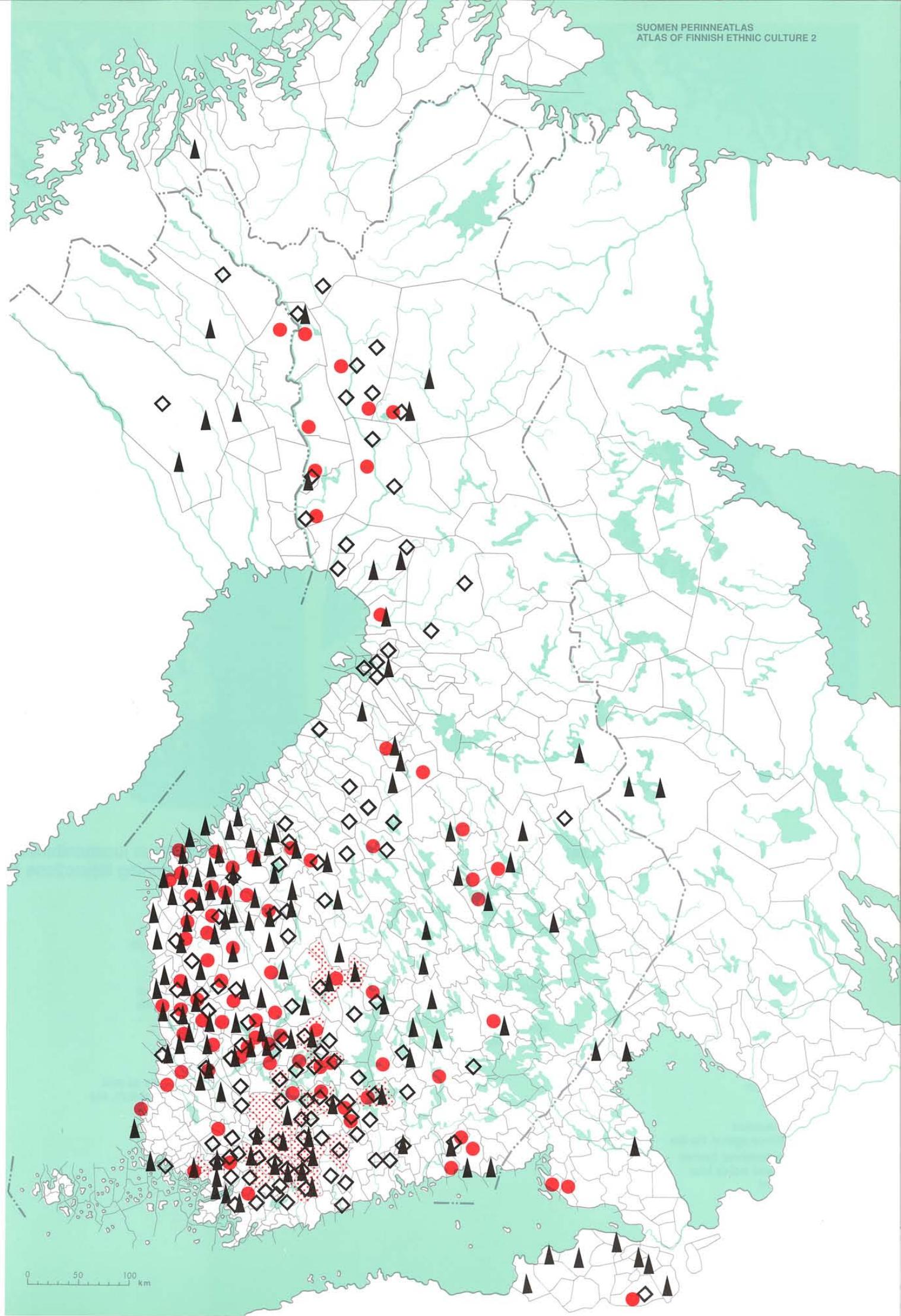
◊ kirkollinen rikos  
offence against the church

● oikeusrikos  
offence against justice

■ siveysrikos  
offence against chastity

▲ luonnonihmevertaus  
nature-miracle simile

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



**Blood-boiling spell.** Usually, the incantation only contains the command:

"*Tuokaa Hiidestä (Pohjolasta) pata, jolla verta keitetään, hurmetta hurotetaan!*"

"*Bring a cauldron from Hiisi (Northland), for to boil the blood, to froth up the gore!*"

The injunction had to be performed with such fury that the patient was thoroughly frightened and the bleeding stopped.

## 46. *Blood-stanching injunction*

The Christianity-based injunction utilized the allegories of the last judgment (map 47) or a great natural miracle (map 48). The blood was to stop like a person who has committed a mortal sin must stand in hell. In the natural allegory, the image is of the water in rapids stopping still or the sea opening up, like an unnatural event portentous of the end of the world. The beginning of the incantation is the same in all variants: *Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin..., [Stand blood, stop blood like...]*, but there are four motif groups of the allegories: (a) ecclesiastical crime and (b) judicial crime, (c) crime of morality, and (d) natural allegory.

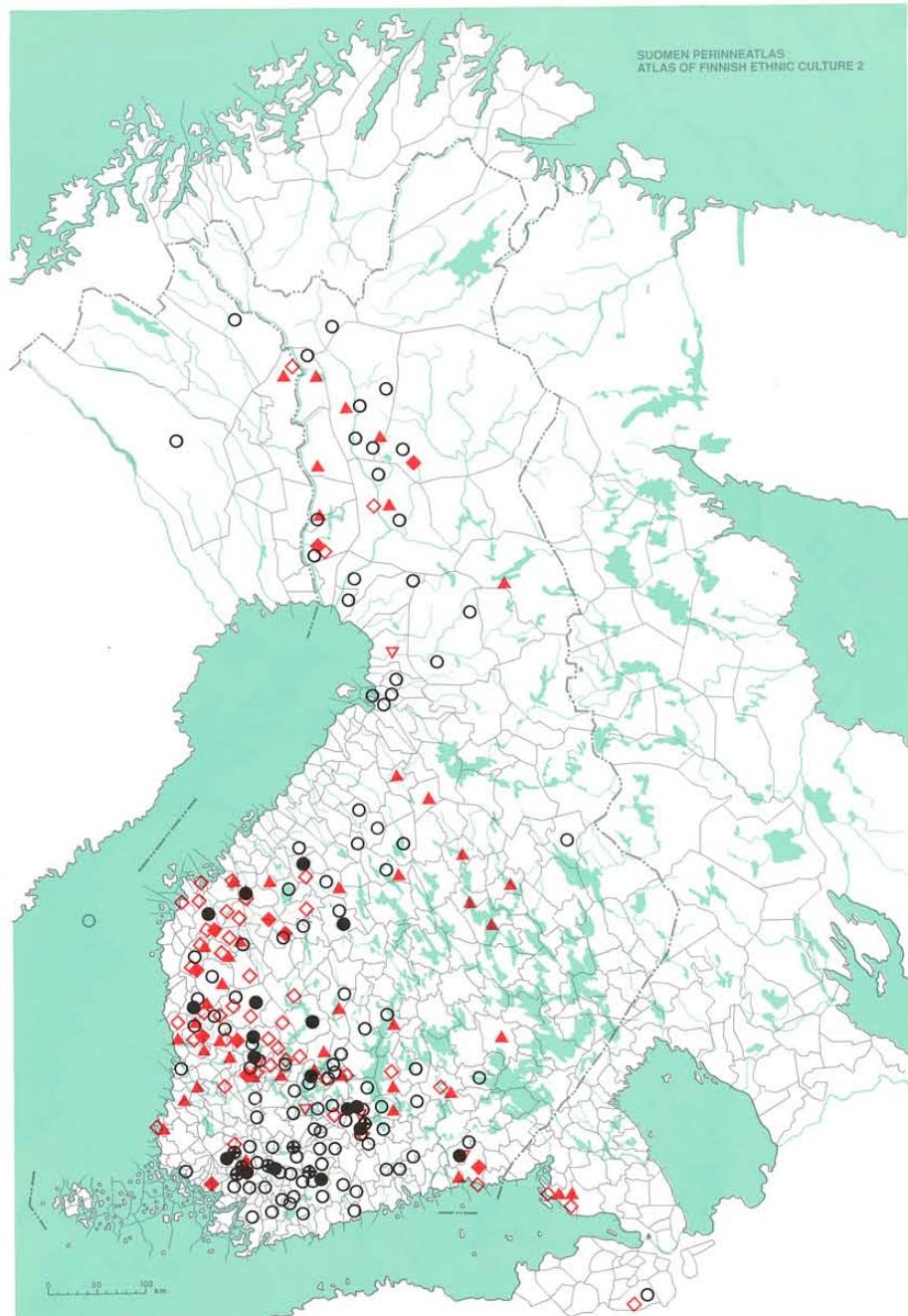
## 47. *Blood-stanching injunctions based on offence similes*

**Ecclesiastical crime (offence against the church).** Blood should stand still like one who had worked on a holy day stood in hell:

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin viimeisellä tuomiolla (helvetissä) seisoo se, joka pyhänä saappaitaan rasvasi! (joka pyhänä jauhoja seuloi! ...voita kirnusi!)*

*Stand blood, stop blood like at the last judgment (in hell) stands one who greased his boots on a holy day! (who sifted flour.../ churned butter on a holy day!) or did some other specified work.*

The Sunday worker practised witchcraft, rites of the devil. By greasing his boots during a church service, the practitioner of witchcraft gained boots that lasted forever or eternal luck with crops or butter, but had in return promised his soul to the Antichrist and would end up in purgatory after death.



**47. Manausloitsun rikosvertaukset**  
**Blood-Stanching Injunctions Based on Offence Similes**

Rikossymbolit  
Offence symbols

1. Kirkollinen rikos, pyhäänä tehty työ (noitus)  
Offence against the church, working on a Sunday or holy day (practising witchcraft)

○ saappaiden rasvaus  
greasing boots  
⊕ jauhojen seulonta  
sifting meal  
● kirnuaminen  
churning

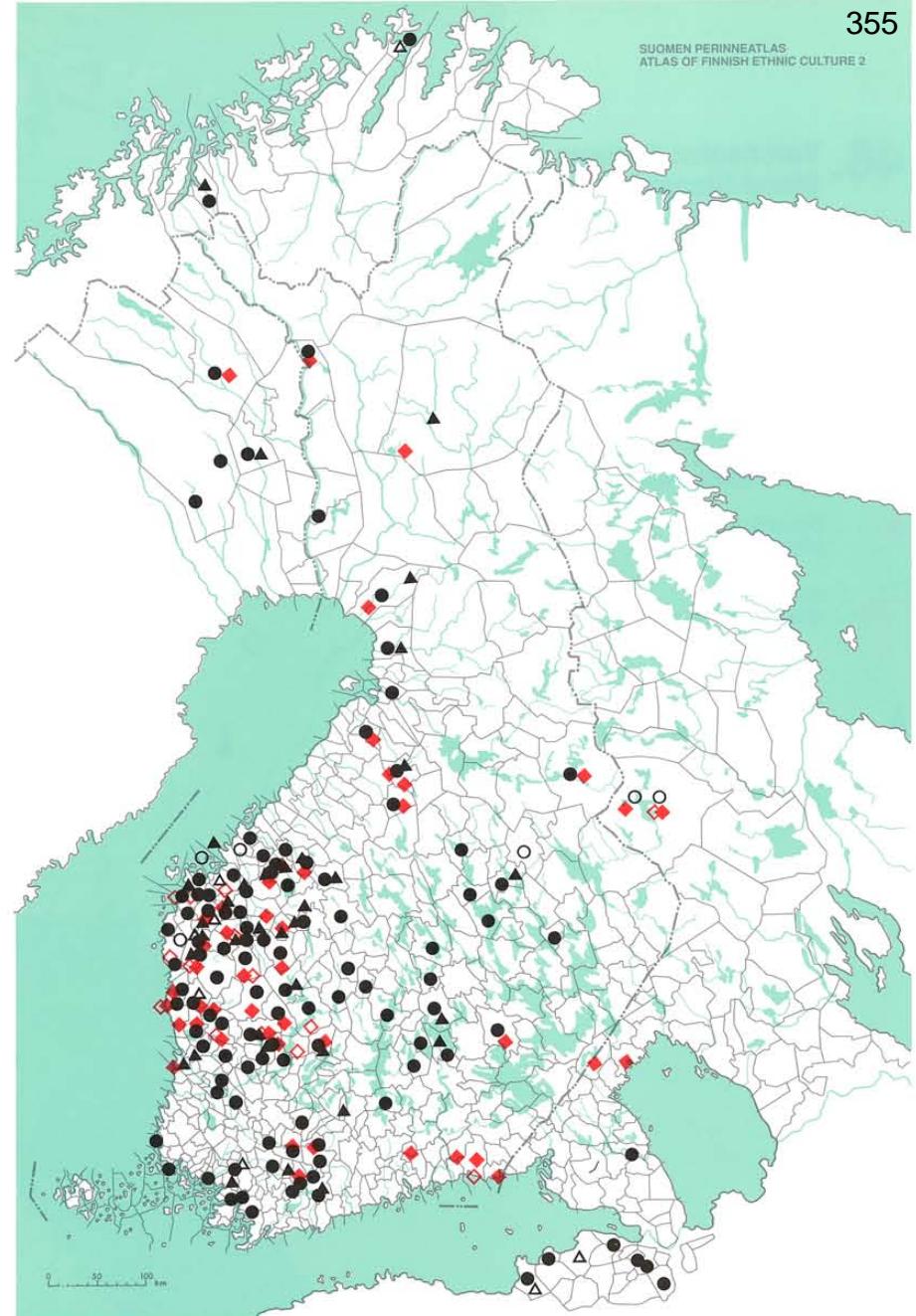
2. Oikeusrikos  
Offence against the law  
◆ väärin tuominnut tuomari  
judge who makes false judgment

◇ väärin tuominneet lautamiehet  
jurors who make false judgment

▲ väärän valan tekijä  
perjurer

▼ rajansiirtäjä  
boundary mover

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



**48. Manausloitsun luonnonihmevertaukset**  
**Blood-Stanching Injunctions Based on Nature-Miracle Similes**

Luonnonihmesymbolit  
Nature-miracle symbols

*Seiso veri niin kuin*  
'Stand blood like'

◆ Tyrjän tai Turjan koski  
Tyrjä's (Turja's) rapids

● Jordanin virta  
River of Jordan

▲ Punainenmeri  
The Red Sea

◊○ joku muu koski, virta tai meri  
some other rapids, stream, sea

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

**Judicial crime (offence against justice).** The horror image of the allegory is a false judge or one who swore a false oath:

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin viimeisellä tuomiolla (helvetissä) seisoo tuomari (lautamies), joka oikein tiesi, mutta väärin tuomitsi! (... niin kuin se, joka oikein tiesi, mutta väärin vannoil! ... niin kuin rajansiirtäjä!)*

*Stand blood, stop blood like at the last judgment (in hell) stands a judge (juror) who knew the right, but judged wrong! (... like one who knew right, but swore wrong! ...like one who moved a boundary!)*

In subsistence cultures, swearing an oath has been a judicial act, the breaching of which was deemed to be a very serious crime. In the old provincial laws of Sweden-Finland and still in medieval legal practice, the oath held a decisive significance. The guilt or innocence of the accused largely depended on whether his oath was believed and whether he was able to procure a sufficient number of reliable persons to swear an exonerating or 'cleansing' oath on his behalf. The procedure in the 1600s was that the judge swore an oath before God, and the instructions to judges in the 1618 Town Act remind them that a false judge condemns himself to purgatory. In a peasant society, a heinous crime was also committed by one who moved a boundary, or who, regardless of his oath, gave false information on boundary markers (cf. map 73).

**Crime of morality (offence against chastity).** The allegory of the incantation is a sinful woman (map 46):

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin helvetissä (viimeisellä tuomiolla) nainen, joka lakitta lasta kantaa! (...kuin portto tuomiolla!)*

*Stand blood, stop blood like in hell (at the last judgment) stands a woman who head uncovered carries a child! (... like a whore at the judgment!)*

A woman carrying a child while her head was uncovered meant an unmarried mother; she did not wear the married woman's headdress (cf. map 20).

## 48. **Blood-stanching injunctions based on nature-miracle similes**

**Allegories of natural miracles (nature-miracle simile).** In the injunction, the allegory of stopping the blood is stopping of nature:

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin Jordanin virta, kun Jeesus kastettiin! ... kun Jeesus ja Johannes ylitse menivät! ... kuin Punainen meri, kun israelilaiset sen yli menivät!*

*Stand blood, stop blood like the river of Jordan when Jesus was baptized! ... when Jesus and John crossed! ... like the Red Sea, when the Israelites crossed it!*

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin faaraao Punaisessa Meressä!*

*Stand blood, stop blood like the pharaoh in the Red Sea!*

In the prevailing folklore, the natural miracle allegories are from the Bible, but there are non-Christian names among them, such as Tyrjä rapids and Sarajas:

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri, niin kuin Tyrjän (Turjan) koski!*

*Stand blood, stop blood, like the Tyrjä (Turja) rapids!*

*Seiso niin kuin seinä, asu niin kuin aita, kuin seiväs suossa, saraheinä sammalessa, kivi koskessa kovassa.*

*Stand like a wall, stay like a fence, like a pole in a swamp, sedge-grass in moss, a rock in a hard rapid.*

*Seiso veri, tyysty veri niin kuin miekka meressä seisoo, sapeli Sarajassa, kivi koskessa kovassa.*

*Stand blood, stop blood like a sword stands in the sea, a sabre in Saraja, a rock in a hard rapid.*

**Map diagrams.** Väinämöinen's Knee Wound has been preserved in Savo-Karelia, particularly in Dvina, in common with epic poetry in the old meter (maps 87-96). Boiling of Blood has been recorded throughout the Savonian expansion area, including Värmland, but also in Ostrobothnia and Satakunta. Christian injunction and prayer incantations are western in terms of the map diagram, although some of the motifs have also been known in eastern and northern Finland, as well as among the Värmland Finns. Of injunction motifs, the most widespread are natural miracles and the one about working on a holy day, while the judicial and moral similes are clearly limited to western Finland.

## **Tradition of healers**

**Pre-Christian layers.** The format of Väinämöinen's Knee Wound is the incantation of the first event (original myth), reaffirming the first blood-stanching. Of Finnish scholars, e.g. Kaarle Krohn and most recently Martti Haavio have associated the carving of the boat with the Eurasian flood myth, which would be the source of the visions of boat-building and the flooding blood that covers all the mountains. The myth of the destruction of the world and demise of the human race that once took place is widespread both among European and Asian peoples. Its core message is a person whom God or one of the gods

saves by informing him of the imminent destruction. The man saved from the flood becomes the new progenitor of the human race or a certain people. Haavio suggests that the blood-stanching also stems from the myth of the killing of the *primaeva*l being; its blood fertilizes the new, barren earth.(1)

Thus, Väinämöinen would be the Finnish Noah, the progenitor of the human race who was saved from the apocalypse. In the Blood-Stanching formula, Väinämöinen symbolizes the first man saved, the renewer, even the immortal ancestor, the healing of whose knee wound is allegorically repeated when reading the incantation. On the other hand, in the symbolic language of Blood-Stanching, the ark-builder of the deluge myth may also be the first wielder of the carving-axe injured by the blade. European legends also contain accounts of Noah injuring himself while building his ark, for example having drunk too much wine. Thus, the background to Väinämöinen's Knee Wound could be seen as the universal flood myth, and on the other hand Biblical folklore.

However, the frame narrative of the Finnish incantation is likely to date back to the pre-Christian era. In structural terms, Väinämöinen's Knee Wound is even shamanistic. Its principal character is like a shaman setting out on a soul journey to seek knowledge from the world on the other side, first from the higher layers of the universe or the highest house, and finally from the world under the ground, where the dead reside. Illnesses or visiting the boundaries of life and death were the scope of the dead as early as the shamanistic tradition. However, the blood-stancher, the old man, is a sorcerer figure and Väinämöinen's sledge ride belongs in the narration of a cultivating culture. The first blood-stanching has been set in the environment of each era, starting from the shamanistic world and ending in the Christian agrarian society.

The Blood-Boiling Incantation links the pot of blood with the dead and their realm; Hiisi and often also Northland (Pohjola) have referred to the dwelling-place of the deceased (cf. map 7). In Christian versions, the blood-boiler called for is the devil, as in the incantation that has been preserved in the Finnish Black Bible: "Come, Hiisi from Hell, chief king of devils! Bring along a pot for boiling blood; a great pine tree to stir with, a great devil to do the stirring." (2) The injunction was reinforced by boiling some blood in a copper pot or ladle over glowing embers.

This formula apparently has no direct equivalents elsewhere in Europe, but it may be connected to practical healing methods. In European countries, including Scandinavia, bleeding has been stopped by drying blood in a pan; for instance when castrating horses, the bleeding was stopped by cauterizing the blood vessels. It was thought that as the blood boiled dry in the pan, bleeding, for example a nosebleed, dried up. However, there is scant information on blood-boiling both from Finland and elsewhere. The incantation is a case of shock effects, and it has retained ideas of various times of a paralyzing fright. Fundamentally, boiling blood has even constituted a breach of taboo, as man's soul resided in the blood.

The prayer incantation may also be based on a pre-Christian sorcerer incantation, where Ukko the supreme god, some supernatural guardian, or perhaps also the family ancestors are beseeched to bring peat or turf, moss, a leaf, raw meat or other bandage, or to stop the bleeding with his thumb. The incantation has been closely linked with practical healing methods. Suppurating wounds were treated with earth elements: ash burned from peat was applied, or the injured limb was placed beneath a turf cut from the ground (map 49). In folk medicine, wounds were bound with plants, such as plantain leaves, or poultices of various natural substances and herbs were applied. The incantation reinforced the healing rite.

It is possible that of the motifs of the injunction, the stopping of water is also a pre-Christian metaphor. The rapids of Tyrjä or Turja has in Finnish folklore meant the stream of Tuonela [Hades], and evidently also Sarajas as the mythical *primaeva*l ocean is associated with water dividing the worlds of the living and the dead. The allegories are shamanistic anti-reality or imagery of the ultimate natural wonder, the

stopping of water in the stream of Tuonela. The Tyrjä rapids and other non-Christian names occur in eastern regions, e.g. Dvina; the nature allegory may be older as a cognition than the Christian motifs of the injunction.

**Christianity-based incantations.** The prayer incantation and its different variations are typical folk prayers, through which people turned to the Virgin Mary and Jesus. In medieval Catholic symbolism, the silken wrap of the Virgin Mary has been a metaphor of purity and chastity; the plaited hair may also be associated with the story of the fallen woman who dried Jesus's feet. The request that the Virgin Mary take the silk kerchief from her brow is suitable for a prayer when using an icon as an instrument of a healing rite; it was addressed to the Mary figure as she was depicted in medieval ecclesiastical art. Jesus appears in the Bible as a healer and conqueror of death. The 'flesh' of Jesus in the Finnish incantation might be linked to the wounds suffered by Jesus on the cross, the flank pierced by a spear that did not bleed. With his hands pierced by nails, Christ was able to heal man's bodily malfunctions and wounds. In the witchcraft version of the prayer incantation, Christianity has been turned into belief in and fear of the devil; it belongs to the third layer of healing rites, where the prayer formula is combined with injunctions.

The Christianity-based injunctions, particularly their Biblical allegories, are translations from their German and Scandinavian counterparts.(3 One of the common European incantation formulas is "Stand still, blood, like the Jordan or like Christ on the cross". On the other hand, e.g. German and Scandinavian folklore also contain many motifs that have not spread as far as Finland, for example the common allegory in Europe, "Stand still, blood, like Christ on the cross or on Golgotha" is almost unknown in Finland. The Jordan motif of the natural miracle allegory is common both in Jewish and Christian symbolism. In the blood-stanching formula it harks back to the water-stopping miracles recounted in the Bible: the crossing of the Red Sea, drying up of the Jordan when Joshua escaped with his men, the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan and the apocryphal narratives that originated from it. In the blood-stanching formula, the miracle of the Jordan is one of the oldest medieval allegories; Latin texts on it from the 10th century have been preserved. The 'sword in the sea' metaphor probably also belongs to the Biblical theme; the sword has been linked to Aaron's staff.

The ecclesiastical and moral allegories of the injunction are Christian horror images of people who work on holy days, false judges and fallen women, who stand awaiting punishment at the Last Judgment. The cultural environment of the allegories is the puritanical European agrarian society. The motifs have direct counterparts in Finnish Swedish-speaking and Scandinavian blood-stanching lore, and they have probably gained a foothold in western Finland during the period of the Reformation or Mosaic Law in the 1600-1700s. The allegories also contain social condemnation, moral compartmentalization of people, which is alien to the earlier incantation tradition. The latest allegory is the breach of fair demarcation of boundaries, which only acquired significance after the general land reparceling, when land ownership was established (1750-), and the marker of false boundaries is also rare as a motif.

**Formulas for blood.** Finnish folklore has contained incantations of various types, applied to suit the situation when stanching an open haemorrhage or treating injuries and festering wounds. Actual blood-stanching formulas, in addition to Väinämöinen's Knee Wound, have been injunctions, such as Boiling of Blood and the simile incantations; their effect is based on frightening the patient and distracting his attention from the painful wound. Injunctions have also been used by blood-stoppers who were thought to possess a special ability to stop bleeding. The Prayer Incantation follows the same basic formula as the other medical (ointment) incantations in the tradition of sorcerers and herbalists, and it was probably

employed mainly for healing septic and suppurating open wounds. In the Middle Ages the healing rites became Christianized, when the practice of medicine and caring for the sick was assumed by monasteries and nunneries, even by parish priests. The prayers (*benedictiones*) used by Christian healers passed on to the practice of folk healers.

(MI A 1012.3, D 2161.2.2, D 1503.1, D 1503.2. Si D 678)

**1.** Krohn K. 1917. Haavio 1967b, 418-. Levón 1904a. Mansikka 1909, 168-. Hästesko 1918, 44-. Räsänen O. 1983. FSF VII. **2.** Cf. Hästesko 1918, 55. **3.** Salminen 1910. Ohrt 1917-1927; 1922. Tillhagen 1958, 267-. Ebermann 1903. Hampp 1961. Dorson 1952.

## 49. Pistoksen loitsut Incantations for Stings

Pistosnuolet, kuoleman  
projektili  
Shooting a pain arrow,  
a projectile of death

1. Pistosnuolet valmistetaan  
isen tammen lastuista  
(kartta 95)  
Sting arrows made from  
shavings of the Great Oak  
(map 95)

kohtalotar, tuonens tytö  
Fate, Death's Daughter

tietäjä-seppä valmistaa  
pistosnuolet  
sorcerer-smith makes sting  
arrows

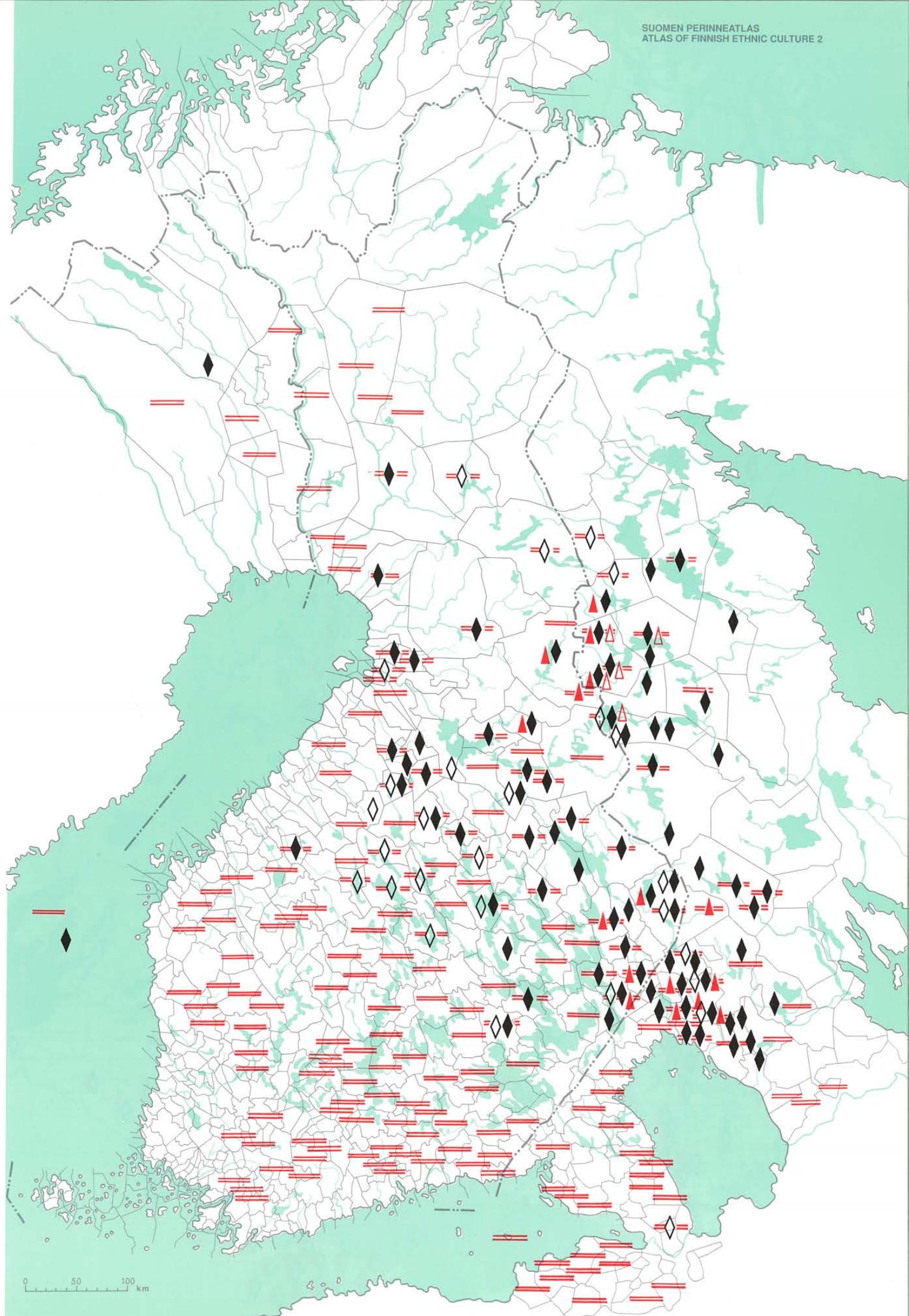
paholainen takoo pistosnuolet  
(Piru pihlää takoo)  
devil forges sting arrows

2. Sokea kohtalo lähetää  
pistosnuolet  
Blind fate shoots the sting  
arrow

Kolme on poikaa pahalla  
three boys of evil: crippled,  
malformed and blind shooters

3. Pistoksen lukeminen  
Sting curse  
numeraaliloitsu  
number formula

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 49. INCANTATIONS FOR STINGS

### **Arrow of death**

**Shot sickness.** Incantations for stings have been used for healing sudden attacks of illness or pains, which have been called *stings*, but also *flying* or *shot sickness* (map 40). The Incantation for Stings and the healing rites were founded on the idea that sudden illness was magically shot by a sorcerer, witch or malevolent supernatural being. A shot stinging arrow, bullet or other kind of disease projectile penetrates the person's or animal's skin and causes the sudden attack of sickness. The incantation in the old meter, Shooting of a Sting, is a mythical description of the origin and shooting of stinging arrows. A second incantation, Formula for a Sting, is a number formula similar to the Formula for Hiccups (map 51).

The Incantation for Stings has three different introductions describing the origin of stinging arrows. The sting arrows are made from (1) shavings of the great oak or the felled cosmic tree (map 95), or the makers and shooters of the arrows are (2) three cripples, a deformed man, a lame man and a blind man, of whom the blind man shoots the injurious arrow. According to the third version (3) Satan or the devil forges and shoots the stinging arrows. In records of the runes, Formula for a Sting is often preceded by Origin of Nine Diseases or the incantation recounting the etiology of serious illnesses. It describes how the cold wind impregnates the woman of Northland (Pohjola), who gives birth to nine sons on Kipuvuori ['mountain of pain'] or the pole of the earth, the cosmic mountain, or in the Underworld. She christens the sons, giving them the names of diseases, and send them off into the world. The sting is often one of these diseases, or the three sons of evil are cited among the disease demons. However, Origin of Nine Diseases is a separate incantation, and it is not included in the map of the sting.

**Shavings of the Great Oak.** In the rune of the Great Oak, the sting arrows are made from wood shavings thrown into the sea when felling the oak, and drifted to Pohjola, Tuonela or some other unnamed place. Evidently, in the earliest (1a) shamanistic interpretations, the carver of the first sting arrows is the supernatural guardian of death, whose personification has become blurred. Some runes from Dvina describe how the maid from Hiisi (realm of the dead) or 'the girl of the night, maid of twilight' finds the oak splinters drifting in the sea. Variants have also been recorded in Dvina with the iron-toothed dog of Pohjola or Tuonela (Hades), 'the hound with a coat of iron/the colour of iron rust' finds the slivers while running around the shores and takes them to the maid of Manala (the Underworld). In poetry in the archaic meter, the maid from Manala or Tuonela is an euphemism for death. Fate is Death's Daughter. One Dvinian variant has the great oak growing on the bank of the Tuonela river, and it was felled to make a

bridge for the dead; the splinters from the wood drifted along the waters of Tuonela (see The Great Oak, maps 94-95). The oak shavings are shavings of death, and the sting arrows are made in Tuonela. The carver of the arrows may also be the feller of the oak, a little man risen from the sea. Typical of archaic Dvinian variants is that the enforcer of the myth, the girl from Manala or a male demiurge, finds the drifting oak splinters by chance and contemplates what to make from them, finally settling for carving arrows and shooting them.

The preserved variants are mostly (1b) sorcerer lore, and the setting of the events has also become an cultivating village. In the agrarian layer, the mistress of fate is an old woman, a sorceress, or also a girl who carries the splinters she has found in the sea into the village, to the smithy or in Ladoga Karelia to the byre for cattle bedding. Then the malevolent sorcerer, or in Christian versions the devil, hears by chance the words of the blacksmith (oak-feller, finder of the shavings): *Noista ois noita nuolet saanut, ampuja pahat aseet* [A witch would make good arrows from these, a shooter bad weapons], secretly takes some of the shavings and makes the sting arrows.

**Three sons of the evil one.** Of the Incantations for Stings, the most coherent and also stylistically tight is the version starting with the line *Kolme on poikaa pahalla* [Three sons has the evil one]. The sting is dispatched by three cripples, antiheroes, for whom making and dispatching the disease projectile is actually impossible. In the incantation, the deformed one makes the arrows, the cripple tensions the bow, and the blind man shoots the stinging arrow.

*Kolme on poikaa pahalla: yksi on rujo, toinen on rampa, kolmas perisokea.  
Ruko nuolia tekee, rampa jousta jännittää, ampuu perisokea.*

*Three sons has the evil one: one deformed, the second crippled, the third blind through and through.*

*The deformed one makes the arrows, the cripple tensions the bow, the blind one shoots.*

**Devil making arrows.** The devil version belongs to one of the most recent layers of the Incantation for Stings. The maker of the arrows (*piili*, Sw. *pil*) is the devil, who forges iron arrows in the smithy. The devil takes the role of the blacksmith, and elements from the forging of the Sampo and other forging runes have permeated the rune.

*Piru piiliä tekee, lempo leppäkeihäsijä pajassa ovettomassa, ilman ikkunattomassa.  
Sai tuo pilit valmiaksi.*

*The devil is making arrows, Satan carving alder spearlets in a doorless smithy, with no windows.*

*He got the arrows finished.*

**Shooting of the Sting.** The introductory sequence is followed by the description of the shooting, the basic elements of which have remained similar in all versions. The shooter aims his arrows in different directions – the first to the sky, the second under the ground, and the third into the human world – or the third arrow hits a rock and ricochets into a human being or an animal by accident.

**Shooting of the Sting.**

*Ampui nuolen yksikannan (yhden nuoliansa) ylhäälle taivoseen.  
 Tahtoi taivonen haleta, ilman kaaret katkiella.  
 Ampui nuolen kaksikannan (toisen nuoliansa) alaisiin maaemiin.  
 Tahtoi maa manalle mennä, hietaharju halkiella.  
 Ampui nuolen kolmikannan (kolmannenkin) ylitse meren yheksän, Hiitolan kivimäkeen.  
 (... vuoren teräksiseen, rautaiseen kallioon.)  
 Nuoli kimposi kivestä, kalpistihen kalliosta, ihoon inehmoraukan (karvaan emokapeen).*

*Shot one of his arrows up to the heavens.  
 The sky almost split in half, broke the vaults of the air.  
 Shot his second arrow into the nether worlds.  
 Almost killed the earth, split the sandy heath.  
 Shot his third arrow over nine seas, into the stony hill of Hiitola.  
 (... into a steel mountain, an iron rock.)  
 The arrow bounced off the stone, glanced off the rock, into the skin of a poor man (into a woman's/mother's hide).*

**Formula for a Sting.** There are two versions of the numeral incantation: (1) Sting and (2) Flight.

- (1) *Jos sinä pistät yhden kerran, minä pistän kaksi kertaa. Jos sinä pistät kaksi kertaa, minä pistän kolme kertaa...*
- Jos sinä pistät yhden piston, minä pistän toisen piston...*
- (2) *Jos sinä lennät yhden lennon, minä lennän toisen lennon. Jos sinä lennät kaksi lentoa, minä lennän kolme...*

- (1) *If you shall sting once, I shall sting twice. If you shall sting twice, I shall sting thrice...  
 If you shall stab one sting, I shall stab another sting...*
- (2) *If you shall fly one flight, I shall fly another flight. If you shall fly two flights, I shall fly three...*

The formula usually continues up to number nine. Formula for a Sting belongs to the same category of numeral incantations as Formula for Hiccups (map 51); in comparison with Shooting of the Sting it is part of a new layer, numeral magic, the distribution area of which is western Finland.

**Map diagram.** The runes in the old meter, Origin of the Sting and Shooting of the Sting, have been recorded in the core areas of the Savo-Karelian culture. The shamanistic poetic visions of the Great Oak have only been preserved in Dvina, and similarly the devil redaction is known particularly in central Finland, the westernmost preserve of the incantation. In Dvina and also other parts of Karelia, the devil redaction is still almost unknown. Conversely, the version of the three shooters has spread as far as Dvina, and thus probably belongs to the old layer. Incantation for Stings is no longer found in the area of agrarian society, although the idea of shot sickness has also been known in western Finland (map 40). Shooting of the Sting in the old meter has been replaced by the numerical formula.

## **Myth of death**

**Origin of sting arrows.** The Finnish Incantation for Stings is fundamentally a myth about a death arrow which is made by chance, shot at random through the universe, and accidentally hits people and animals. On the mythical stage, the dispatcher of death finds the slivers of the cosmic tree and acts as if on the spur of the moment. He shoots the first arrow into the air with such force that the vaults of the sky almost collapse and the whole canopy of the sky is in danger of falling down. The second arrow is shot into mother earth, almost causing the earth's crust to split. He shoots the third arrow evidently into the world inhabited by humans, or across the primaeval ocean towards the cosmic mountain, the center of the universe, from whence it rebounds and hits man, all living things. The mountain at the center of the world has many symbolic meanings in the incantations for sickness. Incantation for Stings may reflect the idea that even if the sky and the earth were rent apart, the center of the world is unshakeable. Even the arrow of death, which at some time meets every human being and animal, rebounds from it.

The sting arrow is an allegory of death. As a disease, the sting has usually meant a heart attack or stroke, or other sudden attack of illness resulting in death or paralysis. It was thought that if the sting arrow hits the heart or head, death is unavoidable. The arrow of death may hit unexpectedly and even an outwardly healthy person, as if selecting its victims at random.

**Three cripples.** Lauri Honko, in common with certain other scholars, has associated the three cripples with the so-called Balder myth, the narrative of a beloved hero accidentally killed by a blind or otherwise disabled antihero, usually his friend or brother. Even the gods are unable to bring the dead hero back to life. In Scandinavian deity sagas, the faultless asa was the son of Odin, Baldr, the most righteous, benevolent and beloved of the gods. During asa games, he is unwittingly killed by his blind brother Hödr with a sprig of mistletoe, which Loki turns into a real arrow.

Many versions of the myth exist in the folklore of European peoples. In legends of the Antiquity, Atis, favorite son of Croesus, is slain by his deaf and dumb brother; in the legend of Longinus, Jesus is killed by the spear of a blind soldier; the destiny of a hero may be a blind beggar or singer. The myth of Balder conveys the idea that even the most perfect of men cannot avoid death, and the fate of a hero cannot be prevented even by the gods. Death is an irrevocable part of the world order.(1)

The incantation type of Three Shooters is likely to be later than that of Origin of the Sting linked to The Great Oak, perhaps a medieval reinterpretation that has originated from the Balder myth. It emphasizes the insignificance of antiheroes, but also evil; malformation and blindness are conceived from evil. In the world view of the Christianized redaction Devil Forging Arrows, the creator of disharmony is the devil, the Antichrist. Sickness and death are kind of wages of sin, the victory of the devil in the world.

**Interpretation of sting arrows.** In the explanation of death, the arrow symbolism is likely to date back to the hunter-gatherer cultural era, and it has become concretized e.g. in poison arrows used by hunting peoples all around the world. The Dvinian interpretation still retains the elements of the shamanistic world view: the arrow of death, the cosmic stage, the canopy of the sky, the central mountain or cosmic pillar supporting the sky canopy, and the cosmic tree whose roots are in the Underworld. The rune of the Great Oak was associated with death in the hunting era; it was felled to make a bridge to the realm of the dead (maps 94-95).

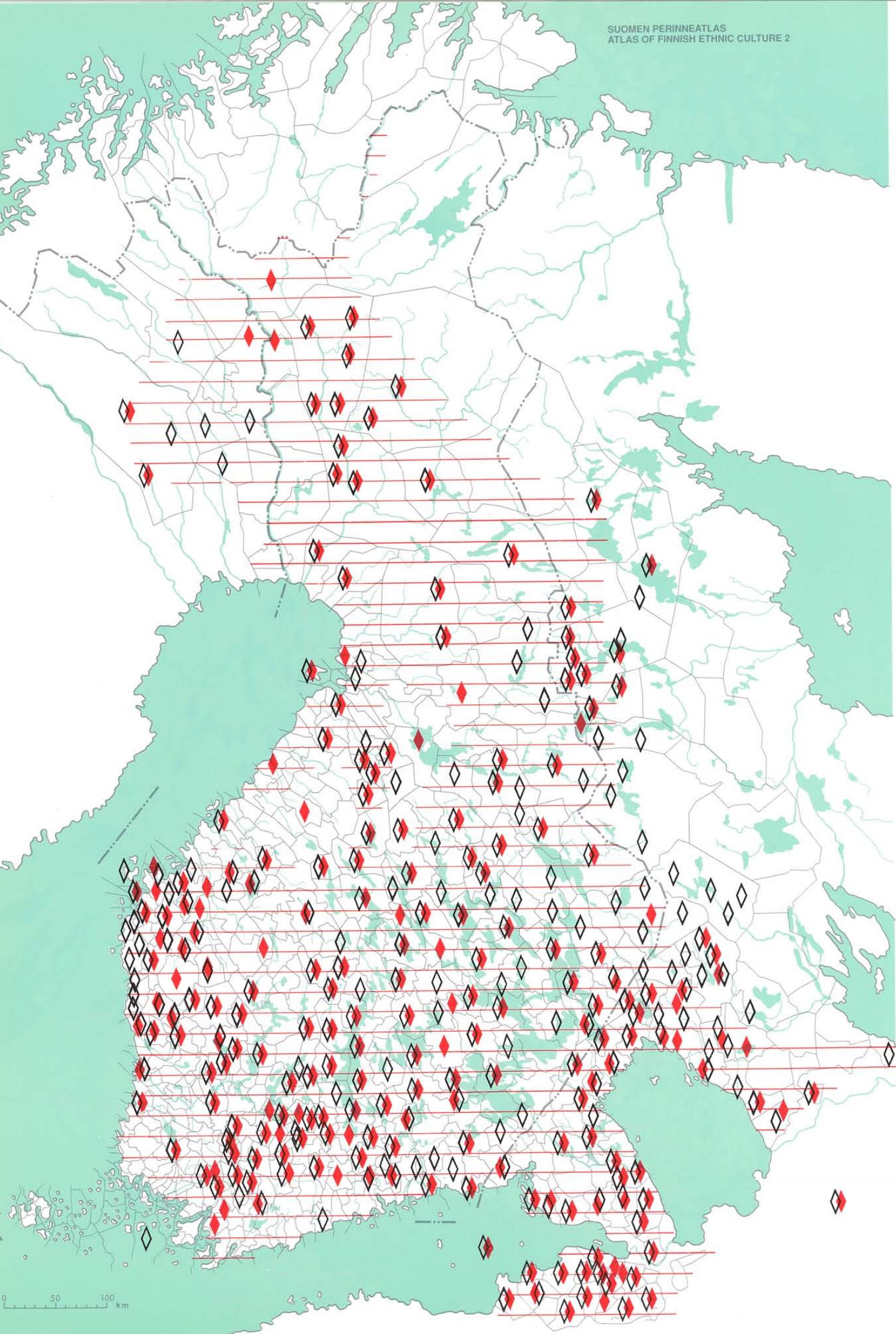
In cultivating communities, the etiological myth is adapted to its new context: the arrows are made by a sorcerer, in the Christian era a witch, and finally the devil. The venue has moved to the environment of

the swidden farmer and the characters are blacksmiths, women tending cattle, people of the village community, to whom the message of the myth was directed.

The runes on the Origins of the Sting deal with the mystery of death, its random and irrevocable nature. Man's personal questions have also received different answers in different eras. In the hunting era, death was an unavoidable random event that cannot be removed from the world order. Within the sphere of the sorcerer institution, the death arrow has become an explanation of disease and a rite instrument, giving the ultimate power to sorcerers. From the Middle Ages, Origin of the Sting has reinforced the Christian world view, and explanations of death were also adapted to the ubiquitous doctrine of sin and the devil.

(MI A 1337, D 1516, F 610.2, G 263.4.0.1, K 863)

1. Haavio 1967b. 342-. Honko 1959b. Setälä 1912. Krohn K. 1917, 162-.



## 50. Niukahduksen loitsu Incantation for Sprains

1. Nyrjähtämisen parannusloitsu  
Healing words

historiola (ratsastusmatka)  
historiola (Jesus or the Virgin Mary rides on a horse/donkey)

2. Nyrjähdyksen sitominen  
Binding a sprain

niukahduslangan teko  
twisted sprain yarn

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 50. INCANTATION FOR SPRAINS

**The first healing of a sprain.** The incantation for the sprained foot has two sequences: the historiola and the actual healing formula. In Finland, the incantation was usually recited when the *sprain yarn* was prepared, the special binding that was wound around the sprained or twisted limb, also when treating the lame foot of an animal, such as a horse.

The incantation begins with the historiola, a description of the first sprain. Jesus, sometimes Mary, Peter or Paul in variants, rides to church on a horse (donkey). The horse sprains a foot on the stony road, and Jesus dismounts and heals the horse. The Finnish incantation sometimes includes the line *Pyy pyrähti, maa järähti* [A partridge flew off, the earth shook], causing the horse to shy and injure its foot. The line originates from a legend telling the story of why the partridge becomes smaller. In the beginning, the partridge was a large bird, but having frightened Jesus or some other holy man, it was cursed to keep shrinking right up to the end of the world.

### Historiola

*Jeesus kirkoon ajaa/ Maria messuun mataa,  
hevosella hiirakolla, kalahau'in karvaisella, lohen mustan muotoisella.  
Hiveltyi hevosen jalka kivisellä kirkkotiellä, someroisen sillan päässä.  
Jeesus maahan ratsailta.  
Luun liitti luuhun, lihan liitti lihaan, suuret suonet suutatuksin, pienet suonet päätäpäin.*

*Jesus drives to church/ Mary makes for the mass  
on a grey horse, color of a fish-pike, like a dark salmon.  
Slipped the horse's hoof on the stony church road, at a gravelly head of a bridge.  
Jesus dismounts his horse.  
Joined bone to bone, flesh to flesh, large veins mouth-to-mouth, small vessels head-on.*

### Healing formula

*Mistä on liha liikahtanut, siihen liittyös lihaa.  
Mistä on luuta luikahtanut, siihen luuta luikauta.  
Mistä on suonet sortununna, siihen suonet solmiele.  
(Suuret suonet suutatuksin, pienet suonet päätäpäin.  
Ehommaksi entistään, paremmaksi muinoistaan!)*

*Where flesh has moved, let flesh attach.*

*Where bone has slipped, slip bone therein.  
Where veins have collapsed, tie veins there.  
(Large veins mouth-to-mouth, small vessels head-on.  
Healthier than they were, better than before!)*

**Binding the sprain yarn.** The sprain yarn, *suoni-*, *hivellys-* or *venymälanka* was made from (1) unwashed wool; according to some sources it had to be taken from a sheep's head or tail and twisted into a three-ply loose yarn into which nine knots were tied. Alternatively, a cord may have been made of (2) three (two) wool yarns of different colors: red, black and undyed or blue. In Finnish folklore, the number of knots was generally nine, sometimes seven.

Tying the sprain yarn has acquired many kinds of added conditions. The knots had to be tied simultaneously, even behind the back so that the yarn was wound nine times around the thumb and drawn into knots. The Incantation for Sprains had to be recited while twisting each strand or for each knot, even three times for each knot, a total of 81 times. Or the yarn had to be spun by an under-aged girl and it had to be tied in a certain place. In place of the sprain yarn, a fishing net with many knots has also been applied as binding.

**Map diagram.** The incantation for sprains and making the sprain yarn have been known all over the Finnish-Karelian tradition area, as well as in Estonia and among Värmland Finns. The description of the journey on horseback and the healing formula are closely interconnected, but both the historiola and the healing formula have also been used as separate incantations. There are no great geographical differences in the sprain tradition. In eastern areas the incantations have become adapted to the ancient runic language, while in the west they have apparently better retained the medieval translated form in the old meter.

**European influences.** The Finnish formula for sprains is an almost word-for-word translation of a European incantation that is also known in Scandinavia and among Slavic peoples. It has probably been used by medieval learned folk-healers, monks or nuns, for healing sprains and fractures. Vernacular texts of the incantation have been preserved from 16th century Germany, but the oldest versions are thought to be the so-called Merseburg manuscripts, which have been dated in the 700s.(1 Like the Christianity-based motifs of the Blood-Stanching Injunction, the Formula for Sprains can be traced back to the Latin tradition of the early Middle Ages.

After the Reformation, the Catholic healing rite became branded in the Nordic countries as witchcraft. In Norway, the oldest texts are found in the records of witch trials, mainly from the latter half of the 1600s.(2 From the 1700s, the incantation occurs in black books and peasants' magic books, from which it has also spread to oral folklore. In Finland and Estonia, the Formula for Sprains is so widespread that it can be seen as a folk prayer dating back to at least the Middle Ages.

The historiola is based on the Bible story of Jesus riding on a foal to Jerusalem, the Palm Sunday text. In European lore, Peter or another apostle often appears alongside Jesus, and e.g. in Sweden is found the rare motif of the flight of the holy family to Egypt; the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus sit on a donkey. The counterpart to the Finnish healing formula in the Nordic countries is: "Flesh to flesh, skin to skin, blood to blood, vein to vein, marrow to marrow and hair to hair". The healing formula may be based on an ancient flesh to flesh, vein to vein formula, for which counterparts have been found among many Indo-European peoples.(3

**Healing rite.** The sprain yarn is one of the ‘magic knots’, knot bindings or so-called cord amulets found extensively among European and Asian peoples. A frequent characteristic of cord bindings is that they are twisted loosely by hand from wool, or threads of different colors are combined to make a knotted braid. In European tradition, among others, ritualized knotted cords have been used to heal many illnesses and for pain relief. In Finland, making the knotted cord is above all intended for the treatment of sprains.

Knots have been used to bind or release sickness and supernatural forces (cf. map 55), but they also symbolized durability and permanence.(4 The knotted yarn might be tied around a child’s wrist, for instance, in order that the soul would attach more firmly to the body. The number 9 or 3 times 3 is usual in number magic in various parts of the world, particularly within the so-called high cultures of Eurasia. Nine signifies completion and finality. Tying the knots of the sprain cord has been a symbolic action of locking the sprained limb back together and every tissue permanently in its place. As an idea, the knotted cord was particularly suitable for healing injured limbs, and the Finnish tradition has evidently retained some of the original uses of the Eurasian cord binding.

The Christianity-based Incantation for Sprains is an example of the world view and interpretations of the environment of medieval man. Bible stories as well as legends of saints were transplanted into everyday reality. Shared belief surrounded the man of village communities in his everyday life, and the holy narratives could be employed in most diverse of situations. The holy examples were utilized to control accidents and to heal the sick.

(MI A 2302.2, D 1273, D 1273.1.1, D 1273.1.3.1)

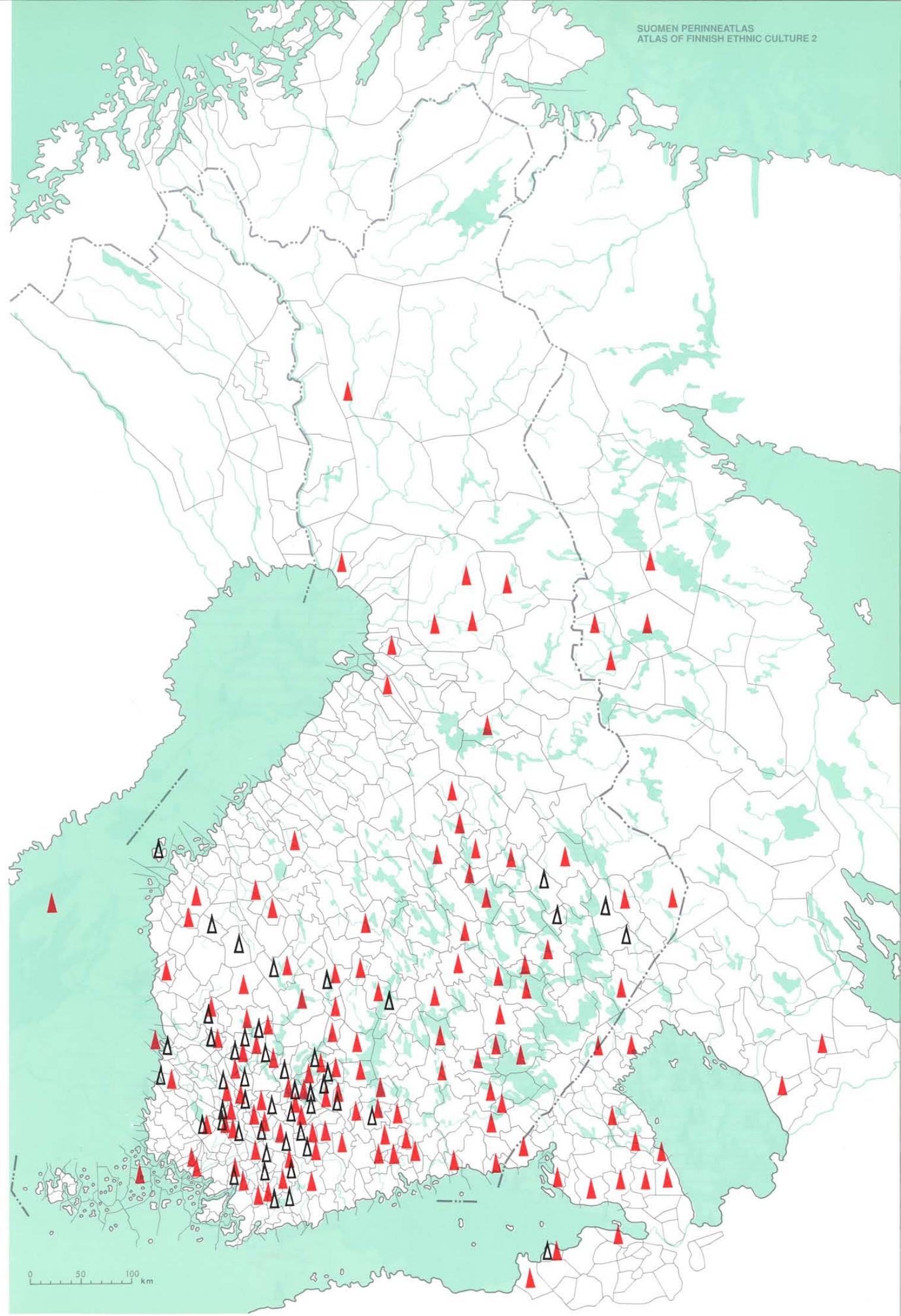
1. Christiansen 1912; 1914. Ohrt 1922. Linderholm 1919; 1927. Mansikka 1909, 249-. Hästesko 1918, 40-. Krohn K. 1917, 15-. Haavio 1967b, 487-. FSF VII, 177- (223). 2. Christiansen 1912; 1914. 3. Tillhagen 1958, 182-. Hampp 1961, 247-. 4. Ebermann 1903. Eliade 1961. Frazer 1927, 293-. Day 1967.

## 51. Nikotuksen luvut Incantations against Hiccups

Δ numeroluku  
number formula

▲ tavoitusluku  
catching formula

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 51. INCANTATIONS AGAINST HICCUPS

### *Practical number magic*

**Number formula.** Hiccups could be stopped by reciting the following in one breath:

*Nikka yks, minä kaks; nikka kaks, minä kolme; nikka kolme, minä neljä... nikka yksitoista, minä kaksitoista. Minä nikan päälle pääsin.*

*Hiccup one, me two; hiccup two, me three; hiccup three, me four... hiccup eleven, me twelve. I got the better of the hiccup.* The formula is recited up to seven, nine or twelve.

**Catching formula.** The catching formula for hiccups also had to be recited in one breath:

*Nikka niineen, toinen tuomeen (tuoheen), kolmas koivuun, neljäs niemeen (neitoon), viides viitaan, kuudes kuuseen, seitsemäs seipään reikään (nenään), kahdeksas kantoon (kaivoon), yhdeksäs ympäri kylää, kymmenes kynnykselle. Ja nikalta niska poikki.*

*Hiccup into the bast, second into the bird-cherry (birch bark), third into the birch, fourth into the spit (maid), fifth into the brushwood, sixth into the spruce, seventh into the hole (tip) of a pole, eighth into the tree-stump (well), ninth all around the village, tenth onto the doorstep. And break the neck of the hiccup.*

In old records the catching formula occurs in slightly different form. The reader of the incantation finally corners the hiccup in a place where it cannot escape:

*Nikka meni niineen, minä niintä kiskomaan. Nikka meni orteen, minä ortta painamaan/ hirttämään.*

*Hiccup went into the bast, I went to pull the bast. Hiccup went to the bread-pole, I went to press/hang the bread-pole.*

The verses were recited 7, 9 or 10 times, after which the incantation usually turns into a number formula (*Nikka yks, minä kaks* [*Hiccup one, me two etc.*]). Further verses exist for the formula, for example:

*Nikka meni puuhun, minä puuta kaatamaan. Nikka meni parteen, minä menin kytkemään. Nikka meni kuoppaan, minä kuopan partaalle. Nikka meni kiukaalle, minä kiukaan rakoon. Minä nikan kiinni sain.*

*Hiccup went up a tree, I went to fell the tree. Hiccup went into a cow-stall, I went to tie him up. Hiccup went into a pit, I went to its edge. Hiccup went on the sauna-stove, I went into its crack. I caught the hiccup.*

**Curing hiccups.** Both the number and catching formula are western, although their scattered distribution area reaches as far as Karelia. There are no direct counterparts for the incantations for hiccups in Sweden or even the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, but various hiccup-chasing formulas are commonly found in European lore. In Finland, as elsewhere, hiccups were explained to result from catching cold, or from someone speaking either well or ill of the person behind his back.

Everywhere, man has learned from experience that the hiccups stop if one holds one's breath long enough. The Finnish Incantations for Hiccups, like many methods of curing hiccups, have helped the victim to hold his breath. Another common remedy in Finland has been to drink without breathing nine or twelve swallows of water or some other drink, and to look under the bottom of the drinking vessel after every three swallows. Another remedy has been startling the sufferer. In Finnish tradition, a person with hiccups has been frightened by accusing him of theft. As far as Dvina are found records of the saying: "You have stolen black wool or a broom from some place." Black wool may refer to theft of cattle fortunes or other witchcraft (maps 58-60), and the person with hiccups would thus be thoroughly frightened by indirectly accusing him of a mortal sin. The theft motif is also found in Scandinavian and German incantations for hiccups.

As formulas for incantations, the Incantations for Hiccups may be medieval; their core area is medieval southwestern Finland.(1 The incantations may be based on magical number formulas, used to 'count out' the disease by reading some formula, for example from nine backwards from largest to lowest number, until nought was reached and the disease sort of vanished or became insignificant.(2 Counting out an illness, as well as measuring out, are widely known thought formulas of healing rites. Although the number formulas for hiccups and stings (map 49) are not directly counting out of illness, they do contain numeral symbolism that was common specifically in medieval magic.

(MI D 1273, D 1273.1, Z 71.0.2)

**1. Hästesko 1910, 293-; 1918, 129-. 2. Forsblom 1928.**

## 52. Tietäjä hakee neuvoa The Sorcerer Seeks Advice

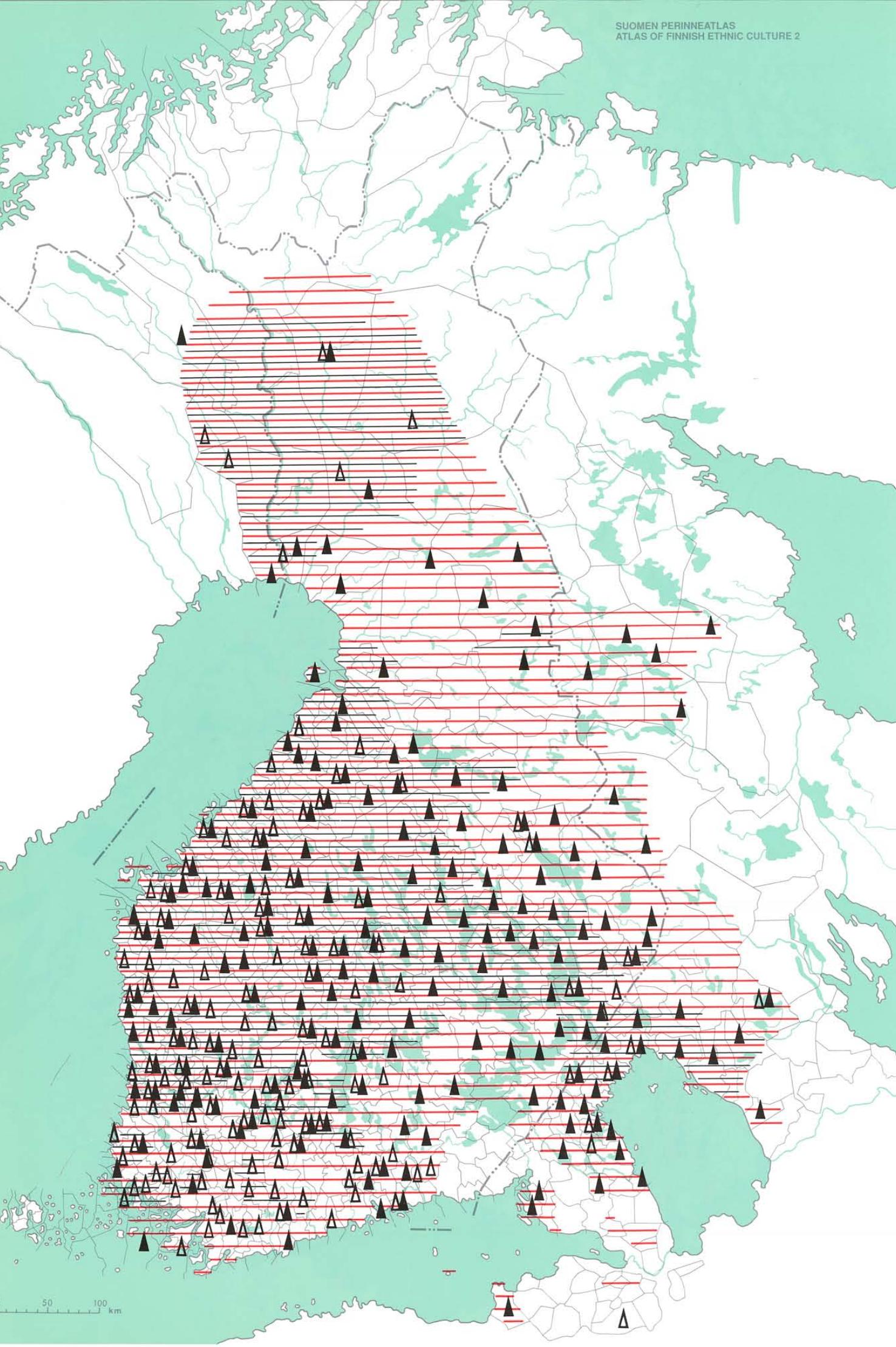
1. Tietäjä yöllä  
Sorcerer in the night  
kirkossa  
in church

hautausmaalla  
in the graveyard

2. Käynnin syynä  
Reason for visit  
varkauden selvittäminen  
to solve a theft

sairauden parantaminen  
to heal a disease

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 52. THE SORCERER SEEKS ADVICE

### ***Art of going to church***

**In church with the sorcerer.** Map 52 depicts narratives of the sorcerer visiting the church or graveyard at night to seek advice from the dead; in western lore the sorcerer has turned into a witch who goes to consort with the devil. A characteristic of the structure of the narratives is that they are recounted as if based on a witness account. The sorcerer or witch took along to the church a person who had come to seek help. The intensity of the narration is augmented by the errors made by the companion through ignorance or fear. The technique and motifs of obtaining information contain layers of sorcerer and witchcraft beliefs.

The narrative plot follows the events of the nocturnal journey. The first highlight is opening the church door, followed by a description of meeting the dead, and finally how they made it out of the church in one piece. At various stages of the visit, the sorcerer instructs the person accompanying him on how he should behave in order to avoid becoming ensnared by the deceased of the devil.

In narratives from the sorcerer era, the supernatural guardian of the church had to be summoned to open the door. Therefore, the sorcerer had to know who the church guardian was, i.e. who was the first person to be buried there (cf. map 62). Conversely, witches used anti-Christian rites. The church doors opened when the witch circled the church three times (anti-clockwise), reciting (thrice) Our Father or the Lord's Blessing backwards, or used as keys in the lock various witchcraft instruments, such as bones of a corpse, death's hand or a hand detached from a corpse, or a communion wafer. An element of European witch folklore was also the motif that the church doors opened when the sorcerer blew into the keyhole. Similarly, an element of the anti-Christian layer is the sorcerer and witch visiting the church specifically at night or on nights preceding holy days, such as Easter.

**Visiting church folk.** According to Finnish lore, the sorcerer met ancestors in the church, church folk, who appeared in great hordes. The narratives emphasize the frightening nature of the dead. They were hostile towards the living and used every ploy to entice them to their own side. In witch narratives, the visitors to the church meet the devil appearing in various guises, and the ideas of the dead being a repellent-looking bunch probably belong to the witchcraft era (cf. map 7).

The sorcerer warns that one should not shake hands with the dead or the devil, however much they tried to greet the visitors. The dead could also be deceived in various ways, such as by shaking hands with them with some hard object, so that a whetstone or a bone was pushed into the hand of the corpse,

who proceeded to crush it and take it away. The prohibition of shaking hands is dramatized by describing how the companion saw many people he knew among the dead, even his own parents, without being able to give them his hand. The sorcerer drew a magic fence in the church or graveyard between the living and the dead, and defined the area the companion may enter. In Christian-based lore, the information-seekers had to protect themselves with ecclesiastical instruments, for example to shelter behind a hymn book and an outstretched cross, or to stand at the altar, where the dead could not enter.

Leaving the church follows a very uniform narrative formula everywhere. The sorcerer warns that one was not to look back on leaving, regardless of what was heard, and that one had to hop across the church threshold on both feet. The moment the visitors hop outside, the church doors slam shut with great force.

The prohibitions and commands are an essential part of the narrative structure. They formed a web of survival strategies. In the church it was forbidden to speak, laugh, look back, certain steps had to be taken across the church floor forwards and backwards, one had to stand inside a circle, hold on to a church pew, the altar, hop on two feet etc. The set of survival norms stressed the dangers of visiting the church and at the same time the importance of a knowledge of rites; only a sorcerer or witch was capable of surviving the journey and of obtaining secret, ultimate information.

Church-visiting narratives have spawned many individual or local themes. At Kitee, knowledge-seekers were said to have accidentally burned the parish church down. The coward versions recount how the person accompanying the sorcerer fled in terror with the dead in pursuit, the attempt failed and the sorcerer was almost killed in the claws of the dead.

**Sorcerer at the graveyard.** As well as the church, sorcerers have also sought information from the dead in graveyards. The narration has exploited the fear of burial grounds and plot motifs that also occur in other lore on the deceased. A common description is of the sorcerer being forced to search for a deceased person who would be willing to provide answers. He visits many graves, until he finds the supernatural guardian of the churchyard or e.g. his dead childhood friend. In Christian-based narration, the ancestor providing the information is called the greatest sinner or criminal buried in the graveyard, or the sorcerer must find the grave of a suicide.

The sorcerer may also fail and the dead rise up to pursue the visitors. They are saved only by managing to escape over the graveyard fence, or the dead throw them over it. The success or failure of meeting the dead are outwardly opposite climaxes of the narratives, the possibility of failure enhances the excitement of the narration, but at the same time emphasizes the sorcerer's heroism and ability to survive a dangerous mission.

## **Sorcerer's showpiece**

**Sorcerer clears up an illness.** In the sorcerer area, visiting the church or graveyard has been a feature of the healing drama; the sorcerer cures a patient who has been rendered mentally ill or epileptic, and punishes the person who caused the illness. The narratives have many stereotypes. The events are almost always localized and the characters named, or at least the place where they lived is disclosed. The patient is often a young girl who has been used as an instrument of revenge in disputes between

kinship groups, or there has been a love drama behind the scene. The unlucky, forsaken party has wreaked revenge by methods such as feeding the sick person corpse earth, or by magic treatment of his or her hair or nail clippings (map 40).

The healing rite follows the following basic formula:

- (1) Visiting the church or graveyard: The sorcerer takes the patient along to the church, leads him in and explains his errand to the ancestors or the supernatural guardian of the church. The dead disclose the cause of the illness.
- (2) Counter-rite: Having discovered how the sickness was caused and who had ‘broken’ the patient, the sorcerer is able to cure him using counter-rites that annul the effect of the injurious magic.
- (3) Revenge: Finally, the sorcerer asks the patient whether he wants revenge on the sender of the disease by causing him to suffer a similar fate or to die a slow and painful death, or whether a less severe punishment will suffice. The cured patient usually opts for the lesser revenge, whereupon the sorcerer causes the culprit only some slight, albeit often lifelong disability, or directs the revenge on his livestock or causes him some other financial loss.

The narratives describe dealing with interpersonal conflicts in a way characteristic of sorcerer culture. Seeking revenge or wanting to harm an enemy is done by supernatural means, rather than perhaps resorting to violence. The victim of the revenge turns to the sorcerer for help, and he investigates the course of events, repels the effect of the injurious rite, and returns the evil back to the sender.

**Sorcerer clears up a theft.** In sorcerer tradition, clearing up a theft has followed the same basic formula as the healing rite.

- (1) Visiting the church or graveyard: The sorcerer sets off to church with the victim of the theft, or takes along as witness some fearless person. The visitors to the church or graveyard overcome the dangers of the journey and find out from the dead where the cash is and who stole it, or where the stolen horse is to be found.
- (2) Returning: The sorcerer makes the thief return the stolen money or other property back to the place from where he took it. The thief is beset with severe (nocturnal) pain, or the ancestors (other forces) start to ‘throw him around’ like he has epilepsy and to demand that he return the stolen goods. Especially in the Savonian sorcerer area, church visiting was associated with the motifs of stopping thieves. In the same way as powerful sorcerers were able to stop a thief who had come to their fishing nets in his tracks, in narratives of church visiting the sorcerer could also render the thief immobile to wait for the arrival of the owner.
- (3) Punishment: In sorcerer lore, the thief must receive a punishment before he can be freed of his nightmare or paralysis, ‘to see his own blood flowing’. There are many variations of the blood motif, but the Finnish (Savonian) tradition emphasizes not cruelty, but cleverness, in this respect too: the usual punishment is the sorcerer striking the thief in the face so that his nose starts to bleed.

Finnish church-visiting narratives sometimes have a sub-motif that emphasizes the tragic nature of the events. The sorcerer receives the reply that the thief ‘eats at the same table’ or that ‘the money was not taken by a mouse, although he eats at the same table’. The thief is a member of the household, the master’s own son.

**Map diagram.** Narratives of church visits by the sorcerer or witch have spread throughout Finland; in numerical terms, the lore is clustered around areas with medieval stone churches (cf. map 22) and on the other hand in the area of eastern sorcerer tradition. Sorcerers have visited graveyards in the north, where the population is recent and the dead were no longer buried in churches. In Orthodox Karelia, where the

ancestral cult was preserved and visiting the burial ground was still natural, horror stories with plots characteristic of western culture have evidently not yet gained a foothold, nor did small village tsasounas perhaps provide such an impressive setting for the narratives as the great stone churches of western and southern Finland.

The principal motifs of the narratives are different in areas of peasant and swidden culture. In western Finland, the witch is most often asked to clear up a theft, a property crime, that has taken place within the household or on a trip to a fair. In eastern Finland and apparently at some time also in western Finland, the reason for visiting the church was to heal a person who had been made sick. Thefts were a problem of the society of landed peasants that had made the transition to a cash economy and was in the process of social stratification. In western Finland, the household included servants in addition to the owner's family, and after the general land reparceling the proportion of landless people in villages increased. In the narratives, the thief often turns out to be a dishonest servant or some other member of the impoverished class. In the Savo-Karelian kinship society, social differences were slight, but extended families reacted to the fundamentally shocking motif that the 'thief was found at one's own table', in other words he was a family member. The western narratives touched on the problem of poverty, although the thieves themselves, their position, or the motives of the deed are not directly addressed in the folk narrative.

**Meeting the ancestors.** Visiting the abode of the dead was already a part of the technique of the shaman (cf. map 91). In the era of pre-Christian ancestral cult, people have evidently consulted the ancestors in connection with a wide variety of issues, until in the Christian era the church with its churchyard displaced the hiisi woods, where the ancestors lived (cf. maps 3, 7). Throughout the Middle Ages and early Lutheran era, the dead were buried under the church floor, and the old churches were literally dwelling-places of the ancestors. They were believed to move around the church in the night, and (on Christmas night) even to hold their own services.

Originally, advice was sought specifically from the supernatural guardian of the church, the first ancestor to be buried, who held the position of the elder among those buried in the church. The guardian motif has been sustained by a few narrative subplots. The narratives mention that the sorcerer could not enter the church of a parish, because the first to be buried there was an unbaptized small child who could not speak, or a Russian who knew no Finnish.

In preserved lore, advice is still commonly sought from the ancestors, particularly when the sorcerer visited the graveyard. The narratives contain many kinds of descriptions of how the ancestors were induced to answer. At the graveyard, the sorcerer often kneeled (naked) at the foot of some ancestor's cross to talk to him. When the relationship of the living with the dead changed in Christian tradition, the narratives have become secularized. Encounters between the sorcerer and the ancestors are described as more and more horrific, often as a mental trial of strengths, with the life or death of those visiting the church at stake.

Finally, the church guardian and the ancestors are replaced by the devil. The witch in western Finland goes to church literally to worship the false god, and the service is led by the devil grimacing in the pulpit or defiling the church in some way. However, the devil layer has been slight and contradictory; in Finland the church has perhaps been such a holy place that the devil was believed unable to enter it. Devil motifs are common in European witch folklore: for example in Denmark there are narratives of those accused of witchcraft of how they have gone to church in the night to meet the devil and opened the church doors by blowing into the lock.<sup>(1)</sup> The churchyard or church was a witches' meeting place comparable to the *blåkulla* or mill (map 57).

The narratives of church visits by the sorcerer and witch contain elements of different ages, but respect for the sorcerer is still characteristic of Finnish folklore. Especially in Savonian narratives, the sorcerer has been socially accepted, and evidently many motifs are from older layers than e.g. stories of the death of the witch (map 53) or trolls (maps 56-58) and originate from the time when sorcerers held an important position both as healers and procurers of other-worldly, supernatural knowledge.

(Si D 301-400)

**1. Johansen 1987, 307-.**

### 53. Metsään jäänyt kotieläin Animal Lost in the Forest

1. Eläin metsänpeitossa  
Animal in the forest cover  
*metsänpeitossa, -kätkössä*  
(Sw. skogstagen hidden by the forest)

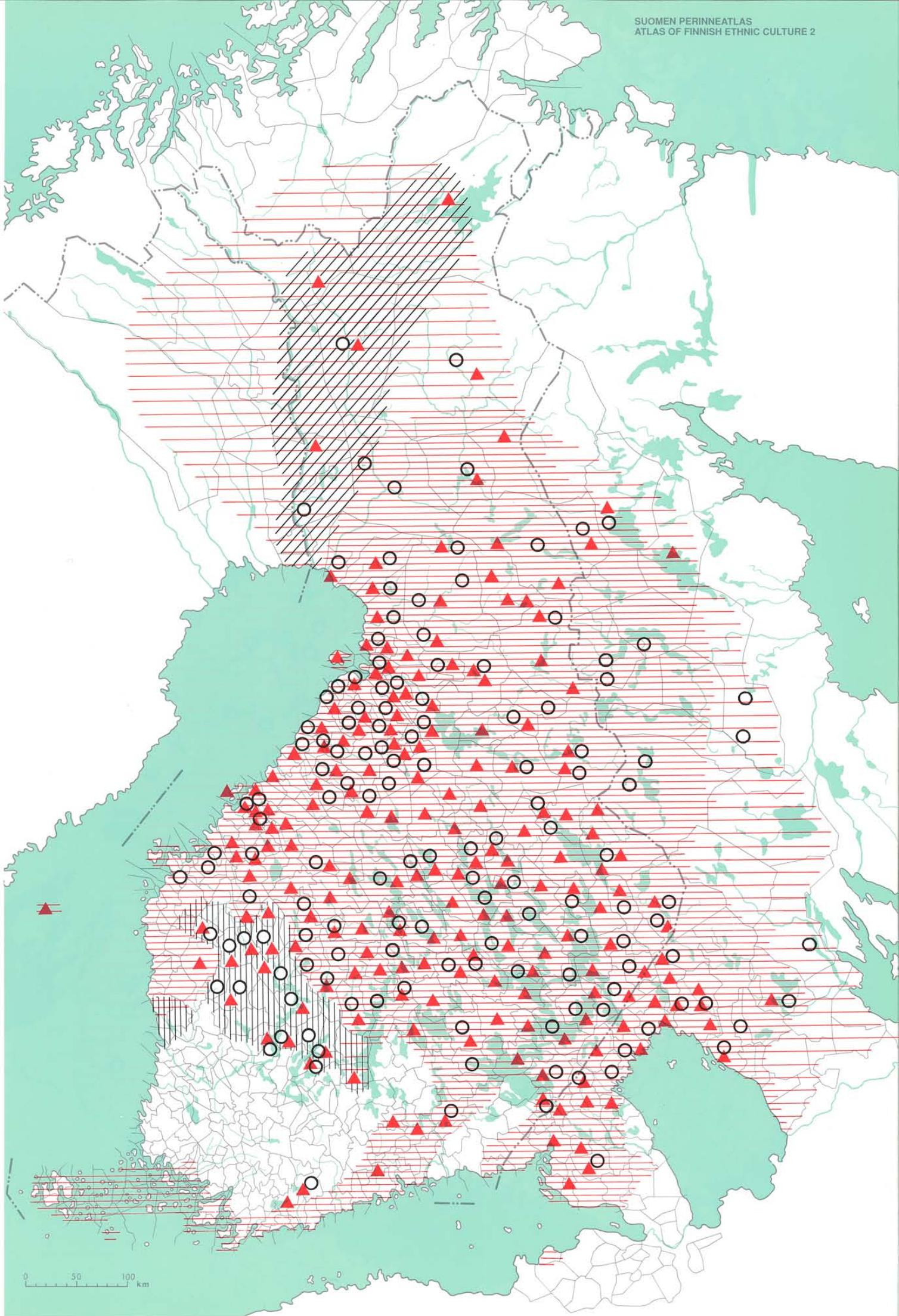
hiidenkätkössä (kartta 71)  
hidden by *hiisi*-folk (map 71)

maahisten kätkemä (kartta 71)  
hidden by underground folk  
(map 71)

2. Eläin vangittuna  
Animal trapped and  
bewitched  
maagisessa piirissä  
(näkymättömänä)  
in a magical circle (invisible)

kiven, kannon tai puun  
hahmossa  
in the form of a stone, stump  
or tree

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 53.-54. DOMESTIC ANIMALS 'COVERED' BY THE FOREST

### 53. *Animal lost in the forest*

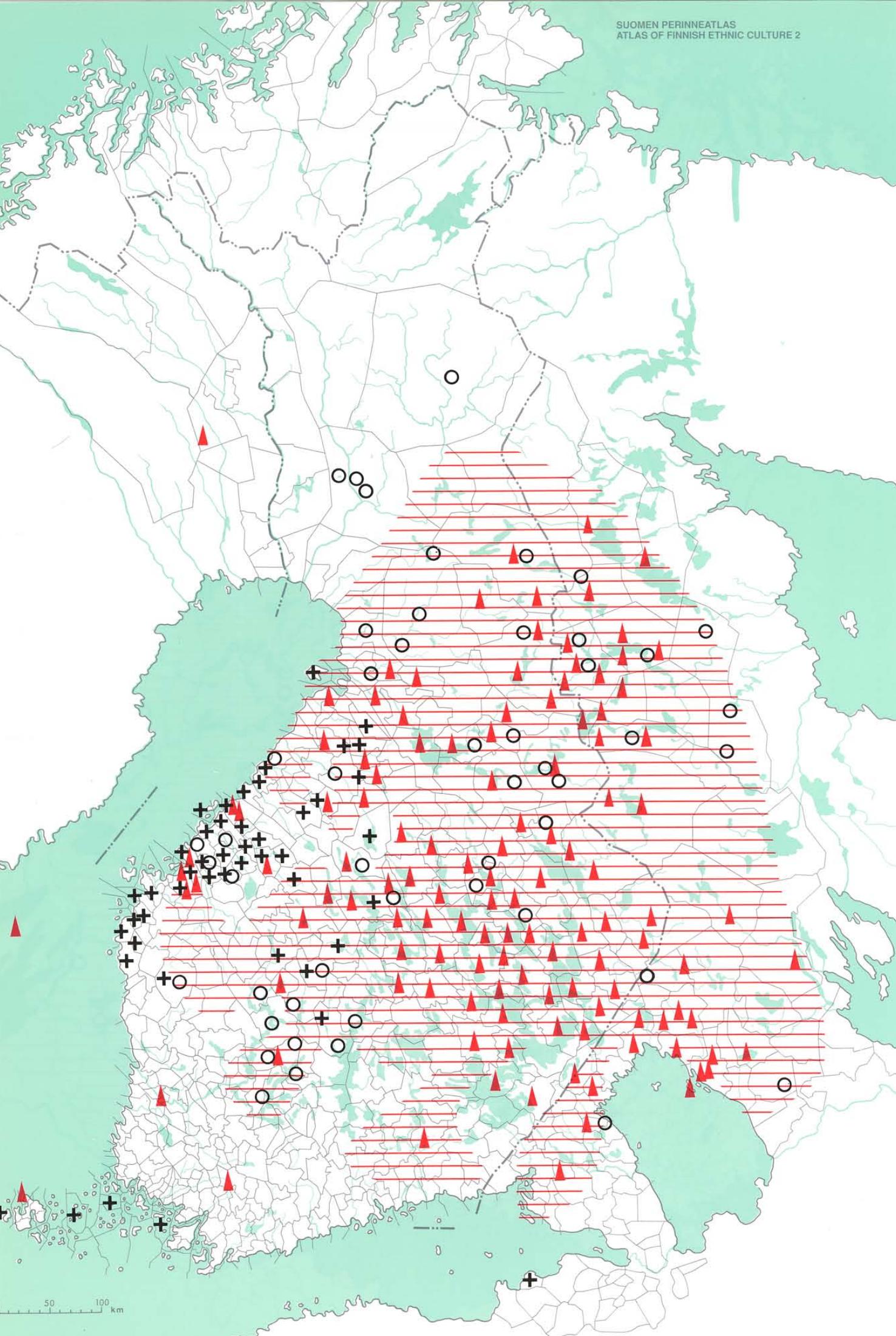
**Threat of a cattle farmer.** In Finnish folk narrative, a domestic animal such as a cow, horse or sheep, but also a person, may have become lost in a supernatural way, as if becoming imprisoned by the forest (Sw. *skogstagen*). The animal has been 'in the forest cover' or hidden by a supernatural guardian [*haltia*] of the forest, *hiisi*-folk or underground folk (map 71), or the devil has taken possession of it. In the narratives:

(1) The animal covered by the forest has become caught in a magic circle from which it could not get away. It has remained lying on the spot or stayed within a circular area, as if tied to an invisible tether. The animal had eaten all the grass it could reach or within its circle, and would starve to death if it could not be rescued in time.

(2) The animal left in the forest had become like the forest: turned into the form of a stone, tree stump or tree, so that people searching for it could not discern it from surrounding nature. The narration has set plot structures. Those searching for the animal may have passed a rock, sat upon it to rest or smoke, or passers-by were surprised by strange stones or stumps appeared in a forest pasture that were not there before.

The narratives contain two common plot effects: A farmer looking for his cow forgets his tobacco pouch on a rock or strikes his axe into a tree stump. When the animal is released from the cover of the forest and returns home, the farmer's tobacco pouch is dangling from its horns or it has such a serious axe wound in its flank that it dies. The animal hidden by the forest was in such a state or form that it could not be seen by human eyes, although the sound of its bell was heard. When the animal died, the spell was lost, and later its carcass was often found near the house in a spot the searchers had passed several times.

### 54. *Releasing an animal from the forest cover*



## 54. Metsänpeitosta vapauttaminen Releasing Animal from the Forest Cover

1. Eläimen vapauttaminen  
Releasing an animal

metsän sitominen

by binding the forest

jälkien käantäminen

by turning around or reversing

the animal's tracks

kirkonkellojen soittaminen

by ringing the church bells

2. Tietäjä

The sorcerer

metsään peittäminen ja

vapauttaminen tietäjän

mahtikeinoja

the forest cover and releasing

the powerful means of

sorcerers

Rekisterikartta

Archive map

**Release from the cover of the forest.** The map shows three of the most common ways in Finnish folklore with which the animal was induced to return from the cover of the forest.

The animal was freed (1) by forcing the supernatural guardian of the forest or the earth (devil) to return the animal it had taken. In the restoration rites, the sorcerer has symbolically *tied up the forest* or *made a tyrä* [hernia pouch] for its supernatural guardian. Other compelling techniques, albeit randomly mentioned, have been whipping the ground with e.g. an alder stick, oven broom or iron weighing scales, or using the force of fire, earth, iron or a woman against the guardian of the forest.

An animal left in the forest was also made to return by (2) turning around or reversing the footprints of the lost animal cut from the ground. Under Christian tradition, an animal as well as a human being was saved by (3) ringing the church bells and seeking the help of a priest; the sound of the bells chased away the devil and his spell was dissipated.

In some narratives of forest cover, sorcerers have kind of 'bought' back an animal taken by the supernatural guardian of the forest (4) by making an offering of a silver coin e.g. in an anthill, but there are very few records of appeasing the guardian or of reciprocal offerings.

**Binding the forest**, also called *locking* or *fastening the forest*, has in Savo-Karelian folk narrative meant tying up the tops of two or more young trees, usually alder or birch saplings, for example with red cord in three places. A stone was placed between the treetops so that it kept the trees bent. Alternatively, the top of the tree was bent to the ground and weighted down with a large rock. The forest lock had to be made over an anthill, an earth rock or the abode of the supernatural guardian of the earth, or a cattle path; this has been associated with a path of the guardian. It is often mentioned that the lock could be kept fastened for three days and nights at most. If the guardian did not return the animal within that time, someone else had hidden it and the person who tied up the forest would be destroyed. In many records, instead of trees, two or three ants were tied together, or the branches of a triple-topped juniper were twisted like a *vihta* tie and tied in an *osmansolmu* [decorative knot].

Binding the forest or making an *osmansolmu* signified torturing of a living thing belonging to the forest or guardian of the forest in an unnatural position, perhaps also tying of the soul force of the forest. In Finnish folklore, the anthill has been the special place where to approach the supernatural guardian of the forest; ants were the soul or life force of the forest. Binding of the forest has also been called making a *tyrä* for the guardian of the forest or the devil. The hanging rock may have been associated with the *tyrä*, but in the forest cover lore, too, an actual *tyrä* was made, for example, by splitting a tree trunk with a wedge and trapping a pair of round stones in between; this way the guardian's (devil's) 'balls were set in a vice'. Making a *tyrä* was a witches' rite of ill-intent, used to cause the male victim severe pain by magically handling his testicles. The vice has also contained spruce beard moss, symbolizing the supernatural guardian's beard. While binding the forest or making the *tyrä*, the supernatural guardian of the forest was commanded to give up the cow or other animal it had hidden.(1)

**Turning the tracks** was a sorcerers' rite technique possibly dating back to the era of hunting communities (map 1). By cutting a bear's or wolf's footprint out of the ground and turning it to face back, the sorcerer chased away predators from forest pastures. The footprint of a lost domestic animal was turned back towards home but also upside down; this way, it was released from the inverse underground world where earth folk or ancestors were thought to live. By manipulating footprints, the sorcerer was able to symbolically influence the animal's movements, cut off its path in the wrong direction or return it to the real world, to its old tracks. Evidently in cases where the cow or horse was thought to have stayed in the forest of its own free will, it has been forced to come home by putting its tether or headstall in the oven, a

boiling pot of water or on the sauna stove. However, becoming trapped in the cover of the forest is a different matter from the animal running amok or meeting with an accident in the forest pasture.

**Man in the cover of the forest.** The forest cover lore has explained why a domestic animal could not get out of the forest, and the elements are the same as those in interpretations of why people became lost as if being imprisoned by the forest. It is said of getting lost, often based on personal experience, that a person starts to go round in circles and in the end fails to recognize even familiar places. In Finland, as among peoples of northern Russia, a lost person has strayed onto the path of the supernatural guardian of the forest. In Swedish lore, the guardian of the forest may have lead a person astray, but more typical interpretations in the Nordic countries have been that underground folk, trolls or elves (*älvor*) lead a person, like an animal, into a forest or a mountain. Furthermore, in Sweden and also in places in Finland, a kind of a meta-explanation is also known that the person who has lost his way has stepped on a straying grass.

The lost person's spirit has strayed from the real world into the invisible one, to the abode of the dead or underground folk, often described as the inverse world; everything there was the opposite way round to how it was on earth. The common advice in Finland, in common with the Nordic countries and elsewhere in Europe, has been that one could be released from being lost by turning one or all of one's clothes inside out and then putting them on back-to-front, right arm in the left sleeve, right shoe or sock on the left foot etc., or by looking around upside down, from the opposite direction, for example through one's legs. This way, the lost person could in a way see his way back to the real side; the rescue methods have given the lost person time to calm down and to look at his surroundings with fresh eyes.

A person caught in the cover of the forest has felt that he is (1) bewitched or drugged to the extent that he has lost his will; he may have seen people searching for him pass close by, but been unable to reveal himself. Other explanations are that a person, particularly a child, has been (2) transported by a supernatural being, as if to take him somewhere, to its own side. The narratives have the person transported by the supernatural guardian of the forest, the maid of the forest (map 70), troll or earth dweller, *hiisi* etc., but most commonly the devil, *piru* or *karu*. The person has been bewitched, confused and transported away by the devil, who in the habitus of e.g. a woman took the child, fed him, and kind of took him under his spell or possession. Some narratives have the devil's food turn into muck like in other devil stories (maps 57, 90). In Christian tradition the devil lurked everywhere; it was man's adversary in the forest, too. Often, the devil is said to have taken a child whom the parents have cursed and thus given to the devil, or the devil took a person who went berry-picking or worked in the forest on a Sunday, committing a sin.

**Map diagram.** The forest cover lore has been recorded right across the Finnish-Karelian culture area, with the exception of southwestern Finland, where pasturing cattle in the forest was discontinued the earliest. Forest pastures were a part of swidden culture. The cows were sent to swidden forests (*aho-groves*) in the summer, and later communal village forests; in Karelia the practice continued right up to World War II. In western Finland it became customary to graze the cattle near the houses, and the pastures were fenced off. In old agrarian culture areas, such as Satakunta, Häme and Ingria, the cover of the forest has apparently been forgotten even as a concept.

The ideas that an animal is covered by the forest or hidden by its supernatural guardian belong to the general base layer of folklore. In Finland, the animal has been hidden specifically by the supernatural guardian of the forest, as the forest as a concept is a metonym; it has referred to the guardian in particular. In the *hiisi* folk area of Upper Satakunta and also more extensively, up to southern Ostrobothnia, the animal has been 'in *hiisi*'s hiding place' (cf. maps 3, 7, 71-72, 79), in northern Ostrobothnia hidden by

earth folk; *hiisi* and earth folk are underground folk who according to narratives also had their own supernatural cattle (map 71). Legends of animals being trapped by invisible forces have been known right down to Dvina Karelia. Equally widespread are narratives of animals that looked like rocks or tree stumps. The narratives are characteristically dramatic, with the main emphasis on the twists and turns of the narration, such as how the farmer himself killed his cow that had become invisible.

The ancient folklore on being released from the cover of the forest has only been preserved within the Savo-Karelian swidden culture in eastern and northern Finland and eastern Karelia. Western areas, mainly the Swedish-speaking parishes of Ostrobothnia and Åland, adopted the Christian custom of ringing the church bells. In the Savo-Karelian sorcerer area, records are also found of a person with rite skills sending the cattle of some house into the cover of the forest. In common with sorcerer narratives in general, the perpetrator is a malevolent, jealous sorcerer or neighbor, but also someone who has suffered an injustice, such as an irate cowherd or a beggar treated with disdain by the household. However, there is hardly any real information on the rites themselves. The narratives have been part of social lore accumulated around the sorcerers. In general thinking, magic rites always had a white and a black side, and in forest cover narratives, too, the sorcerer has obtained the power of not only releasing but also of keeping the animal under the cover of the forest.

The idea that a lost animal had been hidden by the supernatural guardian of the forest has also been known in Sweden, although according to Gunnar Granberg, purely on the basis of its distribution area, the guardian interpretation may be of Finnish origin spread with migrant swidden farmers from Savo.<sup>(2)</sup> In Nordic folk narrative, both domestic animals and people were taken by underground folk and trolls, with such explanations found especially in the forest and mountain regions of Sweden and Norway.

## ***Other-worldly environment of the swidden farmer***

**Layers of the forest cover lore.** There are at least four layers of the lore on the forest cover: A domestic animal may have been (1) hidden by the supernatural guardian of the forest, and evidently this layer has already included the idea that the guardian kind of tied the animal to an invisible tether or placed it in a magic circle. Sorcerer rites could force the guardian to release the animal. Turning tracks back-to-front or especially upside down referred to ideas of the animal straying into (2) the underground, inverse world, like a person who was lost. In the ancestral cult era, the apparent explanation was that the dead had taken the animal which perhaps in life belonged to someone deceased, but as a rite technique, turning the tracks may have only meant symbolic turning homeward in general of an animal that had remained in the forest or strayed too far. The narratives (3) of an animal taken by *hiisi* or earth dwellers are western and based on Nordic legends of animals taken into the mountain.

The map shows that the concept of an inverse world is more widespread and of older origin in Finland than narratives of earth dwellers or trolls. Crystallized plot narratives of animals turning in human eyes into a rock or tree stump are (4) Christian devil tradition. The devil could make animals vanish from human eyes and to look like something else, but this was just an illusion, a kind of sleight of hand with which the evil one confused people. In the Nordic countries, a person or animal taken into the mountain was already most often understood as taken by the devil. In Finland, too, the devil has sometimes taken

the place of the supernatural guardian of the forest, or earth folk may have been thought to be some kind of devil folk.

In Finland, the folklore on release from the cover of the forest is still pre-Christian in nature. From various areas, narratives have been recorded of (1) shaman-like sorcerers who in dreams or some kind of trance used their spirit to seek out the position of the animals and led them out of the forest. Such a sorcerer may have lain down holding e.g. the reins of a horse lost in the cover of the forest, or sent a bear to drive the cows home. Later tradition has also sought the help of seers who could tell where the animals were, and whether they were alive or perhaps sunk into a bog. However, the shamanistic technique has been displaced by seers establishing the position of animals by looking under a turf (map 40), a bottle of liquor, a mirror or playing cards, or peering through a ring or horse collar. Sometimes the divining instrument is a sieve, used in Karelia in a similar way to the shaman's drum. However, the oldest layers of the actual forest cover lore are (2) sorcerer culture, and reflect the relationship of the early swidden cultivator-cattle farmer with the forest.

**Swidden farmer's threat scenario.** Of Finnish scholars, Uno Harva has endeavored to show that the forest cover has primarily been a case of people and animals straying to the side of the dead or underground folk, the inverse world.(3 In the case of humans, this may possibly have been true. According to the shamanistic interpretation, the soul of a person who was lost or taken ill would have strayed to some place on the opposite side of the human world (cf. map 39). Instead, the narratives of animals covered by the forest juxtapose the swidden community sorcerer and the supernatural guardian of the forest or earth, in whose grounds man kept his domestic animals.

The forest cover folklore has been preserved in a more authentic form within the Savo-Karelian swidden culture, where it had an ecological and social significance. The sorcerer addressed the swidden farmer's threat scenarios, protected the cattle from both the supernatural guardian of the forest and predators, and maintained the boundary between people's living environment and nature. In the summer pasturing season, the cows' homecoming was a daily worry and a central theme of cattle rites, performed when the livestock was let out to pasture for the first time in spring. The forest cover lore and cattle releasing rites served to reaffirm the 'ecological order' of the environment. The guardian of the forest controlled wild animals, but it no longer had the right to take into its possession man's domestic animals, which belonged in the culture and not in nature.

(Si D 711, D 721, D 841, K 201-300)

1. *Forsblom 1926. Kalima – Harva 1923. Loginov 1986. Rybnikov 1910.* 2. *Granberg 1935, 142-.* 3. *Harva 1923.*

## 55. Karjaonnen varastaminen

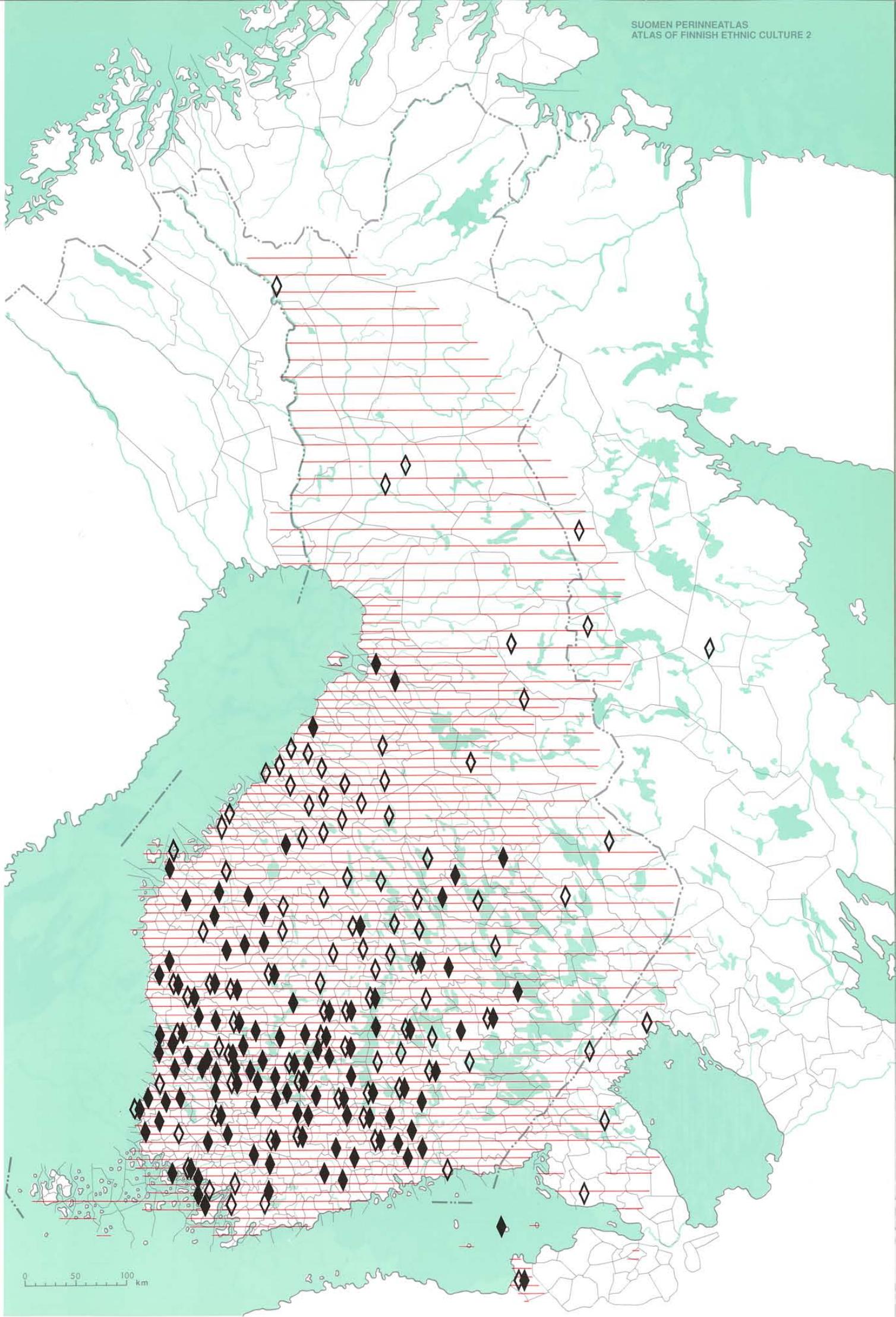
### Stealing the Luck of the Cattle

Noita vie karjaonnen  
Witch steals the luck of the cattle  
leikkelemällä tai keritsemällä eläimiä  
by cutting skin or shearing animals on the head or some other place

◆ kirnuamalla navetan ikkunasta (sontaluukusta)  
by churning through the cowshed window (dunghatch)

◇ lypsämällä (maahan, tuppeen)  
by milking (onto the ground, into a sheath, dry)

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 55.-57. WITCHES IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

### 55. *Stealing the luck of the cattle*

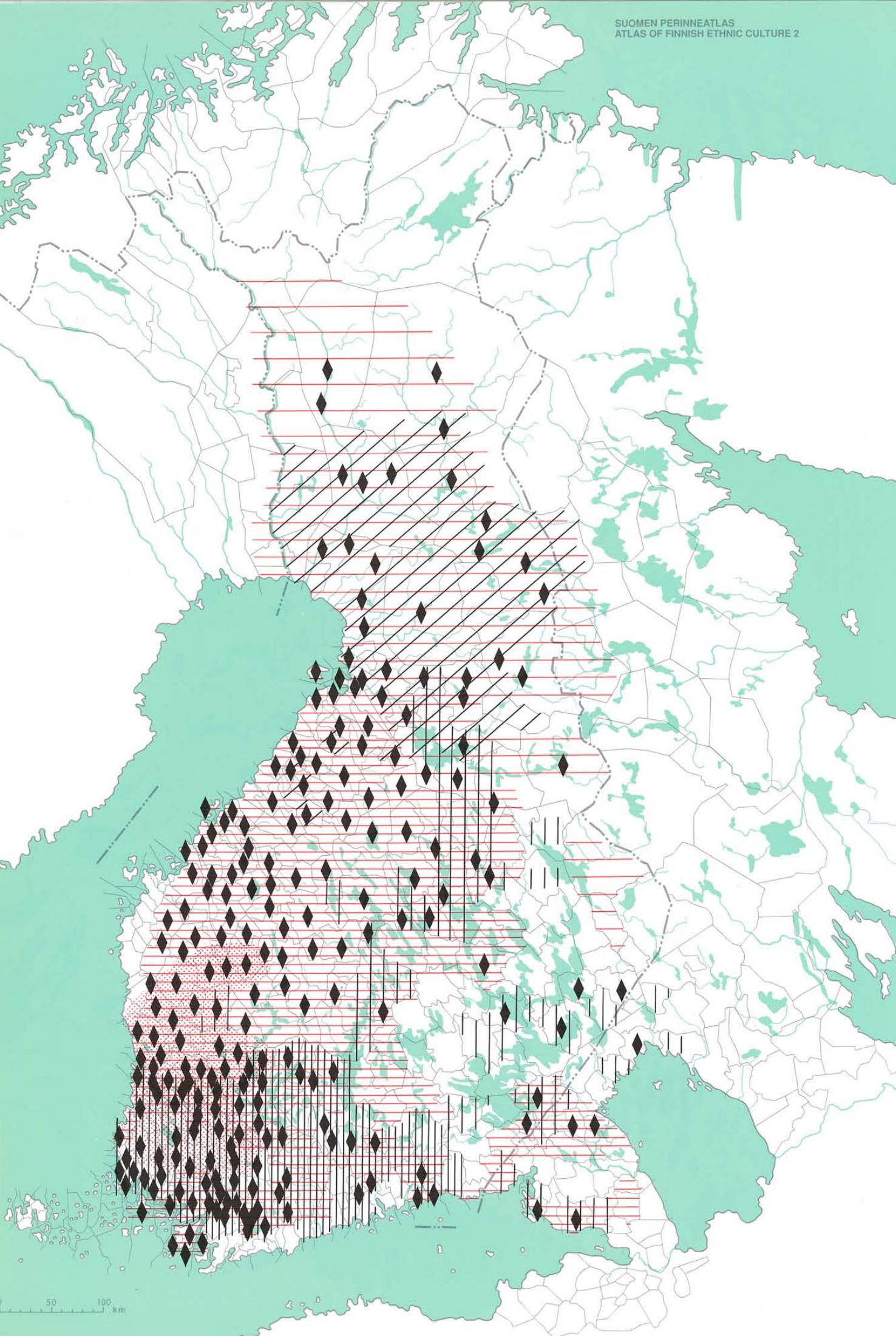
**Witch's name.** Maps 55-57 show the spread of European witch folklore to Finnish peasant communities. Legends of *trullis* are folk interpretations of the witchcraft doctrines of the church and of the evil for which witches were sentenced in European countries. In Finland, the narratives center on theft of the luck of milk or the social malevolence of witch women, maleficium rites. Conversely, folklore on the celebration of the witches' sabbath, diabolism, has only gained a foothold in the westernmost regions of peasant culture.

In Finnish folk narrative, the anti-Christian witch was most commonly named *trulli* (map 56). The term derives from the Swedish *troll*, 'witch', and has spread to Ostrobothnia and Häme and as far as Kainuu and southern Lapland in the north. The term *noita* [witch], originally referring to a shaman, has been used instead of *trulli* mostly in Satakunta and Varsinais-Suomi. Particularly in eastern Finland, *noita* can also refer to a sorcerer, and with its transition into standard language its distribution as the moniker for 'servant of Antichrist' has constantly increased. In North Ostrobothnia, Kainuu and southern Lapland, witches were called *pääsiäisämmä* ['Easter crone']. The name derives from the belief that *trullis* were abroad at Easter on the nights between Good Friday and Easter Day; Christ was then in his tomb and the devil with his folk was able to move on earth and celebrate his own festival, the witches' sabbath. To ward off the witches, Easter fires were burned in Ostrobothnia (map 24).

**Trulli technique.** In Finnish *trulli* narratives, the witch might have stolen the luck of cattle from neighboring houses by (1) sneaking into cattle sheds on Easter or Shrovetide night to shear wool or fur from the animals or cut bits of their skin, (2) churning through the window or dung hatch of the cowshed with a churn plunger, or (3) milking cows and letting the milk run to waste on the ground (map 55).

The witch women may also have given birth to a *para* that went to milk neighbors' cows and carried the milk in its belly to its mistress (maps 58-60). The *trullis* were on the move particularly at Easter from the night of Good Friday, but other periods quoted are also Shrovetide or the whole of Lent. Thus, the witches violated the greatest festival period of Christianity.

Shearing or cutting of animals is the most common method of witches in Finnish lore. On their visits to byres, the *trulli* women would shear wool from a sheep's forehead or 'crown' and cheeks, but also from the hind legs, on the insides of the knees, even from a ram's scrotum. Hair was usually cut from cows from the flank, shoulder or the root of the tail, but also from behind the ear; very often the *trullis* were also reported to have sliced off pieces of the animals' skin, ears or udders. Tail hairs were taken from horses,



## 56. Noidan kiinniottaminen

### Catching a Witch

1. Noidan nimi  
Name of witch



noita  
witch



pääsiäisämä  
Easter crone

2. Trulli navetassa  
Witch in the cowshed  
tarinoita  
legends



trulli muuttuu tadikoksi  
witch changes into a pitchfork



punainen hame, ikäinen leipä  
witch promises to a servant-girl the red-dress,  
lifelong bread

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

and originally only male witches apparently handled horses. In addition, the trulli is occasionally reported to have scraped shavings from animal horns with a knife.

Milking into the ground is closely associated with cutting animals. When the trulli that had got into the byre sheared fur from cows, she is also said to have milked them; this way, the trulli might completely spoil the luck of milk of the house.

Churning of the luck of butter is symbolic magic. According to the narratives, trullis could steal the luck of butter by churning through the windows or manure hatch of neighbors' byres. While wielding the churn plunger, the trulli recited: "*Sinulle vesi (maito), minulle voi!* (*Ennen kuin koittaa päivän koi*)". [For you water (milk), butter for me! (Before the sun rises).] Other lines have also been known, but they are late quasi-incantations.

Churning the luck of butter and magic milking are also known in Swedish folklore, albeit in a slightly different form. In Sweden, witch women had to go at Easter to the neighbor's manure heap naked, into water (e.g. a river) or crossroads, churn an empty churn and say that all the milk had to run into her tub. Narratives have also been preserved in Scandinavian witch lore where the witch could, from a distance, dry the milk of a neighbor's cow or even kill it, by milking a rope, strap, garter, knife sheath or other object symbolizing the udder, or a bladed weapon such as a puukko, fork or steel spike.(1 Churning and milking were known in the village areas of southern Sweden; as rites, they are witchcraft, devil folklore. Conversely, the Finnish cutting of animal fur and perhaps also milking to the ground are ancient sorcery; western narratives of village witches have spread over the sorcerer lore of the swidden era.

(Si D 1701, D 1711)

## 56. Catching a witch

**The trulli is surprised.** The folklore concerning movement of trullis centers on narratives of how the householder or servants lie in wait for the trulli on Easter night and succeed in capturing her or revealing the identity of the witch (map 56). Someone from the house – master, farmhand, serving wench or some other person – stays in the cowhouse on watch and puts a burning lamp under a tub to hide it. Especially in Satakunta and Ostrobothnia, the events are heavily localized, although the narration follows the common plot patterns. The trulli is usually not caught, but the escaping witch is branded or her identity is revealed by chance. Having struck out or shot at random in the dark byre, the house folk learn in the morning that the mistress of the neighboring house has been injured or wounded in the night, or the pursuer ends up with a handful of torn cloth that turns out to be from the skirt of the neighbor's wife, or the trulli drops her shears, kerchief or mittens which are recognized or bear the owner's name.

Trullis walking around with the churn plunger are the subject of specific catching narratives. The most condensed describes how the master or mistress of the house grabs the plunger from inside the cowshed, and by reciting the witch's lines as a kind of counter-incantation takes back the luck of butter. The scene is embellished by the description of how the trulli outside and the master inside each tug on the plunger and compete in repeating the incantation. The climax of the narration comes when the trulli is revealed as the mistress of a neighboring house. The churn plunger taken from the trulli ends up in the yard, perhaps by the well, where the neighbor's children spot it and recognize it ("it is ours"); this way, the trulli's true identity is unveiled.

One typical narrative of how the trulli is surprised is the trulli turning herself into a pitchfork (map 56). Dialogue has also been employed to localize the narratives. A trulli who has entered the byre utters some usually unrecognizable magic word, often one imitating Swedish, to which the master or farmhand lying in wait responds in equally strange language, at the same time whacking the witch with a stick, pole or other weapon.

A second main subject area is narratives of how the trulli is caught and punished. When those lying in wait uncover the light, the person standing in front of them is the neighbor's wife, the wife of the priest, or some other village woman. The caught trulli may be punished in a number of ways, but within the village community, the fact that the trulli is exposed and publicly shamed has been sufficient. In the punishment narratives, the trulli, who has stripped herself naked, is taken as she is straight to the vicarage by horse, in wintry sub-zero temperatures. Having been caught, the named mistress of a large house is treated with respect, served food, and sent home in a horse-drawn sleigh, but she is exposed to the villagers by hanging the harness with every possible bell and tinkler found in the house. In a number of narratives the trulli is caught by setting a fox trap in the cowshed, or the fat witch mistress gets stuck in the dung hatch and her backside is tanned.

A relatively common variant recounts how a long pole was put through the trulli's sleeves, sometimes with a second pole in the neck under the collar, and she was forced to stagger home along the narrow lanes with her arms outspread and dragging her pole-tail behind her. The pole punishment was also used by village boys when sending home a boy from another village who had been caught on an overnight visit without permission (map 37). In the most complete but rare narrative version, the trulli's mouth was stuffed with the fur found in her own witching pouch, she was ducked into a well or hole in the lake ice several times and dispatched home as a frosted, icy ghoul. At home, the door was opened by the witch's deaf and dumb brother or husband who could not fathom the mistress's speech and, scared, hit her with an axe, crippling or killing her.

**Trulli as pitchfork.** The most common trulli narrative in Finland has been one of the trulli, surprised in the byre, who transforms herself into a two-pronged pitchfork. While searching for the trulli, one of the prongs is broken off the pitchfork, and in the morning it transpires that the mistress of a neighboring house has a broken leg. The details of the narration vary, but the plot is tied to the climax: The pitchfork is the trulli, and at the same time the mistress of the house next-door is unmasked as the witch.

The principle plot effect of the story is the strange pitchfork. When the people of the house rush into the cowhouse in the night armed with axes or cowlstaffs or manage to get out the lamp, the trulli is nowhere to be seen. Suddenly someone spots a strange pitchfork that is not in its proper place or does not look like one of the tools of the house. He tests it by hitting it into the wall or floor, breaking one of the prongs, or he strikes the pitchfork with an axe, kicks it by mistake, or stumbles on it in the dark so that one of the prongs breaks off. In the morning the strange pitchfork is found to be gone. Soon it is learned that a neighboring woman has broken her thighbone or her leg is broken as if cut by an axe. One of the concluding effects is the comment that the woman's thigh never healed. In some rare variants the narrative ends with the neighboring mistress found in the morning in agony or dead (with her witch's pouch on her back) in the byre on the spot where the pitchfork was smashed to pieces (Ostrobothnia).

In Finnish narratives, the trulli may also transform herself into a sheep, pig or bird, for example a magpie or crow that live around human dwellings. Or the trulli moved around as a leaf off a tree, a grass stalk or pile of hay, as did the supernatural guardian of the cowhouse on occasions (cf. map 62); a Sami witch (shaman) might also have flown as a haycock (bird) in a whirlwind. These motifs have been supported by a parallel plot to the broken leg: when a leaf or piece of straw whirling around the byre floor

## 57. Noitien kokoontuminen

### Meeting Places of Witches

1. Trullien kokoontumis-paikka  
Witches meet in

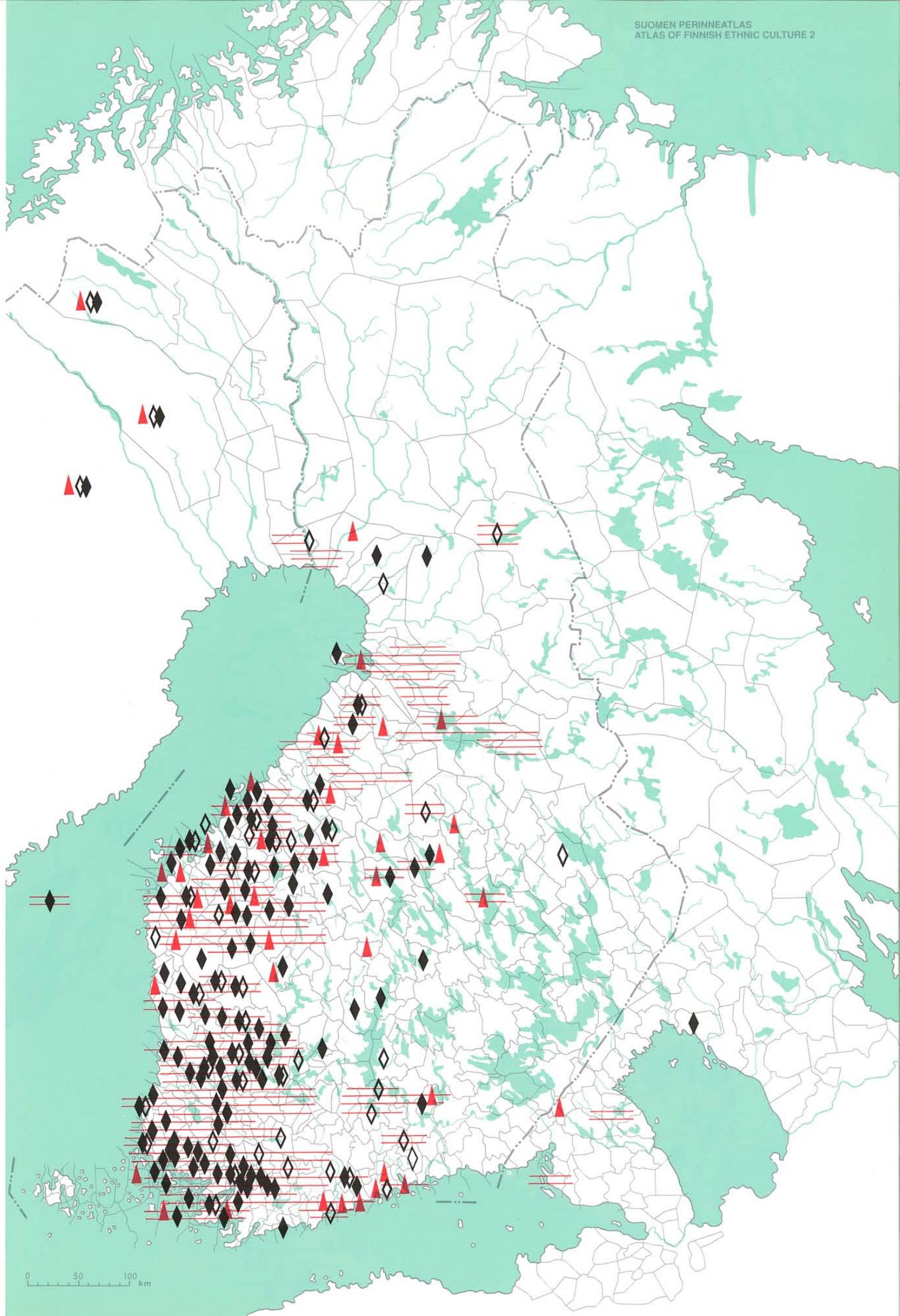
▲ helvetti  
hell

◆ mylly  
a mill

◊ muu paikka  
somewhere else

2. Trullin lento  
Witch flies  
trulli ja renki lentävät noitien kokoukseen  
witch and farmhand fly to the meeting place of witches

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



is thrown in the fire, the neighboring mistress receives serious burns. In Ostrobothnia and Satakunta in particular, the trulli narratives are based on ideas from European witchcraft doctrines that witches used magic potions to make themselves invisible or able to fly. In some variants, a pitchfork found in the cowhouse has also taken flight, but a farmhand in possession of the formula for dropping has made it fall, whereupon one of the prongs is broken off.

(Si D 1701, D 1721, D 1731)

**Red skirt and everlasting bread.** In a confined area of Satakunta, a narrative is recorded of a trulli who promised a serving girl 'a red-dress and lifelong bread' (map 56). The distribution area of the narrative starts in the Turku region and stretches to the southernmost parishes of South Ostrobothnia. The course of the basic plot is as follows: The servant girl notices that a trulli has entered the cowhouse and manages to shut the door so that the intruder cannot get out. Behind the door, the trulli prays and begs the servant to let her out, promising her a red skirt and an everlasting loaf of bread as reward. When the girl finally opens the door, the witch pushes the sheep shears into her belly; the wench dies and her skirt is dyed red by the blood.

The plot of the narrative is uniform, albeit with some variation in the detail. There are a few variation pairs in the trulli's promises, nevertheless secondary to the red skirt. The witch promises the girl a red shawl or waistcoat and stabs the shears in her chest, or a red shirt and stabs the wench in the throat. The narrative has been told in the core area of trulli folklore in Satakunta, and it has probably been a strong contribution to the fear of people moving around cowhouses.

(Si D 1741)

## 57. Meeting places of witches

**Witch's flight.** In Finland the witches' meeting place is usually a mill, but also hell, *horna*; in Ostrobothnia a number of hills are also listed where the trullis are said to have ridden. Frequently, it is mentioned in passing that the witches flew to hell or to some forest, castle, or an unspecified place. Narratives of the witches' journey to hell (map 57) follow the same basic formula as the *para* lore (maps 58-60). The farmhand of the house watches surreptitiously as the mistress sets off on her flight, and follows her to the witches' meeting place. The journey to *horna* is actually a heroic narrative of an outsider involved in the events, complete with its dangers and mishaps. The narrative does not progress with descriptions of the evil trullis, but comical twists of the plot. Belief-like interpretations are only found in narratives where trullis are seen to fly on Shrovetide or Easter night. This lore is found particularly in Ostrobothnia, the distribution area of Easter bonfires. Trullis have been 'seen' e.g. on Easter night while listening for portents on the roof of a house thrice altered or the crossing of three roads, but they are not experiences of real eye-witnesses either, but stereotypical plot narratives. The flying trulli is one narrational explanation model for the mysterious or supernatural experience someone has had in such circumstances.

The trulli flies -motif also occurs in narratives of how a flying witch is made to fall. The most common theme and evidently one that was originally part of witch folklore is the belief in a blessing, the word of God. When a blessing is said, the flying witch loses her power and falls to the ground, but if the captors curse or mention the devil's name, she regains her strength and gets away. The narrative theme has

been varied in many ways. The witch falls when women utter blessings, but escapes when the men happened on the scene start to swear to show their anger; or the fallen witch uses her cunning to make her captors utter the devil's name, for example to call her Satan's servant. Some narratives also have the flying witch dropped by shooting her with a mercury bullet or by guessing her name etc.; however, in Finnish trulli lore these motifs are secondary.

**Trulli and farmhand fly to witches' meeting place.** Mistress and farmhand -narratives start from the farmhouse kitchen, or the milieu where the stories were told. The farmhand watches how, late on the night of Good Friday, the mistress undresses in front of the fire, takes a horn of ointment and anoints herself, or drinks a magic potion from a vial. Then the mistress utters some kind of an incantation and vanishes up the chimney riding on the oven broom. The farmhand follows suit, but makes a mistake with the magic words and collides with church spires and other obstacles on his flight, badly injuring himself.

The gist of the narrative is the mishaps of the follower, his mistakes with the formula. When the mistress says the flight incantation "Up and out, not into corners or doorjambs (not into anything)", the farmhand says "Up and down" or "Into corners and doorjambs" etc., and the broomstick flies him all night up and down the chimney or makes him collide with every corner on the way. The flight lines have international models; one of the most common in Finnish is *Yli yhdeksän kirkon eikä mihinkään sattumaan* [Over nine churches and not into one], which the farmhand repeats wrongly and collides with all nine steeples on the way. The narrators may have adapted the lines more. For example, when the mistress says "Over the trees, between the trees", the farmhand says by mistake "through the trees" and the broom drags him through the tree branches.

Very often the narrative ends with the farmhand blessing himself in his panic and falling down, or losing his ability to fly for some other reason and ending up having to walk back; it takes many days or even weeks before he gets home again. The farmhand may also be found badly hurt in some obscure place. The hero is usually the farmhand (serving girl) of the house, sometimes an itinerant artisan, tailor or cobbler, or a beggar who has been given shelter for the night, a priest in disguise, or the narrative is set among gentlefolk and the characters are the vicar's wife and the vicarage serving maid, or in general the mistress of a house and her servant.

The nature of the witch-mistress-and-farmhand narratives is also reflected in the motif of 'the witch with a big bag'. While following the mistress, the farmhand becomes scared and for safety, he ties himself to a water butt (dough tub). Nevertheless, the full water butt does not stop the broom taking off and the farmhand turns up at the witches' gathering with a large butt tied to his waist. At the meeting the other witches ask each other who this person is with a large witch's pouch at the waist. Alternatively, the tub motif has been varied by describing how the mistress flies to horna in a pig trough and the farmhand follows in a water butt.

The trulli tale has been told like a bedtime story. The props – fireplace, oven broom and water butt – are all at hand in the farm kitchen, and as the narration twisted and turned, other themes were included, such as domestic animals and a log, upon which the characters go off on their journey. The crux of the narratives is the formula: what the witch does first and her tracker follows.

In Finland, the farmhand narratives have also included the motif of how the witch turns herself into a horse. The mistress promises to bring the farmhand home from the witches' meeting on her back, but makes him swear that he will remove the bridle immediately they get home. Regardless of his promises, the farmhand does not remove the bridle before he takes the horse to the master. The narrative climax is the horse turning into the mistress and the master believing that she is a witch, or how the mistress stands in front of the master wearing a bridle.

(Si D 1791, D 1801, D 1821)

**Witches in the mill.** In Finnish folk narrative the trullis flew to some secret meeting place where the devil weighed the sheep wool, animal fur and pieces of skin they had brought. The narratives also include descriptions of how the witches start to dance and hold their feast in the mill. They are a vague reflection of the images of the witches' sabbath, the shared orgies of witches and the devil, from continental Europe. Another motif found in Finnish narratives is one of the trullis writing their names in blood in the devil's book in hell. This has also become transformed into a farmhand narrative; the hand who had followed his mistress fools the devil by writing his name with tobacco juice he has in his mouth.

Weighing of the wool is a theme supporting the narration of the events at the mill, and it has been developed in different directions. Mostly, the weighing is described as proof of the work of the witches who have been cutting animals, and the climax is a scene where a trulli who has brought too little wool is punished, and the devil beats her with the steelyard. Another common motif of mill narratives is one that is found also in many other devil stories. When the farmhand, miller, or master of the house who has flown after the trulli mistress arrives surreptitiously, the devil smells the Christian, as 'Christian blood smells', and the witches' meeting breaks up.

The hero of the mill scene is the farmhand or master. When the devil weighing the wool declares that there is not enough, it is a pound, or aping Swedish, '*tretten naulaa*' ['thirteen pounds'] short, the farmhand throws an iron spike [*naula* 'pound' also means 'nail/spike' in Finnish] or some other object into the midst of the witches. Often a search for the intruder ensues, and he survives by taking refuge in God's word or by hiding in the mill funnel, although he might get beaten by the devil. Or the farmhand has taken a cock with him and is saved when it begins to crow and the witches hurry home, fearing the sunrise. The cock was the animal to chase off the devil.

In Finnish lore, descriptions of the witches' feast have also relied on twists of the plot. In the mill, the farmhand settles down with the mistress for the meal, but says grace, whereupon the food turns into frogs and snakes, bits of leather, wool, excrement etc., or the table – the entire castle of the devil – vanishes and both farmhand and mistress find themselves in a dark forest; the tale ends with the long journey home. The episode is boosted with dialogue. The mistress warns the farmhand against saying grace, but he declares that he has never failed to say his prayer before a meal. The food turning into snakes is a widespread motif, also found in the rune of Väinämöinen's Journey to Tuonela (maps 71, 91). In witch narratives it may also vary: The farmhand partakes of a delicious meal, fills his belly and stuffs some more food in his pockets. In the morning at home he finds that the food in his pockets is frogs, snakes and other filth.

(Si D 1831, D 1841)

## ***Witch folklore and reality***

**From destruction of luck to its theft.** The narratives on trullis have flourished in the peasant villages of western and southern Finland. The core areas are Ostrobothnia, Satakunta, Varsinais-Suomi and parts of Häme. Above all, the western roots of the trulli tradition are evident in the distribution of the estab-

lished terms and the narratives on diabolism or the journey to hell. In the east, the area of sorcerer culture, witch folklore was still alien or the narratives were adapted to sorcery; in any case, much fewer trulli narratives have been recorded from eastern Finland than the west. They are totally unknown in Dvina and the rest of eastern Karelia.

Of the narratives, only Trulli as Pitchfork has migrated to eastern Finland even to areas where other types of trulli lore were unknown (map 56). The narrative has appealed to listeners as an amusing incident, perhaps in the same way as stories of conjurors that have gained a particular foothold in Savo. The narration focuses on an apparent coincidence, how the mistress breaks a leg at the very moment a tine is broken off a pitchfork in the neighbor's cowhouse. The map diagram (map 57) of farmhand narratives is almost identical. The tale of the farmhand flying after his mistress is a joke narrative, spread to eastern Finland only in the 1800s, like the devil-and-farmhand tales. In the Savo-Karelian extended family and kinship society, keeping yearly hired help is a social institution that spread only with agrarianization (map 23).

In the Savo-Karelian sorcerer area, the trulli found in the byre is often a man even in the Trulli as Pitchfork narrative, and the story is linked to a local named sorcerer. Cutting animal fur and milking into the ground are originally sorcerers' rites of ill-intent (black magic) and previously known, which has apparently influenced the witch folklore spreading to eastern Finland at all. In the same way as the sorcerer has handled a person's intimate, private body parts, such as hair or nails, the Savonian trulli has taken possession of an animal's life force by cutting its fur or scraping shavings from its horns.

The cutting of wool and fur has been subject to a special magical map. An animal's life force was situated in the head or chest area, reflected by the sheep's advice to its shearer: *Päivän elän, jos pääni keritset, vaan en päivääkään, jos kultatynnyri (rintatupsun)*. [I will live a day if you shear my head, but not one day if my golden cushion (chest tuft of wool).] The animal's power of movement or mating could evidently be removed by cutting hair from the hind legs or a ram's scrotum. Cutting of skin or udders has caused the animal a serious infected wound. Counter-rites have been used to ward off the infection and to send it back by using a branding iron to cauterize not only the wound but also all other traces left by the injurer. In malevolent rites, milking to the ground has symbolized rendering the cow dry. In Savo, churning through a window has been interpreted in the same way; by churning, the sorcerer 'dried up' the neighbor's cows so that they stopped giving milk.

According to some records from the Savonian sorcerer area, the wool, fur or pieces of skin cut from animals were placed in a small alder coffin and buried in the churchyard, or the fur was put in a *tyrä* pouch in the same way as when destroying a person's life. Spoiling the luck of cattle has also been competition between sorcerers. If a trulli entered the byre of a sorcerer stronger than herself, she might have been stopped in her tracks like a thief or had the harm returned to her own cattle.

In witchcraft folklore, malevolent rites became a crime against the village community; the trulli was thought to take the luck of cattle or animals' life force for herself. In western Finland, according to narratives, the fur, wool and skin pieces cut from neighbors' animals were placed by the trulli mistress under the bases of her own milk tubs, or the receptacles had double bases, within which the fur was found after her death. In the narrative of the servant girl who spoiled the butter of nine parishes (cf. map 61), the mistress increased her luck of butter by dropping an animal hair in the churn each time she made butter. In Christian agrarian villages, theft of the luck of cattle was social evil that affected the success of the community and the security of its life. Devil doctrines made witches' antisocial acts crimes against all Christendom. Trullis took the fur and wool they had cut for the devil to weigh. They boasted of their evil, competed with their skills, and were ready to hand over to the Antichrist the cattle fortunes of all people or the vitality of all domestic animals.

**European witches' sabbath.** The witch's flight and devil worship have been central elements of diabolism. Flying witches appeared in the fantasies of *Malleus maleficarum* and in numerous writings, pictures and studies of witchcraft published in Europe.(2 The confessions of women accused of witchcraft have followed a certain standard formula throughout Europe.(3 The woman, or occasionally a man, has met the devil and yields herself to it both spiritually and physically. She travels riding on a broomstick, calf, ram or other animal to a witches' sabbath, a service for the Antichrist, where Satan is worshipped and rituals observed that are contrary to church services, inverse, even perverse.

The devil's allies partake of a shared meal where the food is unnatural and disgusting; it may originally have involved ritual consuming of human flesh. At Satan's supper, a newborn child was slaughtered and eaten at the shared meal, and the fat from the corpse was used to prepare magic potions that allowed the witches to fly or become invisible. There was dancing and orgies at the witches' festival, homosexuality, sodomy and masochism were practised; Satan copulated in a lewd manner both with women and men. With the devil's help, witch women engaged in many kinds of evil, such as obtaining riches from their neighbors and committing crimes against individuals, society and religion.

Finnish court documentation also includes some references to trips to blåkulla as well as keeping a para, albeit usually as one of several charges of witchcraft. An exception is a cluster of cases in Åland initiated, together with local priests, by a Swedish-born district court judge who had studied European witchcraft doctrines, towards the end of the 1660s. The process began when a mentally subnormal woman who was under a death sentence exposed ten other women as having participated in a witches' sabbath. The subsequent interrogations contain features of European witchcraft investigations. The women were questioned and tortured at Kastelholma castle, in order that they would expose other servants of the devil. Signs of the devil (sex) were searched for on their bodies; some were thought to be in possession of magic potions given by the devil. More than half of the women were sentenced to death, but the processes gradually petered out, as the prosecutor, jurors and higher courts took an increasingly critical view of the actions of the judge. In the era of diabolism in the 1670s, charges of journeys to blåkulla are also found in the coastal parishes of Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia.(4)

Characteristic of the descriptions of the accused has been that they saw familiar persons at the devil rites, in effect exposing them too. In some countries, the exposure processes acquired shocking forms and led to local hunts, witch hysteria. Most tragic of all were witness statements by children, on which e.g. the great trials in Sweden in the 1660s were based. In many places, children could actually terrorize village women by fabricating tales based on witchcraft folklore of their visits to blåkulla, revealing who had taken them there and the people they had supposedly seen there.(5 Because devil doctrine had become a part of the internal power structure of the church, the true religion, it was very difficult to halt the process. The nonsensical nature of the events evidently led to growing criticism and the end of witch trials in Sweden-Finland.

**Ideological hegemony text.** Historians believe that behind witchcraft narratives lie stereotypes directed at strange religions and conspirators. In 15th century religious literature, the cradle of evil was the synagogue where Jews, branded as servants of the devil, sacrificed Christian children. Similar stories have been told of people of other faiths, heretics or cult groups such as freemasons; similar charges were raised against early Christians in the Roman empire. Sacrificial children occur in writings on conspirators; communal consumption of human flesh, the *communio* meal, united the conspirators with blood ties. Flying witches are thought to be modeled on man-eating monsters such as the Sumerians' female Lilitu and the Romans' Strix bird; it flew at night and attacked children in particular.(6 Reports of

those accused of witchcraft also contain hallucinations, dreams and drug-fuelled visions, even illusions of tortured people.

In Christian tradition, witches' transformations, ability to fly or to make themselves invisible were alchemistic diabolical miracles, made possible by the faith in the devil. But the trip to hell is above all a classic example of the tradition of exposure. The crux of the reports is the known people the participant in the witches' sabbath saw or met. It was the key question when witches were interrogated and tortured, and repeated through history in the judicial processes of ideological organizations. Exposures became more widespread and produced ever more new investigations, interrogations and torturings. No social group or class was excluded from them in the end.

**Finnish unbelief.** Finnish trulli narratives contain the same elements as the confessions of people accused of diabolism: the flight to the witches' place of assembly, feasting and dancing, possibly describing a kind of orgy. Instead of satanic rites, we have weighing of wool by the devil. The narratives almost totally lack sexuality, both in archived variants and court documentation, neither do Finnish narratives hardly ever describe devil worship, lewdness or cruelty practised by the witches. Only one reference is found on child sacrifice, a narrative that is literary in nature and as such fake (from Parkano); it recounts how witches killed and boiled children to eat them, but could not manage to kill a child who happened to be wearing a cross around her neck. The trulli lore reflects even less any real belief in witches flying on broomsticks, magic potions and farmhands' adventures.

In Finland, oral witch folklore has been narration in which there was no collective belief in reality. The narratives were thriller stories kept alive by narrative effect, an unexpected humorous turn of events. The witches' journey was possible in the world of stories in the same way as violence in crime movies. The performance technique of thriller stories, too, included ostensible localization of the events. The narrators refer to some village house, but real names are rarely mentioned, and in accordance with the laws of narration, the characters are not identified. Finnish narratives are placed as if in the early stages of European devil folklore. Brooms, calves, the various forms of the devil originate from folk tales, from the living environment of the peasant. From there, they have migrated to reports of those charged with witchcraft and the writings of scholars. The interrogations at witch trials formed a folklore of the tortured, with language and metaphors originating from the living environment of the accused. In the hands of the interrogators, diabolism evidently acquired elements upon which ethnocentric prejudices, religious and ideological hatred and war propaganda have at all times been based. Only the system made the folklore real.

In contrast, people in Finland have continued to believe in sorcerers who were able to spoil other people's cows and to steal their luck with cattle. There are references in court records of 'going as a trulli', and many recorded narratives talk about locally known women and in the sorcerer area also men who were caught in cowhouses. Folk narratives often affirm that animals were really cut on Easter nights; such news were still published in Ostrobothnian newspapers in the 1950s. The trullis visiting cowsheds may possibly have been women who believed in the folklore, or for whom the rites may have given hope of better things, like other faith in the help provided by supernatural forces.

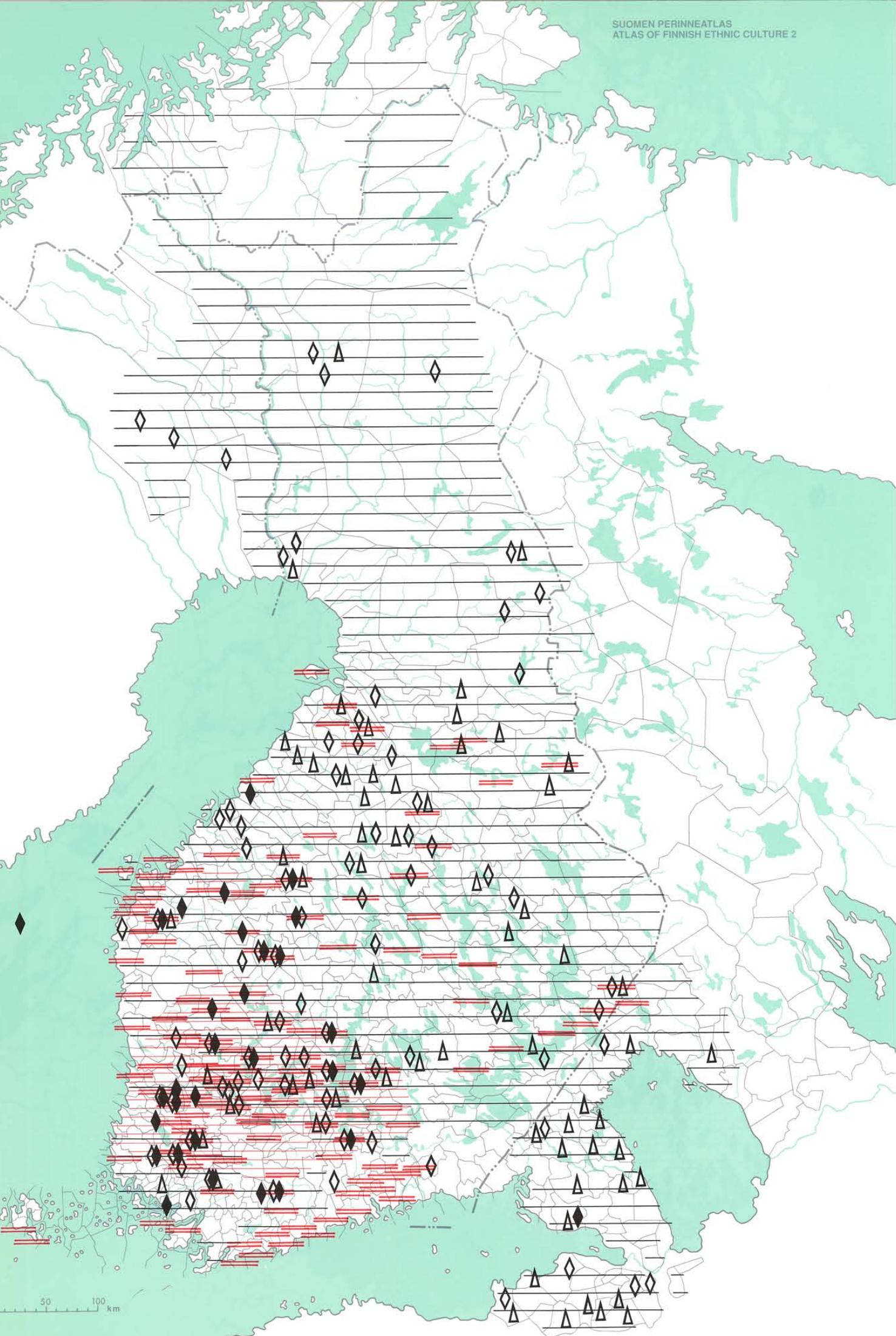
Nevertheless, witch narratives have been significant in their way. Trullis breached the ethical norms of the peasant community in a number of ways. The witch had chosen an alternative god, practised fornication, coveted her neighbor's property, caused illness to her neighbors and their cattle. For the common villager, the witch was a social and cultural stereotype of evil, the Jew or Kulak of his time. As counter-humans, witches could be mocked; they were outside legitimate society, condemned to failure. Finally, even trulli narratives acquired a social message in the 19th century landed peasant society of western

Finland. The hero of the narratives was the farmhand and the mockery was directed at greedy mistresses, as in the stories of paras or supernatural guardians of houses (maps 58-60, 65-68).

Trulli narratives may also make fun of fear. In the era of Lutheran Orthodoxy, people must have felt stifled by both the ecclesiastical justice and the surveillance of laymen by the clergy and the pious, pervading every aspect of villagers' lives. Finnish folklore also contains much anti-church narration, humorous anecdotes about priests and religious ceremonies, such as baptism and wedding ceremonies. Sarcastic tales of the devil and his devotees made life tolerable in village communities dominated by the church in the same way as black humor made life tolerable in ideological dictatorships a few hundred years later.

(Si D 1701-1900)

1. *Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:15*. Nyman 1976a. Troels-Lund 1932-1945 (1903-1904) VII, 259-. 2. *Malleus maleficarum* 1937-1938 (1487). E.g. Summers 1926; Summers s.a. Cohn 1975. Ginzburg 1983. 3. Rowland 1987. Henningsen 1980. Larner 1981. Levack 1987. 4. Heikkinen 1969, 204-; Heikkinen – Kervinen 1987, 282-. 5. Ankarloo 1987. Lagerlöf-Génetau 1990. 6. Summers 1926. Cohn 1975. Nenonen 1992, 86-. (Devlin 1987. Rörich 1992. Zelger 1996. Asplund Ingemark 2005.)



## 58. Noitien apuolennot

### Witches' Helper Creatures

1. Para, noidan sieluolento  
*Para, soul creature of a witch*  
*voi- ja maitopara*  
*butter and milk para*

△ viljapara  
 corn para

◆ 2. Rahan tuoja  
*Bringer of money*  
*piritys, pirtyinen*  
*'spiritus'*

◊ muu rahapara  
 other money para

3. Haltia rikkauksen tuojana  
 (kartat 62-68)  
*Supernatural guardian of*  
*house as bringer of wealth*  
*(maps 62-68)*

— haltia kantaa varallisuutta  
*supernatural guardian bears*  
*wealth*

— tonttu kantaa tavaraa  
*tontu bears goods*

Levinneisyyskartta  
 Distribution map

## 58-60. SUPERNATURAL WEALTH

### 58. Witches' helper creatures

**Evil neighbor's helper creatures.** In Finland, too, tales have been told of supernatural helper creatures that mistresses branded as witches or other servants of the devil may keep to gather fortune and wealth for themselves (map 58). In Finnish lore, such creatures were the *para* (butter-, milk-, corn-*para*), cat *para* or *Missi-Massi*, and the money-*para*, *piritys* ['spiritus'] (map 58). The *para* was obtained through devil magic and mistresses who kept a *para* were likened to trullis (maps 55-57). The supernatural *para* creature procured wealth for its owner, for example by carrying to her home the milk it had sucked from the neighbors' cows. It had a soul connection with its creator; if the *para* was killed, its owner died too.

The supernatural bearer of wealth has generally been called *para* or *paara*, occasionally in narratives there may co-occur *piru* [devil] or *mara*, which means an animal's nightmare (Sw. *mara*). On occasions, the *para* has also been called *kratti*; it occurs e.g. in Agricola's list of gods (*Psaltari* 1551) and means 'guardian of treasures or property' (Sw. *kratti* or *skratti*). In West Ingria and Estonia, the *para* has also been called *puukki* (butter-, corn-, money-*puukki*), probably derived from the Swedish *puke*. *Para* in the sense of 'butter-*para*' is found in old Finnish dictionaries; they define the *para* as a helper spirit (demon, genius), created by witch mistresses to carry milk and butter.<sup>(1)</sup> In addition, there is a genre of narratives that supernatural guardians may bring wealth to the house, especially stories linked to *tonttu* (cf. map 65).

In Finland, the milk- and butter-*para* has perhaps most commonly been visualized in the form of a bird. The *para* flew through the air, and as the soul creature of the witch it may have been associated with the soul bird. Alternatively, the *para* was thought to be a rolling, ball-like creature, like in Sweden. It moved like a ball and had a round body like a *leili* [container for liquids made of wood or leather, round in shape] or a pouch and stick-like legs, or it had one leg (three legs) and staggered as it went (cf. ingredients of a *para*, map 59). In Finland, the *para* may also have been given the same habitus as supernatural guardians (map 62) or the devil. Of animal figures, the most cited is the cat (dog, fox, hare), the form in which, along with the dog, the supernatural guardian of the house and the devil have also sometimes appeared. In many areas, the *para* is also said to have appeared as a frog or snake, which is also the sorcerer's tutelary animal (map 5).

In Ingria, the *para* has been associated with a dragon motif. The *para* is born from a cock's egg that is hatched under the arm; it also looks like the cock that appears in numerous devil narratives. In many

areas, the para was thought to fly as a sparkling fireball, which in reality means a globe lightning or shooting star. These narratives, too, are likely to be based on tales of dragons bringing treasure (legends of drakes and basilisks). The bearer of wealth may also have been the house tonttu (map 65), which in many locations in eastern Finland and Ingria was called the para. The same narratives have existed of the para-tonttu as of the supernatural guardian (*haltia*) of the house, when the para may also appear in human form.

(Si H 121)

**Butter- and milk-para.** In common with Swedish lore, the Finnish para was originally the bearer of milk or cream, or the milk- or butter-para. According to narratives, it sucked milk from village cows or stole cream from the milk vats of neighboring houses. The milk, or cream, as usually mentioned in narratives, was brought to its home by the para in its stomach, and vomited in the dairy into the vats or directly into the churn. In a house that kept a para, plenty of butter was churned; butter was the specific symbol of peasant wealth and prosperity.

The butter-para is also associated with beliefs and Christianity-based quasi-rites. It was often associated with the mara or animals' nightmare by explaining that during its nocturnal visits, the para tore at animals' thighs and rumps until they bled. Signs of the cross afforded protection against the para, and records from e.g. Ingria indicate that a flying para would drop its burden if one managed to sever the belt of a pregnant woman at sight of it. The narratives also recount how people have lain in wait or caught the para, for example by slamming the byre door on it, whereupon its belly split and a yellow substance, para-butter, ran to the ground. Butter brought by a para was identifiable for being more unevenly colored than usual. The origin of the butter could be determined by drawing a cross on its surface with a special knife, when blood rose into the cuts. Some priests and merchants are said to have used this test to ensure that the butter brought them was not carried by a para. The same beliefs on the appearance of para-butter and testing for it using a magic knife are also found in Swedish lore, and descriptions of them are found in witch trial documentation from the 1600s.(2)

(Si H 141, H 161)

**Corn-para.** Particularly in eastern and northern Finland, the para was also said to carry away corn and all kinds of goods, even cash. The corn-para visited neighbors' granaries at night to fetch grain (flour), or it is said to have carried sheaves of corn from the fields and taken them to a field or barn of its own house in the same way as a supernatural guardian or *haltia*. Narratives from Estonian Ingria describe how a para might bring ale and beer; it filled the beer barrels of a wedding house.

Especially outside the tonttu area (map 62), the para has acquired the role of a supernatural guardian (in human form) beneficial to the house, and it has been the subject of the same narratives as thieving tonttus. For example, paras on a stealing trip meet on the road and start a fight, whereupon one blinds its opponent by hitting it over the head with a sack of flour. The para carrying away goods has also been a kind of euphemism, code language, used on thefts of corn between neighbors.

(Si H 151, H 152)

**Money-para.** The cash-carrying para is an extension of the para lore, as is the corn-para. Narratives have sometimes been associated with the same motifs as pirtyys, such as a coffer of cash that never became empty, but usually money is only mentioned among the riches the para was said to carry off to its owner.

(Si H 153)

**Piritys or piracyinen.** The Finnish *piritys* (*spiritus*) has been a creature that made sure that its owner never ran out of money. As a mythical being, a *piritys* is unlike a *para*. It was a personal magic charm comparable to a talisman or lucky coin, obtained by purchasing, and usually its owner was also a farmer, merchant or town gentleman known to be secretly wealthy. In appearance, the *piritys* is usually described as a small creature resembling a beetle, tadpole or insect, kept by its owner in his pocket in a tin box lined with cotton wool. It might also be called *vaskisontainen* ['copper-coloured dung beetle'], or it was said to fly around collecting money like a bee. It was said of the *piritys* that the owner had to feed his cash beetle with his own blood and that it was not easy to get rid of it. A sold *piritys* would not stay with the new owner but returned or forced one to take it back, or it only stayed with the third purchaser.

The *spiritus* is mentioned as early as a 1690s court record (TUOKKO). Uno Harva has linked *piritys* to basilisks and drakes bearing treasure, found e.g. in classical mythology and of which miniature versions existed.(3 The *piritys* is probably a helper creature provided by the devil, known in Anglophone areas as imps. They were usually small insects or birds which the witch was thought to feed with her blood and to keep in a soft-lined box or jar, as the *piritys* was kept in Finland. Insects made of metal or real ones in boxes have also been sold in the Nordic countries, along with money roots, lucky coins and other symbolic bringers of wealth. The commercial *piritys* was a vibrating copper insect in a metal box, a talisman of budding industrial culture, and purchasing one may be likened to later cash rites, such as the pools and lotteries.

(Si H 301)

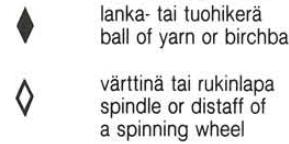
**Swedish para folklore.** Finnish *para* narratives are closely linked to Swedish folklore. In Scandinavia, particularly in Sweden, a great deal of material has been preserved on the thieving helper creatures of witch women, in old written sources, witch trial documentation and recorded oral history. In Finland, too, there are old records of the *para* mainly in the judgment books of Swedish-speaking regions, but the folklore has remained alive mostly in stereotypical plot narratives, like the stories of trullis.

Old Finnish dictionaries assume the name 'para' to originate from the Swedish *bära*, *bjära*, *bara* etc., derivatives of the verb *bära*, 'to bear, to carry'. There is also an indigenous Finno-Permic term *para* (mod. '*paras*, *parhain*'), which in distantly related languages also has substantive meanings such as 'fortune, success, wealth'; however, *para* in the sense of a helper creature is unlikely to derive from this root word. The distribution area of names with the root '*bära*' covers the whole of northern and eastern Sweden including Gotland, as well as the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland. The dialect form '*bara*' is known in Norrland, on the opposite side of the Gulf of Bothnia, and similarly '*para*', '*paara*' e.g. in Värmland and other Finnish areas of Sweden. Other name roots have been *hare*, 'hare', (*mjölkhare*, *trollhare* etc.; southern Sweden), *katt*, 'cat', (*smörkatt*, *trollkatt*; Norrbotten-Jämtland) and *puke*, 'ghost, devil', (western and central Sweden).(4)

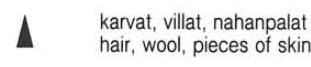
There are two regional main types of *para* imageries in Sweden. In southern Sweden, in common with Denmark, Germany, England and elsewhere in Europe, even in some localities of Finland among the Swedish-speaking population of Uusimaa, the *para* was visualized in the form of a hare (*mjölkhare*). As a gray hare, it is seen moving about in the nocturnal half-light in the pasture among the cattle, and it can only be shot with a mercury bullet. In northern Sweden and Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia, the prevalent form is a round ball, as in Finland. In Gotland as well as the Swedish-speaking regions of Estonia and Ostrobothnia, the *para* was also visualized in the form of a cat; a *para* in the shape of a bird, snake and frog is known in Sweden, albeit rare. In Scandinavia, the *bära* has originally been a milk- or butter-*para*, but early literature already records that witches had their helper spirits carry away other

## 59. Paran tekeminen Making a Para Creature

1. Paran ainekset  
Para ingredients  
lanka- tai tuohikerä  
ball of yarn or birchbark



värttinä tai rukinlapa  
spindle or distaff of a spinning wheel



karvat, villat, nahampalat  
hair, wool, pieces of skin



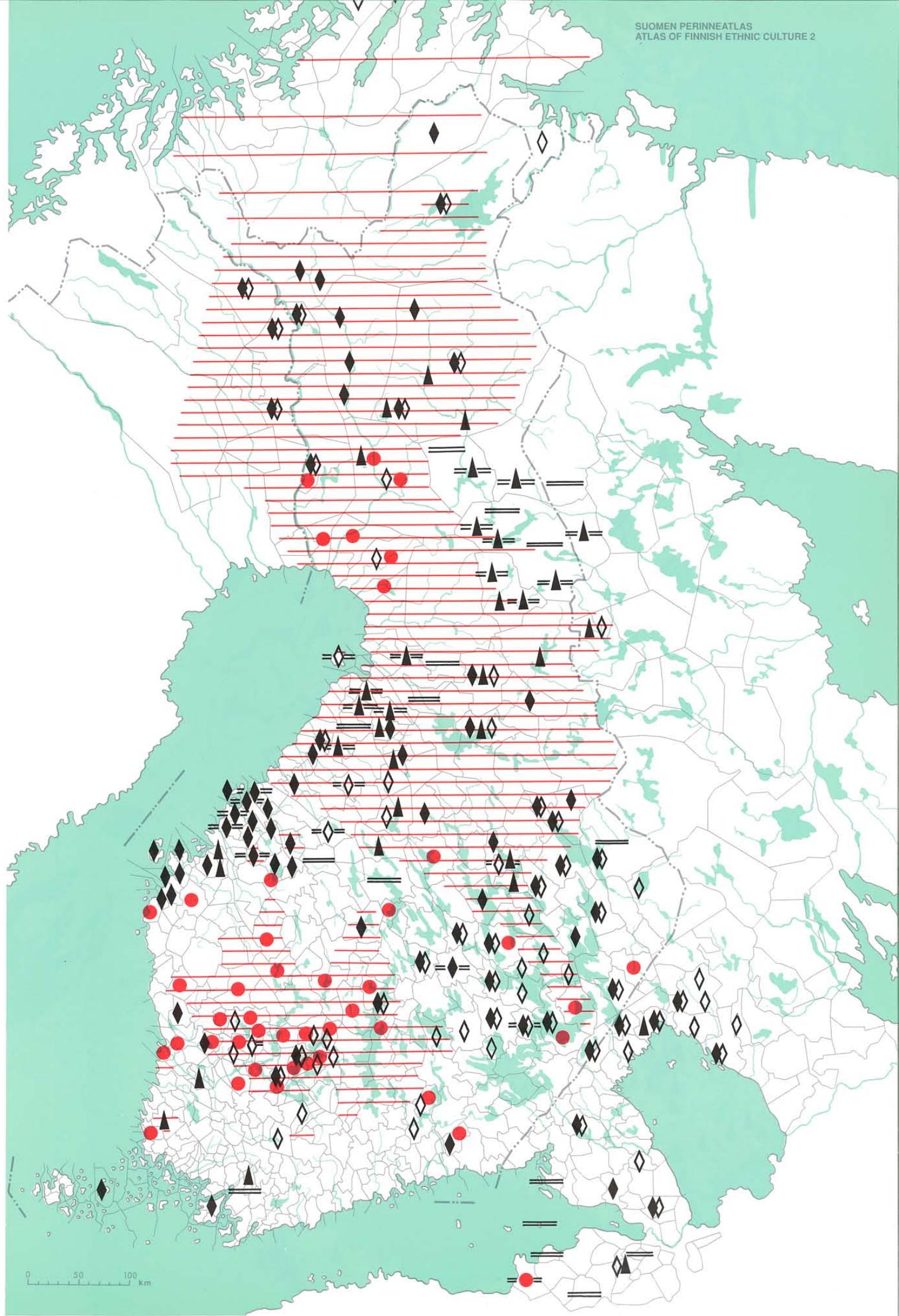
ehtoollisleipä  
Communion bread

2. Paran synnyttäminen  
Giving birth to a para  
pohtimessa tai seulassa  
in a winnow or sieve



— kirkussa  
in a churn

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



goods too.

**Traces of a para.** The para was a cultural explanation used when interpreting phenomena related to the subject-matter of narratives, such as inflammatory diseases of animals, even tularaemia, which hares running around the fields were thought to spread. A cow was said to have been sucked by a para, if its haunches or udders were cut or if there was blood in the milk. A shooting star, globe lightning or other such strange flying or rolling phenomenon was thought to be a para in flight. The para lore has provided suitable answers consistent with the witch culture, used in symbolic language regardless of whether or not people believed in them.

In Finland and Sweden, a butter- or cream-like slime or fungus (protozoan) that could suddenly appear in cattle enclosures was called para shit or vomit. One such slime fungus was particularly the bright yellow *paranvoi* [para-butter] (*Fuligo septica*). The para was thought to have dropped it, and it would show the direction of the para's flight. Records exist from various parts of western and southern Finland that if one beat para shit with an alder stick or seven or nine different twigs, the owner of the para would turn up in agony. It was possible to cause the death of the para's owner by burning para shit on a baking sheet or smashing it to pieces. Christfried Ganander reports in his *Mythologia Fennica* (1789) that if one burned para-butter with tar, salt and brimstone, the owner was forced to appear to beg for mercy for her para. In Swedish narratives, the para's owner had to come to beg for water to drink, or she would have died herself. A separate subject area is formed by narratives of coincidence, where some village woman unwittingly turned up and was branded the para's owner. Burning para-butter was a means of catching witches; it is already mentioned in *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487). Merely finding para-butter in the yard of a suspected witch was considered weighty proof and even used in witch trials.

(Si H 171)

## 59. Making a para creature

**Finnish creation legends.** According to the narratives, witch mistresses have created the para secretly in the sauna or barn, with the byre or sheep pen sometimes cited as the birthing place (map 59). The para had to be made the night before some feast day, usually Easter, Christmas or Midsummer, sometimes a night before a Thursday. The ingredients for a para were placed in a winnow, in eastern Finland also a sieve, and while winnowing, the birthing incantation was said. The winnow is a container similar to a sieve, used for cleaning corn. It may have become associated with the birthing rite, as it resembles a cradle. In eastern Finland, the sieve was a common devining instrument of the sorcerer, and evidently in that sense an extension of a shaman's drum.

There are also scattered records from various parts of Finland that the para was created in a churn. The ingredients were placed in the churn in a leather pouch, and while reciting the para-birthing incantation, the plunger was swung as if churning. In Kainuu, the mistress had to go to churn naked to a 'closed pond', a pond with no outlet; such a lake was a common site for performing sorcerer rites especially in Kainuu.

In Finland, common para-creating ingredients have been a ball of either wool, birch bark or tow, or strips of cloth wound into a ball. For legs, the ball was stuck with one, two or three spindles or distaffs

from a spinning wheel, sometimes knitting needles, small rolling pins or other women's implements that resembled sticks. There are also records that hair, wool or pieces of animal skin have been used as ingredients, and especially in North Ostrobothnia, wool cut from animals while stealing luck of cattle was put in the winnow (cf. map 55); this way, the movements of trullis to cut up animals has been associated with keeping a para. Particularly in Häme and Satakunta, a communion wafer was used to make the eye or heart of the para, and some records say that the creator had to drip some of her own blood into the ball. The communion wafer and blood linked the making of a para to devil magic. In farmhand-and-para legends, the mistress is often depicted as giving birth to a para naked from between her legs, imitating real birth.

When a para was born, its first question was what it should carry. The answer was: top of milk (cream) or butter, but the para could also be used to carry other goods. According to the narratives, it was crucial that no-one else was present at the birthing of a para; this is the central plot motif of the Farmhand and Para narrative (map 60).

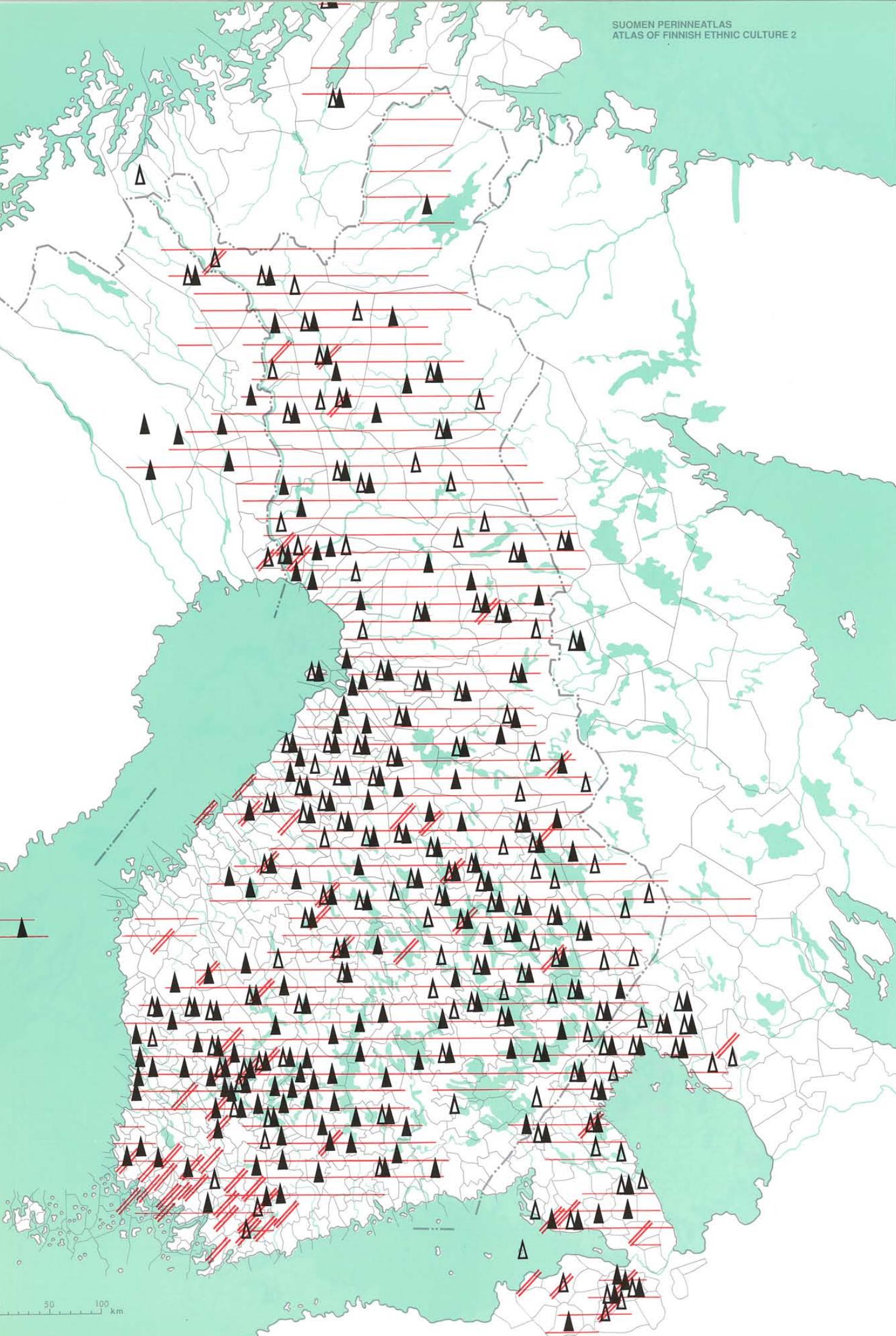
**Formula for creating a para.** The Finnish 'Birth of a Para' is a quasi-incantation in new-metric formula with the conceptual basic form: *Synny para, kasva para voita ja maitoa kantamaan. Ei ole korvaa kuulemassa, eikä silmää näkemässä. Saat puolet sielustani ja puolet ruumiistani.* [Be born para, grow para, to carry butter and milk. No ear to hear, no eye to see. You shall have half my soul and half my body.] However, usually the incantation has only consisted of the spell *Synny para, kasva para, voita ja maitoa kantamaan*, the distribution of which is shown on map 60. The line *You shall have half my soul* is rare and means that the one creating it will give the para a part of her own soul, to give it life. In some places (in Savo) the incantation has acquired the addition *Synny para syytä myöten, älä minun mieltä myöten* [Para, be born for a reason, not to please me], designed to be free of the soul association and to have the para purely to carry certain goods.

There are three main types of para-creation incantation in Sweden. Usually, they ask the devil to give the para life, but the conceptual base format is: "I gave you blood, the devil may give you life. You must run around for me on earth, I will have to burn for you in hell." The incantation for creating a para was invented for narration and specifically to act as a reminder of the presence of the devil.

**Western background.** In northern Sweden and according to some records also in Finland, a para-maker might make a ball of yarns in different colors, bits of cloth or hair, and push in substances used in witchcraft, such as a bird's head and claws. Finally, the para-maker dripped blood from her left little finger (ring finger), which has specifically symbolized heart blood. Christian Lencqvist describes (1782) how a para-maker made a doll stuffed with colorful scraps of cloth. Its head was fashioned from a baby's bonnet, its belly from a woman's kerchief, and three spindles were stuck in for legs. To make the doll come alive, the witch mistress had to place a communion wafer inside it, take it to church early on a Sunday, and walk round the church nine times repeating: "Para be born!" Some similar descriptions of making a doll are also found in recorded oral history.

In northern Sweden as in Finland, epithets of the para were stick legs and a ball-like shape. In southern Sweden and other 'milk-hare' regions, the para might have been made by tying together in the shape of a cross twigs, sticks or knitting needles burned at both ends; the vision was some kind of a stick creature (stick cross). Particularly in Finnish folk narrative, the para was made from the few materials found in women's sphere of work, and perhaps the most common vision of it was a strangely moving or flying creature with an elastic, sack-like or round belly.

(Si H 101)



## 60. Para ja talonväki

### The Para Creature and Farm Folk

1. Paratarinoita  
Para legends  
emäntä ja renki paraa  
synnyttämässä  
farmer's wife and farmhand  
give birth to para

2. Parantekijän sanat  
Para-making spell  
piika tappaa paran  
serving-girl kills a para

renki ja kissapara Missi-Massi  
farmhand and Missi-Massi, a  
cat-like para

2. Parantekijän sanat  
Para-making spell  
paransynnyttäjän loitsu  
formula for giving birth to a para

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 60. *The para creature and farm folk*

**Farmhand and para.** There are two common plot narratives known in the entire distribution area of the para lore: Mistress and farmhand creating a para or the ‘Carry shit’ narrative, and a second one of a serving maid who strikes a para (map 60). Along with them, knowledge of the para has spread right out to eastern and northern Finland. The characters of the narratives in Finland are the mistress, with a farmhand and serving maid on the opposite side; the servants may be replaced by others, such as a son or daughter of the house.

The narrative of the mistress and farmhand creating a para is divided into three versions; the basic plot was as follows: (1) A farmhand (son or another member of the household) watches secretly while the mistress gives birth to a para in the sauna (barn). However, there are problems because an outsider is witnessing the process. The mistress, disappointed, leaves or goes off to get some additional materials, and the farmhand takes the para ingredients and does as he has seen his mistress do. Now a para is born, and it asks what it should carry. The farmhand panics and shouts: “You might carry shit!” The para carries dung into the house until it is full of it.

According to other versions (2) the mistress’s para is born, but the quick-witted farmhand manages to shout his command before she has given hers, or the creator of the para herself, surprised or by mistake, lets out a swearword meaning dung. The other versions are (3) variants of the base narrative, and there are no cartographic differences in their distributions.

(Si H 111)

**Servant maid and para.** The main version of the narrative (1) recounts how the mistress of the house orders the serving maid to churn butter on a Sunday and herself sets off to church. The maid is new and does not know that there is a para in the house; the mistress forgets to mention it too. Or on leaving, the mistress says that there is no need to be afraid if something unusual was to happen. While the maid is churning, the para arrives in the form of an ugly bird or frog, perches on the edge of the churn and vomits the cream from its mouth into it. Then the frightened maid strikes the para dead with the butter scoop or churn plunger. At the same moment the mistress drops dead in the church pew or steps, wherever she happens to be.

Occasionally, the narrative may also have other kinds of climaxes, for example, the maid throws boiling water over the para, whereupon the mistress in the church pew begins to wail in agony, or someone shoots the bird-form para, etc. The narrative often ends in the statement that from then on the house became poorer and poorer and finally disappeared altogether. According to a second (2) rare version, the new servant goes into the dairy and sees the para there vomiting into a milk dish. Not knowing what the creature is, the maid strikes the para or throws something at it and kills it, causing the mistress to die in the church pew.

(Si H 131)

**Cat-para or Missi-Massi.** In western Finland, legend had a special para in the form of a domestic cat,

called by mistresses Missi-Massi (Mirri-Marri etc.); when called, it came and defecated or vomited a knob of butter in the porridge. The narrative has the new farmhand of the house wondering why the mistress known for her thrift always put such a big knob of butter in the Saturday porridge. He had also noticed that the mistress stayed alone in the kitchen when everyone else went in the sauna, or when dishing up the porridge, she told all house folk to leave the room. He hides on one occasion on the upper bunk in the kitchen and sees the mistress fill the porridge dishes on the table, make a well for the butter with the back of the wooden spoon and call: "Missi-Massi, come down and bring the butter for the porridge!" Then a large grey cat jumps down from the top of the fireplace, leaps on the table and defecates a big knob of butter in each dish of porridge.

The narrative ends in the comment that the farmhand (servants) no longer wanted to eat the food of that house. Sometimes there is an even more dramatic end to the story. When the mistress hurries off to the sauna, the farmhand comes out of his hiding place and kills the cat or hits it with an axe or steelyard, whereupon the mistress drops dead in the sauna or breaks her leg. In the narratives, the mistress is said to have been a trulli or kept a para; the butter-defecating Missi-Massi would be like a witch's soul- and tutelary animal in feline form.

(Si H 241)

**Narrative structures.** Para narratives usually follow a common 'coincidence' structure. According to the narrative formula, an outsider unwittingly does the wrong thing and at the same time accidentally exposes the witch, or sees by chance the witch doing magic to create a para, and in his innocence imitates her. The structure is found in Sweden as early as the oldest texts of 'Trulli flies' -narratives, similarly the incorrect command to carry something has been a common motif in Scandinavian witch folklore. Parallel to the 'Maid and para' -narrative in Sweden has been a tale of how the para carries too much cream. The mistress leaving for church tells the servant to go to the house steps before starting the churning, and to point with the butter scoop in three directions. The maid can't remember the precise order, but to be on the safe side, points to different parts of the parish. When she starts churning, the para comes and brings so much cream that it floods everywhere. On her return, the mistress scolds the maid for showing the para too many villages or describing too wide an area from which the para has carried the cream.

The narrative is associated with the birthing incantation, where the creator gives the para a body for it to run around villages carrying butter. In the corresponding Finnish version, the maid spoils the butter of nine parishes. Variants of the narrative have been recorded from Satakunta and South Ostrobothnia. They have the mistress telling the maid, before leaving for the village, to take a hair from a pouch or a little bit of yarn from the ball and to put it in the churn before starting butter-making. The maid forgets the exact amount and puts too much of the ingredients in the churn, the whole bag of fur or the ball of yarn. The churn fills with butter which spreads all over the house, right up to the ceiling, so that butter pours out of the doors and windows, even the cracks in the floorboards. On her return, the mistress screams with horror that the maid has spoiled all the butter she has collected from nine parishes. The pouch contained animal hairs collected by the mistress as a trulli, or wool or a ball of yarn spun from it (cf. map 55).

The lesson of the narratives is that fate in the form of an ignorant or pious person interferes in the activities of the witch and renders them futile or brings a punishment to a devil's servant. In Finland, especially in Savo, the devil has disappeared from para-narratives altogether, and the narration is rather carried by the comical nature of the plot, such as in the 'Trulli as Pitchfork' narrative (map 56). The listeners have evidently been amused by the juxtaposition of great wealth and dung – how someone

hoping to become rich almost drowns in muck, or how in some named house an indescribable lack of cleanliness has prevailed ever since.

## **Para and witch folklore**

**Map diagram.** The map diagram of the para lore corresponds to the distribution of trulli-narratives (maps 55-57). In terms of their message, tales of obtaining supernatural wealth belong to the tradition of peasant village culture, and have mostly only spread to Savo-Karelia as joke-like plot narratives. At its most varied is the para-narration of western and southern Finland, where it included the cat para, elves carrying away goods (map 65) and the new good luck charm of the cash economy, piritys.

The closest equivalents to the Finnish para lore are known on the Swedish side of the Gulf of Bothnia, and it is likely that both the name 'para' and the beliefs regarding its appearance and birth, even stereotypical para-narratives, have spread from there mainly via Ostrobothnia, in common with many other phenomena of peasant village culture. In Finland, Ostrobothnia was the most prominent area of witch trials, and the mere shared Swedish-language judicial tradition has linked the concepts of para and trulli on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia.

Para narratives have reached Ingria partly from Finland and evidently also direct from the Swedish-speaking population of the Baltic area, as they also reached Estonia. In the Baltic countries, the para lore is recent and is not yet found in the witchcraft charges of the 1600s. The para and spiritus are also known by Värmland Finns, but the narratives on creating a para correspond more to the Swedish than Finnish tradition of the surrounding areas. It is also unlikely that Tver Karelians would have already known the milk-carrying para when they were displaced.<sup>(5)</sup> In Finland, the heroes of the narratives were servant girls and farmhands, as was also the case in the peasant culture area of southern Sweden. Such stereotypical narratives are recent; Jan Wall, who has studied the para tradition, believes that they have only been formed in the 1800s.

**Historical background.** Jan Wall found the oldest records on the para in English literature. Giraldus Cambrensis's *Topographia Hibernica* from the 1180s mentions complaints among the Welsh, Irish and Scots that witch women in the form of hares are stealing the luck of milk of their neighbors. The first description of making an artificial thief-creature Wall found in the English Robert Manning of Brunne's handbook of repentance, *Handlyng Synne*, from the early 1300s; according to a narrative in verse, a bishop asked a woman with witchcraft skills to produce such a creature. The woman made a leather pouch and sent it off to milk cows in the pasture. On its return, the pouch became lifeless. When the bishop attempted to follow the witch woman's directions, he failed, whereupon the woman said that the bishop lacked faith. The narrative is also published in the later versions of the work, and the sack motif also appears in the religious book by a Swedish priest, Master Mathias, *Homo conditus* (1330-1350).<sup>(6)</sup> Thus, as early as the Middle Ages, a belief was found in the booklore of the learned that a person with witchcraft skills could dispatch a magic sack to steal milk.

Details depicting para beliefs evidently already appear in late medieval church paintings. Wall has counted 13 Nordic church paintings depicting an animal accompanying a churning witch and the devil, a

creature who suckles from a cow and vomits into a milk vat or churn; the usual form of the para creature is that of a hare. Of the paintings, 10 are in Sweden in churches of Uppland, 1 in Gotland and 2 in Finland, in the stone churches of Espoo and Lohja, although the creature in Lohja may represent a witch's tutelary animal, the cat (cat-para). The oldest of the paintings probably dates from the 1450-1460s, and most are by a school created by a German-born painter.

According to Wall, the witch's helper creature who carried milk or butter first appeared in witch trials at the turn of the 1500-1600s, initially as some kind of an evil spirit the witch had tied to a ring and was able to release by undoing a knot. The milk-sucking para in the form of a hare emerges in the early 1600s in witch trials in southern Sweden, and in the course of the century, all the later belief elements of the folk narrative are documented, from giving birth to a para to burning para shit. The formation process of para beliefs ended with children's evidence in Dalecarlia and other northern parts during the witch hunts of 1668-1676. Many children testified that the devil gave a para as a kind of a toy, and records of the time also contain witches themselves saying that they had received a para from the devil, perhaps for their use temporarily, or that they had inherited it from a predecessor. In Finnish, Danish and Norwegian witch trial records the para occurs only rarely and not until towards the end of the 1600s, in Finnish-speaking parishes only two or three times.(7)

Within the Lutheran church, the para combined the devil and the social evil of witches, diabolism and maleficium witchcraft. The church adopted the explanation that the witch herself could not create a para or give it life, but it was the devil's work. Thus, the creature carrying milk or goods was the devil's creation which it gave to its servants.

**Who believed in the para?** In his study, Wall makes the assumption that para beliefs reflect the ignorance of Iron Age and Viking Age people of the real causal relationships of cattle husbandry and diseases, as well as the idea from sorcery that misfortune and adversity are caused by other, malevolent people. Para beliefs would have arisen among the people, and their natural environments would have been cattle huts. In the light of Finnish material, these assumptions are unlikely to be true.

In the Nordic countries, witchcraft and theft of the luck of milk are part of the Christian witch culture of the 16th and 17th centuries. The para creature may be based on (1) ancient folk beliefs about the soul animals of shamans. Even the earliest documents of European witch trials contain the idea that witches could go around in the habitus of animals, including that of the hare, or as wolves savaging the village cattle. Along with witch folklore, the transformation doctrine was concretized, and in continental Europe and also in Estonia, stories of werewolves were common and they were also heard at witch trials. A second layer is formed by (2) sorcery. In Finland, too, sorcerers have had tutelary animals, and they were believed capable of raising a bear or wolf to attack their enemies' cattle (cf. map 5). However, the supernatural helper creature stealing milk or goods was born (3) within Christian belief in witchcraft. The para belief would seem to be specifically Nordic folklore, formed mainly during the 1600s in the era of Lutheran Orthodoxy. There are no records of a milk-sucking para creature from the area of Savo-Karelian sorcerer culture, neither have such creatures been likely to belong in sorcery (Iron Age culture).

Paras and trullis are part of ecclesiastical hegemony tradition. Aiding the creation of belief in witchcraft and para imagery were the scholars who served the church of the time, as well as artists conforming to the ideological power. In their fantasies sorcerers turned into servants of the devil. Church paintings, in common with witch interpretations of the learned, resembled the mental images of the intoxicated. The archetype of the devil was a cross between an animal and a human being, fussing around the witch woman with its genitals lewdly exposed, and the witch's ghost creatures vomit into the milk dish or churn. The images are unrealistic, but they served the needs of the social hegemony of the time.

The nature of para stories has resembled that of rumours, used to direct everyday cultural thinking. Trullis were women and the subjects of para narratives were also mistresses of houses. In agrarian village communities, looking after cattle was women's work; in fact they ruled the sphere of life of which witchcraft culture was part. The collective village communities prior to the general land reparceling were perhaps fueled by the same mechanism of envy as in later socialist collective economy. Women who had neglected to look after their cattle and who were envious were among those sustaining witchcraft explanations and para rumours in the daily lives of villages. In trials, too, one of the standard acceptable reasons was that the accused mistress of a smallholding had churned as much butter from her pair of cows as other houses from their large herds. Women competing with each other have hardly been victims of male clergy or increasingly patriarchal agrarian culture, but the para and trulli folklore has also been women's own cultural power through which they controlled each other.

Preserved Finnish folk narrative is already in most part a feature of landed peasant society, where both paras and supernatural guardians increasingly shifted to the side of the servants' quarters, as a pastime of lower social classes. Para and tonttu narratives have provided an opportunity to make fun of mistresses' and masters' greed, to expose their amorality, to make allusions to the food regime of the house, or prove in general that the serving wench or farmhand of the house was cleverer than the householders. The narratives defuse the growing class divisions between landowners and the landless. They were political commentary of the time and portended the gradual culmination of social contrasts.

(Si H 101-400)

- 1.** Juslenius 1745. Lencqvist 1870 (1782). Ganander 1789. Renvall 1826. **2.** Wall 1977-1978 I, 198-. **3.** Harva 1928a, 132-. **4.** Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:16-18. Nyman 1976a. Wall 1977-1978 I, 190-; II, 6-, maps 1-2, 5; 79-. **5.** Harva 1928a, 9. Kettunen 1935, 49-. **6.** Wall 1977-1978 I, 21-, 72-, 115-. **7.** Heikkinen 1969, 325. Nenonen 1992, 63.

## 61. Noidan hautaaminen

### The Funeral of a Witch

1. Vainajan matkan katkeaminen  
Interrupting the deceased's journey

noidan tai pahan ihmisen arkku ei saada liikkeelle  
coffin of witch or evil-doer cannot be set in motion



huomenkellot pysäyttäävät ruumishevosen  
funeral bells stop the horse transporting the corpse

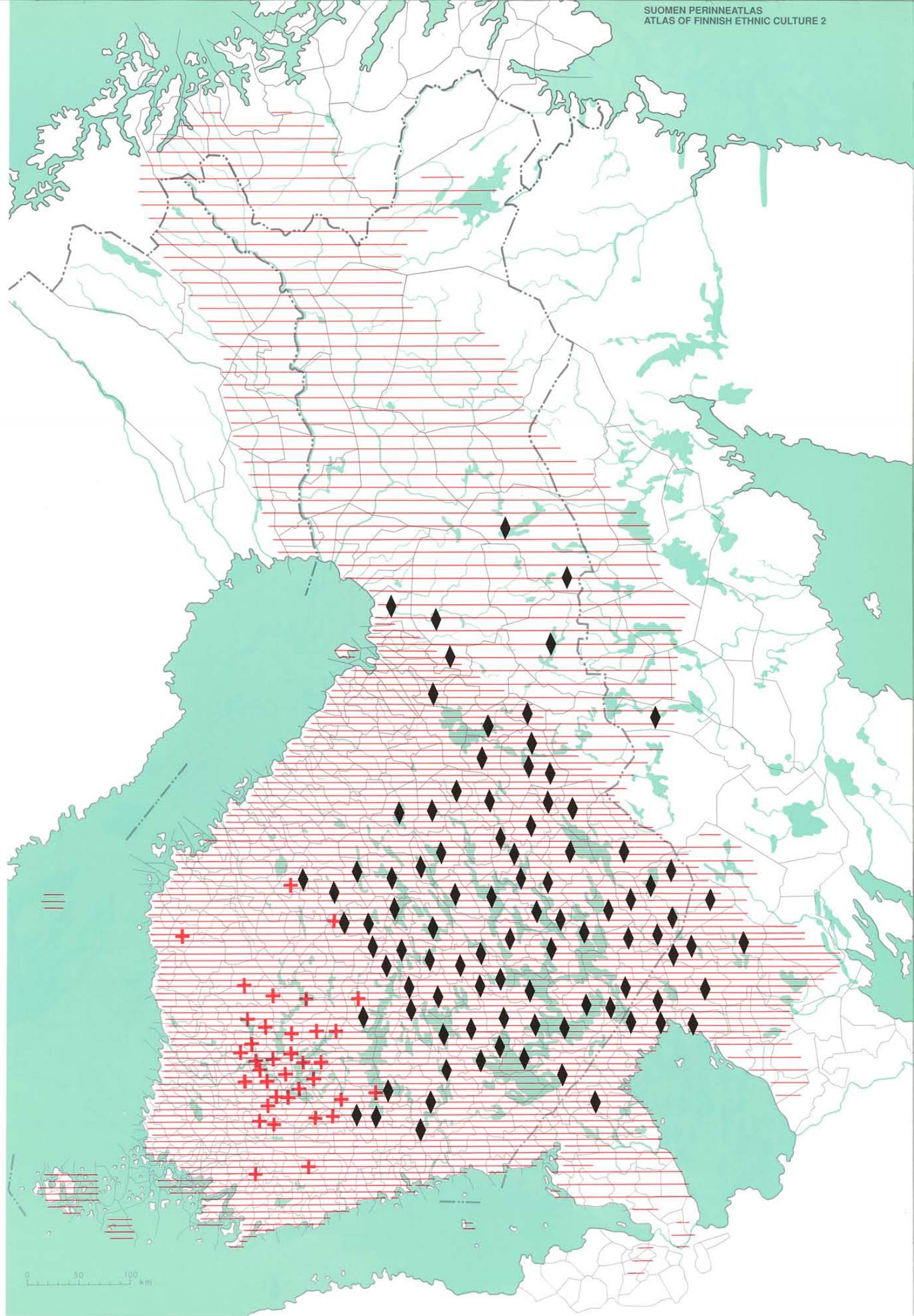
2. Tietäjä pysyttelee vainajan matkan

Sorcerer stops the deceased's journey



tietäjä saattaa ruumisarkun painavaksi  
sorcerer makes the coffin heavy

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 61. THE FUNERAL OF A WITCH

### ***Broken ancestral cult***

**Witch's coffin is heavy.** The narratives recount how the coffin of a dead sorcerer, witch or master of a manor house known to be a freemason became so heavy that horses, or in southwestern Finland oxen, were unable to draw the hearse or sleigh on which the coffin was to be taken to the parish church for committal. The horse foamed with sweat and had to be swapped many times, or several horses had to be harnessed to pull the conveyance before the funeral cortege could move on. In lake districts, the motif has been associated with a journey by boat; the boat or even a ship almost sank with the weight of the coffin, or the boat was extremely heavy to row, as if someone wanted to prevent the coffin from being transported.

The weight of the coffin, according to the narratives, was due to an invisible creature having settled upon it, an incubus that was visible if viewed from the head end of the horse through the horse collar or bridle rings. In some versions, the onlookers saw how such an incubus clung to the coffin and resisted progress, or there was an obstacle in front of the funeral cortege, making the horse stop dead.

In eastern Finland, the help of a sorcerer was often called for to drive away the incubus, while in the west the role of the helper was taken by the priest. The sorcerer might have looked for an object in the vehicle, used by a malevolent person, another sorcerer, to make the coffin heavy. Especially in eastern Finland, perhaps the most established method was (1) overturning. The coffin or conveyance was turned symbolically or actually upside down, or the horse was harnessed between the shafts back to front. The incubus might also be chased away with (2) a sharp instrument, by hitting a nail, needle or knife through the coffin lid so that no-one could sit on it. In some cases, the vehicle has been driven (3) through fire, which is an ancient cleansing and repelling rite. In western Finland, (4) Christian counter-rites were common: the incubus was driven away by reading the Lord's Prayer, placing a Bible on the coffin, hitting the sign of the cross with a whip on the coffin lid or on the ground in front of the horse. Or the coffin became lighter (5) when the deceased person's witching pouch was found inside and removed.

(Si C 226, C 236, C 266)

**Morning bells stop the funeral cortege.** In the core narrative, some villager, often an esteemed farmhouse mistress or master, has managed to keep her pact with the devil secret, and orders on her deathbed that she must be buried very early, before the morning bells toll. But the guests are late and as they are approaching the church, the bells start ringing. Then the vehicle stops and the coffin can no longer be moved on by any means, even if the horses are replaced with oxen. The deceased must be

buried on the spot where the morning bells have stopped the funeral cortege. This has been the explanation of the origin of the name of some scary place like Ämmänhaudan mäki [Hagsgrave Hill] or Äijänahde [Old Man's Rise], or why some master of a manor house is not buried in the churchyard.

The narrative is a thriller, a tale of destiny. If the funeral guests had not been late, the deceased would have been interred in sacred earth and her pact with the devil would never have been exposed. The narrative contains elements of the motif of 'just deserts for evil': the witch is exposed and punished; the security of a Christian is being buried in hallowed ground.

(Si C 221)

**Sorcerer stops the funeral cortege.** In the Savo sorcerer area, the weightiness of the coffin may also be a revenge of a person with ritual skills for an injustice or insult by the deceased or other members of the funeral household. The coffin was made heavy by someone upset by the actions of the people of the house, the corpse-washer, gravedigger or regular driver of the hearse, or a stranger who happened along, such as a beggar, hawker or someone else who was treated superciliously in the house. The journey to the church may also have been spoiled by one of the funeral guests because the house had not observed established hospitality customs, omitting to serve the funeral cortege 'whip drinks' before setting out, for example, or the avenger is a relative with rite skills who was not invited to the funeral or allocated a worthy place at the memorial meal.

On inspection of the vehicles, a small stone, piece of iron or cloth or other slight but symbolic object was found in the coffin or sleigh frame, giving a clue as to the reason for the revenge. The narratives repeatedly reflect the idea that a hearse can be stopped dead by inserting a stone (three stones) from the sauna or kitchen stove. When the superfluous object is removed, the coffin-carriers can move on.

(Si C 261)

## ***Creation of a counter-human***

**Regional variations.** The narrative of the heavy witch's coffin has spread from west to east and reached as far as Dvina. Its various versions are united by the motif of a supernaturally heavy coffin. Heavy coffin-narratives have often been told of named persons, and they are heavily localized in other ways, too. The narratives explain the etiology of some place name or contain an idiom that has attached the event in the listeners' own environment.

However, the narrative contents are different in the western witchcraft culture and eastern sorcerer culture. In western Finland, the witch was the stereotype of an evil person, whose Christian funeral the devil does its utmost to prevent. The interest of the narration is focused on how the pact between the witch and the devil is realized, and whether the devil manages to take possession of the soul of the person who has become its servant. Taking the witch for burial has also been dramatized in certain other stereotypical narratives recorded in western regions. In the tale of three bands, the dead witch is restless and tries to get out of her coffin, so that only when bound by three iron bands is the coffin secured (Si C 231). In narratives of the empty coffin, the horror effect is the disappearance of the corpse. When the witch's coffin is opened, only a burned cinder, stones or a block of wood is found inside; the devil has taken the corpse (Si C 291).

The story of how the morning bells expose the witch is a Christian plot narrative, limited to Häme and northern Satakunta. In the northern part of the distribution area, the core area is the surroundings of Messukylä (today part of the city of Tampere). The narrative has been linked to a few named mistresses and masters of large houses or manor houses, who are explained to have operated as trullis or entered a pact with the devil. In southern Häme, the principal character of the narrative is Prättäkitti (Rättäkitti), the most renowned female witch in western Finland who became a mythical figure, and who according to legend was buried on a hill (Kurjenmäki) in the parish of Loimaa (Ypääjä). The narratives have been a part of strong local folklore and they have also been recorded from many people who have moved outside the distribution area, with a few scattered variants also from the Isthmus, Vyborg and Koivisto.

In the sorcerer areas of Savo-Karelia, the narratives may be totally devoid of Christian moralism and fear of witchcraft. The deceased is not so much described as a witch, but she is defined as a cruel person or in some other way deserving of punishment. Alongside the basic narrative runs a story of how a sorcerer, not the devil, stops the funeral cortege. The focal point of the narration is the power of sorcerers; a strong sorcerer has been able to make the coffin heavy. Some narratives of the heavy witch's coffin from Savo-Karelia still reflect the idea that even death has difficulty in beating a powerful sorcerer with a strong spirit or personality, a powerful supernatural guardian.

From the eastern tradition area, narratives have also been recorded where the heavy coffin motif appears entirely devoid of the morality message. They describe cases where the coffin of a small child or a very thin person turned out to be so heavy that the bearers were surprised. The core of the narratives is unexpectedness and the message is that the deceased must not be underestimated on the basis of appearance. The empty coffin motif has also acquired a different, realistic content in Savo. When those transporting the corpse for some reason lose the deceased on their long and arduous journey, they put a log in the coffin in its place, so that the loss would not be noticed.

**What weighs?** In Finnish folklore, the creature settled on the coffin has evidently originally been interpreted as (1) the supernatural guardian of the deceased, and the narrative has reinforced the power of the sorcerer's spirit (soul) or that of the tutelary animals in his command. Many narratives mention burial ground or churchyard folk or ancestors who have come to collect the deceased. This motif may also have derived from the ancestral beliefs of the pre-Christian era. The ancestors, called *liikaväki* in Savo, may have been (2) souls of unburied dead who were not cared for, who wanted to come along on the journey to the realm of the dead. In preserved narratives, however, the church folk are perceived as frightening and repellent, in accordance with Christian tradition (map 7).

In recorded folklore from the 1800s and 1900s, the creature weighing down the coffin is most commonly (3) the devil, who in various forms has settled on the coffin in order to prevent the deceased from being taken into hallowed earth. The creature sitting on the coffin has been described as a mutant or in Christian tradition as a hooved demon complete with a tail, always surrounded by the stench of brimstone. The devil is also described as an old man, or it appears in animal form as a dog, cat, raven, magpie or other bird, all of them generally conceptualized as the devil's companions in such contexts. When viewed through a horse collar, a large group of little devils might be seen swarming on the coffin. Explanations adhering to Christian doctrine claim that it is sin that makes the coffin heavy.

It is often not important in the narratives what the creature weighing down the coffin was, but that it could be seen if one knew how to look.

**Death of a counter-human.** It is possible that in Finland the narratives are based on stories of prolonged death throes of a powerful person, a shaman or sorcerer, an event which in the Christian era

was interpreted as the battle of a witch against the devil. In accordance with Christian interpretations, the death and transport to the grave of an evil person, such as a murderer, were a foretaste of his punishment after death. The horrific death motif was adopted by witchcraft doctrine; *Malleus maleficarum* (1487) already contains descriptions of the unnatural death of a witch, the weighting down of the coffin, and how the devil comes to collect its servant. The death of a witch was an event into which European Christian folk narrative could focus religious fear: presence of the devil, repentance that took place too late, and the horror, eternal torture, of the punishment after death.

Finnish witch narratives also culminate in descriptions of the witch's shocking, painful death throes that would not end until roof beams were crossed or the dying witch's pouch was flung into the fire. The dying person fought to the last against the devil. The narrative of the morning bells is not so much an explanation of why some eccentric master of a manor, atheist or freemason was not buried in the churchyard, but a declaration that a witch cannot evade his or her punishment.

The tales of a funeral guest with rite skills who, annoyed, halts the funeral ceremony, belong to a different society from that of western stories of witches. In sorcerer culture, the fear of magic revenge has maintained social order. The Savo-Karelian sorcerer is still a hero of his community, indicator of injustice, avenger. The narratives taught people to treat the weakest members of the community fairly and to maintain good interpersonal relations.

In western agrarian societies, the doctrines of sin and witchcraft were among the first elements of culture characteristic of centralized organization, through which the system took possession of supreme moral power, the power of death, the ultimate punishment. The devil removed those who did not need to be counted among real people, but who could be integrated, pushed aside or removed from Christian society. Servants of the devil, trullis and keepers of paras were scapegoats of centralized standardized culture, and witchcraft folklore a creation of the mass human being of the time, mental subjugation. Witchcraft doctrines are deep structures of organization culture; they are replicated in all totalitarian systems. European agrarian communities created mechanisms for the elimination of deviants and the ideologically unreliable, developed by later political ideologies and revolutionary doctrines in a scale considerably larger than those of the Christian church.

(Si C 201-300)

## VI.

# ENVIRONMENT NARRATIVES

## THE FOLK NARRATIVE TRADITION

### ***Narratives and oral tradition***

**Supranormal narratives.** An established categorization of narratives is: (1) supranormal or belief legends, (2) historical and local narratives, and (3) etiological legends. Prose tradition also includes fairytales and jokes, as well as Christianity-based legends.(1 The categorization is purely technical, but the labels are useful in describing the principal themes of the narration and the narrator's interests. Belief legends are narratives about supernatural, supranormal events, imaginary places or beings that live in a different world from that of man. At one time, they were thought to have been founded on folk belief and to concern beings that were really believed to exist by the narrators.

Despite the label, belief legends may be seen as purely one form of narration. Their supranormal beings are often mere names, narrative or role characters. More important than the belief material is the plot, a surprising turn of events or an event superseding the mundane, which forms the core structure of the narrative. In dramatic plot narratives, supranormality belongs in the narration in the same way as the placing of events in a dream or soul world in shamanistic tradition.

The narratives have been entertainment of their time, thrillers or horror folklore with a cultural message and significance. In Finland, they were mainly peasant tradition; they reinforced the community and interpretations of life of village man, particularly of Christian norms of morality. Belief legends contain a great deal of social communication. They could be used as examples and warnings about neighbors, the relations of certain houses and individual persons to otherworldly forces, or the fateful, supernatural punishment resulting from witchcraft and evil. Belief legends reflect the tradition environment of the peasant village culture of the time, not so much a belief in a certain supernatural being.

The majority of the maps of folk narrative concern supranormal beings, as do the maps of supernatural guardians, underground folk, and giants throwing stones at churches (62-76). Belief legends have included narratives about the counterforces of Christianity, the devil constantly waiting to entice people (maps 69, 71, 77) and their servants (55-61), as well as narratives about the haunting dead who appear in a number of maps (7, 61, 73-75, 78).

**Historical and local narratives.** Historical narratives are those with role-players who have lived in reality, or characters thought to be real, and that do not contain supranormal elements. They recount the events as real, possible in human communities, and the explanations of the events are also rational. Local narratives are usually attached to the narrator's and listeners' own environment, familiar places or

people. They contain oral history about the locality, the first inhabitants and memories of ancient settlements, such as pre-Christian places of worship, whipping or beheading sites, or places where an accident, crime or some other noteworthy event has taken place. At the same time, the narratives often explain how some place name has originated. In reality, the motifs of historical narratives or the framework of the narration are often international, but they concern events that may have happened or might happen also in the listeners' living environment.

The nature of historical narratives is that of news or real-life stories of their time, and they deal with the eternal themes of news: violence, accidents and tragic fates. The subject of the narration may also be exception to the norm, unusual events and people who stand out from others. The principal characters of historical narratives may be prominent persons who have become legendary among the people: kings, military chiefs, later presidents who have visited the locality or stayed there. Such legendary figures in Finnish folklore have been e.g. the military chiefs Laiska-Jaakko [Lazy Jack] (Pontus de la Gardie, died 1652) and Knut Posse (who is associated with the blowing up of Vyborg castle in 1495), and Simo Hurtta (Simo Affleck, d. 1725), who acquired the reputation of a cruel Swedish tax collector and taskmaster in North Karelia (eastern Finland). Local narratives, on the other hand, concern local notable people, such as priests, doctors, squires of manors, rich merchants or village artists. Examples of local narratives in the Atlas are those about indicating the site of a church (map 79) and about the raid wars, the heroes of which were Laurukainen and Vorna (maps 80-81).(2)

According to the general categories of the Folklore Archives, folk narrative is classified as follows:

### **Categories of folk narrative**

	Western Finland	Isthmus Ingria	Eastern Finland	Orthod. Karelia		
	ca.	%	ca.	%	ca.	%
<b>Belief legends</b>	47 500	62	15 550	65	38 800	59
<b>Hist. and local legends</b>	26 500	35	6 500	27	23 650	36
<b>Etiological legends</b>	2 700	4	1 900	8	3 000	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>76 700 100</b>	<b>23 950 100</b>	<b>65 450 100</b>	<b>1 650 100</b>		

*Western Finland*: Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Uusimaa, Häme and South and North Ostrobothnia

*Isthmus-Ingria*: South Karelia, Ladoga Karelia and Ingria

*Eastern Finland*: Central Finland, South and North Savo, North Karelia, Kainuu and southern Lapland (Norrbotten, Finnish Västerbotten)

*Orthodox Karelia*: Olonets and Dvina

The majority of the belief legends come from western and southern Finland; general collection frequencies confirm the picture provided by individual narrative maps. In western and southern village

areas, the share of belief legends is about two thirds (62%, 65%) of all narratives, in the east and north historical and local narratives are proportionally more common (36%, 42%), although the differences between the tradition areas are not statistically significant. The distribution differentials are evened out by the fact that narratives about the dead and the devil have been common everywhere, especially in Savo and other parts of eastern Finland.

If only fixed-plot narratives about supranormal beings are included, the distribution is clearly clustered in western and southern Finland. Of the examples of the maps, narratives about earth-dwellers and rock-dwellers (trolls) (map 71) and giants (map 79) are confined to the west. The stereotypical supernatural house guardian tradition with a plot is a feature of peasant village culture (maps 62-68). Many plot narratives, such as the dead child who reveals its mother (maps 73-75) and the Big Mouth narrative (map 77) have spread from west to east, and in treasure narratives (maps 83-86) supranormal motifs are also western.

Plot narratives are western, dramatic narration; in Dvina and other parts of Karelia their partial counterparts were fairytales and legends. Plot narratives from western Finland are thematically more varied than those from the east. Although many individual motifs of the narratives have spread a long way into the east, their message has become transformed there, as in e.g. sorcerer and witch narratives (maps 52-61). The spreading threshold has been crossed by humorous themes, or supranormal topics have become realistic or more mundane in the Savo-Karelian area. Narration has been different in character in the Savo-Karelian tradition area from that in the agrarianized village area.

**Western and eastern narration.** The belief legends of western peasant villages have been characterized by a stereotypical and dramatic plot with its set lines and the dramatic nature of the narration in general. The credibility, acceptance, or communicative impact of the narratives was based on the elements of surprise or otherworldliness, miracle, but also on the management of the plot, the right way of performing it. The plot narrative was a drama, a miniature play, that required of the narrator presentational skill, of assuming the role of the narrator. Supranormal beings incarnate, the devil, supernatural house guardians and earth folk also turned into role players of the drama. The narrative was performed to an audience, often at weddings or other feasts, at mills, or in the evenings in houses. The narration had to absorb the listeners. The twists of the plot, amazing or supernatural events were also means of making an impression, like in all representational art, from fiction to TV programs.

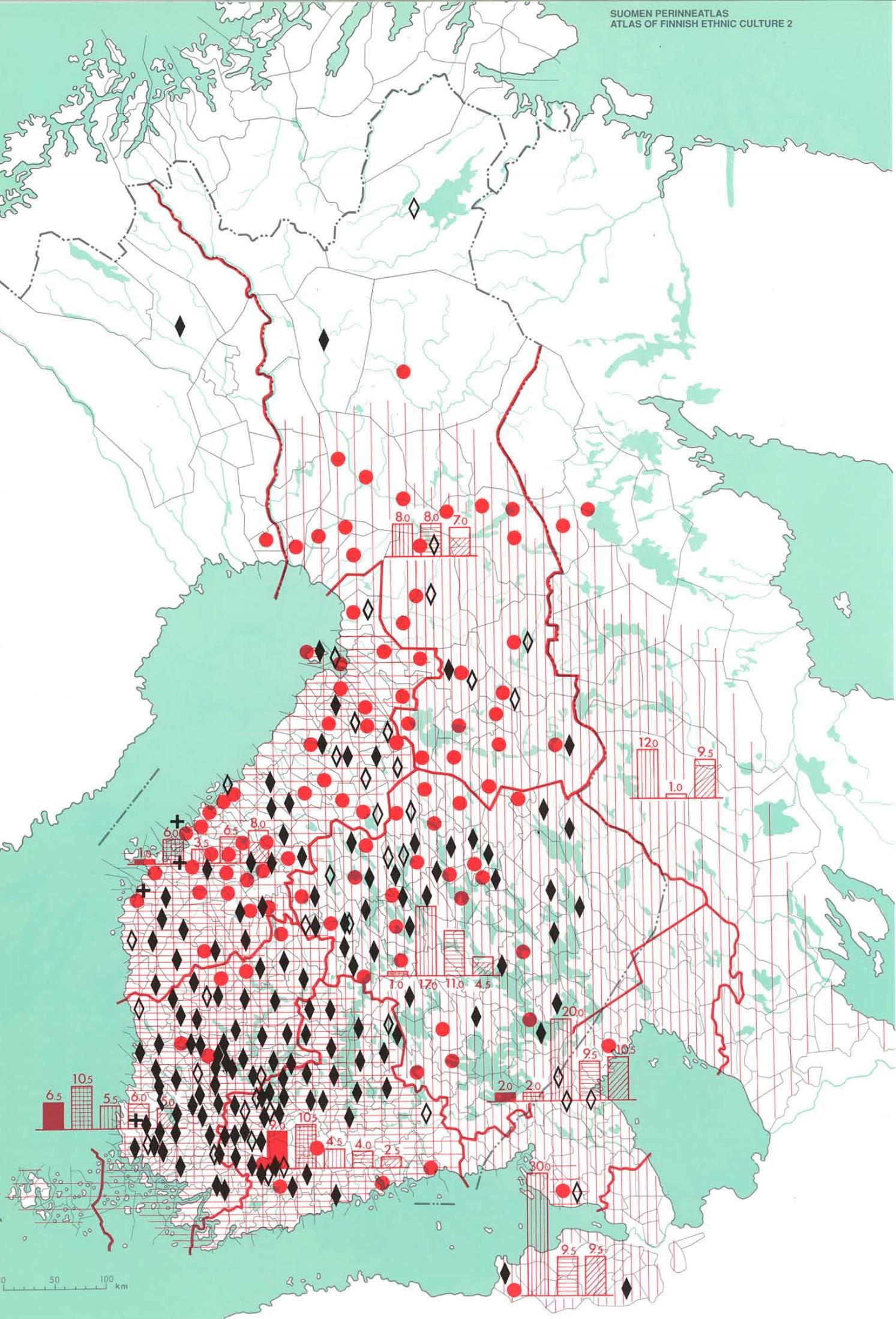
Within hunting and swidden culture, the archaic meter was evidently the language of narration, and after the demise of performance in the old meter, the narration has become more mundane or turned into speech, as was the case in Savo. This means individual, personal expression and use of the vernacular language. In Savo, a good narrator had to command speech, know the colorful expressions and turns of phrase of the local dialect. In Savo and Central Finland, amusing narratives about clever liars, jokers and conjurors, such as Kuikka-Koponen, were particularly popular. Another heroic figure in Savo was the farmhand at the vicarage, a witty representative of ordinary people, who came up on top when faced with priests and other upper-class people. In narratives from eastern Finland, conditions such as those of finding a treasure were kind of realistic, they seem feasible. The treasure could be collected by a boy one night old along one-night-old ice on a one-night-old horse (map 84). The condition is verbal, ambiguous speech, which in effect expressed the same as supranormality: the impossibility of obtaining the treasure.

In the Savo dialect area, narration has been realistic in flavor, narratives about events that may have been possible, as in historical narratives (maps 80-81). In Savo-Karelia and southern Lapland, the most popular central characters of narratives have been local sorcerers and folk healers. The most authentic tradition of eastern Finland is represented by narratives of how a human being meets a supernatural

guardian of some natural feature, or memoirs of visits to sorcerers and healers, the sorcerer's snake (map 5) or how a sorcerer wreaks revenge, controls nature (maps 2, 53-54). The narratives are still often based on myths and rites of hunting and kinship society that have gradually been displaced to survive only in narratives.

The supranormal plot does not indicate that superstition and fear of supernatural beings would have been prevalent in western Finland, or that Savo-Karelian man had a more realistic view of his environment. The ancestral cult and sorcery, a real belief in the dead and supernatural guardians is closer in Savo-Karelia than in western Finland. The narration began to reflect social differences. In the stratified society of western Finland and gradually also of Savo, stereotypical narratives contained a hidden social protest or vented the internal pressures of a society where life was hard. A rich mistress engages in evil as a trulli, shamefully gives birth to a para, a farmhand defiles the food offering of the supernatural house guardian, beats the master. Frequently, a belief in supranormal matters is a belief in something that might be possible, fate or fortune, such as a treasure revealed from a hiding place, the lottery win of folklore. Western genres are narratives of prolific robbers and so-called equalizers, who were said to only steal from the rich and to give to the poor. Heroes of agrarian village culture are also famous strongmen, fighters and hard workers, even big eaters. In eastern kinship communities, interest has centered on relatives, news of kin, the everyday environment.

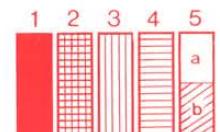
**1.** Jauhainen 1982; 1999. Simonsuuri 1947. **2.** Lehtipuro 1982. Simonsuuri 1951. General: e.g. Petzoldt 1989.



## 62. Haltian synty ja hahmo

### Origins and Habitus of Supernatural Guardians

1. Haltian hahmot  
Habitus of a supernatural guardian (tutelary spirit)
  1. metsänneito (kartta 70)  
made of the forest (map 70)
  2. tonttu  
brownie, little old man in grey dress and red cap
  3. vainaja  
deceased person in long, white death-shirt
  4. jätiläinen  
giant
  5. monihahmoinen  
multiform
    - a. muuttuvahahmoinen  
changing form
    - b. eläinhahmoinen  
animal form



Haltiahahmojen esiintymisen (%) alueen toisnoissa, yht. 4680 kertomusta  
Frequency (%) of types in statistical regions, total 4680 narratives

2. Dominioivat haltiahahmot  
Dominant types

tonttalue  
tontu area

3. Kulttuurihaltian synty  
Origin of supernatural guardian in the cultural environment

ensimmäinen vainaja  
the first to die (in the house)

ensimmäinen asukas, talon rakentaja  
first occupant, builder of house (owner)

ensimmäinen tulentekejä  
first fire maker (in the house)

haltiat taivaasta pudonneita enkeleitä  
tutelary spirits are angels fallen from heaven

Tilasto- ja levinnesyyskartta  
Statistical and distribution map

## 62.-68. SUPERNATURAL GUARDIANS OF THE ENVIRONMENT

### ***Supernatural owner***

**The nature of the haltia.** *Haltias* are supernatural inhabitants of a certain place and guardians of living creatures, living in an invisible environment but capable of showing themselves to humans and appearing in the world on this side. In Finnish interpretations, the haltia has been the supranormal original inhabitant or guardian of a place, albeit also the female progenitor, the eldest of the species or the first representative of some species of animal. A haltia may also be a human being after death, one who was the first to inhabit a place and was buried in his dwelling-place (map 7); on the other hand, a person can also have his own haltia, a guardian.

Haltia belief is closely related to belief in ancestors and earth folk, inhabitants of an inverse world (maps 39, 71-72). However, the supernatural guardian of a place is always a solitary being who guards its domain, its natural environment and peace. A supernatural guardian of animals has protected its own kind, in a way safeguarding the survival of a certain species by returning dead or slaughtered animals back to life on earth (map 1). Haltias are in their own sphere and among their own kind guardians of the invisible boundaries between man and nature, with human survival and prosperity also dependent on their benevolence (map 2).

The Finnish *haltia* evidently derives from Germanic languages; meanings of the root form \**haldias* are 'mother' or 'father', e.g. mother of the forest. Finno-Ugrians, in common with a number of other peoples, have called haltias the 'masters' or 'lords', owners or rulers of places.<sup>(1)</sup> In the Middle Ages, the haltia of one's dwelling place was replaced by the patron saint of the parish church (cf. map 22). A characteristic feature of folk belief in saints was still that each saint had its own function. Different species of animals and crops, like human activities and areas of culture, came under the domain of a certain saint; in matters pertaining to them, the saint acted as mediator before God.

**Haltia narratives.** In Finland, records on haltias are mostly in the form of narratives with international plots. The material of the maps also consists of haltia narratives as they existed in the peasant society of the end of the 1800s and early 1900s. Classifications of haltias distinguish between those of natural sites and cultural sites. Nature haltias were the supernatural inhabitants of forests and lakes or female progenitors of wild animals, while cultural haltias lived in the environment built by man, houses, workplaces,

mills or churches. Narratives on the haltias of natural environments contain few established narrative motifs. They are fundamentally beliefs or behavior norms. A person entering a haltia's domain had to seek its permission; without its leave and favor, human activities would not succeed, or the haltia ejected those who disturbed it (map 66). Narratives about the haltias of cultural sites often have a standard plot, an event that is the topic of the narration. The richest in terms of subject matter is the lore of house haltias from western Finland. The house haltia lives in the homestead, takes care of the house and watches over the life of its family. It must also be looked after; a dissatisfied or angry haltia would protest by moving away, or wreak revenge by burning down the house of killing its owners (maps 63, 65 and 68).

The maps and statistical distributions show regional structural differences in haltia legends. Within the peasant culture of western Finland, the focal point of haltia narratives was the house. Plenty of house haltia motifs are known as far as eastern Finland, but their plots have become obscured; legends about the haltias of cultural sites are perhaps most commonly attached to churches or mills. Within the hunting cultures of northern Finland and Dvina, haltias of the natural environment are dominant, particularly forest and forest sauna haltias, which in fact often mean the same supernatural inhabitant of a certain natural site. In Dvina and Olonets, the nature haltia has specifically been a haltia of the site, in the sense of 'the supernatural resident of a place'.

The distributions of the haltia folklore are collection frequencies of haltia legends with plots. The maps do not actually show the distribution of haltia belief, but of haltia narratives. Legends collected as folklore have usually been narratives with plots, few of which exist on nature haltias. Man would come into contact with haltias of the natural environment when spending the night in the forest or in hunting or fishing huts, when clearing swidden or building a house on the haltia's land (map 66). These legends reflect a real belief that every place has its own haltia. Conversely, the western house haltia is more a legendary figure that has become enmeshed with international plot motifs. Cultural haltias lived in legends, not so much in reality any more.

**Inverse narratives.** Haltia legends also contain elements of inverse or counter-lore, in which the house haltia is made fun of and the haltia belief is ridiculed. Some of these legends are associated with relations between servants and masters and express latent social protest. One common counter-legend is the tale of a farmhand who ate the porridge intended for the haltia and replaced it with his own faeces (map 63, cf. 60); the enraged *tonttu* took his revenge on the householders for the affront. The quick-witted farmhand defying his masters was the social hero of the 19th century, and stories about him were likely to have been well received in workers' cabins and among crofters. Some houses have given their haltias nicknames that were often humorous. Haltias were attached to the folk of the house, as if with personal ties. Some house-tonttu was amorous and pursued the mistress, or the tonttu had other human weaknesses. The thieving house-haltia comparable to a para (map 58) is perhaps also a counter-legend mocking the avarice of landed peasantry. Haltia legends may have been used to explain the prosperity of some house by saying that its wealth was not the result of the owners' ability, but their exploitation of 'greedy haltias'.

## 62. *Origins and habitus of supernatural guardians*

**Habitus of haltias.** Map 62 contains some stereotypical interpretations of haltias, sifted from narratives, with their frequency represented by the block diagrams shown on the map. The figures show the direct frequency of occurrence, i.e. how commonly (%) a certain haltia habitus or its standard epithets occur in all the haltia narratives of the region.(2)

(1) **Metsänneito** [Maid of the Forest] is a beautiful woman or maid viewed from the front, but when she turns around, for example to run away, she looks like the side of a spruce tree from behind. A criterion of her supernatural nature is also the fact that when meeting a person, such as a hunter, the Maid never showed her back (map 70).

(2) **Tonttu** (Sw. *tomterådare* 'site owner', *tomtegubbe*, 'old man of the place') is a haltia of specifically the drying barn (*riihni*) in Finland. Its appearance is described as a little old man dressed in grey and with a grey beard. Epithets of particularly the drying-barn tonttu are a red pointed hat and a pipe. The imaginary haltia habitus is visualized in the Nordic Christmas tomte tradition, seen for example on Christmas cards. In southwestern and western Finland, the idea is often found that the tonttu is one-eyed or that it has a single eye in the middle of its forehead. Martti Haavio believes that this originates from the legends of Polyphemus who in Finland has become associated with the tonttu.(3)

(3) **The deceased-type haltia** is like a soul or ghost, a humanoid apparition with long white hair down to the waist, or wearing a long white gown. Because the habitus of the haltia is evidently the image of a dead person in his white shroud and hair loose, the haltia habitus has been called the ancestor or deceased type. A long-haired figure shrouded in white also appears in narratives on the dead and ghosts, and it is a common habitus of a supranormal being in Finnish folk narrative.

(4) **The giant** was most commonly a forest haltia; it rose in the forest as a frightening monster the size of a tall tree. The giant is often already the devil or *hiisi* in the Christian meaning of the word (map 76), but the original criterion of the supernatural status of the forest haltia has probably been that the haltia showed itself in the size of the tallest vegetation on the site. In the forest it was as tall as the highest trees, in the grass only the size of a grass stalk, allowing it to hide in the undergrowth.

(5) **A polymorphous or multiform haltia** can appear in different guises; for example in Savo and Ladoga Karelia the haltia sometimes appears as a haycock, a moving haystack (cf. map 55). However, most commonly the haltia has appeared in the form of some animal. It is a mouse, weasel, snake or any mysterious animal seen on the spot, a haltia animal. The idea that a haltia can manifest as an animal is universal, and in European folklore the supernatural guardian of a house may also be an animal, such as a snake (map 5).

A further type of haltia, of which only scattered records exist, occurs in forest haltia legends. The haltia is described as a warlord or forest warden in colorful clothes, in uniform or with shiny buttons, suddenly encountered in the forest. It has been suggested that the haltia image has arisen from military deserters hiding in the forests.(4)

**Dominant haltia habituses.** The map identifies two core areas of haltia habituses: in the west, the focus of legends is (1) the house haltia-tonttu, in the east the dominant type is (2) the deceased type. Of all haltia figures, tonttu and the Maid of the Forest (map 70) are clearly western, and their equivalents are found in Swedish folklore. In Finnish haltia narratives, the tonttu in particular has been an anthropomorphic, physically active creature with a clearly identifiable habitus. Originally, the tonttu in Finland was like the old grandfather of the house, who in the autumn heated the drying barn and walked around the farmstead at night-time in general. In the legends, the figure of the old master of the house has become the Scandinavian stereotype, a tonttu with a pointed hat and small stature.

The habitus of a dead person and the haltia in animal form or a polymorphous haltia have also been known in western areas; they are part of an ancient layer. The giant or monster type comes from eastern Finland and is particularly common in the Savonian area, where the devil or the evil one became the central character of almost all narratives in the 1800s. In eastern areas the haltia interpretations were dominated by deceased and animal haltias. They are still based on the idea that the dead remain in their home ground as haltias, as was apparently believed in the early Iron Age farming communities and even in the hunting era. According to the hunting era world view, the soul of the shaman or his assistant spirit moved around specifically in animal form. Eastern haltia figures are akin to the souls of deceased beings, moving and having an influence in the immaterial environment or in the world on the other side.

**Origin of the cultural haltia.** In Finnish legends, the supernatural guardian of the house was originally (1) the first deceased person to be buried on the site (2) the first occupant who built the house and cleared the land, or (3) the first fire-maker who made the first fire in the fireplace of the new house. In Swedish-speaking areas of Ostrobothnia, haltias were said to be (4) angels who were ejected from heaven and fell to earth; in Christianity-based interpretations, the origin of the haltia and at the same the whole belief in haltias acquired a negative flavor.

In the area stretching from southwestern Finland to Savo, the haltia is the first deceased person, but the legends generally concern the church or graveyard haltia. The eastern haltia is more like the first ancestor, builder or fire-maker in appearance, age and even character, male or female, child or old person, irascible or kindly by nature. Thus, some houses had an ill-natured or stern guardian, others a poor, powerless one. The narratives explain the origin of the haltia's role persona, and the motifs are characteristic of legends comparing the behavior of the supernatural guardians of different houses.

The idea that the first ancestor, or a dead person in general, becomes the supernatural guardian is the most common of all, including in preserved German house guardian folklore.(5 The first ancestor is also behind rites where a supernatural guardian has been obtained for a man-made building, for example by burying a live animal in the foundations, in some ancient dynasties even a human being. In Finland the distribution of the explanations based on the deceased extends across the area of medieval stone churches. In the early farming villages of the Gulf of Finland coast, the haltia was evidently the deceased person first buried in the *hiisi* wood of the house; he was often the first inhabitant of the place and the male progenitor of the kinship group. The first ancestor as haltia is part of the ancestral cult tradition. When it became customary to bury the dead in the church or the churchyard, the first deceased person became the supernatural guardian of the church also in Finland (map 7, cf. maps 22, 52).

A widespread belief is also that the haltia of the house was originally the person who lit the first fire in the new house, or that the guardian physically resembled the first fire-maker. The most unbroken distribution area of the motif covers South and North Ostrobothnia, central Finland, northern Savo, Kainuu and southern Lapland. There are incidental records even from Dvina, South Karelia and Ingria. Almost equally widespread is the motif that the haltia was the builder of the house or its first occupant; however, there are far fewer variants. After the dead were no longer buried in the vicinity of the house, the haltia explanations may also have changed, and the deceased person was replaced by the first fire-maker, who also symbolizes the builder of the house and the first occupant.

**Strengthening of occupation.** The Finnish corpus of material would appear to reinforce evolutionist explanations that the most original would be the supernatural guardian of fire, or that the home guardian would be associated with the fireplace, and its original dwelling-place would also be the area around the fireplace in the *tupa* or greatroom.(6 However, the essential feature of the haltias of cultural sites is pri-

## 63. Haltiariitit Rites for Supernatural Guardians

1. Haltian pitäminen  
Keeping a supernatural guardian

◆ talossa haltian huone  
a room for the supernatural guardian in the house

◆ saunan lämmittäminen haltiale  
heating a sauna, also for the supernatural guardian, on festival days

Kertomuksia haltiale  
uhraamisesta  
Narratives of sacrificing to a  
supernatural guardian

1. merkkipäiväantimet (65  
tietoa)  
sacrifices on special days  
(65 cases)

2. esikoisantimet (110)  
first-share (primogeniture)  
sacrifices (110)

3. jokapäiväinen ruokinta  
(255)  
daily feeding (255)

Yht. 430 kertomusta, jakautumat alueittain (%)  
Total 430 narratives, regional distributions (%)

2. Haltiale maksaminen  
Paying a supernatural guardian (owner)

▲ tinanvalanta talonhaltiale  
vuodenvaihteessa  
casting tin to the guardian of  
the house at the turn of the year

▲ tinanvalanta luonnonhaltiale  
vuodenvaihteessa  
casting tin to the guardian of  
nature at the turn of the year

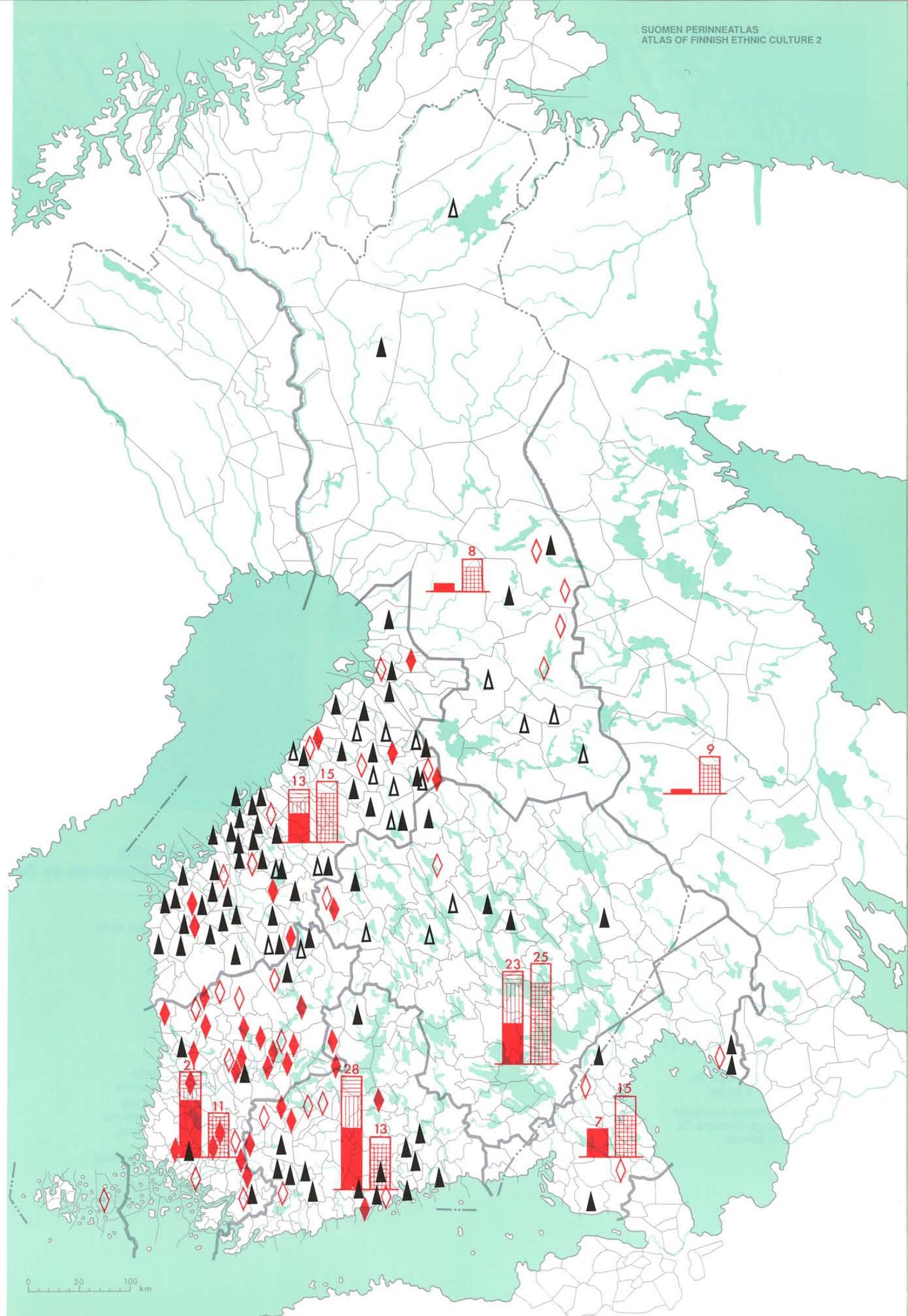
Kertomuksia haltiamaksuista  
Narratives of payings

1. metalli- ja raha-antimet  
(50)  
sacrifices of metal and coins  
(50)

2. viina-, tupaka- yms.  
antimet (215)  
sacrifices of liquor, tobacco,  
etc. (215)

Yht. 265 kertomusta, jakautumat alueittain (%)  
Total 265 narratives, regional distributions (%)

Tilasto- ja rekisterikartta  
Statistical and archive map



marity; the new haltia takes possession of a vacant or liminal space. Thus, the supernatural guardian of the house may even have been the person to first set foot on the site, after his death. In the nature haltia area, above all in Karelia, there is scarcely any old folklore concerning the origin of the haltia. The idea that every place has its supernatural guardian is primordial, as ancient and self-evident as the belief that the human soul continues to exist after death. Narrative motifs explaining the origin of the haltia must be examined in the light of the questions to which people in the area of house haltia legends expected answers.

The explanations share the fundamental belief that the first person to occupy a place remains as the guardian of his work after his death. The first fire-maker was the swidden farmer-hunter who settled the site. Fire-making has been a signal of staking claim to land, an occupation rite.(7) With the aid of fire, cultivating man in particular has permanently occupied the land and at the same time perhaps symbolically driven away the previous supernatural inhabitants of his living environment. In western areas, it has been necessary to crystallize the habitus of the house haltia, to make it anthropomorphic, as if to confirm its authority. The first fire-maker or builder of the house is the original inhabitant and founder of the order that must be observed in the house. Etiological legends are older than stereotyped narratives about a tonttu or Maid of the Forest, and in their day answered the questions as to who the house haltia is, its appearance, why it works for the benefit of the house, and why it must be fed and respected in the house. In western Finland, house haltias have acquired the status of the ancestors who in pre-Christian agricultural communities were buried in hiisi woods, and who gave man the right to the land.  
(Si C 1501-1531, G 101-141, G 201-211)

### **63. Rites for supernatural guardians**

**Sustaining a haltia.** According to western narratives, some houses kept a dedicated food bowl for the haltia in the attic of the main house, or food was left overnight on the kitchen table (sauna stove) for it (map 63). The haltia may also have had its own dish in the stable, byre, sauna, or some other outbuilding. The house haltia has mostly been thought to live in the attic, as was the case among the Vermland Finns, but also in the barn or sauna. However, its dwelling place must be interpreted in a number of ways. Some legends seem to indicate that each building had its own guardian, but on the other hand the house haltia had a certain place it liked to stay around. Often the haltia liked it specifically in the stable or cowhouse, and at milking time, the guardian's cup was always filled with milk first.

The idea that some houses really were keeping a supernatural resident culminates in legends according to which (1) the haltia lived in a certain room designated to it, which no-one apart from the master or mistress of the house was allowed to enter. Food was taken for the haltia into the room either regularly or on certain ritual days. Like the ancestors, (2) the haltia has bathed in the sauna in the same way as humans. This tradition has two principal versions: The sauna was heated for the haltia on Sundays or certain special days; it was intended purely for the guardian, and the sauna was cleaned as it would be for an honored visitor. The same was provided for ancestors in Dvina (map 7). As a more normal routine, haltias bathed on sauna nights after the house folk, and water must always be left in the sauna for the purpose. Narratives about the guardian's room are limited mostly to Ostrobothnia, Satakunta, Varsinais-

Suomi, Häme and Uusimaa; some narratives about the haltia bathing in the sauna have traveled further east, e.g. to Kainuu.

There are three types of food offerings described in the legends. The haltia was given food on certain (1) special days, most commonly at Christmas, Michaelmas, Kekri or Shrovetide, when the sauna was also heated for them. This would indicate that making offerings to haltias was a rite attached to the turn of the year, like remembering the dead. In the same way as with sacrificial trees, haltias were given (2) primogenic offerings from the annual harvest or prepared food: the first grains from autumn threshing, the first share of the first porridge or bread from the new crop, the first fish at the start of dragnet fishing season, or the first drops of colostrum milk when a cow had calved, or it was proper to give the haltia the first share every time bread was baked, flour ground on hand stones or animals slaughtered; it was very common for the first drops of milk to be milked for the haltia. In some houses haltias were (3) fed regularly every day, as if they were members of the household. These narratives are the most common in southwestern Finland; while most narratives of calendric offerings come from western areas, primogenic offerings have also been known in eastern Finland (diagram 1; cf. map 3).

**Persuasion rites.** Records on haltia payments exist from the whole Finnish-Karelian area, but proportionally the most from eastern Finland (diagram 2). Offerings have been made to the haltia (1) of money, shavings of silver, tin or other metal, drops of mercury, or (2) liquor and tobacco. The rites have been employed to secure good fortune in hunting, fishing or rearing cattle, but metal and alcohol offerings have also been used in healing and repelling rites when seeking help for illnesses, protecting the cattle from predators or averting other misfortunes. Liquor entered haltia rites perhaps in the 1700s and displaced metal offerings; more data have been recorded on dripping liquor for the haltia than on metal offerings (diagram 2:2). Alcohol was thought to make haltias particularly favorably disposed to humans.

Metal and alcoholic offerings are different in nature from food offerings. They are so-called magic spells, persuasion rites and reciprocal payments used in an attempt to influence the haltias, make them benevolent, appease them, or to obtain permission from the guardian of the site to take quarry, build a house or keep cattle on its land. They reflect the same idea as seide offerings (map 2). Offerings were made to the haltia in a place where man came into contact with it or intruded in its territory. The offering to a nature haltia was shaved or dripped onto an earth stone, anthill, spring, or forest haltia's table, at the foot of a low-growing spruce that resembled a table. The supernatural owner of the place had to be paid his share, the haltia's share; a human being who prospered in the natural environment also got along with the inhabitants on the other side of his living environment.

**Casting tin for the haltia.** Another tradition often classified as a haltia rite is casting tin at New Year or Christmas, when molten tin was poured into water, and the shape of the solidified metal was thought to reveal omens about the future. The tin was divined and cast in turns for each person, usually every member of the household, but always first for the haltia; it was a kind of primogenic offering. In Ostrobothnia and Uusimaa tin was cast (1) for the house haltia, in the eastern area of North Savo and Kainuu usually (2) for the nature haltia.

Martti Haavio has also associated tin-casting with legends of Polyphemus, the story of blinding the one-eyed Cyclops famous from the adventures of Odysseus.<sup>(8)</sup> However, tin-casting in Finland has been a rite of the turn of the year and comparable to metal offerings, and it is unlikely to have any connection with the Polyphemus legends. Future rites became increasingly widespread in agrarian cultures, for example in wedding customs (maps 19-20) or when burning festival fires (maps 24-25). Especially at the turn of the year, people wanted to enquire about the weather, crop growth or the fortunes of the house

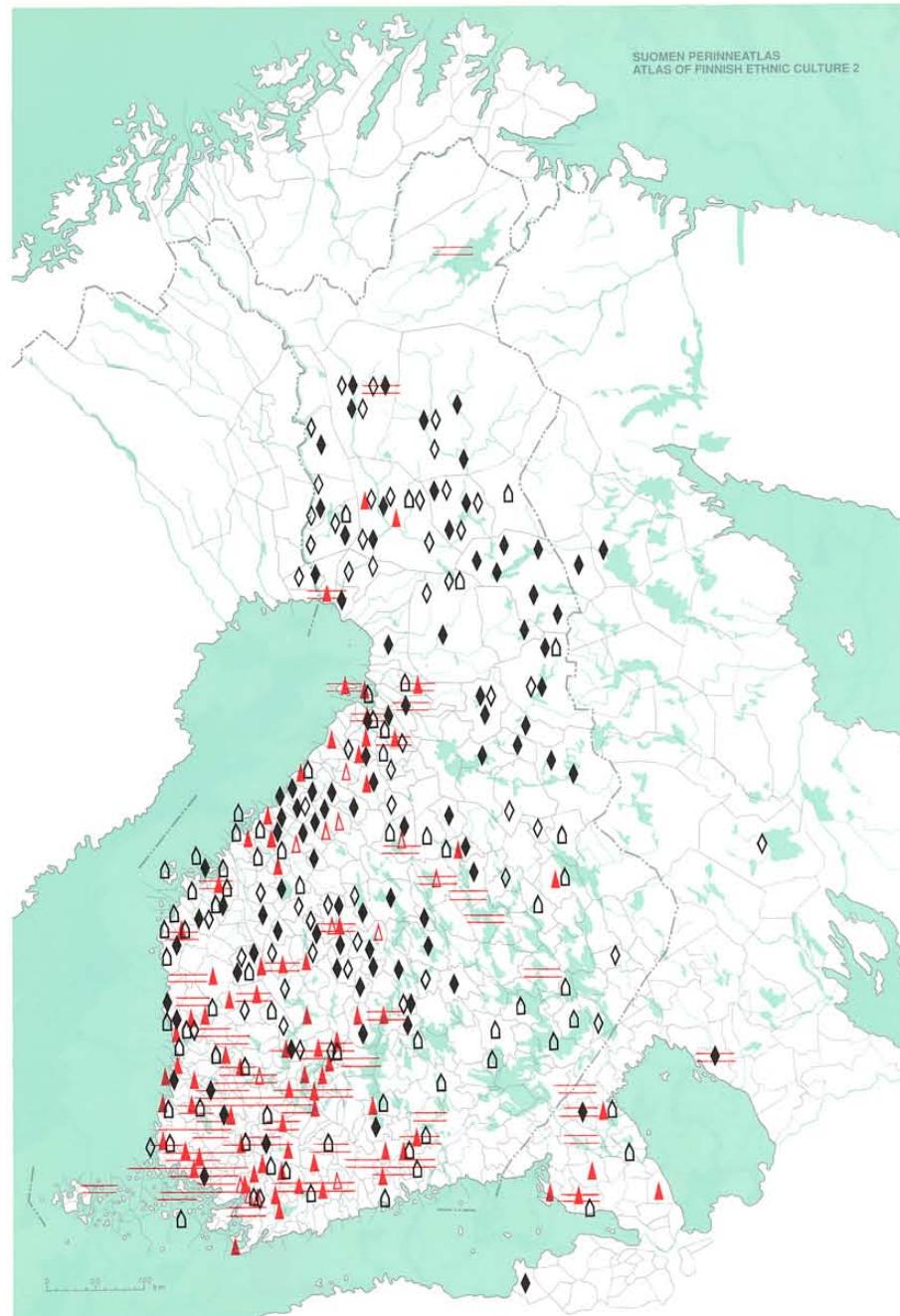
and its residents in general for the new year. Offerings to the haltia may also have evolved into asking for divinations, and as such, tin-casting has remained right up to the present day.

**From home altars to haltia offerings.** Narratives describing the feeding of supernatural guardians are western, while haltia payments, offering them metal and liquor, are eastern tradition and fundamentally belong with rites for nature haltias. In the western house haltia area, one might speak of regular offerings or a haltia cult, whereas haltia rites are characteristic of the eastern tradition area; the guardian of the place has been given a reciprocal payment in return for allowing man to enter its territory. The house haltia cult has probably only existed as folklore. The tradition is based on the ancestral cult, calendric or primogenic offerings were part of ancestral belief, and specifically the dead were invited for a meal at the turn of year rites, when the sauna was also heated for them. The haltia cult is evidently one of the last vestiges of ancestral belief. In western Finland, the haltia is still indirectly linked to the deceased of the house; the haltias are former residents of the house.

In the Orthodox area, remembrance of the dead may have been preserved unchanged, or the haltia belief merged with the cult of saints. In Lutheran Karelia and eastern Finland, keeping sacrificial trees has apparently also partially replaced the haltia rites. The haltia was still the guardian of the land, the supernatural inhabitant of man's dwelling place who was given its primogenic share, even the first drops of milk at the daily milking. Thus, in western Finland the ancestral cult would have last lived in narratives about the house haltia. The haltia rites had become a substitute institution for the ancestral cult, or 'haltia' was a code name for the ancestor of the house akin to the 'holy men' who were invited to visit at Kekri or Christmas. The ancestors of the family or kinship group had been superseded by the house and its supranormal guardian. The haltia's room may have preserved memories of the cult rooms of the prehistoric age, such as the *kuola*-barn of cultivating Permic peoples, particularly the Udmurts.(9 Finnish tradition no longer contains information on dolls representing 'house gods' or haltia shelves where house haltias were kept, whereas the Orthodox icon niche corresponded to the home altar in the Christian era.

Giving nature haltias offerings of metal and later liquor is characteristically old universal sacrificial tradition already present in hunting culture. The rite is based on the premise that man must pay or give a gift in return for what the haltia gives (map 2). Man and the supernatural guardians each had their own share, and each was mutually dependent on the other. The Savo-Karelian hunter and swidden farmer was above all dependent on nature, the guardians of quarry animals and natural sites. He had to coexist with the haltia of the land, to pay it a share of what he was forced to take from nature. The supernatural guardian of an animal or hunting ground may give or hide the quarry, without its permission the swidden did not thrive, and cattle grazing in the forest was threatened by many dangers. The haltia's territory was also invaded by the tar-burner, later also loggers, and narratives exist in Savo of haltias of log stores (*tukkilanssi*) or other loggers' workplaces. In the end, man's own fate, success or misfortune, were dependent on his own haltia, its strength, man's own nature. The relationship of hunting culture man with nature haltias did not entail cult-like worship reflected by food offerings. In offerings of refined metals, the central concept was that of reciprocity, giving the guardian compensation, and also the idea that a person who had strength from his own supernatural guardian was capable of influencing the forces that ruled his living environment (map 2).

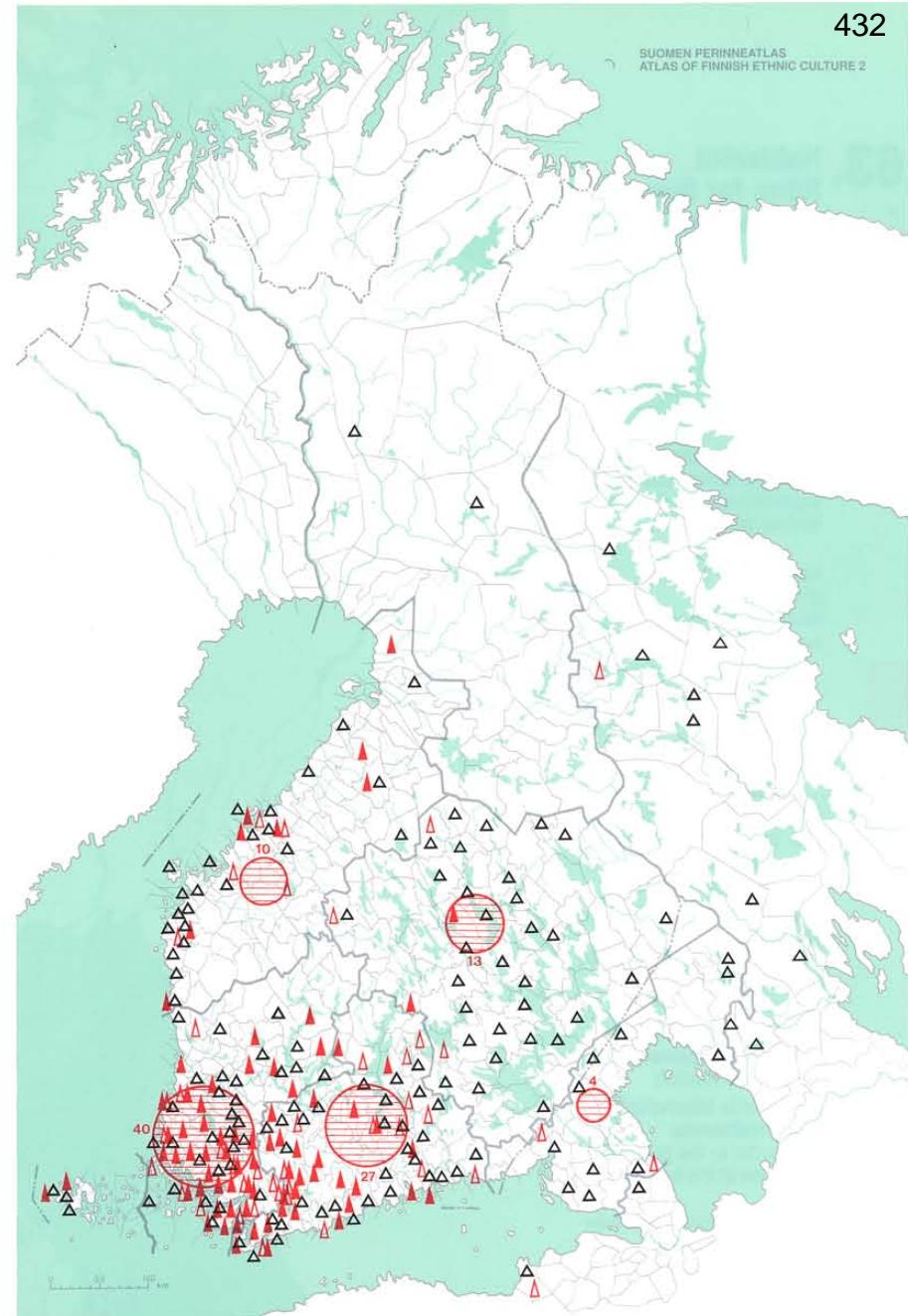
(Si G 1301-1400, K 31-32, L 33, L 131)



## 64. Pelastava haltia Supernatural Guardians as Rescuers

- 1. Haltia heräättää ihmisen  
Supernatural guardian wakes someone up
- 2. Haltia torjuu vaaran  
Supernatural guardian wards off danger
- tulipalon sytyyessä  
when the house catches fire
- tervahaudan sytyyssä  
when the tar pit catches fire
- myllyn jauhaessa tyhjää  
when the mill starts grinding air
- puun kaatuessa  
when a tree falls (on the campfire of a hunter)
- vaaran uhatessa kotieläimiä  
when danger threatens the domestic animals

4-40 %



## 65. Hyödyttävä haltia Supernatural Guardians as Benefactors

- 1. Haltia tekee työtä  
Supernatural guardian works on the farm
  - lämmittää rihtiä  
heats the drying barn
  - pui rihessä  
threshes in the barn
  - hoitaa talon karjaa  
tends the cattle
- Yht. 193 toisintoa, jakautuma alueittain (%)  
Total 193 variants, regional distribution (%)
- Tilasto- ja levinneisyyskartta  
Statistical and distribution map
- 2. Kertomusten yleisyys  
Distribution of narratives  
Kertomuksia talossa työtä tekevästä haliista. Haltia pui tai lämmittää rihtiä, siivoaa, kantaa puita jne.  
Narratives about a supernatural guardian who works:  
threshes or heats the barn, cleans, carries firewood, etc.

## 64. *Supernatural guardians as rescuers*

**Haltia wakes a person.** There are two basic versions of the narrative of how the haltia helps at a moment of danger: (1) The haltia woke a person or kind of entered his dream to warn about a danger, whereby the person was himself able to avert the impending accident, often at the last moment. More variable in plot structure are narratives of how (2) the haltia through its own actions prevented a fire from starting or extinguished a fire already raging (map 64).

In the western house haltia area, the wakener was the haltia of the drying barn [*rihi*] or the dwelling house. The *rihi* haltia shook awake the person assigned to heat the drying barn when he had dropped off in front of the fireplace and a burning coal fell onto the floor, or the house haltia awoke the master or mistress asleep in bed when the house, byre or sauna was about to catch fire. In northern and eastern areas, there was a tale of a forest sauna haltia who woke a hunter spending the night there when the sauna caught fire. In the upper reaches of Ostrobothnian rivers, in the last areas of tar-burning (cf. Atlas Part I, map 5), the ecotype is the legend of how the haltia woke a tar-burner when the tar-burning pit or charcoal kiln had caught fire.

Mainly northern and eastern tradition is the narrative about the supernatural guardian of the forest that saved a hunter spending the night by a campfire seconds before a tree, rotten through old age or uprooted by the wind, crashed across the fire. The narrative appears to belong to a very old layer, and it is found both in western and eastern Finland. Distributed across central and northern Finland is a legend of a miller who fell asleep while watching the milling at night; the haltia awoke him just before the grain ran out and the millstones were beginning to grind empty.

A separate motif group is formed by narratives of the haltia that saved the life of some domestic animal. The supernatural guardian, usually interpreted as the haltia of the cattleshed, woke the household when a cow calved at night in the byre or a horse foaled in the stable and the birth would not have been successful without human help. The animal may also have been in another kind of danger, about to be strangled to death by its leash in the byre or on the pasture. The haltia came to wake people when a wild animal had got into the byre or attempted to attack the cattle in the pen.

**Haltia wards off danger.** Legends of the haltia that prevented fire from spreading or helped an animal are known both in western and eastern Finland, while they have not been recorded from Karelia with the exception of a few variants from the Isthmus. In the eastern tradition, the haltia was a kind of protector or prevented an accident in a supernatural way. Conversely, in the house haltia area of western Finland the haltia acted itself, putting out the fire or releasing the animal. In the narratives, the guardian of the drying barn, tonttu, extinguished the burning coal fallen from the fireplace onto the floor or threw it back into the fire, the house haltia put out the fire in the attic that had started from a crack in the chimney breast, raised the alarm and even carried water in a bucket to throw on the fire. The haltia was a true grandfather of the house, the old master of bygone times, who was awake while the others slept.

(Si G 151, G 301, G 311, G 511, G 551, G 601, G 811, G 901-1000, K 11, K 12, K 51)

## 65. Supernatural guardians as benefactors

**Working haltia.** Map 65 shows narratives of how a haltia helped the householders cope with keeping house. In southwestern Finland, the *tonttu* is specifically a haltia of the drying barn, seen in that building in the autumn sitting in front of the fireplace watching the fire, smoking its pipe and wearing its red pointed hat. A Finnish drying barn was used to dry the rye before threshing, and its loss by fire would have been a disaster of dire consequences for the house. The tonttu supervised the drying of the grain, and it has been heard knocking in the barn as if someone was threshing with a flail. Many narratives describe the haltia as if really heating the barn, carrying firewood, adding more logs to the fire, or throwing back embers fallen on the floor. If a fallen ember had gone out, a tonttu had extinguished it. The haltia was an interpretation of what was heard and seen in the barn, and it was explained as acting like a good barn-heater and ensuring that no mishap befell the house.

Corresponding narratives have concerned the haltia inhabiting the main house, its attic. It was heard moving about at night doing various chores; it repaired things and put them away, fetched firewood and did the cleaning. The haltia visited the cattleshed to feed the animals, brushed them clean and braided the horse's mane or tail. The house haltia watched over the house at night, making sure that all was well and in order.

(Si G 131, G 141, G 301, G 311-312, G 321, G 511, G 551)

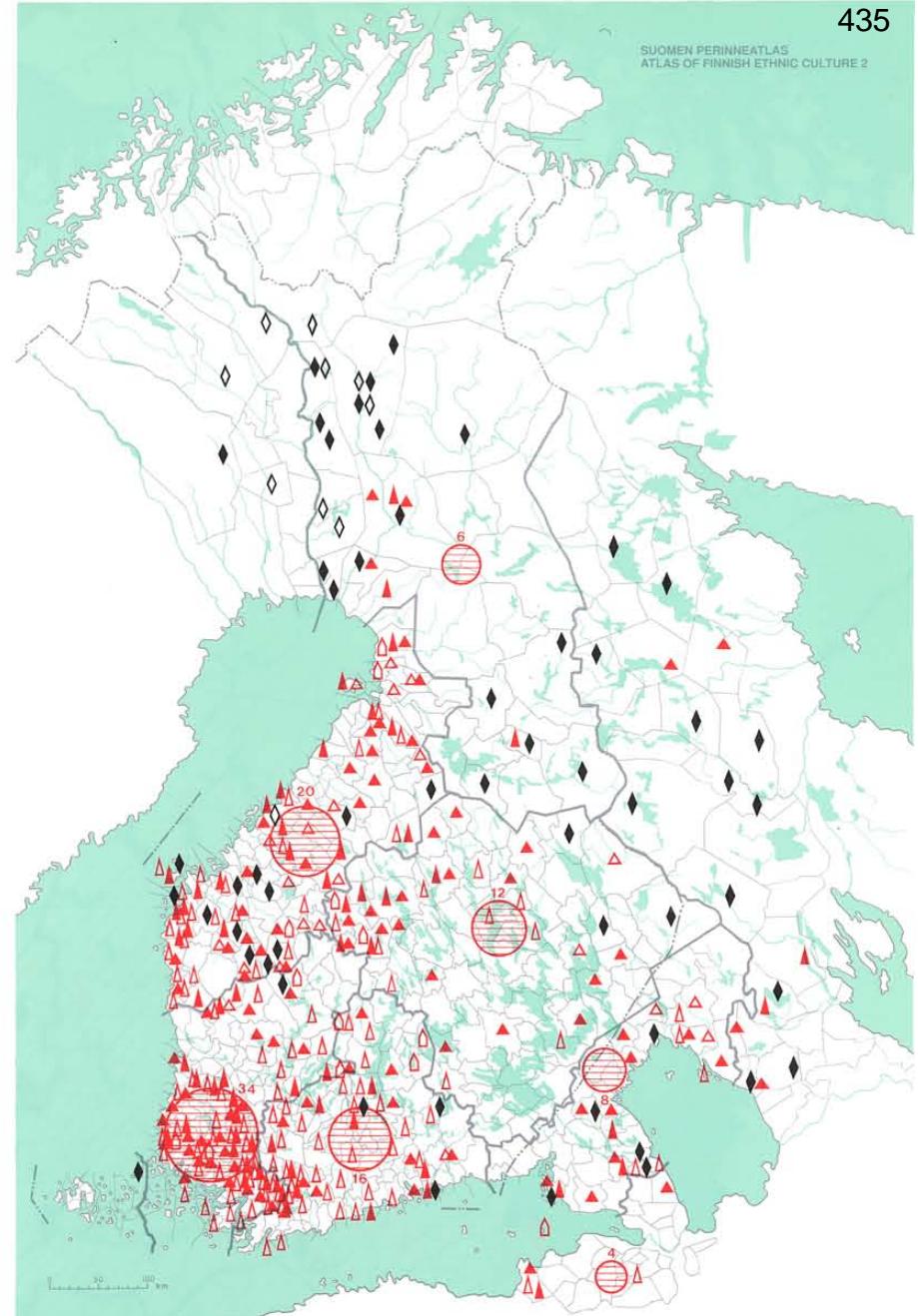
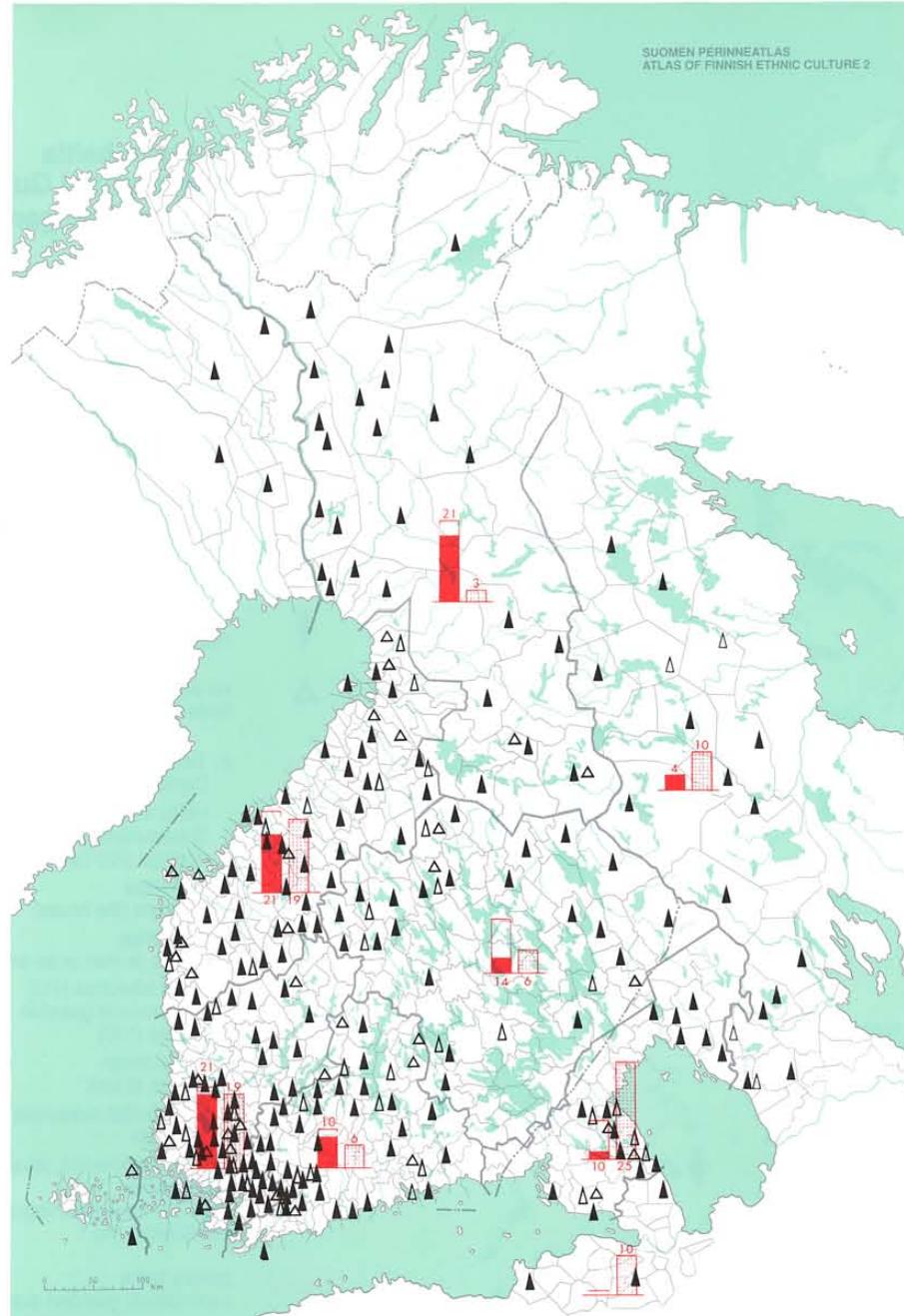
**Haltia looks after animals.** The narratives of cattleshed haltias are the most widespread, reaching right across to Dvina and Olonets. In eastern Finland, too, the cattleshed haltia may be an active creature who fed the animals and plaited the horse's mane or tail. However, an idea is found in Karelia that the haltia of the byre or pigsty only favored animals of a certain color. Braiding the horse's tail or cows with shining coats was a sign of the haltia's favor; animals of the color shunned by the haltia sickened and died. A shining coat and a full mane were signs of the haltia's favor, a matted animal with poor fur was not tolerated by it.

In eastern tradition areas, the haltia did not look after the animals in the night like the western house haltia, but it favored or did not favor certain animals, brought good cattle fortune to the house or took it away. The haltia's favor or disfavor was the explanation of why human endeavors, such as rearing the livestock of the house, did not always succeed. In the east the cattleshed haltia was still the guardian of the land, the supernatural resident of the site where man had built his cattleshed. Corresponding ideas of a benevolent haltia, for example one plaiting the horse's mane, are found among both Finnic and Russian peoples of northern Russia.(10)

Narratives of the working haltia are concentrated in southwestern Finland and other areas of western peasant culture (map 65, diagram) and correspond to narratives of the agrarian culture of western Europe. In the swidden culture area, especially in Dvina, only the cattleshed haltia helped human beings, but its activities were interpreted in different ways. In western Finland, the working haltia was like a good peasant, in the east rather a supernatural neighbor living in man's homestead, or the female progenitor of an animal whose favor man had won.

(Si G 301-400)

**Haltia carrying goods.** The haltia may also have become a bringer of wealth akin to the para (map 58).



1. Luvan kysyminen haltialta  
Seeking the permission of the supernatural guardian, owner of nature
  - 1. rakentamislupa (20 tietoa)  
to build (20 cases)
  - 2. yöpymis- tai tulenteekolupa (50)  
to spend the night or make a fire (50)
2. Luvan kysyminen haltialta  
Seeking the permission of the supernatural guardian, owner of nature
  - 1. rakentamislupa (20 tietoa)  
to build (20 cases)
  - 2. yöpymis- tai tulenteekolupa (50)  
to spend the night or make a fire (50)



Yht. 70 kertomusta, jakautumat alueittain (%)  
Total 70 narratives, regional distributions (%)

3. Haltian tervehitiminen.  
Kertomusten yleisyys  
Greeting the supernatural guardian. Frequency of narratives

3. haltiaa tervehdittävä paikalle tultaessa  
supernatural guardian/owner must be greeted on coming to a place

Yht. 60 kertomusta, jakautuma alueittain (%)  
Total 60 narratives, regional distribution (%)

Tilasto- ja rekisterikartta  
Statistical and archive map

In Häme, Satakunta and South Ostrobothnia, the goods-carrying haltia was the house tonttu. It fetched grain or other goods from the neighbors to the house. The legends include a stereotypical narrative of the guardians of two houses or manor houses, who had gone to each others' houses to fetch goods, one flour and the other logs. On their way back they came face to face and started fighting. One hit the other with logs, but the other swiped a bag of flour and blinded its opponent when flour got in its eyes. This explained why the haltias of some houses were blind or how 'tonttu-graves', hollow Ice Age formations and depressions were created; they were places where haltias had fought.

(Si H 11, H 21, H 41)

## 66-67. *Supernatural guardians as banishers*

**Haltia drives away.** The framework theme of the motif relates how a haltia banished a person who had entered its territory without making an 'offering' or payment, or greeting it (maps 66-67). The banishing haltia was originally the supernatural resident of a certain site, into the territory of which a human being intruded. The most widespread motif in Finland has been (1) banishing a man spending the night. The original narrative is about a hunter who spent the night in the forest being banished by the forest haltia, because he had failed to greet it or to ask its permission to spend the night, or he had made his campfire on the haltia's path. Especially in eastern and northern regions, greeting and asking permission were part of the everyday culture of hunters, reindeer herders and loggers. The guardian's permission had to be sought also when spending the night in forest saunas, fishing huts and cabins, or at least it was obligatory to greet it on entering. In the forest, humans had to take care not to settle to sleep or light a campfire on the haltia's path, or so that the supernatural inhabitants of the place would be disturbed. In the absence of permission or payment, the haltia would give no peace, but disturbed one's sleep, troubled as nightmares, and scared the sleeper away from its territory.

In the western house haltia area, the hunter is substituted with a late-night traveller who decided to spend the night in a drying barn, or perhaps entered the bakehouse when the household was already asleep, without greeting the haltia or asking its leave to stay the night. The supernatural guardian is the haltia of the house, and the environment has become the homestead of a house of landed peasantry.

(Si G 1, G 161, G 221, G 421, G 431, G 521, G 561, G 601, K 16)

A parallel motif is formed by (2) cautionary narratives of the haltia who chased away late-night bathers in the sauna. The sauna haltia, when specifically mentioned by that name, generally only occurs in these legends and refers to the house haltia. Fundamentally, it is a question of someone going into the sauna when it was the haltia's turn to bathe, or in earlier times that of the ancestors, or when the sauna had been heated specially for the haltia (map 63). In recorded cautionary legends, the devil has already displaced the supernatural guardian. Beelzebub killed those who went into the sauna to bathe in the night with excessive steam, skinned them and hung their hides from a pole or on the sauna platforms to dry; the same horror motifs are also found in haltia narratives. The message of devil narratives is Christian. Those bathing too late breached the holy day or engaged in witchcraft in the sauna, like the Sunday workers of the blood-stanching incantations (maps 45-48). Narratives of the devil have also been used to

raise fear towards ancestral and haltia rites.

(Si E 261, E 271, G 411)

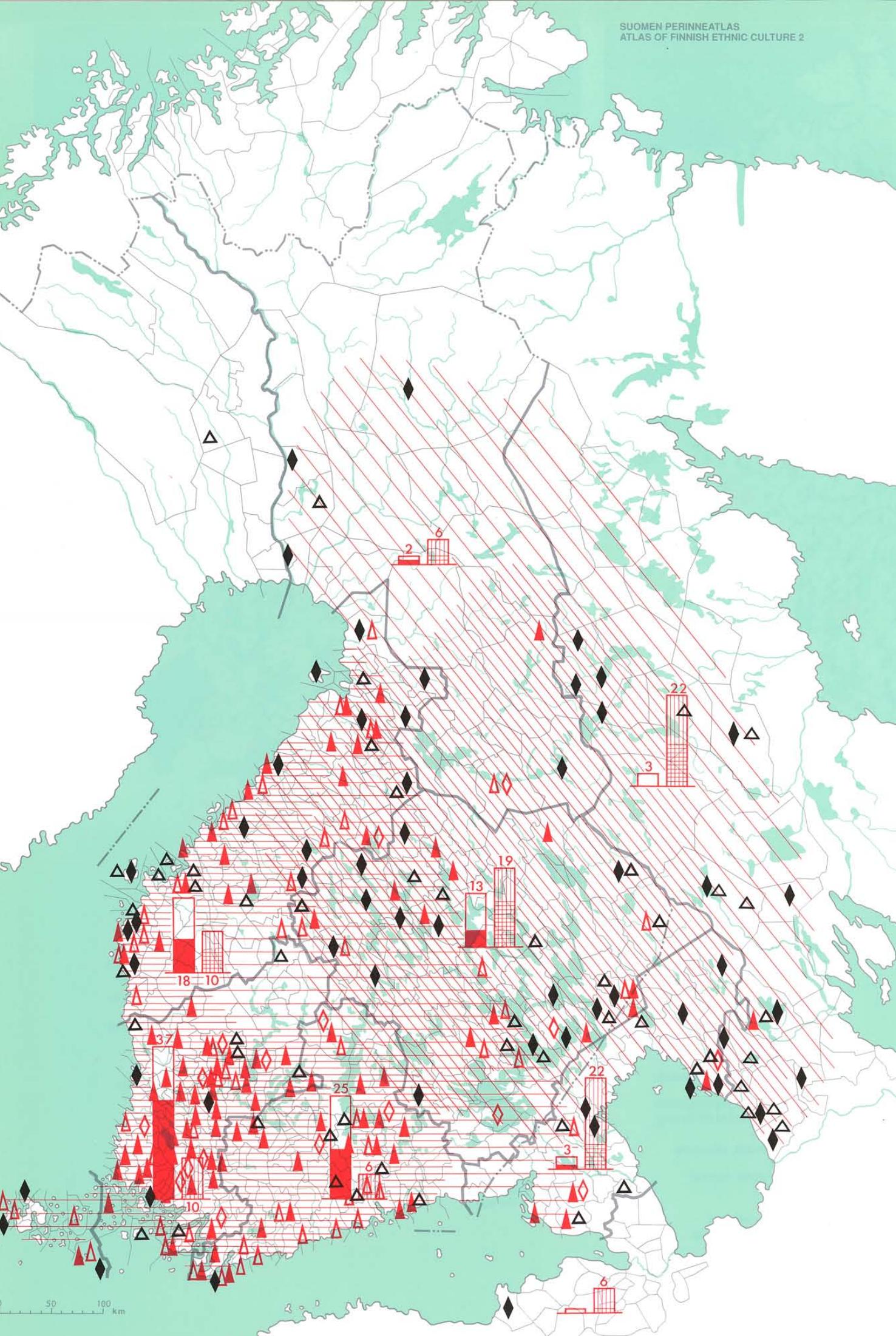
An evidently later motif, western in terms of distribution, is that (3) the haltia drives away thieves who have entered a house or church in the night; particularly in central Finland, the narrative has concerned a church. Usually, the guardian scared off the intruders, but it might also have manhandled the thieves and given them a good thrashing; a frequent theme is that the house tonttu had supernatural strength. The thief may sometimes be replaced by a late caller at the house, unknown to the haltia. Legends of thieves have been alien in eastern and northern Finland, where doors were still kept unlocked in the 19th century, and travelers might come into the house to sleep in the dead of night without needing to ask for permission. Conversely, in western Finland thieves and robbers were already an element of social structure (cf. map 52). The church haltia also acquires the status of a Christian protector; it chased off the criminals who had come to steal the church coffers, silver or communion wine.

(Si C 1311)

**Seeking permission.** A second motif-genre of banishing legends is asking permission of the owner of the natural environment (a) to spend the night or make a fire e.g. on the camp site, or (b) to build a new house. At least, the supernatural guardian or owner (c) must be greeted on arrival to a place (statistical diagrams). The legends warn about making a fire or building a house on a spot where the guardian itself lived, and they are natural elements of the folklore of eastern swidden and settlement areas. The guardian's permission had to be sought also when moving to a new place, or when new people came into the house. The norms were reinforced by narratives of how someone had built his house on a haltia's path, or his byre ended up on top of the haltia's abode and the cattle manure dropped onto its table. A house erected in the wrong spot had to be moved, otherwise the efforts of its inhabitants would fail. Asking for permission to build and various building offerings are universal. The supernatural residents of the place were not always haltias, but earth folk living underground in the inverse world (map 71). (Si G 181)

**Regional variations.** The narratives about a banishing haltia are also western and in statistical terms cluster in western Finland (50%), especially in the area of landed peasantry culture in Varsinais-Suomi and Satakunta (34%; map 67, diagram). In the narratives concerning encounters between the haltia and a human being, the most common motif in all areas is asking for leave to spend the night; permission to build is known in eastern areas, especially in Savo and Karelia (map 66, diagram 1). There are records on greeting the haltia from all areas (map 66, diagram 2). Greeting and requesting leave to spend the night are not part of Christian village culture, but the norms have a universal background. They are eco-typical narrative themes of the area of supernatural guardians of nature, the frequencies of which diverge from the general distribution of the haltia tradition, weighted to the west.

In the house haltia area, the banisher of outsiders is usually the haltia of the dwelling-house or drying barn. The drying-barn narratives have their own stereotypes. The haltia frightened a strange traveler who had gone into the barn to get out of the rain or to seek a place to rest. In southwestern Finland, the guardian behaved like a peasant who was suspicious of strangers, looking after his property. In eastern regions the scenes of the events were most commonly forest and fishing saunas. The guardian was a haltia of the forest, earth, or specifically of the forest sauna, with which a person living from hunting and swidden cultivation came into contact. Legends of the forest haltia who banished an overnight visitor are known in all areas; it is one of the basic versions of the narratives. In western Finland, haltias of the natural environment have become house haltias, and the framework theme has been augmented with new motifs that were important in the peasant tradition environment.



## 68. Kostava haltia Supernatural Guardians as Avengers

1. Haltian kosto  
Supernatural guardian seeks revenge

polttaa talon tai riihen  
burns house or barn

kantaa tavaraa pois talosta,  
lähtee pois  
carries wealth out of house,  
goes away

surmaa isäntävään  
kills the owners

aiheuttaa sairauksia  
causes illness

vie pois karja- tai viljaonnen  
takes away cattle or crop luck

2. Tietojen jakautuma  
Distribution of data

Haltia kostaa (200 tietoa)  
Supernatural guardian seeks revenge (200 cases)

1. polttaa  
burns (the house)

2. surmaa  
kills (a man or an animal)

Haltia aiheuttaa (110)  
Supernatural guardian causes (110)

1. vie onnen  
loss of luck

2. aiheuttaa sairauksia  
illness

Yht. 310 kertomusta, jakautumat alueittain (%)  
Total 310 narratives, regional distributions (%)

toimiva haltia  
supernatural guardian acts

aiheuttava haltia  
supernatural guardian causes

Tilasto- ja levinnäisyyskartta  
Statistical and distribution map

## 68. Supernatural guardians as avengers

**Haltia seeks revenge.** In the western tradition area, the house haltia watched over the morals of the household. It did not tolerate drunkenness, discord or other immoral living, but moved out of the house or punished the householders (map 68). The house haltia tradition also contains narratives that reinforced the haltia cult. The avenging haltia was badly treated, its householders no longer bothered to feed it or it had been otherwise dishonored; the farmhand had defecated in the haltia's dish. According to western tradition, the house haltia's revenge was as concrete as its work for the benefit of the house. The guardian (a) burned down the house or drying barn, which has been a common motif especially in southwestern Finland. The disgruntled haltia has (b) moved out to some neighboring house and even carried goods away from its former abode. In the narratives, the haltia's departure is often a dramatic, highly visible and audible event that portends the destruction of the house, or the haltia sets fire to the house before it leaves. The haltia has become incarnate; enraged, it might even (c) kill, beat to death, its master or mistress.

Narratives of a rampaging haltia are widespread in western and southern Finland, partially even further east. In them, the haltia has become frightening, it has turned into a 'Poltergeist', like a haunting corpse or the devil. These narratives, too, have contained a moral aspect. The haunting or rampaging haltia was demonstrating its discontent, it was dissatisfied with the way of life in the house or the way it was treated. In western Finland, in the heartland of the house haltia tradition, the themes have also included narratives of haltias having discussions. The guardians of two houses are heard talking to each other and comparing their masters; one of the haltias is dissatisfied and threatens revenge or to move away. The conversation revealed the reason for a haunting or future events: the haltia did not approve of the householders' sinful lifestyle, laziness and disorder.

**Haltia takes the fortunes.** In the eastern tradition area, the avenging haltia has (a) caused illnesses or (b) taken the cattle fortunes from the house; it lost the haltia's favor. The cattleshed haltia showed its disfavor by tormenting the animals, by driving them at night so that they were wet with perspiration in the morning. The haltia has thus become an incubus or *mara*, of which copious narratives have been recorded everywhere. The interpretation of the haltia's dissatisfaction is also different from that in the peasant culture area. The human being had built his house and byre in the wrong place, disturbed the supernatural inhabitants of the natural environment, and had not thought to pay them their dues.  
(Si G 161, G 171, G 221, G 561, G 1381, H 61-62, Q 311)

**The haltia acts and has an impact.** The differences between western and eastern traditions are also evident in the frequencies of the motifs (block diagrams). In the west, narratives of how (1) the haltia avenges have been clearly more common. It had become incarnate and acted like a physical being: attacked the householders, moved out or began to carry goods out of the house, caused a fire or actually set fire to the house. In eastern areas a fire is a very rare motif, and almost unknown in Karelia. The idea that (2) the haltia takes away fortunes and causes illness is known everywhere. It is part of the base layer

of haltia interpretations, but it has become overshadowed by other avenge motifs in the west. In the eastern region, especially Karelia, the haltia has been distant, kind of immaterial, causing bad things, illnesses, and if annoyed, it would torment animals.

A well-treated haltia that was cared for and respected acted for the good of the house in everything. It guarded and accumulated property, saved the house from fire or prevented the cattle from dying in accidents. In the agrarian village area, the house haltia also acquired new features. The haltia tradition reinforced a puritanical world view. The supernatural guardian was happy in a house where the occupants observed Christian values of life, worked hard and kept the affairs of the house in good order.

In eastern areas, the haltia's behavior has not been explained in moral terms. Sickness or accidents were caused by a haltia whose peace or life had been disturbed by man, or when householders did not know how to live as its neighbor. This may also possibly be based on the idea that some places had a hard guardian, some places or houses one that was naturally good and benevolent to people, or that a powerful sorcerer with good rite skills was also capable of controlling the inhabitants of the supernatural environment.

## ***Supernatural guardian of the peasant***

**Regional variations between cultural guardians.** In the area of landed peasantry culture in Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Häme and Uusimaa, the narratives have centered around the guardian resident in the house or in the drying barn (25%, 23%). Southwestern Finland has been the core area of particularly narratives of barn haltias, followed by new types of erotic narratives of the Maid of the Forest (12%). Haltias of the dwelling-house have also been dominant in Ostrobothnia and Savo, as well as in Ingria (26%). From South Karelia and Ladoga Karelia begins the area of nature haltias, the most common in Finnish Karelia having been legends of the water haltia (26%), forest haltia (12%), or haltias appearing in logging sites. Dvina and Olonets have been the sources of most narratives of the water haltia (*vetehinen*, 39%) and the earth haltia (24%). The church haltia has been unknown in the Orthodox area, and there are very few narratives of house or drying barn haltias too; of house haltias, only the cattleshed haltia (16%) really occurs in narratives. Kainuu, southern Lapland and Norrbotten (Finnish Västerbotten) make up the area of nature haltias, or those of the earth (17%), forest (17%) and water (18%), where the most common of supernatural guardians of culture sites has been the (water) mill haltia (15%). Legends about the water haltia are common throughout the lake district: central and eastern Finland, Karelia and also Ingria (map 69).

Underlying the haltia narratives in Finland and Karelia are still beliefs of the hunting era of supernatural guardians of the natural environment, the territory of which the hunter or swidden cultivator is forced to enter. The haltias lived in the natural environment, they were the supranormal indigenous inhabitants of the land or owners of its wild animals, and they had to be paid their share of what man took for himself.

In agrarian cultures, nature haltias have been replaced by culture haltias. Narratives about them have spread to Finland from the west, mainly Sweden. Plot narratives have halted in the area of landed peasant culture. Almost half (44%) of the variants recorded in archives originate from southwestern Finland or

Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Häme and Uusimaa. All in all, western areas, including Ostrobothnia, have been the source of 60% of the recorded haltia narratives. The distribution would be even more distinctly western, if the share of eastern Finland was not raised by the provinces of Central Finland and South Savo, which in this case still belong in the western tradition area. Comparable to haltia narratives in terms of distribution are narratives of social mythical beings (maps 71-72) and moralistic belief legends, such as those of boundary-movers and children born out of wedlock lurking in the forest (maps 73-75).

The westernmost of peasant society tradition are narratives of the active house haltia who worked and brought prosperity to the house; 70% of the variants are from southwestern Finland, as are more than half of the narratives of the haltia as maintainer of the morals, order and tidiness of the house. This is precisely the kind of guardian found in German folk narrative; it is the supernatural guardian of the puritanical peasant. The idea that the haltia favors animals of a certain color is the most common motif in Karelia, from the Isthmus right up to Dvina. In northern Finland, only two motifs are commonly known: the haltia wakens and the haltia must be asked for permission to spend the night. In Dvina and Olonets, the dominant motif is that the haltia may cause diseases; becoming ill is a sign of the haltia's disfavor.

Thus, the western house haltia is anthropomorphic and incarnate; it acted like a kind of supranormal master or mistress of the house. The eastern haltia has been ethereal, otiose, it appeared in various habituses, gave signs, and its appearance portended something or the haltia took away one's fortunes in life.

**Haltia interpretations.** Of Finnish scholars, Lauri Honko has studied the haltia tradition in Ingria as so-called memorates, narratives of supernatural experiences, which the subject interprets against the background of the collective tradition of the community. The supernatural guardian is often seen in stress situations, when the subject is affected by a conscious or subconscious fear that he is intruding in the haltia's territory, breaching the norms it monitors, or he fails in an area in which the haltia has been made the authority. The triggering stimulus, an unusual sound or auditory sensation is then interpreted as the haltia. The memorate acquires its final form in the narration situation, when the subject's experiences come under communal control and are interpreted in the light of the tradition known by the listeners.(11)

In the present work, the haltia tradition is interpreted from the perspective of environmental anthropology, and not as narrators' own experiences. The events of Finnish haltia narratives, too, and the situations in which the haltia is encountered, follow international plot patterns, but the details and assimilation of the narratives have been influenced by the local environment of the narrators and listeners. It has been possible to interpret many events in the light of cultural knowledge and one's own experiences. The snoozing person charged with heating the drying barn might have been startled awake when a burning ember fell out of the fireplace onto the floor, or the miller might have woken up when the sound of the millstones changed; in the same way the household was woken when the animals in the byre or pasture became restless.

Haltia legends are narration with a social message in their own cultural environment. In agrarian culture areas, such as Ingria, haltia narratives reinforced peasant values and faith in the future. First-person narrative, the memorate, is a form of narration, a personal version of the themes of haltia narratives, and intended to impress the listeners. The most personal of narratives also contain elements of heroic epics: the threat of failure, the twist, and salvation.

Haltia narratives are also most realistic in the east and north and concentrate on basic events; a person woke in an inexplicable way after falling asleep in the mill or at the tar pit, spending the night in a forest sauna or at a campfire, or waiting for a cow to calve. The nature haltia narratives describe how a human being meets the supernatural resident of a site. The narrator is the active party, one who feels that

he lives together with the haltia. The narratives on house haltias of western and southern Finland are different in content. The haltia is a personified figure or being, and they live in certain houses. Haltias are actually quasi-beings whose real existence was probably not believed in by the majority of the villagers, but they accepted the message of the narratives, their ethos. The good house haltia keeps the house going, works, puts out a fire, saves the drying barn from burning down, banishes thieves and intruders, looks after the house and its life. What the haltia does is focal in the narratives; it is the hero of the drama. The haltia is a mythical figure, but it also increasingly symbolizes what was important in the environment of a peasant house. Like heroic figures, even TV heroes of modern society, the haltia starts to defend the basic values of its society and to reinforce cultural stereotypes.

The haltia folklore reflects the structural change of the tradition environment. In the areas of hunting and swidden culture, the haltia lore concerned supernatural inhabitants of natural sites and created mental images of people prospering in the natural environment. Within agrarian culture, the narratives are associated with the house. They recount the life of an often named house or manor and supernatural events that interest the village community. The good haltia of the peasant house was the ideal type of the old master, and its roots belonged with the people of the house. The haltia was the first resident or builder of the house and represented permanence. In the era of the ancestral cult, the same tales might have been told of ancestors; in the same way, the dead were the authorities and watched the lives of their descendants, even banishing useless descendants from the house. The house haltia encapsulated the ideological values and house-centered thinking of agrarian culture. The supernatural guardians were included in the social competition of the village community, and the narratives strengthened ideas of a good, prospering peasant house.(12)

Haavio 1942. Harva 1948, 320-. Honko 1962; 1972. Sarmela 1974b. Paulson 1963; 1967.

1. Karjalainen 1918, 153-. Harva 1914, 30-; 1915b, 146-; 1933a, 259-. Kannisto 1958a, 128-. Itkonen T. I. 1946ab; 1948 II, 321-. Bäckman 1975, 129-. Paulson 1963; 1967. Hultkrantz 1961. 2. Sarmela 1974b (tables). 3. Haavio 1942, 281-. Ehrensvärd 1979. Schön 1996 4. Oinas 1963. 5. Lindig 1987, 53-. 6. Haavio 1942, 48-, 185-. Harva 1948, 341. 7. Cf. Freudenthal 1931, 55-. 8. Haavio 1942, 460-. 9. Krohn J. 1894, 51-. Harva 1914, 30-; 1915b, 55-. 10. Baiburin 1983. Pomerantseva 1975. Rybnikov 1910. Tokarev 1957. 11. Honko 1972, 88-; 1980. 12. Sarmela 1974b.

## 69. Vedenhaltia Supernatural Lake Dweller

1. Vedenhaltia näyttäätyy  
Supernatural water woman  
shows herself on the shore  
pesemässä itseään (rintojaan)  
washing (her long breasts)



kampaamassa tukkaansa  
combing her hair



2. Vedenhaltian nimityksiä  
Names for supernatural lake  
dweller

näkki  
'neck'



vetehtinen  
'waterman'

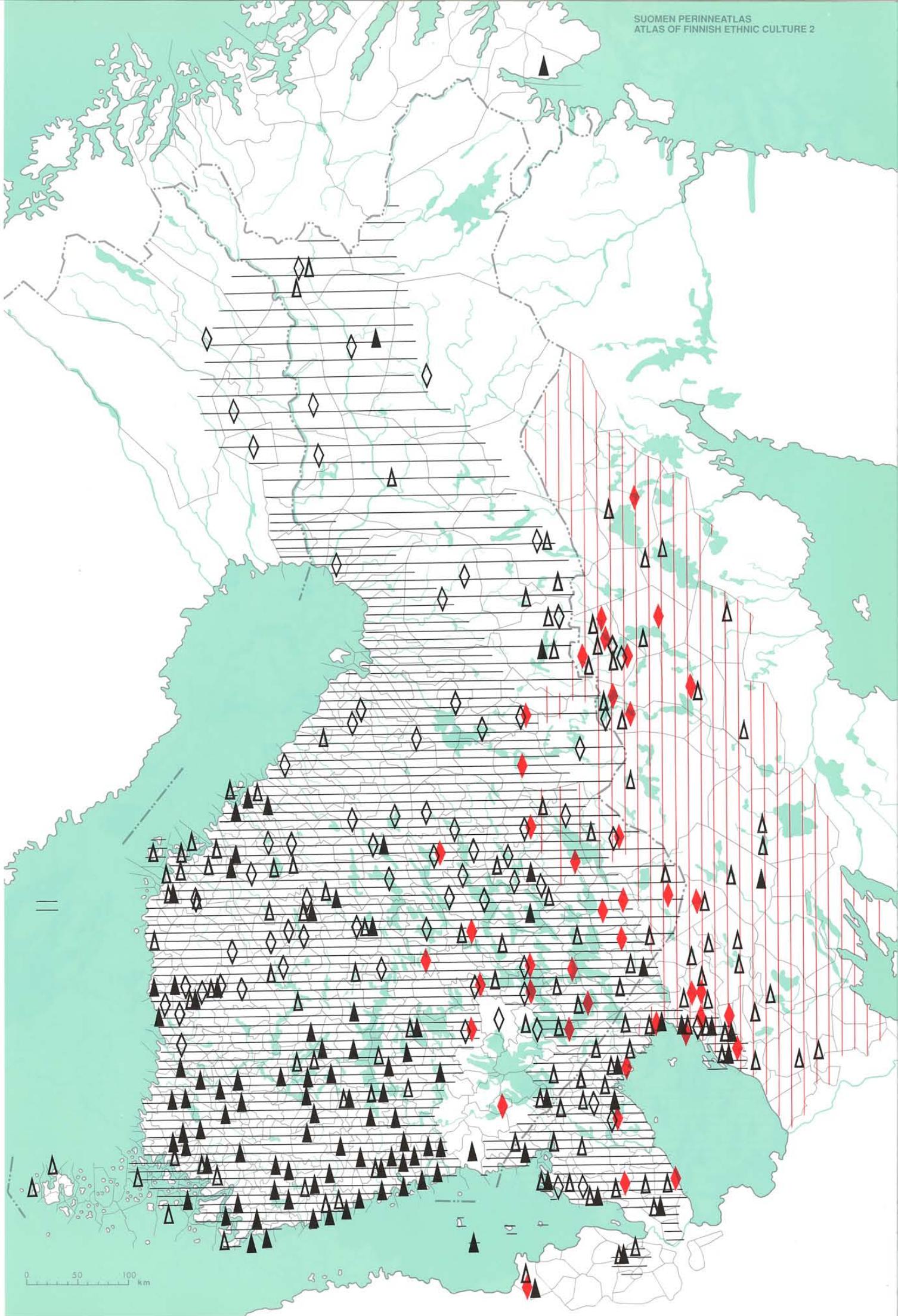
3. Vedenhaltia uhkaa hukuttaa  
Supernatural lake dweller  
threatens to drown  
näkki tai vetehtinen vie hevosia  
näkki or vetehtinen takes  
horses



uimaan menijän luku  
Näkki maalle, minä veteen  
bather's chant  
'Näkki on land, me in water'



Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map



## 69. SUPERNATURAL LAKE DWELLER

### **Water haltia and man**

**Habitudes of the water haltia.** The water haltia is the supernatural inhabitant of lakes, rivers or springs that lives on its own side of the natural environment, beneath the water's surface. In Finnish folklore the water haltia is usually the size of a person and anthropomorphic also in other ways, with the special identifying features of nakedness and long dark hair. It is an individual, solitary being, who lives in a certain lake or waterway. The concept of haltia does not include the fish-tailed mermaid or the water-hiisi, the *tursas* (octopus-like monster) or other water monsters, such as sea serpents, of which legends abound all around the world.<sup>(1)</sup> The mapping excludes haunting victims of drowning, such as the *meriraukat* and *aavruuvat* (Norw. *draug, havsfru*) of Norwegian Finns (map 73), as well as water-folk (maps 71-72) and the generally individual experiences where a being interpreted as a water haltia has appeared as an animal or as half-animal and half-human. Animal motifs may belong to ancient nature haltia beliefs, but mostly they are various manifestations of the devil. Neither has the haltia-fish been included, the unusual-looking fish or water creature caught in a fisherman's net; this is a case of the (female) progenitor of a certain species of fish or aquatic animal.

The ancient pan-Finnish habitus of the water haltia has evidently been (1) the female *veden emä* or *emäntä* [mother or mistress of water]; alongside it occurs the male (2) *vetehinen* in Karelia. Over the water haltia layer is the Scandinavian (3) *näkki* (Sw. *näck*), spread from the west. In Finnish folklore, the mother of water and also *vetehinen* are still supernatural guardians of the natural environment, of which no condensed plot narratives exist, but the narratives are often individually colored incidents or experiences. Instead, the *näkki* is a cultural haltia, and along with the name '*näkki*', a layer of international, fundamentally Christian plot narratives has spread into Finland, with a principal character who is really the devil.

**Water haltia washes and combs its hair.** In Finnish legends, the water mother most commonly appears as a naked woman, who early in the morning or evening rose up to the shore to wash itself and to comb its hair. The identifying features of the female water haltia are long hair reaching below the waist and large breasts, described as so big that when washing her armpits, the haltia flung them across her body and over her shoulders. When disturbed, it swam away and vanished into the water. In the narratives, the water haltia was usually only seen rising from the water and sitting on a rock in the water, or standing in it

up to its waist washing or combing, but a sight of it may have portended something, perhaps a drowning or some other event.

The haltia rising out of the water may also have been male, such as an old grey man, even similar to a tonttu, or a man with black hair and beard, the *vetehinen*. The haltia had to be left undisturbed; there were warning examples of reckless people who mocked, even shot at the water haltia and lost their lives or were only just saved from its claws. A few narratives also exist where the water haltia wanted to drown a person, to take him into the water like the näkki or *vetehinen*.

**Vetehinen.** The male water haltia or *vetehinen* is a nude male figure, identifiable by its long black hair and beard, black skin color or general blackness. As a type, the male *vetehinen* is eastern. It has appeared as a supernatural guardian of nature who gave fish, but also as a frightening creature that took horses when they were taken into the lake to swim or swum across a river. The narration focuses on how the *vetehinen* pulled the horse under the surface and how it was saved by throwing stones into the water, or how the owner only just managed to get his horse to the safety of the shore by yanking it by the reins. (Si L 1, L 11, L 34, L 81, L 91)

**Näkki and näkki narratives.** The Scandinavian name ‘näkki’ has spread almost throughout Finland, and in western areas the female or male water haltia or even the female progenitor of fish was also called ‘näkki’. In Christian tradition, the näkki (Sw. also *bäckaman*, *strömkarl* etc.) has been a demon, the devil, who wanted to take possession of human souls. In Finland, as in Sweden, the näkki is usually described as a naked man with long hair and a beard, like the male water haltia, but as the devil the näkki was capable of changing its habitus and might approach women as a handsome young man, or in animal form to entice children. It is the Pan figure of 19th century literature on natural mythology, wearing a wreath of water lilies on its head

In Finland the näkki has mostly appeared in three types of narrative. It (1) entices humans, particularly children, to drown, stalking swimmers in the water in order to pull them under. The näkki tempted children for example by appearing on the beach as a horse, and when the children climbed on its back, the näkki carried them into the water and took them into the deep. The näkki may have (2) acted as a supernatural musical instrument tutor, teaching the ambitious musician to play and demanding its pupil’s soul in return. In Swedish and Finland-Swedish folklore, the näkki has (3) bewitched the listeners with its playing and made them go into the rapids or dance on the shore, finally wading into the water under its spell.(2)

In Finnish narratives, the näkki has particularly stalked children. The scene of the narratives is a beach, but the näkki also lurked in wells and springs, waiting for children. The näkki might have appeared on the beach as a dog or horse, or it was like a branch of a fir tree, a log floating in the water or a rock protruding from the water, upon which children were tempted to climb. When the children began to play with the animal and climbed on its back or onto the log, it began to carry them away from the shore into the depths. The narratives contain a dramatic twist with set lines. The näkki lost its power if its name was said, or it disappeared on a blessing being uttered in Christ’s name.

According to the base narrative, one of the children said the näkki’s name unknowingly, by chance. When the children crammed together on the näkki’s back, the last one almost fell off and cried: *Nippa nappa täpärällä, niin kuin näkin hännän päällä!* [A close shave, like on näkki’s tail!] *Nikki näkki näpärällä ..!* Then the animal or log vanished and the children were saved. The line refers to the Swedish origins of the narrative. In Sweden, the animal habitus of the näkki has usually been a ‘beck horse’ (*bäckahäst*) and in the Swedish base narrative the child who ended up last on the horse’s back either had a speech impediment or was so young that he could not pronounce the intended word correctly, but accidentally

called out the näkki's name.(3) The beck horse is rare in Finnish folklore, and other manifestations of the devil have taken its place. All in all, few narratives of the näkki enticing children have been recorded, and they are mostly from western and southern Finland.

(Si L 201-300).

**Supernatural music.** In Finland, as in Sweden, the (male) water haltia or näkki might teach a human being how to play an instrument that would irresistibly bewitch the listeners. According to Swedish narratives, the musician had to go on New Year's night, at Midsummer, Easter, the night before a Thursday, or other times when the devil was abroad, to a rock in the rapids, under a bridge or some other place to await his tutor, to whom a special offering had to be taken or one's soul pledged in return. Fundamentally, it was a case of a pact between the fiddler and the devil, which the musician was forced to seal for example by shedding blood from the little or ring finger of his left hand. The teacher and pupil positioned themselves back to back, and the näkki tied a belt around both. Finally, the näkki tried to take its pupil with it into the rapids, but he manages to cut the belt with his knife. Usually the näkki taught the fiddler a specific tune, *Pirunpolka* [devil's polka] or *Näkinpolka* [näkki's polka], which put the listeners under the fiddler's spell, or the devil gave him its own instrument. The devilish music bewitched both the listeners and the fiddlers. Having started to play the devil's polka, the fiddler could not stop until a string broke in his fiddle, or some bystander came and smashed his instrument.(4)

The legend of the supernatural music teacher is international, but particularly in Sweden and Norway the teacher is the devil posing as a water haltia; this may be based on the image of a haltia playing music in the rapids. The versions of the narrative from western Finland belong to Scandinavian folklore; the further east one goes into Savo and Karelia, the more distinctly the teacher is the devil, sometimes an ancestor, and the teaching also usually takes place in the sauna or graveyard.(5)

(Si C 1756, E 1051, L 51).

**Näkki's incantation.** In Finland, the näkki is specifically the water haltia who might pull the swimmer under the water. It appears that alongside the näkki folklore, the Finnish water mother has also turned into a being threatening swimmers. It is difficult to determine to what extent people have really believed in the näkki, but the fear of sudden drowning has created repelling folklore to protect them when entering the water. The most crystallized näkki incantation in Finland is: *Näkki maalle, minä veteen!* [Näkki on land, me in the water!], which had to be said before stepping into the water. Blessing oneself also afforded protection against the näkki. In Sweden and also in Finland, for example in Ostrobothnia, the näkki was magically 'bound' by sticks pushed upright into the bottom of the lake.(6) Alternatively, the näkki was scared off by throwing stones into the water before going for a swim or keeping a bladed weapon on one's person while swimming. To a degree, binding the näkki mirrors the idea of binding the forest (maps 53-54).

(Si L 241).

**Map diagram.** The most widespread and evidently the oldest layer is represented by the combing female haltia, also known in the folklore of northern Russians and Finno-Ugrian peoples living in northern Russia. Similarly, the term 'water mother' is common in Estonia and also with many other peoples. (7) In Finland, its large breasts are particularly described in narratives from southern and western Finland, and there the water mother has also become a figure used to frighten in educational narratives, akin to the näkki who entices children. In European folklore, the large-breasted woman (Ger. *Langtüttin*) was a monster who tried to entice children to suckle from its breasts. Erotic narratives of a large-breasted woman

have also spread to western Finland; she flirts with men like the Maid of the Forest and gives birth to her lover's child (map 70).

*Vetehinen* is a Karelian name. In Russian folklore the water haltia is specifically male.<sup>8</sup> Originally, too, the gender of the supernatural inhabitants of lakes and rivers has alternated between both, and they have been young or old, like other guardians of natural environments.

The formula for the näkki has become popular as a kind of incantation especially in northern areas. 17th century court records from Satakunta contain references (e.g. Ulvila 1624, 1643) to the näkki taking horses, but in preserved tradition the belief is now only known in Savo-Karelia. In Finnish folklore, the näkki is most commonly a pedagogic fictional figure used to frighten children, the name of a creature lurking in wells and lakes. Conversely, näkki narratives are still unstable. Although almost all the same näkki motifs are found in the Finnish Swedish- and Finnish-speaking village culture areas as in Swedish folklore, relatively few of the narratives have been recorded and they are fragmented as individual variants that have not been marked on the map.

In Sweden, too, the supernatural guardian of water occurs in two types. The male water haltia is found in the north, while the demon type and narratives of the näkki enticing people have spread across the agrarian village culture area of southern Sweden. Näkki narratives are unknown in northern Sweden, as they are in the eastern and northern forest culture areas of Finland. The name 'näkki' is Germanic (Ger. *Nix*) in origin, perhaps referring originally to an 'aquatic horse' living in brooks or streams. Swedish folklore also still contains beliefs of beck horses that might be seen grazing in waterside meadows in the early morning twilight, like the water haltia's cows (map 71). Thus, moralistic näkki narratives have combined folk ideas of an anthropomorphic water haltia and a beck horse with the devil. The name 'näkki' is also known in Estonia (*näkk*), as is for example the legend of the näkki as music teacher. The näkki-devil is probably a similar fictional character from the witchcraft era of the turn of the Middle Ages and the New Age as the para (maps 58-60).

## ***History of the water haltia***

**Water haltias of the hunting era.** In the oldest folklore of Finland and northern hunter peoples, the water haltia may have been (1) the female progenitor of a certain species of fish, the first, 'oldest in the water', or the largest fish, such as the pike.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, (2) fishing sites and waters had their own supernatural residents that may have affected the fishing fortunes. The water haltia of the fishing site has been entitled to a share of the catch (cf. seide, map 2), e.g. the first share or primogenic offering, which was also given to the deceased (map 7). For example, Ob-Ugric peoples have given the water haltia the first fish caught or the first fish stew made at the fishing site.<sup>10</sup> Finnish source material also still contains records of offerings made by fishermen to the water haltia, although the reciprocal gift to the haltia has been cash, mercury, or shavings of tin, like the offerings to the supernatural guardian of the forest (map 63). Compensation payments made when man has intruded in the water haltia's territory by building mills and dams have also been basically offerings to haltias of the natural environment.

In shamanistic narration, the water haltia may have appeared in various habituses, such as an animal.

Within the area of the ancestral cult, the supernatural guardian of water may have been explained as someone who had drowned on the spot, or an ancestor whose soul had remained active in the fishing waters (cf. house haltias, map 62). In Finnish folklore, the ancestor type is represented by a naked human figure seen combing its hair or bathing. It is still distant, otiose. Man had to respect the water haltia's peace; its living quarters on the other side were sacred, forbidden. In common with the Sami and other northern peoples, water haltias had their own hierarchy in Finland. The territorial waters of powerful or malevolent guardians, still known as Pyhäjärvi and Pyhäjoki [sacred lake or river], had to be avoided by women; when traveling by boat, women had to bypass sites where the hostile haltia lived by making a detour overland.(11)

It was not permissible to harm the water haltia or haltia fish, if one was caught, as dishonoring it would have meant loss of fishing fortunes or even death, revenge by the forces from the other side, targeted at man's innermost being. Man's relationship with the water haltia is also reflected in narratives of how a good fisherman knew how to extend a friendly greeting to it, or to release a *vetehinen* entangled in his net.

**Water haltia as man's counter-force.** In cultivation cultures, the boundary between the natural environment and human community becomes more pronounced, and supernatural guardians, as well as nature itself, were increasingly perceived as counter-forces, even as threats to man's living environment. The humanoid water haltia is evidently specifically swidden farmers' idea of supernatural residents of the natural environment. In the Savo-Karelian area, the question also runs through water haltia narratives as to what seeing it portends; whether it was showing its displeasure, and how the haltia could be appeased. The haltia assumed the same status as man who exploited nature. The water haltia was the guardian of its own territory, its possessor, who was even forced to defend its living area not only against man, but also against other supernatural guardians. This thinking is reflected, for example, in legends of the water haltia who served as farmhand in a house and asked for a sickle or scythe as his wages, in order to drive away another haltia who had invaded its territory (Si L 36).

Ideas that the haltia of a certain waterway demanded a human sacrifice every year have reached Finland too: for example, in villages in western Ingria, the entrails of the Prasnika ram were thrown into the water, so that the haltia (Kirlous) of the river would not take a person that year (map 4). On the other hand, water haltia explanations have been bolstered by everyday experiences, for example when a strong swimmer or horse has had a sudden muscle cramp in the water. The body of a drowned person often bears marks that could be explained as made by the näkki's fingers. In European agrarian cultures, the water haltia has become a creature that implemented nature's revenge, even the inevitable destiny designated for man.

**Water haltia of village legends.** In agrarian village cultures, haltias and also other mythical beings defined social boundaries, above all what belonged to a proper Christian community and what did not. The water haltia became incarnate, like the house haltias. The näkki grabs a man's or horse's leg with its hands, pulls them under, drowning its victims. At the same time, the water haltia became a fictional figure of tales of warning and sin. In bringing up children, the näkki was used to frighten, as an external punisher, like the policeman later. This type of näkki lived in places that were a danger to children, such as wells, springs, under the riverbank or in the lake, and threatened to take disobedient children.

The control of sin reached even the minutiae of life. The water haltia lay in wait for those who went fishing on a Sunday or took a swim during a church service. In Nordic *näckvisan* ballads, the näkki comes in the form of a knight to propose to a proud girl, and then takes her in a wedding procession to

the deep, or in the form of an aristocratic youth seduces the girl, so that she loses her virginity.(12 In the era of Christian hegemony, the Nordic water haltia increasingly became the devil who seduced human souls. As supernatural music teacher, it gave its pupils similar powers to those acquired by a witch who had traded in her soul (maps 55-57); Sunday fishing was also interpreted as witchcraft (cf. map 47). The water haltia reinforced religious control. Dancing and fiddle music was from the devil, and might tempt a person away from the socially safe world to outside the Christian village community. More and more fear of external dangers was transferred to the water guardian. It symbolized threatening nature, drowning accidents, child deaths, moral lapses, even becoming caught in the power of the Antichrist.

In agrarian communities, the water haltia lore also acquired new meanings that reflect the peasant's concepts of ecological safety. The water haltia had fat cattle, cows that gave milk throughout the year, which a lucky person might obtain (map 71). Supernatural guardians of nature became fictional characters appearing in miniature dramas like characters in fairy tales. The narration included a certain plot and set lines, the haltia was even known by a proper name, like living human beings. Narration was a part of social life, entertainment, but at the same time it mirrored the listeners' relationship with the reality surrounding them.

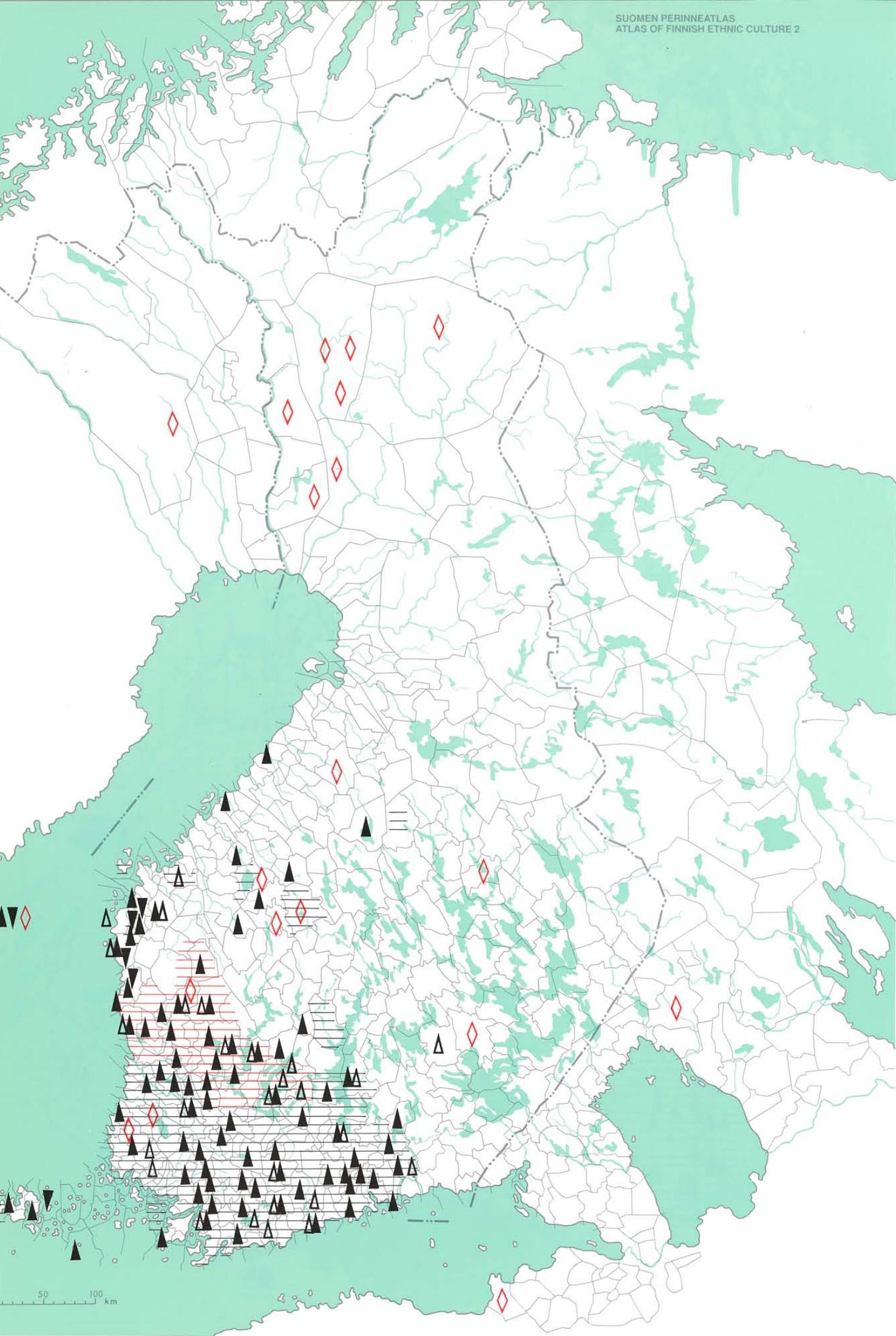
**On studies of the supernatural lake dweller.** Early Finnish research viewed the origin and existence of the supernatural guardian of water from the animistic perspective. According to this interpretation, man animated the waters and created imaginary ideas of a water deity, which gradually became anthropomorphic, human-like. Uno Harva favored the manistic view (ancestral/manes theory) and took the view that anthropomorphic water haltias, water people of the Sami or Ob-Ugric peoples, were originally ancestors, as were the seide figures of fishing sites (map 2) and the underground folk (maps 71-72).(13 The water haltia was deemed to be the protector, patron of fish, to whom man had to make offerings in order to obtain good luck for fishing.(14 In Sweden, Jochum Stattin interpreted the näkki folklore from a structuralist viewpoint. He believed that näkki legends served to define the boundary between culture and nature, but also common social categories, such as cultural and non-cultural time and place, or man and woman.(15

In accordance with the culturo-ecological view adopted in this Atlas, water haltias do not have a single common structuralistic or cognitive significance, but man of every era has placed supernatural beings into their own living environments. In hunting societies, supernatural guardians were a part of the shamanistic soul world, while in the era of swidden culture haltias were categorized close to the deceased, and their behavior interpreted in the same way as that of the ancestors. In the peasant community dominated by Christian dualism, water haltias in common with other supernatural beings strengthened the meanings of the moral environment, defining the boundaries between good and naughty children, or man and the counter-human who had succumbed to the devil. Images of haltias are discussion of the time on the most profound issues; they have changed in structure and content, depending on whether man's relationship to his environment was dominated by a hegemony of shamanism, ancestral cult, or Christianity.

(Si L 1-300).

1. E.g. Heims 1965. Meurger – Gagnon 1988. 2. Danielsson 1932. Nyman 1976b. Stattin 1984. 3. Stattin 1984, 27-. 4. Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:11-12. Nyman 1976b. 5. Väisänen 1926. Anttonen P. 1978. Hiltunen 1992. 6. Forsblom 1921. Mäkilä 1981. 7. Harva 1913; 1942b, 147-. Karjalainen 1918. Paulson 1961a, 123-; 1961b; 1965c. Loorits 1945; 1949-1960 III, 206-. 8. E.g. Pomerancheva 1969. Jo-

hansons 1968. **9.** Kuusi 1976a, 314-. **10.** Karjalainen 1918, 44, 63. **11.** Vilkuna A. 1956, 128-. **12.** Hautala 1963, 585-. **13.** Castrén M. A. 1853, 70-. Harva 1913; 1997. **14.** Paulson 1961ab; 1965c. **15.** Stattin 1984.



## 70. Metsänneito Supernatural Maid of the Forest

1. Metsänneidon hahmo:  
edestä kaunis, takaa kuin  
kuusen kylki tai lahokanto  
(häviää metsään)  
Distinctive mark: front  
beautiful, back like the  
side of a fir tree or a  
rotten stump  
(disappears)

metsänneito  
'forest maid'

metsänpiika  
'forest girl'

2. Eroottisia tarinoita  
Erotic legends  
metsänneito erämiehen  
nuotiolla  
forest maid at hunter's fire

vedenneito erämiehen nuotiolla  
water maid at hunter's fire

muunlaisia tarinoita eroottisesta  
metsänneidosta  
other legends of an erotic  
forest maid

naispuolinen metsänhaltia,  
metsän emäntä tulee nuotiolle,  
metsäsaunaan tai muuhun  
miesten yöpymispaikkaan  
mistress of the forest comes to  
fire, forest sauna or some other  
place where men spend night

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 70. SUPERNATURAL MAID OF THE FOREST

### **Hunters' legend**

**Beautiful from the front, like a spruce trunk from behind.** In Finnish folk narrative, *metsänneito* [Maid of the Forest] seen from the front is a beautiful woman whom a man might encounter in the forest, but when she turns around, she looks like the trunk of a spruce tree from behind and melts away among the trees. The identifying sign of the maid's supernatural nature is its back. It was beautiful viewed from the front, clad in fine silken or white clothing like a young aristocratic girl or gentlewoman, a damsel, but from behind she was like a side of a spruce covered in beard moss or the bark of a pine tree, a pitchy stump, a rotting log, a pile of dead branches, or completely empty. From behind, the Maid of the Forest looked like any tree trunk growing in the vicinity, so that when it turned away to run off, it blended in the surrounding forest and vanished from human sight. The other stereotypical sign of the maid was that it never showed its back.

**Erotic female figure.** Finnish Maid of the Forest narratives have three principal plot structures. In the basic version (1) the maid of the forest or of water comes to a man's campfire to warm itself. The hunter, tar-burner or cattleherd spending the night in the forest wakes up and sees a beautiful young maid in the glow of his fire, but when it leaves, the man realizes that it is like a tree trunk from behind and vanishes from his sight among other trees. The base legend has included an extension in which the campfire theme was continued. The hunter saves the maid from burning her pretty clothes and is rewarded in return. He warns the maid of a spark that has landed on her dress or puts it out, whereupon the grateful maid promises her helper something from her own cattle, her 'best piglet' or 'black bull'. Later, the man encounters a bear or moose which he easily kills, and then he understands that the girl was the Maid of the Forest. Alternatively, the maid touched the man's gun, after which the weapon 'did well', as it found its target and killed the quarry. The Maid of the Forest might also give as reward a shirt that never became soiled or shoes that never wore out, like the water haltia, underground folk (map 72), or the devil. The basic narrative has included a story of a man who helped a supernatural resident of his living environment.

In men's narratives the theme has changed. In erotic versions of the narrative (2) the hunter makes love to the Maid of the Forest and is rewarded with a good hunter's bag, a shirt that lasts forever, or permanently good hunting fortunes. Extensions of the erotic narratives include a son borne by the Maid of

the Forest to the hunter, his supernatural qualities, such as great strength and huntsman's abilities; the motifs originate from the fairytale of the Strong Boy (AT 650A).<sup>(1)</sup> In moralistic village narratives (3) the Maid of the Forest tempts the man as the devil in the habitus of a maid. It flirts in front of the man, comes to the hunter's fire or the tar-burner's pit to warm itself, displaying its charms, lifting its skirt, spreading its legs in the firelight and showing its genitals, as if to tempt him into sexual intercourse, or it appears completely naked. But the hunter chases the maid away by throwing a burning ember or hot ash between its legs, or shoots at it, whereupon the maid turns around and puts out the campfire, or runs off into the forest shrieking like an evil spirit in the guise of a bird or an animal. In the extension of the narrative, the affronted Maid of the Forest tries to avenge his deed, but the man escapes. The Christian layer is also represented by the motifs that the Maid of the Forest shows itself to a person who has gone hunting or to pick berries on a Sunday (during the church service).

In southwestern Finland, the Maid of the Forest as a title may also have referred to a female haltia of the forest, and it has incidentally migrated to haltia and underground folk legends. For example, the Maid of the Forest is accompanied by a dog, like the forest haltia, or its clothes are seen left to dry and the (Christian) person gets to keep them if he manages to touch them before the maid arrives on the scene (cf. map 71). Alternatively, the Maid of the Forest, like the forest haltia, comes to the campfire, if the fire is made from certain species of timber.

**Map diagram.** The distribution areas of the Maid of the Forest folklore are southwestern Finland and parts of Ostrobothnia; the narratives belong to the category of concentrated motif narratives with western distribution. On the map, the names of the Maid of the Forest, its identifying signs and the basic narrative are closely interrelated. The true Maid of the Forest of hunter narratives, who is like a spruce trunk from behind and never turns around, has been known in a single area, within which only in South Ostrobothnia the legends may originally even have been associated with a mermaid. The narrative motifs, above all their erotic versions, have also spread further east, but the Maid of the Forest is replaced by a female forest haltia (map 62), occasionally also a water or mill haltia (map 69), or even an old female member of underground folk (maps 71-72).<sup>(2)</sup> In Swedish folklore, the Maid of the Forest is replaced by a female forest haltia, but in Finnish records the female forest haltia is secondary, and the motifs of Maid of the Forest narratives have never been part of ancient haltia belief. The female forest haltia, the mistress of the forest of incantations, like the female progenitors of the bear and other animals, belong to an older layer than the Maid of the Forest, and with a different background.

Of the names, *metsänneito* or *-neitsyt* is the most widespread, occurring in Varsinais-Suomi, Uusimaa and Häme; *metsänpääka* (*piika* 'girl', Sw. *piga*) is concentrated in upper Satakunta. Other localized names have been e.g. *haapaneitsyt* ('aspen-maid') and *sinipiika* ('blue maid', wood nymph). *Metsänneito* and *-piika* have also occurred in hunting and cattle incantations in the old meter, but they are more akin to metaphors and do not refer to the Maid of the Forest of southwestern Finland.

The Maid of the Forest narratives have become eroticized and finally sexualized, but there are no clear-cut regional differences in the various layers. The innocent basic legend and men's sexual narratives have coexisted, and the tone of the recorded narratives has evidently hinged on the kind of version the narrator has known or wanted to recount. In the southwestern core area the basic plot is often missing, and the narratives describe how someone or the narrator himself met one or more Maids of the Forest; how the hunter who spent the night making love to the maid finds in the morning that he has a hummock of moss in his arms; how some hunter had a Maid of the Forest as a bride who lived in a beautiful castle, or how the Maid kills her groom when he accidentally boasts that he has another bride in the village.

**Men's narration.** The motifs of Finnish Maid of the Forest narratives are international, although they have acquired individual characteristics in different countries, and their characters have also varied. In Central Europe, corresponding fictional characters are the female, beautiful, long-haired tree maiden (Ger. *Holzfräulein*) dressed in leaves, or the moss woman (Ger. *Moosweiblein*). According to Gunnar Granberg, in Swedish and Finland-Swedish folklore the female forest haltia is the one who comes into the house to warm itself or appears naked and big-breasted, like the water haltia in Finland (map 69). The hollow, insubstantial back would have been the identifying sign of the female forest haltia and the criterion of its supernatural status, in the same way as the male haltia appears at the height of the tallest tree or grass in its surroundings (cf. map 62).<sup>(3)</sup>

In Finnish folklore, the Maid of the Forest is not the forest haltia, although it occurs sporadically also in haltia narratives, but a fictional being like the mermaid, and a female figure of men's narratives in particular. The Maid of the Forest is a northern nymph and siren, embodying men's conflicting hopes and fears, the concepts of woman as an angel and the devil. In legends of the Antiquity, nymphs were gorgeous women living in forests and elsewhere in nature, symbols of dance and joy of living, often only half-human or -real. In the adventures of Odysseus, the sirens in the form of half-birds seduced sailors in order to suck their blood dry; in European Christian folk narrative, the tempter has been the devil, who sometimes as a male näkki (map 69), sometimes a female Maid of the Forest, lies in wait ready to take man's immortal soul. The Maid of the Forest was the female equivalent of the male Pan-näkki; it tempted men to commit a sin.

The narratives of the Maid of the Forest have provided a platform for men's own wishes; how a lonely wanderer in the forest might meet a young, beautiful girl and possess her, or catch her like a hunter. On the other hand, the narratives display male moralism towards women who are sexually too active or want to destroy men. Counter-women, temptresses, devourers in men's interpretations were those who shattered the dreams of pure virgins, mothers and wives.

The basic narrative of the beautiful maid who comes to the hunter's campfire to warm herself is still chivalrous; the man appears as the woman's protector. In the 1800s, the legends of the Maid of the Forest became increasingly more erotic, discarding the male idol of puritanical Christian folk narrative, or one who repelled the devil in female form. In the turn of the century society of southwestern Finland, in its atmosphere of stratification and double standards of morality, the narratives of the Maid of the Forest became stories of male sexual experiences. The Maid was another sex object, discussed in male company rather like serving wenches (cf. maps 34-38). The Maid of the Forest of western narratives is an entirely different type of woman in moral terms than the Dvinian runes' Maid of Vellamo (Maid of the water) who mocks Väinämöinen (map 91).

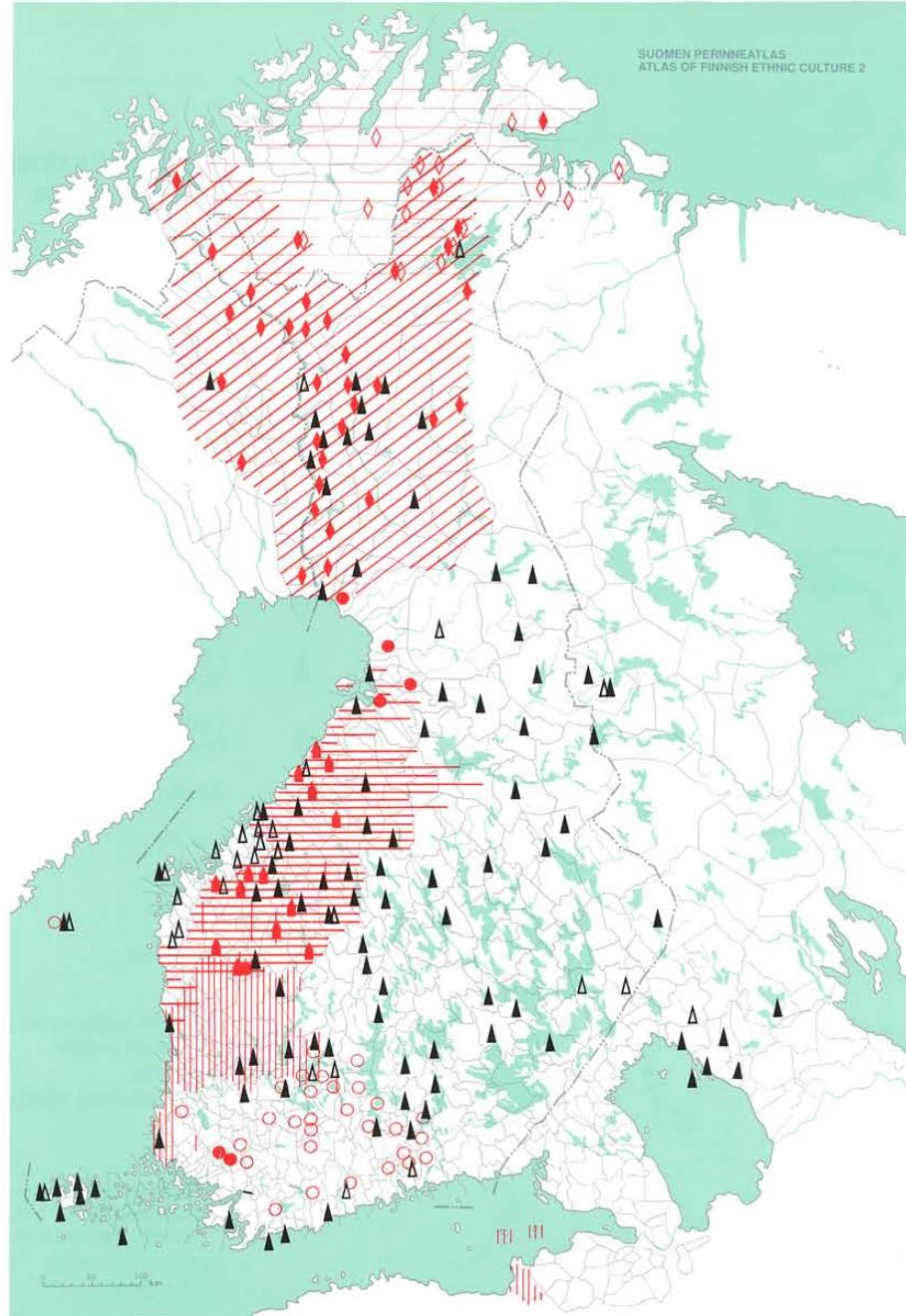
In theories of natural mythology, maids of the forest and water, nymphs and nereids have been seen as proof of the needs of man to animate nature and to see anthropomorphic beings in it. In European tradition, those coming into contact with the female supernatural guardian of the forest have been particularly charcoal-burners, which may be due to hunting having been a pastime, even privilege, of the aristocracy. Charcoal-burners, like hunters in western Finland, were people in the margins of agrarian society. In the Maid of the Forest area of southwestern Finland, hunting was no longer an essential part of livelihood in the 19th century, as was still the case in eastern Finland and Karelia across the border. It has been suggested that in modern industrial society, men who enjoy hunting as a hobby are loners by nature, and that they have difficulties in forming relationships with women. Maybe the hunters telling stories of the Maid of the Forest have also been the loners and marginalized persons of their time; at least they have usually belonged to social classes with poor prospects in the village marriage markets. Fan-

tasy narratives are necessary to cover up social realities. Maids of the Forest still survive in the stories of modern men's magazines or films, in the false reality created by the audio-visual consciousness industry.

(Si K 101-200)

*Haavio 1942, 20-. Granberg 1935. Virtanen P. 1988.*

**1.** Apo 1986, 156-. Rausmaa 1972, 446. Setälä 1964. **2.** Virtanen P. 1988, 91. **3.** Granberg 1935, 73-. Mannhardt 1904-1905 I, 74-. Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas: 115.



## 71. Maanalaiset asukkaat Earth Dwellers

1. Yliuonnollinen kansa  
Underground folk



hiidenväki

hiisi-folk



vuorenpeikot

rock dwellers (trolls)



maahiset

earth dwellers



kufittaret

(Sami name)

2. Yliuonnollinen karja  
Supernatural cattle  
sen omistavat  
owned by

vuorenpeikot  
rock dwellers

maahiset  
earth dwellers

kufittaret  
(Sami name)

jäätiläiset  
giants

hiidet

hiisi demons, giants

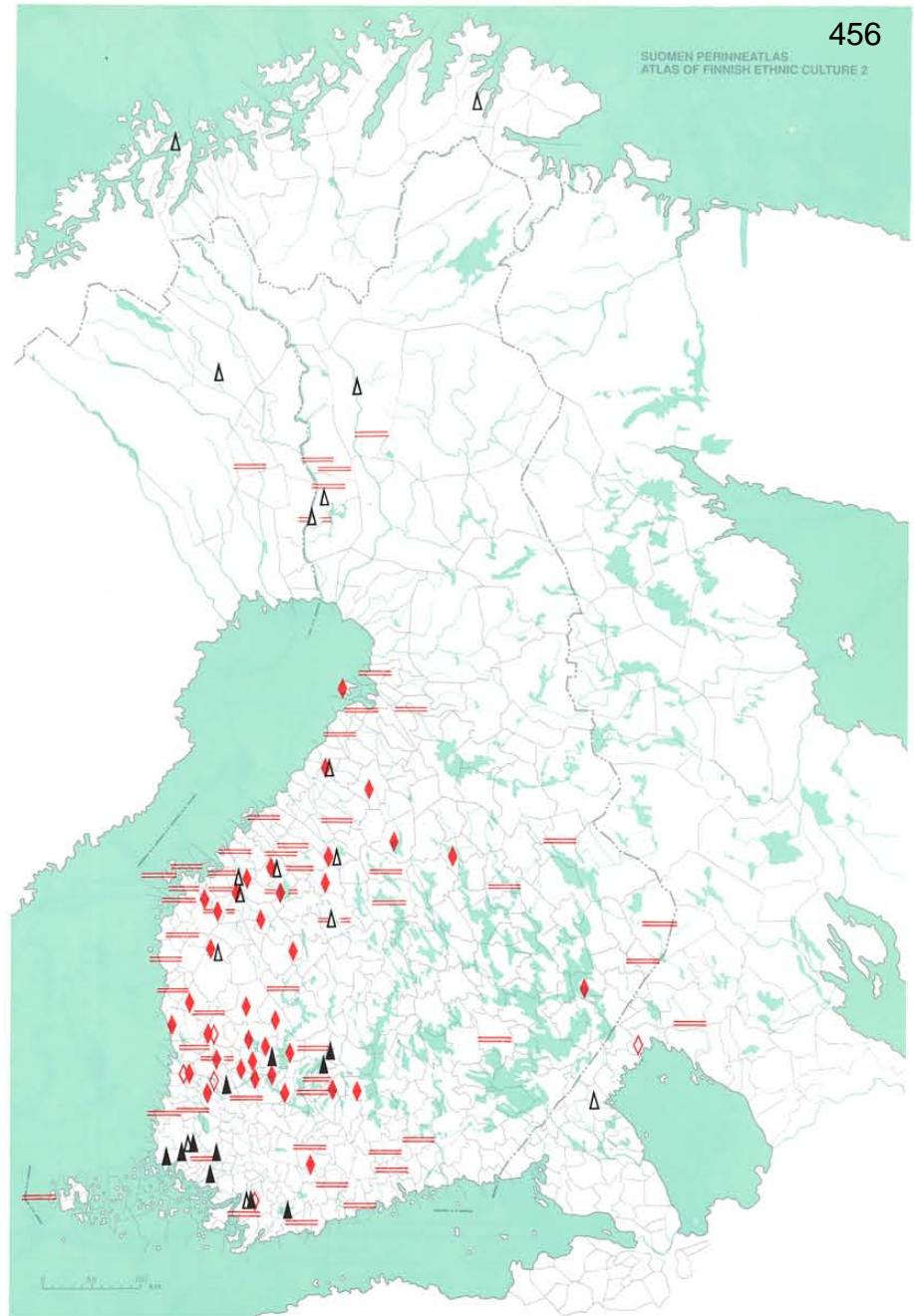
vedenhaltia

supernatural lake dweller

metsänhaltia

supernatural guardian of forest

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 72. Maanalaisen auttaja Helpers of the Earth Dwellers

1. Tarinoiden levinneisyys  
Distribution of legends

— tarinoita ihmisestä maanalaisien auttajana (kätilönä)  
legends of humans who are earth dwellers' helper (as midwife)

Δ raha, aarre  
money, treasure

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

2. Yliuonnollinen palkka  
Supernatural reward

◆ kulumaton, likaantumaton paita  
always unworn, undirtied shirt

◆ tylsistymätön viikate  
unblunted scythe

▲ maan päällä kullaksi muuttuvat  
lastut  
wood shavings that turn into  
gold on earth

## 71.-72. THE UNDERGROUND FOLK

### 71. Earth Dwellers

**Who lived underground.** The underground folk or earth dwellers (Sw. *underjordiska*) refers to the social mythological beings, *maahiset*, who were said to live in their own communities under the ground or in caves inside mountains (map 71). In folklore classifications, social mythological beings are distinguished from solitary supernatural guardians of the natural environment. Earth dwellers are described as anthropomorphic, living with their families in their houses, cultivating their fields and tending their cattle like villagers above the earth. Especially in northern Finland, the idea has prevailed that the domain of the earth dwellers is an inverse world where everything was opposite to how it was on the humans' side. The underground folk walked with their heads down or their feet against those of humans, and what was the right side on earth was the left there, etc. People and earth folk lived alongside each other, each on their own side, and only met up in certain situations when a human being got to visit earth folk, or when they were seen walking on earth.

In Finnish, as in international folklore, the underground folk are often small in stature, even just a span high, like the *maanääreläiset*, residents of *lintukoto*. This was a place on the edge of the earth where the sky's canopy met the earth; the birds were thought to fly there along the Milky Way for the winter, but it has also been one of the places where the souls of the dead resided.

**Hiisi folk.** The term *hiidenväki* [hiisi folk] has referred to the dead (map 7) and it must be distinguished from the singular form *hiisi* 'giant' (map 79) or 'devil' (map 76). In the sense of the deceased or ancestors, *hiidenväki* is a synonym of church folk or graveyard folk. In sorcerer tradition, *hiidenväki* can also mean *kalmanväki*, the (evil, deadly) force residing in the dead; *väki* in that case means so-called *mana* or *orenda*. As a name for underground folk, shown on map 71, *hiidenväki* is limited to the area between northern Satakunta and South Ostrobothnia. Conversely, *hiisi* in the sense of a giant or a large evil being is known throughout Finland.

Hiisi folk is usually described as a moving crowd of small beings, as if based on an image of inhabitants of the hiisi wood who fled from the building of a Christian church, ringing of church bells, or the voice of a priest. In personal experiences, hiisi folk have been heard coming as an urgently vocalizing, whispering crowd, as if in intense discussion, surrounding the narrator or walking over him while he was resting in the forest. On the other hand, hiisi folk were thought to have paths in the forest, on which they walked back and forth. In peasant folklore, hiisi folk was said to have driven small horses, with sleigh

bells ringing, as if in a kind of wedding procession; they have also been heard to go or drive horses to a place where immoral things were going on, such as corner dances (map 35) or weddings, where a man-slaughter subsequently took place. In its distribution area, *hiisi* folk has also meant underground folk, and narratives have been found of them with the same motifs as in those about trolls and other social mythical beings.

**Rock dwellers.** In southern and central Ostrobothnia, underground folk were called *vuorenpeikko* (literally ‘mountain troll’; *peikko*, Sw. *troll*). They lived inside mountains, deep in the wilderness or also under the church floor. The highest hills in Ostrobothnia are cited as their dwelling places, such as *Kirkkopakka* ('Church hill') in Alahärmä parish. Trolls are described in the same way as in Swedish or Norwegian folklore. Their village resounded with children’s voices, dogs barking, or the smell of newly baked bread was felt, they held weddings, distilled spirits, and might have called in the village to borrow tools, using strange terms for objects. In individual narratives, trolls may also be described as large and malevolent giants (*hiisi*, devils), or they were big-nosed troll figures, like in Scandinavian folk narrative.

As a term, *vuorenpeikko*, *bergtroll* in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia, corresponds to the Swedish term *bergfolk*, which nevertheless is rare in Sweden.<sup>(1)</sup> In Ostrobothnia, where the terrain is flat, the term is fairytale-like and evidently originates from the troll folklore of Sweden and Norway; in fairy stories, too, trolls often live in caves inside mountains.

**Earth dwellers.** The term *maahiset* or *maahiaiset*, earth folk, has been known in southern Lapland and among the Finns of Norrbotten (Finnish Västerbotten). Local descriptions say that in their dwelling places there were many burrows into the ground, or smoke rose from the ground in those places. The daughters of earth folk were said to be keen to become wives to human men, and similar erotic legends exist on them as on the Maid of the Forest (map 70). The narratives are based on the idea that earth folk wanted to come out of their underground abode into the human world.

In the area of earth folk and among the Sami, a biblical explanation has spread that earth folk are children hidden from God by Adam and Eve, condemned to remain in their hiding places underground. The legend says that Eve was washing her children when God came to visit the first humans, and on seeing the visitor coming, Eve pushed her unwashed children into the forest out of sight. To God’s question of whether they had other children, Eve replied in the negative, whereupon God said that the children she had kept hidden would remain so forever. This was the origin of the earth folk. In Finnish areas, the Eve motif is only known in the north, and it may be a case of counter-interpretation against the clergy of the time spread by Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861). The founder of the revivalist movement known as Laestadianism considered the earth folk or the ‘pocket-sized gods’ of the Sami to be his principal opponents, and being himself a believer in their existence, he constantly vilified earth folk as epitomes of evil and immorality, cursed by God.<sup>(2)</sup>

**Kufittaret.** The Sami term *kufittaret* or *kufihtaret* is widely known in Norwegian and Finnish Lapland; other terms are e.g. *ulda* (Sw. *huldra*). Kufittaret is evidently derived from the Norwegian *godvetter*, *goveiter*, in Sweden, too, *vättar*, (*vättefolk*) or *vittra* (*vitterfolk*) has been a common name for earth folk in Norrbotten.<sup>(3)</sup> Kufittaret have been described to resemble Sami people; they had reindeer and sheep, and their daughters were seen wearing the Sami costume. Like the Sami, kufittaret moved around the fells with their reindeer herds as nomads. A legend is known on the Finnish side, too, of a Sami boy who caught a passing daughter of a kufitar and her reindeer, having stabbed the girl with a bladed weapon so that she bled.

Among Sami people, too, ideas have been preserved that kufittaret were beings akin to the dead or supernatural guardians who might help and protect, but also punish those living on earth.  
(Si C 1781 hiisi folk, M 1-200 trolls, M 301-400 earth folk, M 401-500 kufittaret)

**Supernatural cattle.** Widespread legends recount that people might occasionally come across supernatural residents' cattle and perhaps become the owner of a cow belonging to earth folk, if one knew how to go about it. In Finland, other-worldly cattle may have belonged to the inhabitants of underground worlds: rock and earth dwellers, kufittaret, giants and hiisi-demons or hiisi-giants (cf. map 76). However, the most common narratives are about the water haltia's cattle; especially in Ostrobothnia the supernatural guardian of the forest also occurs alongside the water haltia. The narratives describe how the water haltia's cows are seen grazing on the lakeside meadow and it is heard how the haltia calls them home. The water haltia's cattle was fat and large, with its red and white coloring particularly mentioned. The narratives create images of lush waterside meadows onto which the cows rise at night to feed on fresh grass. No foothold in Finnish folklore has been gained by the legends known in Sweden of the brook or beck horse (Sw. *bäckahäst*), which also came up to the waterside meadow to graze, and which a new farmhand or serving girl from the manor unknowingly harnessed to a harrow when starting work on the fields (map 69).

It was possible to take possession of a cow belonging to the water haltia, a sheep belonging to earth folk or a kufitar's reindeer, if one succeeded in throwing a bladed weapon such as a knife, or some personal object such as a kerchief, over the animal; the object had to contain its owner's personal force. According to T. I. Itkonen, the Sami threw over the kufitar's cattle their personal talisman, *siella* or a piece of iron, a piece of jewelry or other metal object given to the child immediately after birth so that earth folk could not change the child.(4 Overthrowing was a possession rite which also occurs in other contexts; it was used to symbolically break an animal's ties to its other-worldly owner. Supernatural cattle was in some way different from human beings' domestic animals. The animals thrived, in other words grew and yielded especially well, for example a cow belonging to earth folk always gave milk to fill its own dish, however large. An animal obtained from underground folk was identifiable by some special feature, for example it could not moo or bleat. There was something exceptional, different, about the animals, which was interpreted as supernatural.

(Si C 1806, K 42, L 301, M 71, M 361, M 421, N 971, N 1011)

## 72. *Helpers of the Earth Dwellers*

**Man as helper of earth folk.** The core of the narratives is an international legend about a folk midwife, *paarmuska* or *pirttimuori*, who is sent for to help an earth woman or water haltia give birth (map 72). The master of an underground house or a little earth girl comes at night to fetch the midwife and takes her to its home in a supernatural manner. There she is led to the childbed, and she helps the underground woman give birth to her child. The helper may also have been an old man, especially in northern Finland,

where men may have acted as midwives also in reality. As well as a midwife, a human being was fetched to earth folk to become a godparent to a child or to sing burial hymns for someone who had died.

In Finnish folk narrative, the underground folk (water haltia or the devil) have also needed human help in blacksmith's work or other work requiring professional skill. For example, a legend is known in Finland of a woman hired by underground folk to spin yarn for them. The key of the legend is the edict that the woman must not spit on her fingers while spinning, as an item of clothing made of such yarn would burn the skin of underground folk (Si M 41). In this narrative, earth folk belonged to the devil and could not tolerate the spittle of a Christian.

**Wages of underground folk.** As wages, the helper was paid an apronful or handful of wood shavings that on earth turned into gold, or a white shirt that never wore out or became soiled. The wages could also be paid in the form of a scythe that never became blunt. The human was bound by the condition that no-one was to be told about the shirt or scythe, or their special qualities were lost. In Finnish legends, the object of interest was specifically the supernatural wages, an unexpected earthly treasure, worthless shavings turned into gold or an object that freed the person from daily toil. In Christian tradition, they were interpreted as gifts that bound the person as an ally of the devil, and the narrative might end with the person on her deathbed being forced to confess that she had helped underground folk and owned a supernatural shirt or scythe.

**Message of the narratives.** Legends of supernatural beings residing underground or inside mountains are known in various parts of Europe. However, in the sense of other-worldly villagers, underground folk in Finland belong to a recent layer. The names 'hiisi folk' [hiidenväki], 'trolls' [vuorenpeikot] or 'earth folk' [maahiset] have only become established in the westernmost areas. Equivalent narratives, for example of man as helper of underground folk, are found in Scandinavian *underjordiska* folklore, and in Sweden, like in Finland, the underground folk are described as small in stature; they are like lintukoto folk or the feller of the cosmic tree in the rune of the Great Oak (maps 94-95), or Eve's small children according to the Christian interpretation.

In Sweden, the basic plot of the midwife legend is as follows: A woman cutting corn in a field saw a large frog that looked like it was about to spawn. As a joke, she tied a straw binding around the frog and promised to act as midwife for it. In the night, a member of the underground clan came to the woman to remind her of the promise, and while helping with the birth she saw the binding she had made around the woman's belly; the frog had been one of the underground folk. Alternatively, she was fetched to remove her binding from around the belly of the pregnant wife so that she could give birth. The narrative has numerous subsequent episodes. While anointing the child, the woman put some ointment in one of her eyes, ignoring the warnings given, and began to see underground folk. When a member of the underground folk spotted the woman's ability, perhaps in the market, it tore her eye out. In the underground world, the helper was shown in various ways how shocking the experience had been for the pregnant earth woman, when a human being bound her or tormented her in some other way. For example, while seated at the underground folk's table, the helper noticed a millstone or sword above her head, hanging from a straw binding. Or she saw a serving wench she knew at the underground folk's house and found out why the girl was lazy and sleepy; she was in the service of underground folk at nights (cf. map 57).

In the oldest known European variant, in Cervasius of Tilbury's anthology *Otia imperialia* from the early 1200s, the supernatural being is the underwater creature, *dracus*. In the legend set in France on the river Rhone, the woman giving birth is a human being lured to its realm by the supernatural guardian of water or the devil. The narrative also includes an episode where the midwife anoints one of her eyes and gains

the ability of seeing the dracus on the earth; when it finds out, the dracus pierces the woman's eye.(5 Thus, the midwife narrative is a case of a person 'taken into the mountain' or lured by the devil, a Christian woman who was pregnant but unable to give birth without the help of a Christian human being. The same theme is reproduced in narratives where underground folk sought a Christian godparent, someone to baptize a child or sing hymns for a corpse. The narratives reinforced belief in the power of the church and belonged in the extensive folklore where opposite the Christian world was the devil and its folk.

The frog episode, gaining the ability to see underground folk, as well as other motifs, have also been known in the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland. However, they have only spread into Finnish folklore sporadically and with the plot obscured, like for example the motif of a member of underground folk as a frog. In Finland, the focus of the narratives is the description of how a member of underground folk came to seek help, and what the human was paid as wages. Relatively common are also narratives of how a child or adult was taken to the underground world but escaped by refusing to eat anything he was offered (cf. map 91).

**Finnish layers.** In Finland, (1) a layer of beliefs in supernatural guardians of nature and ancestors underlies western motif narratives. Beliefs of haltias and the dead residing 'on the other side', their seers (map 7), an inverse world, and cows belonging to the water haltia are considerably older than plot narratives about man as helper of underground folk. The idea that the dead on their own side led a similar life to that of people on earth is universal and evident, for example, in equipping the dead for Hades. Parallels to Finnish thinking of the hunting era and swidden era, too, are evidently the ideas of northern hunter peoples, such as the Ob-Ugrians, on the life of the dead (map 7).(6 The dead lived underground in kinship burial grounds, with their ancestors, those buried in the same spot together with their families even in a similar soul-habitus as on earth. This kind of Hades [Tuonela] has specifically been located under the ground, and after death, man remained in the same locations as where he had lived. In the shamanistic cosmic view, supernatural guardians and the deceased may have lived in different layers of the worlds above and below ground. The Sami and e.g. Laestadius believed that the earth folk lived nearest to the surface and the dead deeper in Hades in layers of various degrees, with the souls of evil people deepest of all.

One of the oldest narrative themes of the underground folklore is perhaps the shamanistic journey to the realm of the dead, like Väinämöinen's trip to Tuonela (map 90). One of the most thrilling moments of the narration was how a living human being breached the boundary between life and death and made it back from the irreversible counter-reality. A child or adult who had strayed into the underground world was released when he refused to eat anything that was offered.

Particularly in northern areas, narratives of underground folk contain the same themes as those of the dead and supernatural guardians. Earth dwellers can be directly linked to supernatural guardians; there was no place on earth that did not have a resident haltia. Trolls, earth folk or kufittaret have also asked people to move their cowsheds because cows' urine dripped into their house, on the table, or the vat where a type of yoghurt was left to set. In Sami interpretations of Tuonela, the dead might also reside under saivo lakes; such lakes had a double bottom or there was a passageway from the lake to Tuonela.(7 At least at some time, the water haltia's cows have been thought to be the cows or reindeer of the dead living under lakes. Even in the folklore of western Finland, underground folk, especially hiiisi folk but also trolls, are associated with the dead who lived in burial places, inside the church hill.

The narratives of man as helper of underground folk, as midwife or godparent, are (2) agrarian village lore, as are the illusions of the ever-milking cow, never-wearing shirt and never-blunting scythe. In peasant communities, underground folk are increasingly characters in the narratives, used to express the

values and cultural meanings of a Christian village community. The underground folk have become villagers who have passed on to the other side. In Finland the original idea of the midwife narrative has become obscured, and the legends are often instructive in content. Other kinds of residents had to be allowed to live in peace; man had no right to refuse to help a woman giving birth or to harm a pregnant animal, even if it was only a frog.

Narratives of how underground folk swapped human children or took them to their own side are Christian devil folklore. In Finnish folklore, too, the changeling has been a deformed, brain-damaged child who never grew up into an adult. In the oldest layers, the changeling has perhaps been understood as a reincarnation of the evil dead excluded from Tuonela, but in prevalent Finnish lore, too, the changer is the devil who lies in wait to take unbaptized children. Christian reinterpretation culminates in the narrative of Eve's hidden children. Such interpretations of history are theories of the learned, and they were used to explain through the Bible the existence of all races, even counter-humans. In this world order, non-western primitive peoples or gypsies have been members of Cain's lost kin.

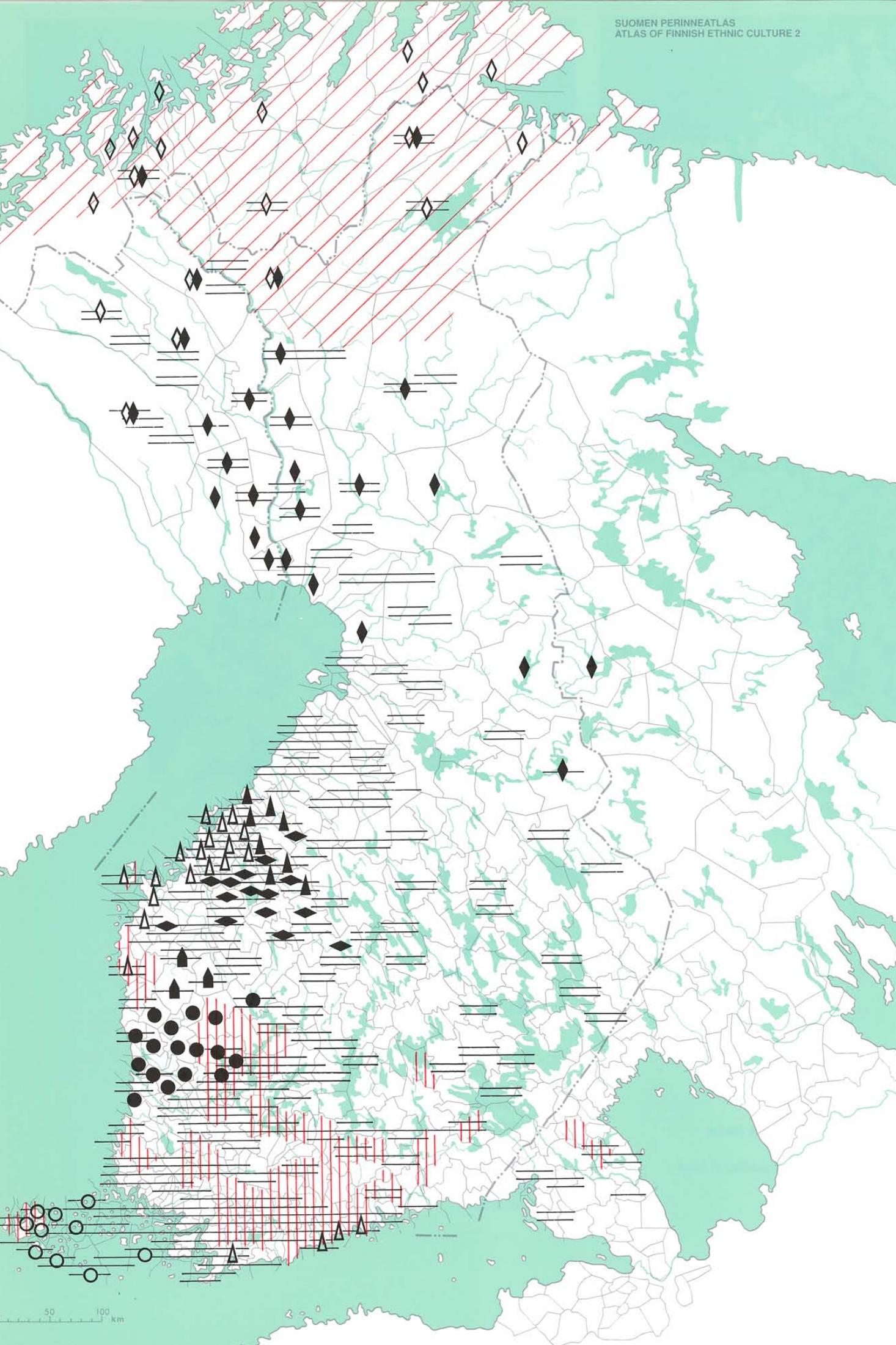
**Structural changes of the narratives.** Old narrative structures of underground folklore include the wandering around as a wild mob and the inverse reality. Supernatural folk are thought to come like a flock of birds. They twitter around a human being like a herd of lemmings or travel back and forth on their path like ants; the voices of the small beings fill the consciousness of a person asleep on the ground, until all is over. The movement is repeated in later layers: hiisi folk move, the trolls' wedding procession is seen, kufittaret keep on the move. In fact, the inverse world is reflected on the surface of a still forest pond, and although man has doubtless always known that it is only a reflection, visions of the other world, like the movement of underground folk, have their cognitive models in nature.

Common to the narratives has been the projection of this side to an invisible, topsy-turvy or inverse world. In the heyday of the ancestral cult, underground folk were explained as deceased people similar to the living, within Christian village religion as anti-Christian beings outside the human community. It was no longer sufficient in the village narrative environment that other-worldly beings were seen or felt, but the narration has acquired more and more plot twists and suspense. The counter-world to the village community turned into narratives about human fates, and specifically about people who had become, or were in danger of becoming, possessed by evil. The devil was an all-pervading threat like criminality, drugs or political despotism in thriller stories of later times.

(Si C 1741, L 39, L 41, M 31-32, M 41, M 346)

Castrén 1853, 120-. Harva 1948, 263-. Honko 1966. Anttonen V. 1996.

1. Campbell – Nyman 1976c, 60-. Wall 1989. Bø 1987, 33-. 2. Outakoski 1991, 113-. 3. Dahlstedt 1983. Arvidsson 1983. 4. Itkonen T. I. 1946ab; 1948 II, 348. Itkonen E. 1963, 556-. Vilkuna A. 1989, 160-. 5. Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:10. Campbell – Nyman 1976c, 59. Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde: 131, 136. Briggs 1978, 93-. 6. E.g. Karjalainen 1918, 121-. 7. E.g. Harva 1913, 29-. Bäckman 1975.



## 73. Sijattomat vainajat Restless Souls

1. Äitinsä surmaama lapsi  
Child murdered by its mother

tarinoiden levinneisyys  
distribution of legends

lapsivainajan nimitys  
name for dead infant

◆ äpärä  
'illegitimate child'

◇ aeppar, aepparas  
(Sami word)

▲ uloskannettu  
'outcarried'

△ utbörding, utböling (Sw.)  
('outcarried'; 'out-of-kin')

● liekkiö

○ gast (Sw.)  
'ghost'

◆ ihtriekko

▲ lehtikelikko

2. Mereen hukkunut vainaja  
Drowned person

meriraukka  
'sea-draug' (Nwg. draug)

3. Rajan siirtänyt vainaja  
Deceased farmer who has crossed the border mark

rajalainen, rajanhaltia  
'border ghost'

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 73.-75. THE DEAD WITHOUT RESTING PLACES

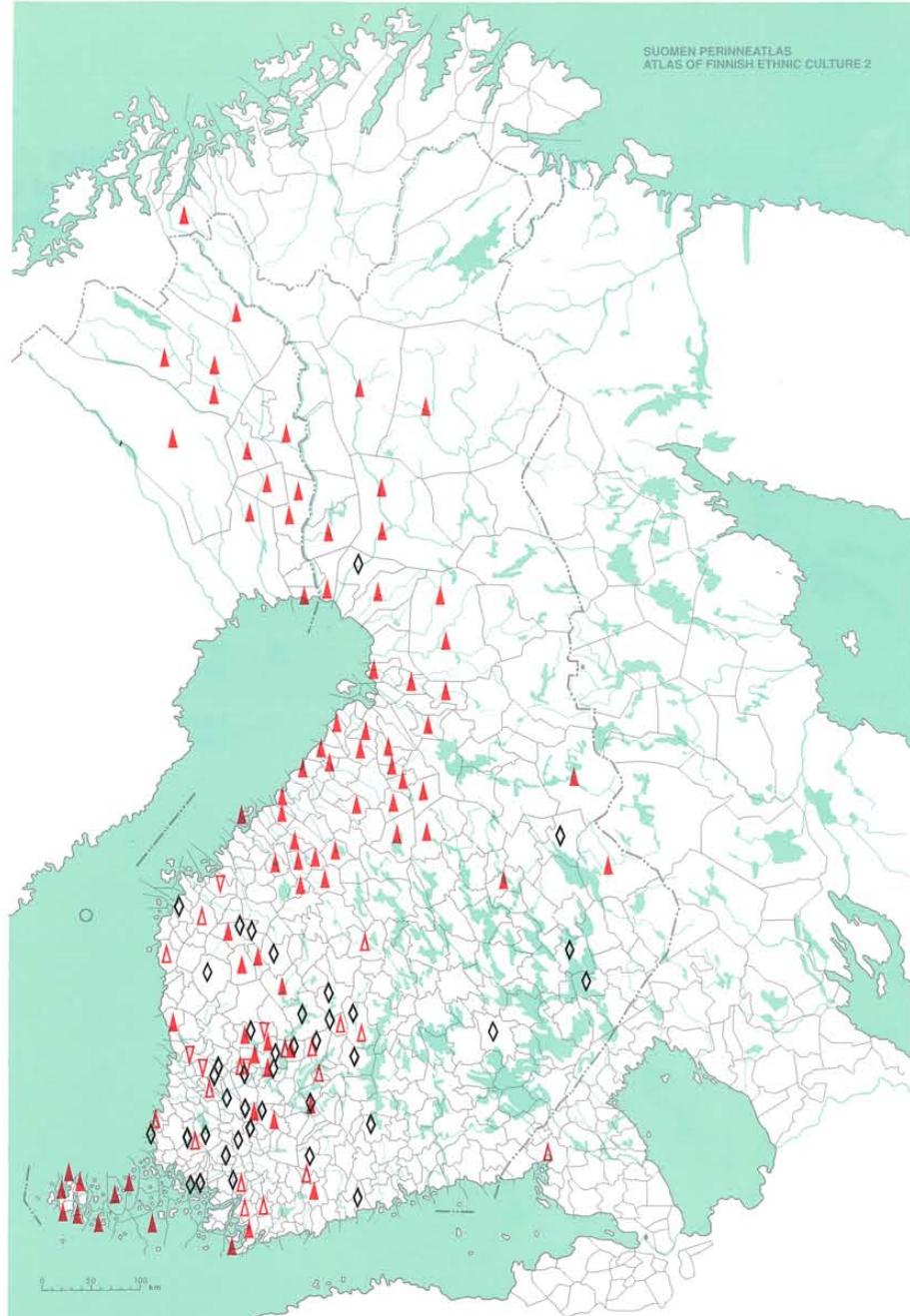
### *The haunting dead*

**The dead without resting places.** In Finnish folklore, the concept of ‘the dead without resting places’ has referred to the dead who were not believed to have an ‘earth place’, no ‘place on earth or in heaven’. The problem of such dead is not only religious, but also social. In cultural terms, one could talk about the dead without status, who could not be included in the category of the dead in the normal way. Thus, the dead without resting places were without status in the dual society of the living and the dead; they were in an eternal transit or passage stage, a liminal state, comparable to the purgatory of the Catholic church.

The majority of Finnish ghost stories are narratives about souls that have not found peace after death. The haunting dead have been so-called ‘homecomers’ forced to return to their homes to atone for their deeds or who sought expiation for some injustice they had suffered, or they were murder victims buried at the scene of the crime, often under the house floor, who demanded a Christian burial in consecrated earth. There are narratives of haunting souls, for example of those rampaging in a house, from all areas, and there are no significant regional differences. However, a distinct narrative group, western in terms of distribution, is formed by plot narratives about the screaming dead; maps 73-75 contain more details on legends about murdered children who exposed their mothers.

### 73. Restless Souls

**Name of the haunter.** In Finnish, as in Scandinavian narratives, the murdered child has appeared as a being who cried or screamed in a child’s voice. It followed people in the forest, imitated their speech and usually vanished when addressed using holy words, or it was baptized or blessed to rest in its grave. In northern Finland, the name of a haunting dead child (map 73) was *äpärä*, which means a bastard child. The mother had given birth to a child out of wedlock in secret, killed it and buried it in the forest or hidden it under the house floor. The western Lappish *aeppar* (diminutive *aepparas*) is of Finnish origin: in narra-



## 74. Surmattu lapsi valittaa The Murdered Child Complains

1. Äitinsä surmaama lapsi pyytää  
Child murdered by its mother begs

▲ vaatetta äidiltään tai isältään  
clothing from its mother or father

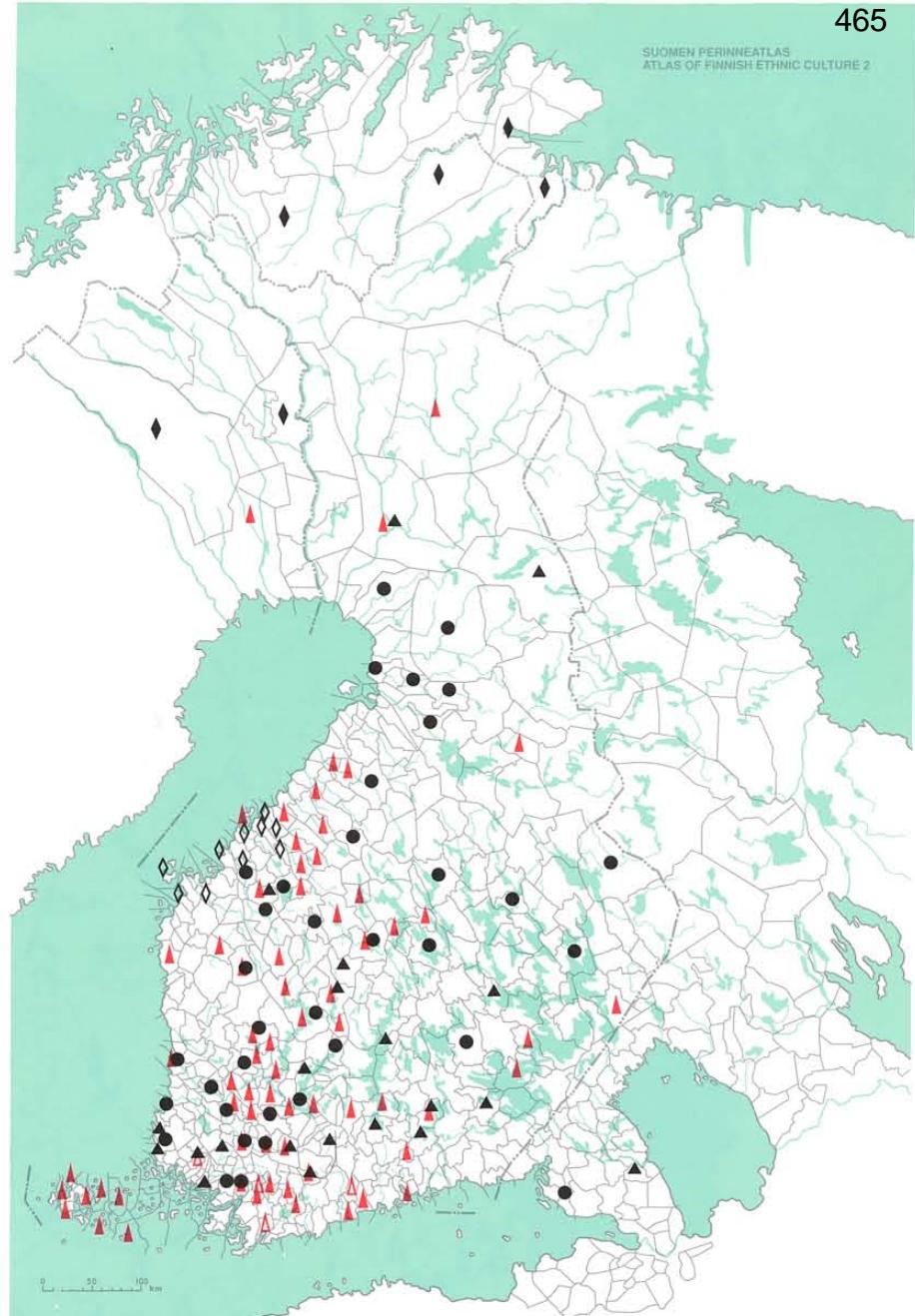
△ vaatetta  
clothing

▽ kenkiä suutarilta  
shoes from the shoemaker

2. Äitinsä surmaama lapsi näyttää  
Child murdered by its mother shows itself

◊ tanssii äitinsä häissä  
dances at its mother's wedding

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 75. Surmattu lapsi kostaa The Murdered Child Seeks Revenge

1. Surmattu lapsi ilmaisee  
kätköpaikkansa  
Murdered child reveals its  
hiding place

▲ lapsivainaja ptyyssä  
dead infant in tub

△ lapsivainaja ja sakset  
dead child and scissors

2. Lapsivainaja paljastaa  
Dead child reveals  
äitinsä nimen tai vaatteet  
its mother's name or clothes

● äitinsä tuntomerkit  
its mother's identification signs

3. Lapsivainaja kostaa  
Dead child seeks revenge  
imee tai repii äitinsä kuoliaaksi  
sucks or tears its mother to  
death

◊ sananparsi *Utbölingen är värst  
på släkten* (Sw.)  
saying 'Outcarried/out-of-kin  
child is dangerous for the  
kingroup'

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

tives it is a child murdered or left to die in the forest or on the fells, and usually seen at night, after sunset, or every seven years in the form of a naked child or a grouse.

The term *uloskannettu* [one carried out, outcast] is a translation from the Nordic *utbörding*; in Finland the term is mostly only found in narratives. In Nordic folklore, mainly that of northern areas, the *utbörding* (*utbölning*) is a child murdered or abandoned in the forest, who appeared as a small, often naked child or cried like a child, and followed or haunted especially its mother or kin. This is also the origin of the Swedish proverb *Utbölingen är värst på släkten* [The outcast is the worst for the kin]. *Uloskannettu* or 'outcast' has originally referred specifically to a newborn abandoned by its own kin. The word occurs in this sense in early Christian texts on provincial and church legislation, as well as in Icelandic sagas (*útburðir*). In Christian lore, the *utbörding* reveals its hiding place and vanishes once someone baptizes or buries the haunting child, or takes its body to the burial ground. The term *gast*, known in Åland, is the name for a haunting dead child in central Scandinavia. *Gast*-narratives usually have an invisible haunter which might frighten a person so badly that he becomes ill (Sw. *gastkramning*), it answers when spoken to, and retaliates if it is imitated.

The Finnish terms *liekkiö* and *ihtiriekko* refer to a similar forest ghost as the Scandinavian *gast*. *Liekkiö* has become an independent ghost figure, which in its distribution area or northern Satakunta is rarely associated with a murdered child. It flies behind a human being walking in the forest, often in the form of a bird, makes a noise and imitates human speech, and falls silent when it is addressed with a Bible phrase or asked: "Where were you when Christ died on the cross?" or "Were you in church on Christmas morning?". *Ihtiriekko* in South Ostrobothnian narratives is a child murdered in the forest; it also moans at night, changes its voice, follows people, imitates, vanishes when spoken to, or is totally invisible. The first part of the compound word, *ihti*, is the ancient Finno-Ugrian word for 'self', meaning the soul (map 39). *Lehtikelikko* is not only a ghost similar to the *liekkiö* and *ihtiriekko*, but also a being associated with the supernatural guardian of the forest. It has been seen as a Maid of the Forest (Sw. *skogskäring*), who from behind looks like tree roots (map 70), as a giant man, dog or bird impervious to gunshot, or it barked like a dog and led the wanderer astray.

*Meriraukat* (Norwegian *draug*, Sami *rawga*), known in northern areas, particularly among the inhabitants of the Arctic Ocean coast, were souls of people drowned in the sea, who called or showed themselves before a storm. The supernatural guardian of boundaries of southwestern Finland, *rajaäijä*, -*piru* or *rajalainen*, 'border ghost', is a farmer who has moved a boundary marker stone, a false witness or a dishonest land surveyor, who shouted at the scene of the crime, rattled its chains, declared the correct boundary line, or demanded rectification by calling *Raja oikoseen!* [Correct the boundary!]. (Si 1001-1100)

## 74. The murdered child complains

**The murdered child asks for clothing.** In narratives of Scandinavian origin that have also spread into Finland, a child buried in the forest has often asked for clothing and at the same time revealed its mother, sometimes also its father (map 74). The dead child called in autumn Sunday mornings to people traveling

to church by church boat: *Talvi tulee, takkia tarvitaan, ei ole sukkaa eikä kinnasta* [Winter is coming, I need a coat, I have no stockings or mittens]. At that, the child-murdering mother, who was in the church boat, confessed her deed. Or the child calls to people on their way to church or a passing crowd of young people: *Isä sukkaa, äiti kenkää, hako pistää pieneen jalkaan!* [Father bring stockings, mother bring shoes, pine needles prick my little foot!] The child also often mentions its burial place. According to folklore from Norrbotten (Finnish Västerbotten), the dead child was thrown the clothing it asked for, whereupon it found peace.

In another theme, the murdered child has asked for shoes from a cobbler or other visitor working in the house at night. The narratives describe a room in a house that was haunted, so that no-one dared to sleep there. A traveler or cobbler spending the night in the room sees the apparition of a murdered child who is buried under the floor, and describes its mother. In the morning the visitor notices that the child's murderer is one of the household, such as a serving girl who brings him coffee, and reveals the crime she has committed.

(Si C 901, C 951, C 956, C 976)

**Dead child dances at its mother's wedding.** In Scandinavian narratives, a woman has killed three of her children, of whom one is hidden in a stocking, a second in a pot, and the third smothered in a cloth. The murdered children appear to dance at their mother's wedding and sing: (Sw.) *Dansa strumpeholk* (strumpesock), *dansa byttefolk* (byttjulp), *dansa liten vira* (myra). *Om mor inte blivit gift i år, så hade vi varit fyra* (flera). In Finnish versions (map 74) the line was, for example: *Nahkahihka tanssii sukansäären kanssa, tule sinä pirttipyytty joukkoon kanssa* [The leather strap is dancing with the stocking leg, come along and join us, kitchen pot]. However, Finnish narratives most commonly have two dancing children singing: *Housupoika tanssii, pyttypiika ei pääsekäään* [the pants boy is dancing, the pot maid can't come]. (Si C 961)

## 75. *The murdered child seeks revenge*

**Dead child in a pot.** In a standardized plot structure of moralistic narratives on dead children, the mother has hidden the body of her murdered child in a pot and buried it under the floor (map 75). Moaning is heard from the hiding place: (Sw.) *Byttan är trång, bena är långa* or (Fi.) *Pytty on ahdas, luut on pitkät* [the pot is too small, my bones are long]. When the spot was examined, the child's body was found in the pot and often also the mother was found out.

The pot motif has been embellished with detail about scissors with which the mother has killed her bastard child or sealed the pot. During a wedding or dance held in the house, a cry is heard: (Sw.) *Om det inte vore för sassa (saxa), så skulle jag upp och dassa (dansa) med mor min* [If it wasn't for the scissors, I could rise up and dance with my mother]. The child's corpse and the scissors are found and the child murderer revealed, or if the child is granted permission to dance, it dances its mother to death.

(Si C 966, C 968, C 971)

**The murdered child's revenge on its mother.** According to the narratives, moaning was heard when a person or the child's parents passed the scene of the murder. The child appeared and asked for permis-

sion to kill its mother. When permission was granted, for example by saying: "Go and suckle from your mother!" or "Go back to where you came from!", the child then sought out its mother or both parents, suckled at its mother's breast until she died, or tore at its parents until they died.

The central message of dead child narratives with crystallized motifs is how the murdered child disclosed its whereabouts and revealed the crime committed by its mother, or how the guilty party was shocked into confessing her deed (map 75). While asking for clothing or answering people's questions, the dead child often describes its mother's dress in a few astute words, or gives such a personal identifying mark that she is recognized among those present. In Finland-Swedish material, the line included mentioning the mother's name: (Sw.) *Anna, min mor, som sitter i båten och ror, hon skall ge mig strumpor och skor* [Anna, my mother, who sits in the boat rowing, shall give me stockings and shoes]. Over the centuries dominated by Christian moralism, the emphasis of the narratives has transferred from the haunting to the revenge, and the mother's exposure or her punishment has acquired more and more dramatic twists.

(Si C 976)

**Map diagram.** Narratives of dead bastard children and supernatural boundary guardians are part of the moral tradition of western agrarian communities. In Finland, the legends of murdered and hidden children have spread, evidently early on, to the peasant culture area of western and southern Finland, and gradually also to agrarianizing Savo. The map diagram is still western, and the narratives follow the distribution of other moral narratives with Christian overtones.

In terms of folkloric history, Finnish dead child narratives are of western origin. However, the loans are of different ages and levels, and their layered quality poses many interesting problems for research. Thus, liekkiö, lehtikelikko and ihtiriekko have each undergone unique local individual development to the degree that they do not exactly resemble any Scandinavian model. Instead of the concept of the dead child, it may be expedient to follow Uno Harva's lead and talk about 'peculiar hauntings', which in some areas have been explained as dead children's souls. Similar heterogeneity occurs in Scandinavian gast-narratives, and it is likely that the Satakunta-Ostrobothnia haunting tradition continues specifically the gast-tradition, as it was known before the marked expansion of dead child beliefs. The clearest representative of gast-roles in Finland is the liekkiö of northern Satakunta, also known by Agricola (1551), which contains features of both the older haunting-gast and the later dead child -gast. The secondary status of the dead child belief as regards liekkiö is further shown by the fact that only 5% of the material proposes a murdered child as its origin. Lehtikelikko (*metsä-* and *leppäkelikko*) is half in the role of a forest haltia, half other ghouls. In terms of its motif, ihtiriekko is more a dead child than liekkiö and lehtikelikko, which is probably explained not only by the influence of the Ostrobothnian utbörding-tradition, but also from the word *itse* [self], meaning the soul, contained in the name of the apparition (ihtiriekko < itseriekko).

Lapland is a relict area in terms of dead child folklore, with an abundance of materials of various ages that have already partly disappeared or become rare elsewhere. Eastern Lapps (Inari fishermen, Skolts, the Kola Sami) do not know the dead child belief, which is a clear indication that the folklore is recent. Although the term 'aeppar' is Finnish in origin, the western Lappish motifs of the narratives are of Scandinavian origin in every detail, and via the Sami, they have evidently partially also spread to the Finnish tradition of Norrbotten and southern Lapland. Loans in the opposite direction are very rare.

Etymologically, the original of *meriraukka* is the Norwegian *draug*, with the Lapp equivalent being *rawga*. Draug was originally the general term for a haunting dead. The supernatural guardian of boundaries also has a counterpart in Scandinavian tradition, where the corresponding apparition has been called

*gast* (e.g. *skälgast*, *målgast*, *änga-målare*, *skälvrängare*). It is interesting to note that in southern Finland, dead child apparitions and the supernatural guardian of boundaries appear to have become mutually exclusive. The areas of liekkiö and the boundary haltia are adjoining, but the latter is not found where liekkiö is dominant and vice versa.

## **The dead excluded from society**

**Murdered children.** Dead child apparitions have been children who were abandoned, murdered, died without being baptized, were born prematurely or stillborn, for whom the appropriate rites of passage had not been performed. The most important of such rites was naming, which in most cultures assures the child's membership of the kinship group. The name was the most important symbol of the child's fitness for the community. A precondition of accepting a child into the kinship group is often also that its parents can be identified; children born out of wedlock were not accepted in many cultures, but they were killed, for example by abandoning them. The status of those who died without a name or being baptized is also exceptional in that in the social sense, such children have never belonged with the living. If the child had never 'lived', it could not be included in the community of the dead either. In such cases, the burial ceremonies have not been performed or they have been carried out in an exceptional manner. The child has been deemed an outsider; he has not been a member of the kinship group at any stage, nor has he been accepted to the company of the family dead. The outcast status or lack of a designated place is also the basic reason for the haunting of dead children. According to Nordic folk belief systems, the dead children found peace when they were baptized and/or buried among other dead.

In terms of legal history, abandonment of children seems to have been an accepted folk custom in the Nordic countries before Christian influences. The Scandinavian legal tradition has followed the ancient Roman and also Germanic practice, whereby the head of the kinship group, usually the father, had the right to decide whether or not a child born into the group was kept alive or abandoned. The question became acute at the moment of naming at the latest, which in the Nordic countries is a rite older than Christian baptism. According to Icelandic sagas, the father showed his approval by receiving the child handed to him, and by dowsing it with water he named the child; the procedure was expressed as the child having been 'carried to its father'. A child who, for one reason or another, such as being born out of wedlock, was not accepted into the kinship group and not named, was abandoned or 'carried out'. Conversely, abandonment of a baptized child was deemed to constitute murder both in the sagas and in the oldest Scandinavian provincial laws (cf. map 90).

Christianity endeavored to put a stop to the right of families to decide on their children's lives, and abandonment was criminalized in Iceland, according to an old saga tradition, by Olaf the Holy in 1018, in Norway in the 11th and 12th centuries, in Denmark and southern Sweden somewhat earlier. The first high conjuncture of the Nordic dead child tradition can be placed in the period of the spread of Christianity and the centuries immediately after. Then, the dead child apparition was evidently one 'carried out' of the kinship group. The pan-Nordic term for a dead child is *útburðir* (Icelandic form of the term), which is

found in a continuous area from Iceland across Norway (*utburd*) and northern part of Sweden (*utbörding*, *utbölning*) right up to Ostrobothnia (*uloskannettu*). The term occurs in Icelandic sagas and Norwegian provincial legislation, where the expression *bera út barn*, 'to carry the child out', specifically means the abandonment of children, as does the corresponding Swedish *utkasta*, 'to cast out, to abandon'. During the first expansion of the dead child tradition, the moral condemnation was not of unmarried mothers, but the abandonment of unwanted children.

The rapid spread of the dead child tradition in northern Europe had the effect in many places that certain concepts that had earlier referred to other mythical beings became terms for dead children. Thus, in southernmost Scandinavia, *myring*, or 'a murder victim buried in a swamp' became the dominant term for a deceased child in the Gotaland-Uppland region (local vernacular *myling*). Similarly, the term for an apparition, 'gast', which derives from the same root as the English 'ghost' or the German 'geist', has passed over to dead child narratives in a swathe across central Scandinavia, from the Oppland province of Norway across the central Swedish lake district, right across to Åland. The change in the meaning of the term 'gast' probably took place as early as the expansion period of the dead child tradition that followed the advent of Christianity.

**Bastard children.** The second high conjuncture of the dead child tradition falls in the 17th and 18th centuries, when infanticide, in common with crimes of immorality, were strongly criminalized and became subject to capital punishment. Statistics show that infanticide was the most common crime leading to the death sentence in Sweden-Finland at the time. It appears to have been a particular social problem, as indicated by the large number of acts and decrees on the subject; infanticide trials even became a kind of fashionable trend. In terms of folkloric history, it is worth pointing out that many of the themes of dead child narratives have spread in that very same period of the 17th-18th centuries. The central element of these narratives, all of which are identifiable as being of Scandinavian origin, is the supernatural exposure of the child murderer and the moral condemnation of crimes of morality and infanticide.

**Restless souls.** The Finnish concept of an apparition is also that it is someone who has died a 'bad death'. Up to the 1800s and part of the 1900s, the ecclesiastical law of Sweden-Finland (1686) distinguished four categories of deceased and burial ceremonies. Depending on the manner of death, the burial was either Christian or honorable, quiet or less honorable, shameful and most shameful. Those to be buried quietly included stillborn babies, those who had died unbaptized, those who had killed themselves in a frenzied moment or had died of drink. A priest was permitted to be present at less honorable burials, but only to read the burial formula and prayers. A shameful burial was performed for those who had either been killed in a duel or had killed one another 'in a wild moment', murdered illegitimate children etc. Those receiving a shameful burial were placed in the furthest corner of the churchyard without a Christian ceremony of any kind. The most shameful type of burial was given to those who had been executed and those guilty of blasphemy, seduction, murder or sodomy; their bodies were buried in the forest. There are clear parallels between ecclesiastical practice and folk tradition. The dead, who were distinguished also by the church, appear in folk belief as displaced souls that did not even qualify for the honorable name of the deceased.

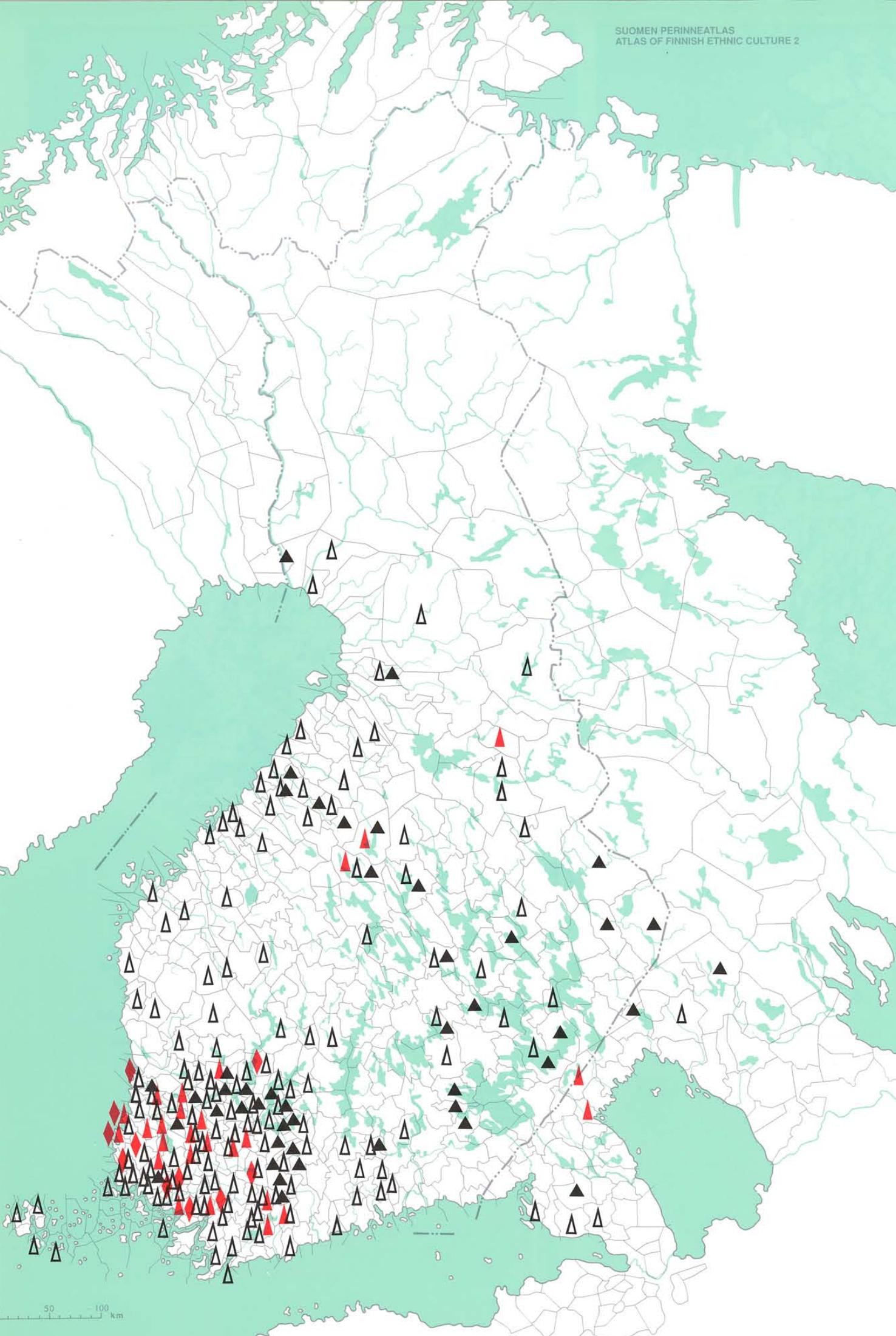
In kinship communities, the displaced dead were excluded from the deceased of the kinship group who were objects of the ancestral cult (maps 3, 7). The 'bad dead', as they were called in Karelia, were buried in an exceptional way, for example without a coffin and ceremonies, away from others, or left unburied altogether. They were likened to a dead stranger, a person unknown in the locality, of whom no-one took care, and who therefore was not thought to have managed the journey to the realm of the dead.

The displaced dead were kind of left halfway, in an eternal transition stage; they haunted the living, looking for their final resting place in various ways.

*Juha Pentikäinen*

(Si C 901-1100)

*Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:19-21. Campbell – Nyman 1976 b. Devereux 1955. Haavio 1947b; 1950a; 1966. Klintberg 1968. O'Connor 1991. Pentikäinen 1968; 1976; 1990. Solheim 1958. (Klemettinen 1998.)*



## 76. Kirkon kivitys The Stoning of the Church by a Giant

Tarina kirkkoa uhkaavasta  
jäättiläisestä

Legend of a giant that  
threatens the church

kirkon kivittäjä  
stoner of church

kalevanpoika  
Kaleva's son (giant)

hiisi  
hisi giant

jäättiläinen  
a giant

piru, paholainen  
devil giant

Levinneisyyskartta  
Distribution map

## 76. THE STONING OF THE CHURCH BY A GIANT

### **Victory of Christianity**

**Church-stoning narratives.** The map shows narratives where a supernatural being, a giant, throws a large rock at the new church of some parish, usually because the church bells do not give it peace. The set lines of the narratives have the giant complain for example: *En saa rauhaa, kun Lopen Santa Pirjo pauhaa* or *Lopen iso kolli poraa* [I can get no peace with Santa Pirjo of Loppi roaring or The big tom-cat of Loppi is caterwauling]; the euphemistic names of the church bell refer to the patron saint of Loppi church, Saint Bridget (Si N 61-66). The legends are often linked to certain large rocks that might be situated dozens of kilometers from the church. The rock cast by the giant may have crushed people and animals as it fell, and moving it might bring misfortune. Some narratives explain why some stone churches have a timber gable end or upper part. A giant's stone has hit the church and it has been 'repaired' afterwards. The unnaturally long throwing distance and the size of the stone are proof that the thrower is a supernatural being. It is also said that such stones have the giant's fingerprints visible, or that they move when the church bells are tolling.

One of the common plot patterns of church-stoning narratives is (1) the story of the giant's purse stone. The narrative explains why there is a large boulder in some place, for example near a church; it was dropped by a giant out of its purse as it was on the way to stone the local church. The giant, infuriated by the church bells ringing or some other reason, sets off to destroy the church with a large stone in its purse. An old woman is dispatched to meet it in worn-out shoes or rowing with broken oars, and she tells him that they have worn out on her way from the church and that she has aged herself on the long journey; the narrative contains various means of expressing the length of time and distance, mensurals. Unaware that the church is actually already close, the giant abandons its quest and leaves its stone by the roadside or throws it away towards the church. (Si N 91-94)

A relatively common narrative in southwestern Finland is about (2) Kalevanpoika's whetstone. The giant Kalevanpoika is scything hay, and on hearing the church bells ringing it becomes angry and throws its whetstone towards the church. The cuboid standing stone, a good two metres high, is still visible in some churchyards. Thus, the narratives provide an explanation as to why some erratic boulder resembled a purse or a medieval gravestone a giant whetstone.(1) Conversely, the shape of the rocks served as proof of the narrative's authenticity. (Si N 51)

**People and giants as church-builders.** The church-stoning narratives also include other introductory and framework narratives used to dramatize the event. In them, (3) giants may have been portrayed as not only opponents of church-building, but also man's competitors who build their own churches. Or people and giants compete in building churches; the winner was the one who first rang his church bells. Humans deceive the giants by ringing their bell on top of a pole, whereupon the latter are incensed by losing, smash their own church (e.g. Kirkkelinna in Laitila, Kirkonlaattia in Lappi Tl. parish) and throw a stone at the humans' construction. Other church-building narratives also continue with the motif of the giant, having completed the church, becoming incensed by the sound of the bells and throwing a stone at the church. (Si N 101-104)

One of the best-known introductory narratives is the legend of the giants whose names people should not have found out. Two giants promise to build a church in the parish of Raisio free of charge, if no-one guesses their names. The giants set to work and have almost finished, when someone hears the giant's wife singing to her child: *Killi kirkkoja tekee, Nalli naujoja takoo rahaisessa Raisiossa.* [Killi is making churches, Nalli forging nails in wealthy Raisio]. When people shout at the giants: *Pois Killi kirkosta, pois Nalli harjalta!* [Killi away from the church, Nalli off the roof], they become angry, kick down the gable end of the church and fly away as birds or throw a stone (purse stone) at the church. The oldest Finnish record of the narrative is in Swedish from 1656 (Petrus Gyllenius). The legend was published in Finnish as a flyer entitled *Lukemisia kansalle* No. 53 (three editions in 1856, 1875, 1888). Sakari Topelius also published it in his book *Maamme kirja* (in Finnish 1876), intended for folk schools.(2 (AT 500. Si N 401-405)

One narrative theme has the giants demolish at night what human beings build during the day, as the giants thought the church was being erected in the wrong place. This happens when building the church in Huittinen parish. Finally, the builders hear the giants say: *Tee kirkko Karsattiin, Karsatissa kirkko kaunis on.* [Make the church in Karsatti, in Karsatti the church will look nice]. When the position of the church is changed or determined using oxen (map 79), the giants start to build more at night than humans achieve during the day. (Si N 421-441)

**Name of church-stoner.** The supernatural being opposing the building of a church has commonly been called *jättiläinen* [giant], *hiisi* or *kalevanpoika* [Kaleva's son]. In Finland, the most natural opponent of Christianity has been hiisi, which originally referred to a burial wood and its inhabitants, later to the devil or a mythical being in general that was associated with pagan cults (maps 3, 7). The Finnish *jättiläinen* is similar to the Swedish *jätte* [giant] (arch. Sw. *iætti, iætun*), probably derived from the Germanic verb *äta* [to eat]. Christian tradition refashioned the pagan nature giant that hated culture into an opponent of Christianity.

The name 'kalevanpoika' may originate from Estonia, having migrated to Varsinais-Suomi as early as the pre-Christian era. In Estonia, kalevanpoika was not only a creator heros figure, a plower and reaper who shaped nature, but also a giant hero that defended an oppressed people and appears for example in narratives about the stoning of *moisios* or aristocratic castles. The roots of *kaleva* have been sought from various quarters, such as Germanic, ancient Scandinavian and Slavic languages, or it has been traced back to the Estonian dialect word *kali* with the original meaning of 'powerful, strong'. The oldest written references to *hiisi* and *kalevanpoika* are contained in the foreword of Agricola's *Psalttari* from 1551; in it, *hiisi* appears as a supernatural guardian of the forest. Other old names are *munkit* and *nunnat* [monks and nuns], which after the Reformation might have acquired negative connotations also in folklore. Occasionally, the creature stoning the church may also be a witch, such as *Prättäkitti* that became a narrative character in southwestern Finland (map 61). During the centuries dominated by Christianity, the church-stoner has increasingly more exclusively been associated with the Antichrist of the Bible, the devil.(3

**Map diagram.** The core area of church-stoning narratives is southwestern Finland, from where they have spread east and north. Although the narratives mention a good 70 churches (half timber, half stone-built), the narratives and their set lines are strongly attached to the medieval stone churches of southwestern Finland and the Ostrobothnian coast (cf. map 22). Of the Finnish original names in the legends, *hiisi* occurs, with the exception of incidental records, in southwestern Finland, and *kalevanpoika* in a fixed core zone in the old settlement areas of Varsinais-Suomi. In the rapakivi granite area of southwestern Finland there are also plenty of large boulders, but purely geographical factors are unlikely to suffice as explanations for the distribution of the tradition; there are erratic boulders transported by the Ice Age all over Finland.

From the old settlement areas of southwestern Finland, Christianity began to spread to the rest of the country. The church-stoning legends have preserved the memory of the arrival of Christianity and the building of the first stone churches. Crystallized church-stoning narratives are likely to have been specifically medieval folklore. They are a folk record of the victory of the church and the powerlessness of the giant, representing paganism, before the new god.

**Boulder in strange environment.** Church-stoning narratives are universal folklore that uses narrative methods to explain the existence, shape or location in a strange place of some prominent natural feature, such as an isolated boulder on otherwise stoneless, level land. Giant legends are based on real observations, when they are (1) narratives of origin, explaining the creation of natural formations caused by the Ice Age, erratic boulders, piles of rocks, ridges, *hiidenkirnut* ['*hiisi*'s churns', giant's kettles] or other queer depressions in bedrock. The legends can also be used to explain how pre-Christian burial and rite sites, such as *hiidenkiukaat* [cairn graves], sacrificial stones (map 3) and *jatulintarhat* [stone rings/labyrinths] were created, or how the large buildings of bygone times, stone churches, monasteries or castles were built. Similarly, the narratives describe bridges built by physically oversized beings, remnants of spilled loads of gravel, or other man-made features. On the other hand, the narratives are (2) legends of measure, illustrating the huge size of the giant, such as in the legend of the giant girl who picked up a plowman and horse for playthings (Si N 701-704). The corpus of giant legends also contains (3) fairytale-like fantasy and hero narratives, in which the intellectually superior hero beats a physically overpowering giant, and perhaps seizes the *hiisi*'s silver chalice or fools the giant (Si N 1031).

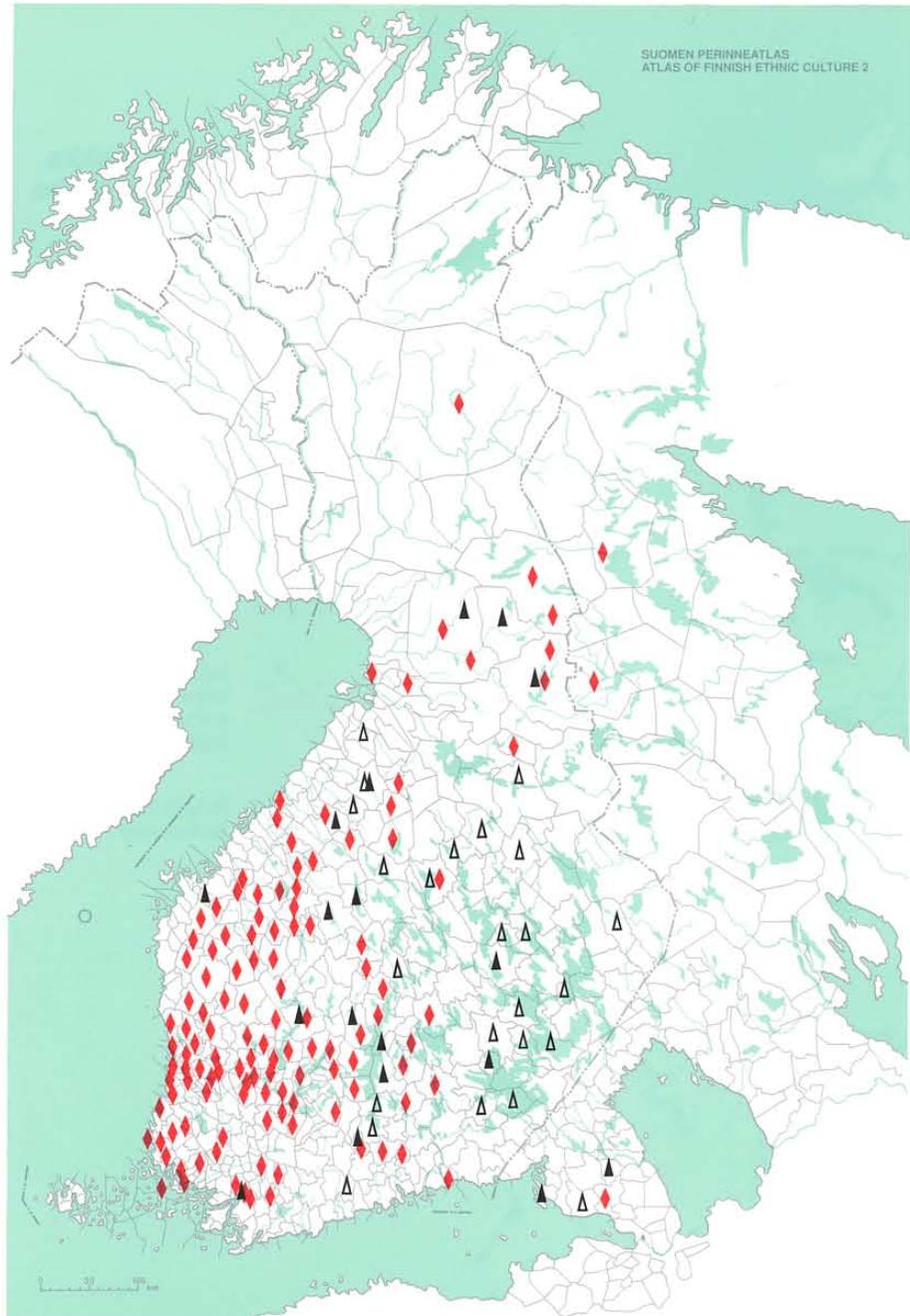
The events of the church-stoning narratives fall in the transition period between paganism and Christianity. The idea of the narratives probably originates from other stone-throwing narratives, such as those about stone-throwing wars or throwing contests between giants, or how the giant throws a stone at a human being. The legends also occur in the folklore of the Antiquity (stone-throwing war of the Cyclops). The origin of international images of giants has been sought e.g. from the need to explain natural landscape features and from animation of natural forces, such as storms, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. As nature narratives, the Estonian-Finnish *kalevanpoika* theme with its stone-throwing features was possibly already known in the Gulf of Finland circle around the birth of Christ or towards the end of the prehistoric era at the latest. With the spread of Christianity, stoning narratives acquired new content in Europe and also in the Nordic countries. In Finland, the transformation of tradition has taken place particularly during the great medieval church-building period.

*Marjatta Jauhainen*

(Si N 1-200)

*Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:1. Campbell – Nyman 1976a. Harva 1934. Höttges 1937, A I-VI. Jauhiainen 1962. Laugaste – Liiv 1970. Laugaste – Liiv – Normann 1963. Laugaste – Normann 1959. Liungman 1959, 36-. Olbrich 1929-1930. Schmidt A. 1933. Scott 1955.*

**1.** Kivikoski 1952. **2.** Gyllenius 1882, 236-. Topelius 1876, 160-. **3.** Ariste 1946. Sorvali 1992.



## 77. Suuri suu The Big Mouth Legend

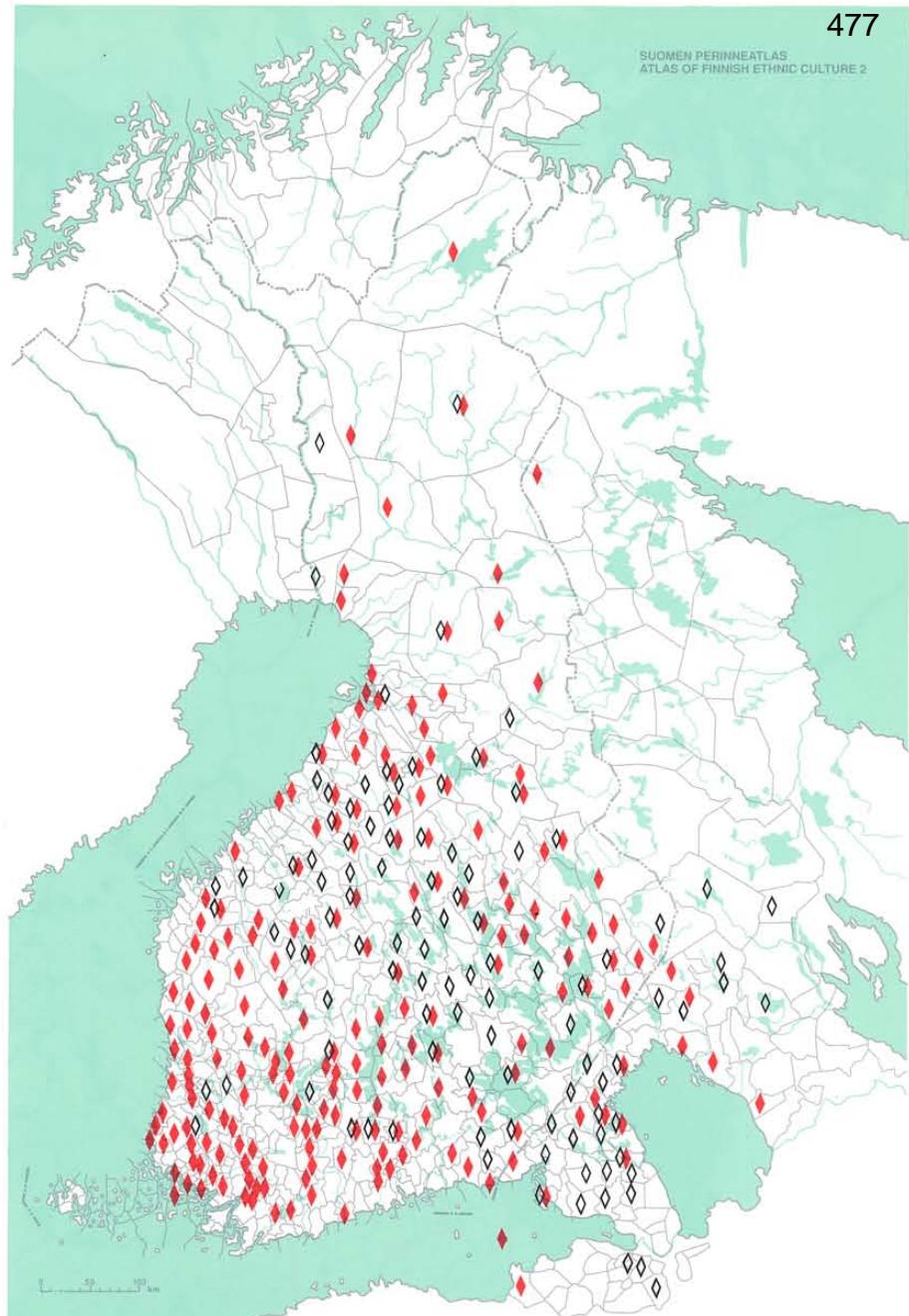
Tarina paholaisesta myllyn ovelta  
Legend of the devil at the door of the mill

◆ Oletko nähty suuta suurempaa?  
'Did you ever see a bigger mouth?'

▲ Oletko nähty pitempää hampaita?  
'Did you ever see longer teeth?'

△ Oletko nähty pitempää nokkaa?  
'Did you ever see a longer nose?'

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 78. Kuollut sulhanen noutaa morsiamensa (Lenore) The Girl and the Dead Bridegroom

Lenore-tarina. Kuollut sulhanen kyytii morsiantaan ja kysyy:  
The Lenore legend. The dead bridegroom takes his bride for a ride and asks:

◆ Kuu paistaa heleästi (kirkkaasti), kuollut ajaa keveästi (vilkkaasti).  
Etkös kultani pelkää?  
'The moon shines lightly (brightly), the dead drive lightly (quickly). Are you not afraid, my beloved?'

◊ Kuu paistaa, kuollut ajaa.  
Hirvittääkö herttaistain?  
'The moon shines, the dead drive. Are you terrified, my sweetest one?'

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 77. THE BIG MOUTH LEGEND

### ***Supernatural scarer***

**Brave man at the mill.** The most common version of the narrative has the hero keeping watch at night in the mill while milling his grain, and making himself some porridge. The devil or a ghost comes to the mill door, opens its jaws as wide as the door jambs and asks: *Oletko nähnyt suuta suurempaa?* [Did you ever see a bigger mouth?] The man throws the burning hot porridge in the ghost's jaws and replies: *Oletko syönyt puuroa kuumempaa?* [Did you ever eat hotter porridge?]

The narrative has also concerned a tar-burner, pitch-maker or blacksmith hammering in his smithy, a hunter, or a person who is cooking for himself in a forest sauna or some other isolated place. The apparition appearing at the door is called the devil, a mill or water haltia, sometimes a tonttu or a giant (cf. maps 62-69, 76). The hero of the narrative throws into the ghost's mouth his hot brew, often complete with pot: the boiling tar, glowing iron, smelted tin, ashes or coals, whereupon the creature runs off damaging the premises as it goes, or the porridge pot flies into the rapids and is later recovered. The devil screams as the brew burns its mouth: *Poltti suuni!* or *Kuuma rokka!* [Burned my mouth! or Hot brew!] The incident has been the origin of place names or those of mills or rapids such as Poltinmylly, Rokkakoski or Palonkylä (Satakunta).

**Map diagram.** The core elements of the Big Mouth legend are the set lines. The question and answer dialogues may be divided into three main versions, each with their own distribution areas. This legend, in common with most set plot narratives, has spread from west to east, and at the same time the set lines have acquired new forms. In Finland, the most original and stylistically most sound is (1) *Oletko nähnyt suuta suurempaa? – Oletko syönyt puuroa kuumempaa?* [Did you ever see a bigger mouth? – Did you ever eat hotter porridge?] Further east, the mouth has been replaced by the nose and finally teeth. The second main version is (2) *Oletko nähnyt pitempää nokkaa (tällaista nenää)? – Oletko syönyt tällaista rokkaa (lientä)?* [Did you ever see a longer beak (such a nose)? – Did you ever eat such stew (soup?)?] The easternmost set line is (3) *Oletko nähnyt pitempää hampaita? – Oletko syönyt tämmöistä keitto?* [Did you ever see longer teeth? – Did you ever eat such stew?] The changes have been directed by word pairs; in Savo, the porridge has become stew [*rokka*], with the apparition's mouth turning into its beak or nose [*nokka*].

The mill and the man, the hot porridge and the Big Mouth set line have become established in the western distribution area. In eastern Finland, the hero of the narrative is often someone else, such as a

man boiling tar or pitch oil or an itinerant cobbler, even an accidental passer-by who banishes the devil creating havoc in a house; the eastern dialogue is also uncrystallized. In Finnish Big Mouth legends, the apparition most commonly means the devil, which in Christian peasant society became the symbol of all external threats.

**Giant-deceivers.** Blinding an evil being is an ancient universal theme, linked for example to the giant Polyphemus of the legends of the Antiquity. The Odyssey recounts how Odysseus with his men fled from the cave of the one-eyed giant Polyphemus, having pierced its single eye with a burning staff. Odysseus had previously given his name as 'Nobody', and the other giants could not set off in pursuit, as Polyphemus complains that 'Nobody' blinded it.<sup>(1)</sup> The legend about blinding and deceiving a threatening supernatural being with its 'Nobody' or 'burned itself' motifs is known throughout Europe and Asia Minor right down to India, either as the Homeric base type of local variants. Ancient sources include the Indian-Persian-Arabian *Thousand and One Nights* dating from the 800s and Johannes de Alta Silva's *Dolopathos* from approx. 1185.<sup>(2)</sup>

In Finland, the blinding theme has become established both in its common Polyphemus ('burned itself') form and as the Big Mouth legend. The nearest elements of the Finnish Big Mouth legend are found in Scandinavia. In Sweden, the hero of the legend is the miller watching over the milling at night, or a man at the mill who throws hot porridge or soup into the mouth, or also the eye or long nose of the devil, supernatural guardian of the mill or forest, troll, tontu or mermaid (maps 62-69). Swedish set lines contain both the big mouth and the long nose.

The Big Mouth legend is naturally linked to water mills, and its core area follows the distribution of water mills and cooperative mills (Atlas Part I, map 2). In the tar-burning areas of eastern Finland and Savo (Part I, map 5), where the water mill became established relatively late, the devil comes to threaten people to dwelling-houses or tar pits. In western Finland the legend has been linked to old mills; it explains the origin of the name of the rapids or the mill. In the west, the narrative has often acquired a moralistic tone: a man milling grain on a Sunday comes face to face with the devil. In Savo, the devil-burner is rather the hero of a narrative about a rogue, a quick-thinking traveler who banishes the devil that has settled in the house.

The Big Mouth legend has links with the fairytales of the Dumb Devil and the Deceived Devil, in which the quick-witted hero faced with the devil saves his skin by throwing hot soup into the devil's mouth. The burning motif occurs indirectly also in the legend known as *Le petit chat de Dovre*. In it, the being scalded with tar or pitch returns after a long time to the scene and asks: "Is the soup-maker still alive?" (AT 1161. Si G 1801). The burning of an apparition is also found in the legend of a love-sick Maid of the Forest come to a hunter's camp fire, into whose crotch the hunter throws a burning ember (map 70). In Sweden the same legend contains the 'self'-motif and is thus connected to the Polyphemus theme.<sup>(3)</sup>

*Marjatta Jauhainen*

(AT 1131. Si G 1601-1700, M 87, N 1054)

*Bolte – Polívka 1915-1918 III, 374-. Haavio 1942, 121-. Hackman 1904. Liungman 1952, 321-; 1958. Röhrich 1976, 234-. Vilkuna K. 1942.*

**1. Homer 9:106-545. 2. Liungman 1952, 321-. 3. Liungman 1958, 270-.**

## 78. THE GIRL AND THE DEAD BRIDEGROOM

### ***LENORE***

#### ***Love and death***

**Dead man drives.** The legend recounts how a dead bridegroom drives his horse to collect his bride and takes her to his home in the moonlight for the wedding. In the introduction young lovers, a bride and groom or married couple, become separated. (1) The boy has to go away, to join the army or to war, and the girl stays behind to wait, or the young lovers live in different parishes. The second opening theme has (2) the parents of a wealthy boy refusing to allow their son to marry a poor girl, and they separate the lovers. In the narratives about a married couple, (3) the wife goes alone to visit her childhood home, leaving her husband at home. During the separation the groom or husband dies. The girl or woman does not find out about the death of her beloved or husband, or conversely hears that he is dead and starts endlessly mourning and yearning for the deceased.

On a moonlit winter's night, the dead groom arrives with a horse to take the girl for a ride. The girl agrees and while they are riding along the groom asks her if she is afraid, sometimes repeating his question three times. Suddenly the girl notices that the horse or driver casts no shadow on the snow, or that there is no sound from the sleigh runners. Yet she replies that she has no reason to be afraid with her own darling, although she already suspects that she is riding with a dead man.

The groom takes the girl (1) to his home where his funeral or the young couple's wedding is being prepared, or direct to (2) the graveyard where the groom lies buried. At the groom's house, the bride learns of his death and finds her beloved on a corpse board. The ending of the narrative varies; often the groom disappears when they arrive and leaves the girl in peace, but in the versions ending at the graveyard, the narrators have exploited the horror effects of tales of the dead and devils. The groom tries to take his bride with him into his grave, but the girl is saved by throwing her clothes into the grave, or her skirt is torn with his pulling and a piece is left in the dead man's hand. The girl is saved by running into the church, or the dead man-devil vanishes when the cock begins to crow. In some variants the story has an unhappy ending. The groom takes the girl with him and kills her; she may also die of fright or become insane. Particularly in Ladoga Karelia, the ride has become associated with a corpse-eater motif (AT 363. Si E 256), probably from Russian influence. On the way, the groom enters churches to eat corpses, to gnaw on bones. The narrators might have occasionally embellished the horrible image by suddenly yelling into a listener's ear: "And I'll eat you too!"

The reasons for the return of the deceased are given as (1) the bride's inconsolable grief that does not allow the groom peace in his grave, or (2) an oath or agreement the deceased has made while living; he

has promised to marry his bride or to collect his wife from her visit to her childhood home. In later interpretations (3) the deceased has seen his own death notice and accepts the invitation to the funeral.

**Lenore.** The legend of the dead groom who comes with his horse to collect his bride is known in European folklore as Lenore. The narrative has been especially popular in eastern Europe where its roots are assumed to lie. Lenore is also known as a ballad in several countries of central and southern Europe, particularly in the Germanic and Slavic regions, as well as in a part of Scandinavia.

Lenore acquired its international name from the ballad of the same name written by the German Gottfried August Bürger in 1773 based on the folk narrative, translated into Finnish by Eino Leino (*Leirivalkeat*, 1917). In European narratives the dead groom collects his bride on horseback, while in Finland such a vision is rare. Here, the events are placed in a moonlit winter landscape, and the dead groom with his bride drives the sleigh soundlessly and without casting a shadow in the snow. In narrative terms, the fundamental element of the legend everywhere has been the soundless progress of the horse and the lack of a shadow; they signified the presence of the supernatural.

**Map diagram.** The Lenore legend has been widely known in Finland and Karelia, with hundreds of variants recorded in different parts of the country. One of the narrative highlights is the dead bridegroom's question, and as is the case with set line narratives in general, established regional versions exist. The predominantly western version of the set lines is: (1) *Kuu paistaa heleästi, kuollut ajaa keveästi. Etkös kultani pelkää?* [The moon shines brightly, the dead man drives lightly. Are you not afraid, my beloved?] or *Kuu paistaa kirkkaasti, kuollut ajaa vilkkaasti. Etkös elävä pelkää?* [The moon shines brightly, the dead man drives briskly. Are you not afraid, living one?] Further east, the basic form of the line is (2) *Kuu paistaa, kuollut ajaa. Hirvittääkö herttaistain (oman kullan keralla ajaessa jne.)?* [The moon shines, the dead man drives. Are you terrified, my sweetest one? (driving with her own darling etc.)?]; the opening lines are also widely known as a saying. The word pair *kumeasti – rohkeasti* [hollowly – boldly] may also occur further east.

The western form corresponds to western European lines with the basic form 'The moon shines brightly, the dead man rides fast. Are you not afraid, ...?' E.g. *Der Mond scheint so hell, der Tote reitet so schnell. Annamirl, fürchst dich nicht?* (Germany). 'The moon shines bright in the lit, the dead, they ride so swift. Love, art thou not afraid?' (England). The short eastern version is equivalent to the Estonian line *Kuu paistab, koolias sõidab. Kallike, kullake, kas kardad?* Judging by the set lines, it would seem that the Lenore legend has spread to Finland both from the west and the east. The oldest Finnish record of it is from the 1850s and of the saying *Kuu paistaa, kuollut ajaa* from then end of the 18th century. In terms of its map diagram, Lenore differs from the moral tales of the puritanical peasant community (maps 73-75), the distribution of which is mostly limited to western Finland.

**Return of the dead.** Narratives about the dead have been very common in Finland; about one fifth of the belief legends held in the Folklore Archives (1993) fall into this group (Si C 1-2000). As narrative topics, only sorcerers and witches are more common than the dead. Legends of home-coming 'living' or 'returned' dead account for a quarter of all narratives about the dead. The 'homecomer' is a murderer, suicide or witch (maps 7, 61), in narratives of Christian peasant society also a sinner, miser, traitor, false witness, a drunkard who has led an immoral life, and a card-player. On the other hand, the restless deceased may be a good person, a mother concerned about her children, someone who has experienced an injustice in life, a jealous person, an ill-equipped corpse, a murdered child (maps 73-75) or one whose last wish has been left unfulfilled. The deceased has also promised to return or exact revenge, or a sor-

cerer has invoked it to return as a ghost.

In the Lenore legend the bridegroom belongs to the class on non-criminal homecomers, and it is possible that the theme of the returning groom (husband) has already been known in the kinship communities of the pre-Christian era. In its preserved form, Lenore is already a Christian cautionary or educational tale. It serves the same function as certain other narratives about the dead, according to which the corpse wanders before burial if it is excessively grieved. The dead spouse, grieved by the wife, comes back and he must be escorted again over the river of Tuonela, or the deceased forbids his family from weeping, because the tears wet or burn him in the grave. In terms of distribution, these legends are clearly eastern; the idea that tears burn the deceased is known as far as Dvina. Within the Orthodox religion, too, the Christian hegemony has tried to resist the ancestral cult, memorial events and lamenting on graves (maps 7, 8).

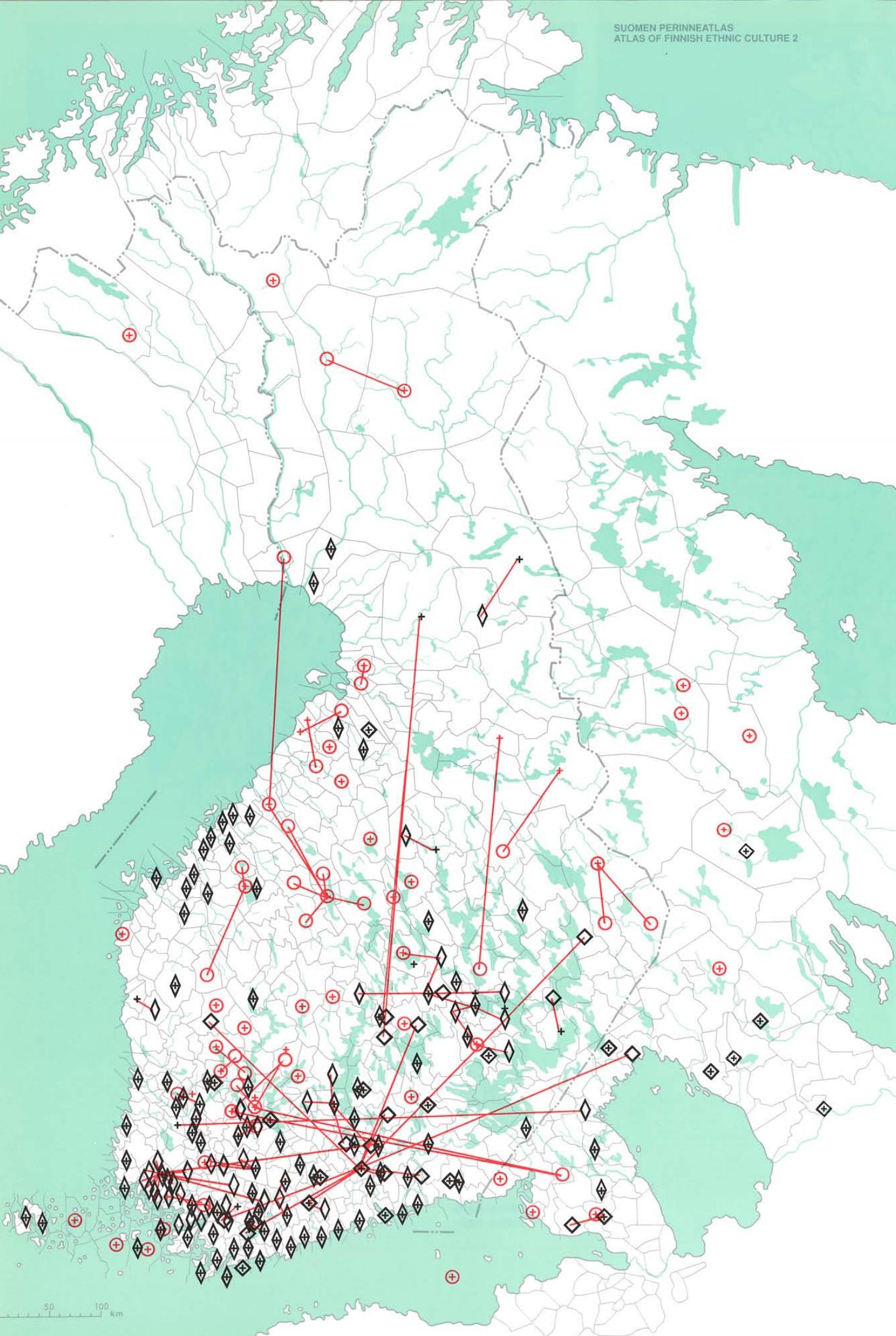
After the spread of romantic love into European folklore, e.g. in ballads (map 99), the message of the narrative has also been interpreted as a story of love sworn lasting beyond death and the importance of promises given. Conversely, the intention may have been to teach the young that love beyond death cannot survive, and that death breaks the oaths made in earthly life. Those left behind must forget their grief and self-pity; they must live among the living and not among the dead.

In peasant society, the legend of the dead bridegroom, in common with other narratives of the dead, has increasingly clearly turned into a horror story exploiting the fear of the dead and belief in the devil characteristic of Christian culture (cf. maps 7, 57, 61, 73-75). In many Finnish variants of the legend, too, the driver has turned into the omnipresent devil, who disguised as the dead bridegroom tried to take the girl with it. The legend began to cultivate cliches, used to prove the authenticity of the events in narratives about the dead and graveyards. A piece of the girl's skirt is found the next day in the graveyard in the bridegroom's coffin or grave. When the bride is shown the body of her groom, he is lying on the board with snow in his hair, or the horse is found in the stable wet with perspiration. Some local variants have the girl turn into an old woman during the journey, as the drive with death had taken many years. In the end, the Lenore legend has become thriller entertainment. The dead groom takes his bride to the wedding or accepts the invitation to his own funeral, but in the end behaves like the scary dead, corpse-eaters or the devil in quest of human souls, familiar from horror stories.

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(AT 365. Child 272. Si C 501)

*Liungman 1952, 101-. Luoto 1967. Mengis 1932-33. Peuckert 1955b. Röhrich – Brednich 1965, No. 8.*



## 79. Kirkon paikka The Site of the Church

1. Pitäjän kirkon paikan ovat osoittaneet  
The site for the parish church was indicated by

○ veteen työnnetyt hirsi  
a log pushed into the water  
(a lake)

◊ paikalle pysähtyneet härät  
oxen that paused on the spot

◊ paikalle pysähtyneet hevoset  
horses that paused on the spot

2. Tarinoiden paikallistuminen  
Location of legends  
kirkko, jonka rakentamisesta tarina kertoo  
a church associated with the legend



Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 79. THE SITE OF THE CHURCH

### ***Correct position***

**How the site of the church was decided.** According to legends, some parish churches could not be built on the sites where they were originally intended. The church is not completed, as what was built during the day fell apart in the night, down to the ground (Simonsuuri N 481-521). Then the parishioners conclude that the spot is the wrong one, and leave the new site to be decided by divine forces. There are various narrative versions of deciding the correct site for the church. The main types are: 1. A draft animal, an ox or a horse, is set to draw logs, stones etc., and where it stops, the church is built. 2. A log or a holy picture is set adrift in the water; the church is built where it is cast on land.

Typical examples are the following legends about the churches in Lohja (Uusimaa) and Pielavesi (North Savo).

A church was being built from large stones in Lohja on a site where the church would be visible from a great distance, but the devil undid everything at night that had been built during the day. They tried building on several different sites, but to no avail. In the end, they harnessed twin oxen in front of a load of stone. The oxen were allowed to go where they wanted, and on the spot where they stopped, the present Lohja church was built.

The people of Pielavesi first tried to build their church on mainland on the shore of lake Pielavesi, but what they built during the day was undone overnight. So they said: "If this is not the right place, let the Lord Himself choose the site for the church." They sent a log adrift into the water and struck an axe into one end. The log drifted to a nearby island, where they then built the church.

**Map diagram.** The legends split Finland into two areas. In western and southern Finland, the site of the church is decided by draft animals, oxen; in the lake district of eastern Finland and Häme and in the Turku archipelago by a log allowed to drift into the water. In eastern and northern Finland and Karelia, the drifting log as a motif is naturally ecotypical, suitable for local conditions, since churches were built from logs and almost without exception on lakesides in waterway crossings.

The ox or pair of oxen is clearly more widespread in narratives than the horse, but on the other hand they cluster in southwestern Finland, the old area of draft oxen (Atlas Part I, map 25). The pair of oxen occurs almost exclusively in the area where paired oxen were also used in reality; elsewhere, where the ox was unknown as a draft animal, only one ox was cited. The load was determined by the kind of church the legend concerned. If it was a stone church, the ox usually hauled stone or foundation stone; if it was a wooden church, the load was logs or beams. In the area of medieval stone churches of western and

southern Finland, the ecotype consisted of legends in which the site of the church was decided by a pair of oxen drawing a load of stone.

The horse occurs as the draft animal more sporadically, mainly in narratives associated with Orimattila church, legends which often at the same time provide an explanation for the origin of the parish name. The 'stallion' (*ori*) in the name of the parish and its reputation for good horses have evidently been principal elements of the narrative, as legends of Orimattila church have been told a long way from the actual parish (map).

The map also shows the parish churches the legends concern. In western Finland, Swedish-speaking coastal parishes and Ostrobothnia, the legend usually concerned their own parish church; it is strongly localized, as motif narratives originating from the west usually are. In the east, the narratives are more often concentrated around some specific church, or they have concerned a church other than the local parish one. However, the most famous churches are in the west. In the area of medieval stone churches the legend is particularly attached to Nousiainen church near Turku. Other narrative centers, in addition to Orimattila, include Tammela church.

**Site chosen by the Lord.** Determining the position of a temple, building or an entire town by using a draft animal as the instrument of fate is an internationally widespread narrative theme. There are numerous variants of the church legend in Sweden, and the oldest records can be placed in the 1500s. In Central European countries, the motif is known both as a folk narrative and in the Catholic corpus of legends. Narratives have also been preserved from the Antiquity of how draft animals determined the site of a sacral place or town.

European tradition has doubtless also been influenced by the Bible story of the Ark of Covenant drawn by two cows and the search for a site for the temple (1. Sam. 6:7-14). The Bible story is probably based on ancient customs used in different parts of the world – Islamic areas included – in determining a sacred place. Of the Finno-Ugrians, with e.g. the Udmurt (Votyaks) a young horse determined the place for a sacred wood.

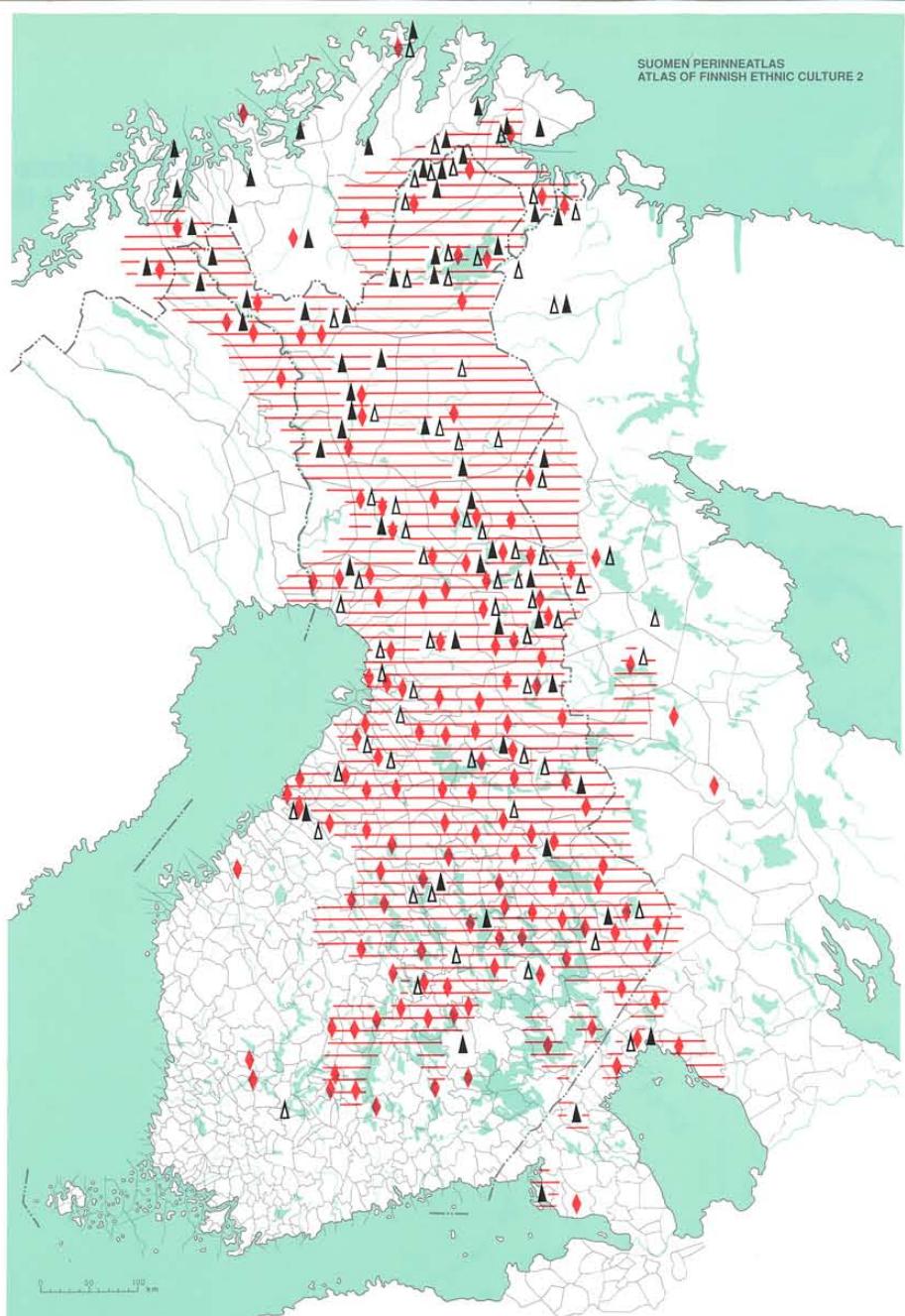
According to Dag Strömbäck, the drifting log is Nordic in origin; Icelandic settlement legends mention that settlers selected their dwelling place depending on where a tree trunk drifted. The best-known of Nordic legends is about the founding of Stockholm; the town was erected in the spot where a log sent adrift from Sigtuna came ashore. In Sweden, narratives about determining the site for a church are concentrated in central and southern Norrland, Dalecarlia and Värmland. Finnish variants also contain a detail found in the very earliest Nordic settlement legends: an axe is struck into the end of the log set adrift.

In Finnish parishes, too, building the church and choosing its site have been among the most important social issues of the time. In some parishes, the vitality of the legend may have been affected by disputes between villages as to where the church should be built. The narratives also often mention that God Himself was allowed to decide the place of the church, since agreement could not be reached in any other way. The narrative may also have explained why some parish churches are situated in unusual locations, perhaps away from later habitation.

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(MI B 155.1, D 1314, D 1816.6, V 111.3)

*Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:2-3. Blümmel 1978. Keltanen 1950. Rausmaa 1973, 75-76. Strömbäck 1960; 1976.*



## 80. Laurukainen The Guide of Enemy

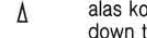
Tarina oppasta, joka johti  
vihollisen kuolemaan  
Legend of a guide that led the  
enemy to its destruction



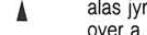
Laurukainen johtaa vihollisen  
Laurukainen leads the raiders



saareen  
to an island

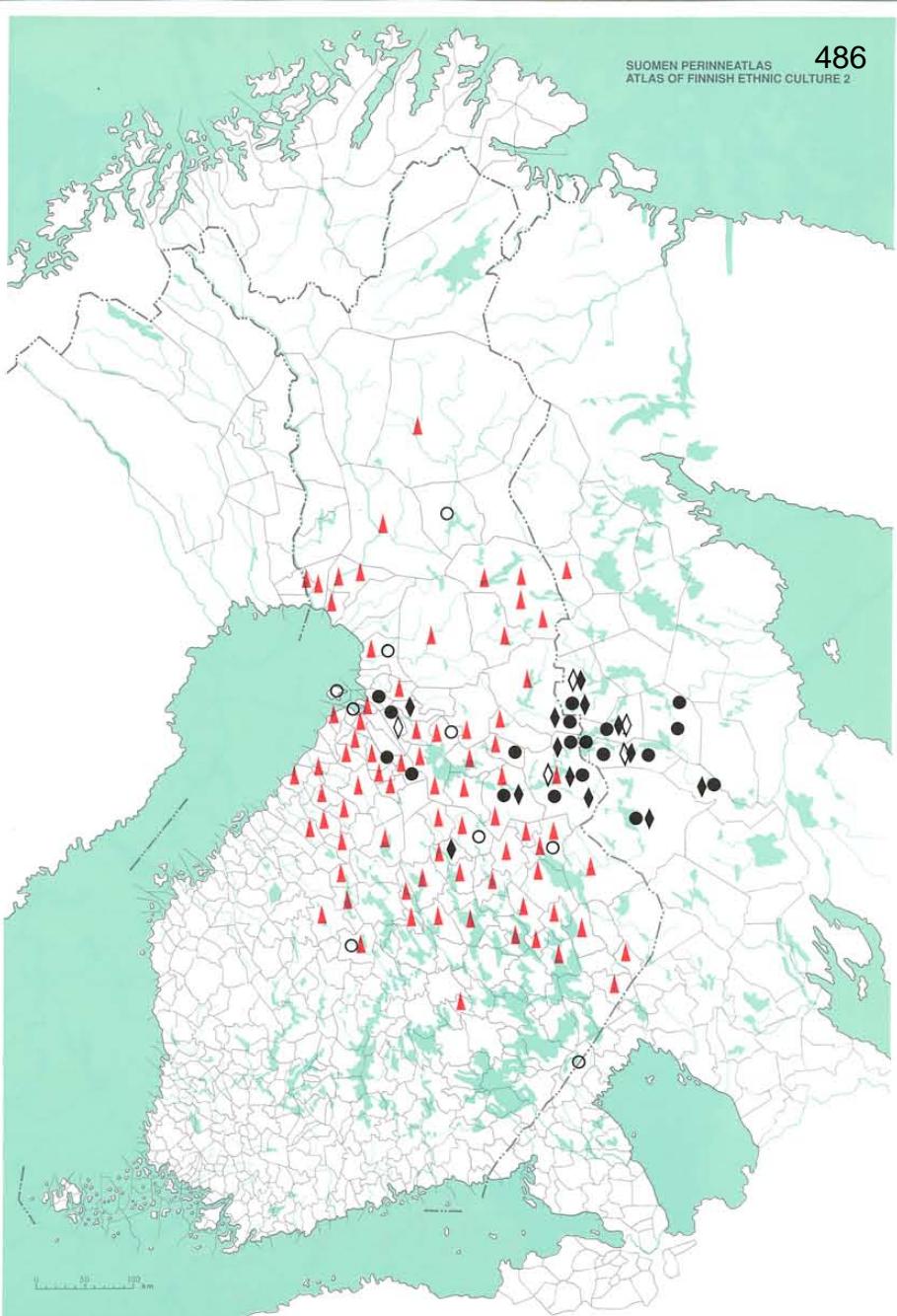


alas koskesta  
down the rapids



alas jyrkänteeltä  
over a precipice

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 81. Varassodat Raids

Tarinoita suomalaisten ja karjalaisten välisistä ryöstöretkiistä  
(1400-1600)  
Legends of plundering expeditions  
between the Finns and Karelians (1400-1600)

1. Naamioitunut vihollinen  
Masked enemy

▲ lähestyvä metsä  
narrative of the approaching  
forest

2. Vorna, vienalaisien sankari  
Vorna, the Karelian hero

◆ sokaisee vihollisen  
blinds the enemy (by ash)

◊ ampuu pilkkaan  
shoots a target with a bow

● sauvoo kosken  
pushes a boat up the rapids

○ maininta Vornasta  
mention of Vorna

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 80.-81. TRIBAL WARS

### ***Narratives of raid wars***

**Ruotsit and ryssät.** Many centuries in Finland's history are marked by border skirmishes between tribes from Häme and Karelia, and from the 14th century between Finns belonging to Sweden or *ruotsit* and Novgorod Karelians or *ryssät* [<Russians]. The hostilities, erupting as tribal wars from time to time, continued on the eastern border in North Karelia, Kainuu, North Ostrobothnia and Lapland right up to the early 1600s. The Savonians pushing towards the north, Ostrobothnian settlers, and Karelians from across the border carried out pillaging and sacking raids both ways. As Greater Karelia declined, the border of the Pähkinäsaari treaty (1323) between Sweden and Novgorod was breached, and Finnish settlements spread to the wilderness around Oulujärvi lake and ever further into Kainuu. In the 1450s, the Dvina Karelians, supported by the Russians, began to defend their ancient fishing and hunting rights by carrying out raids to North Ostrobothnia and along the rivers Oulujoki, Iijoki and Kemijoki. This marked the beginning of the pillage wars, memories of which still remain in the narratives of these maps.(1)

Constant skirmishes along the eastern border took place between Sweden-Finland and Russia, and at times, such as in the 1490s, they also erupted as border wars. In the shadow of these wars, raid wars took place between the Finns and Karelians also around Käkisalmi in Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia, the areas where the legend of Laurukainen has mainly spread. The raids continued the longest in the north, along the river Oulujoki and in Kainuu; ryssät or the enemy were Dvina Karelians. Both among the Finns and the Karelians, guerilla leaders emerged who stamped their names on history, and who also became main characters of folk narratives, as was the case with the Dvinian fighter, Vorna. A renowned Finnish guerilla chief was Pekka Vesainen, who towards the end of the 16th century led many raids into Dvina, as well as heading as far as the Arctic Ocean coast, where one of the atrocities committed by his troops was the murder of the monks of Petsamo monastery (1589). Tribal or raid wars were waged between local Finns and Karelians, with both sides carrying out pillaging expeditions and trying to surprise the inhabitants of villages or isolated houses. Local residents were taken prisoner and used as helpers by forcing them to lead the enemy into the villages and perhaps to disclose the hiding places of their inhabitants. The purpose of the expeditions was to plunder and destroy the settlements of the opposite side, not invasion of land.

Over the centuries the tribal wars have been forgotten, and in Finnish war narratives the enemy is mostly Slavic peoples, the Russians, Tartars and Cossacks, who sacked Finland during the wars be-

tween Sweden and Russia, such as the Great Northern War or the Great Wrath (1713-21). However, many persecution legends about enemy raids date back to the tribal wars: examples included in the Atlas are Laurukainen (map 80), Vorna and the Encroaching Forest (81).

## **80. Laurukainen, guide of the enemy**

**Laurukainen as guide of the enemy.** The most famous of the guides of the persecutors has been Laurukainen (Laurikainen, Lauri, Lari, Larikka, Larikainen, Larinen etc.), who was also called Valkeapääpoika [White-haired boy] (cf. map 85). The name of Laurukainen is mentioned for the first time in documentation in 1737, when the narrative about his imprisonment by the Russians is placed in 1555.(2)

Map 80 includes three of the most common Laurukainen narratives. Their common plot is how Laurukainen leads an enemy troop to destruction, having been forced to guide the persecutors. Laurukainen (1) rows the enemy onto an island where they are trapped and die, or he (2) as cox for the enemy boat running rapids jumps out of the boat and lets the enemy drown. The third narrative type is parallel to the running of rapids. Laurukainen, skiing or driving ahead, (3) leads the enemy reindeer sled caravan off a precipice into a ravine in the dark.

(1) *Laurukainen leaves the enemy on an island.* In the narratives, Laurukainen is forced to row or lead an enemy troop across a lake by boat. On the labyrinthine lake, he leads the enemy onto an island, manages to escape in the night and to push the raiders' boats adrift. The raiders discover the escape, but a little too late, and an essential part of the narrative is the conversation between the enemy ashore and Laurukainen, rowing his boat. In set dialogue imitating the Dvina dialect, the raiders tempt Laurukainen to come back and finally issue threats, including pouring molten lead down his throat. For example, according to a legend told in North Karelia (Pielisjärvi), Raatosaari [Corpse Island] in Höytiäinen got its name from the times of persecution. The Russians camped on the island and carried out raids from it. They had captured Larikainen to guide them. One night, a man called Ivan (Ivana) was on watch, but he fell asleep. Larikainen pushed a boat into the water, whereupon the Russians sleepily asked: *A livanako siel on?* [Is it you, Ivan?] Larikainen replied: *A niin ollah!* [Aye, it is I!] Ivan awoke and caught hold of the boat by running into the water, but Larikainen cut off his fingers with an axe and escaped. The Russians called: *A tule, hyvä Larikainen, hyvä huttu keitetäh!* [Come back, Larikainen, we'll make some good porridge!] But when he failed to return, they shouted: *A jospa tulisitkin, niin kuuma tina kulkkuhuis valettaisiin!* [If you did, we'd pour hot tin down your throat!] The Russians were left on the island to starve to death.

(2) *Laurukainen runs the rapids.* As an example, in a narrative recorded from Kainuu (Kuusamo) the pillaging Russians had forced Laurikainen to guide their boats down some rapids. Laurikainen knew that the first rapids could be easily run, but the second immediately below could not be negotiated by boat. Going to the rapids, Laurikainen got in the first boat and said to those coming behind that they should follow as soon as they saw him raise his paddle. Having made it to the bottom of the first rapids, Laurikainen leapt onto a rock ledge and flashed his paddle. Then the second enemy boat followed, and it too, or a boatload after another, was destroyed; the enemy in their boats could only watch powerlessly as Laurikainen stood on a rock. This narrative has also had its own set lines that are known as a saying. On seeing Laurikainen's paddle wave over the rapids, those waiting their turn exclaimed happily: *Hyvin meni,*

*mela vilahti!* [All's well, the paddle flashed!]

(3) *Laurukainen as guide on the fell.* In the northern version of the narrative, also commonly known among the Sami, Laurukainen leads an enemy troop on skis or driving reindeer off a precipice. Crossing a fell at night or in the dark season, Laurukainen leads the troop to the edge of a precipice and throws his torch down the slope, whereupon the raiders skiing or driving behind fall into the ravine one after the other, torches blazing.

**Map diagram.** The various themes of the Laurukainen legends have been adapted to geographical conditions. Leaving the troop on the island is the southernmost narrative type that has spread to the lake districts, especially to the areas of the Saimaa, Pielinen and other large lakes. The island theme has been the most common version of the narrative in Finland, with more than 600 variants recorded. The center of the rapids theme is around the river Oulujoki and further north, along the rivers of Kainuu and southern Lapland. The large northern rivers have been used as waterways from time immemorial, and there are numerous fast-flowing rapids along them that could not be navigated without specific local knowledge; there was even a guild of esteemed 'sworn' coxswains, paid by the crown, operating at the rapids of the Oulujoki river. In North Ostrobothnia and Kainuu running the rapids and punting up rivers was daily culture, and in this environment Laurukainen's heroic deed has seemed realistic.

Similarly, falling into a ravine is natural in the fell region of Lapland, although there are steep rocky ravines also further south in Finland. In Lapland, the marauders, like other travelers, have skied or driven reindeer, using torches to light the track in the dark season of early winter. Among the Sami, the guide narratives have encapsulated memories of raids and tax-collecting expeditions made to Lapland over the millennia by the Swedes and the Finns (*pirkkalaiset*), Karelians and Russians in turns. In Sami narratives Laurukainen has held the status of national hero.

In legends of Laurukainen, as in local narratives in general, the events are often linked to a certain island, rapids or fell precipice known to the listeners. The narratives acquire vitality and longevity in regions with natural sites that reinforce the narrative. The Laurukainen-legends have explained how some place name, such as Venäläissaari [Russian Island] or Laurinsaari [Lauri's Island] has originated. Particularly islands called Hauta-, Kalmo-, Raato- and Ristisaari [Grave, Death, Corpse and Cross Island], with names referring to death, are said to have gotten their names from the fate of the marauders. In reality, many such islands have probably originally been burial sites or temporary graveyards, where in the remote parts of the large parishes of eastern Finland, the dead were buried to await transportation to the churchyard. The authenticity of the narratives has also been reinforced with stories of artefacts found on the site; skeletons or remains of enemy possessions have been found at the foot of a fell, below a rapids or on an island.

The narratives about guiding the raiders may be local in nature and describe real historical circumstances. Procuring local guides has everywhere been a part of warfare and plundering expeditions. However, there are also international equivalents to the Laurukainen legends: for example, the falling into a ravine is also known in the Central European mountain regions. The best-known character of the rapids legend is William Tell, the symbolic national hero of Switzerland, who is said to have escaped from his captors' boat by leaping onto a boulder on the stormy lake Vierwaldstätter.(3)

## 81. Raids

**The Approaching Forest.** The legend describes how attackers manage to surprise the enemy by disguising themselves as trees (map 81). According to the narrative recorded in Kainuu (Sotkamo), there were two log cabins full of Russian guerillas in Venäjänniemi. One of them was keeping watch on the roof. The Finns approached the cabins, each with a spruce tree as cover. The guard said: *A mi tulloo, ku metsä lähenöö?* [What's happening, when the forest is coming closer?] The other Russians replied, mocking him: *Mitä se mehtä lähenöö!* [What do you mean, the forest is coming closer!] The Finns shot the guard on the roof, barricaded the doors and placed gunmen under the windows to prevent anyone from inside from escaping, and set the cabins on fire. The set line of the story is the exclamation of the guard trying to work out why the forest is approaching: *Maat ylenee, metsät lähenee* [The land is rising, the forest approaching], which has also been a popular saying.

More than 100 variants of the Approaching Forest legend have been recorded in Finland, the core areas being the regions around the river Oulujoki, Kainuu, and North Karelia, where raid wars took place in reality. The narrative has almost always been combined with another plunderer narrative known in Finland, where the enemy troop is locked in a cabin or sauna and burned. The popularity and distribution of the legend have been somewhat aided by the story published by Pietari Päivärinta in 1867 in the book *Seurakunnan kosto. Muistelmia ison-vihan ajoilta*, which places the events in Ylivieska parish. In Finnish narratives, the surprisers are Finns, who led by their inventive leader manage to attack the Russians or Dvina Karelians who have come on a plundering expedition. The heroes of the legend are many guerillas and warlords known from history, and the enemy leaders are also sometimes mentioned by name. As well as in Sotkamo, places called Venäjänniemi [Russians' Point] or others where the event is most commonly set exist e.g. in Ylivieska, Puolanka and Tuusniemi.

**Legend of Macbeth.** The best-known version of the approaching forest is in Shakespeare's play, *Macbeth*. Malcolm's troops approach Macbeth's covered by tree foliage, and the messenger tells Macbeth: "As I did stand my watch upon the hill, I look'd toward Birnam, and anon, methought, The Wood began to move." Shakespeare has made use of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* of 1597, which includes the legend of Macbeth and Birnam wood; he has also known folk tales about the same subject.

The heroic legend about fooling the enemy is also known in Germany, where it is said to have taken place e.g. in 1164, but as a war stratagem, disguising as a tree is already mentioned in an ancient Frankish fairytale set in the 500s. In Denmark, the ploy is said to have been used in battles between the Danes and Swedes. In the version recounted by Saxo Grammaticus in the 1200s, the same theme is set at sea as a floating forest. The legend of the encroaching forest is also well-known in Sweden, with King Gustaf Vasa as one of the principal characters.(4)  
(MI K 1872.1)

**Vorna, the hero from Dvina.** Legends of Vorna have been told in Kainuu on both sides of Finland's eastern border, and depending on which side the narrative is recorded, Vorna is either a great hero or a

cruel plunderer. The core area of Vorna legends is on the Dvinian side, while in Finland their distribution follows fairly closely the old trading route from Dvina along the Oulujoki waterway to Oulu (map 81). Vorna's home is placed in Dvina, and as a hero, he is the epitome of the male ideal of his time: an enduring traveler, a powerful combatant, and a sharp-shooting Bowman.

(1) *Vorna punts up rapids.* Returning from a raid and escaping from pursuers, Vorna punted upstream a rapids that no-one else had ever managed by punting. In Finnish versions, Vorna punted the Oulujoki rapids seated, the hardest of them Pälli; there Vorna was forced to kneel in his boat.

(2) *Vorna blinds his adversaries.* According to the narrative, the Finns or ruotsit followed Vorna and surrounded him, trapping him in a sauna. Vorna filled his pants with hot ashes and blinded his captors by swiping them about. The hero escaped or was captured when a young boy or some other minor character shot him in the heel with an arrow.

(3) *Vorna shoots at a target across a river.* In a battle or shooting contest, Vorna shoots across a river into a ski pole or a target placed on a tree, so that the tree is split in half. The enemy is scared by Vorna's show of skill and flee.

An example of the basic themes of Vorna legends is the following narrative recorded in Kuhmo (abbreviated): A Russian named Vorna, a large and strong man, lived in Vornanniemi on the Russian side, near the Finnish border. He undertook long raids right up to Oulu and killed the Finns of the region almost to extinction. From Oulu, he traveled by tar boat back to his home with his plunder. All the Oulujoki rapids he cleared by punting, even Pyhäkoski. But at Pälli he was forced to kneel up to punt, and then he said: *Jos ei voine Vorna päästää pyhän Pällin päälle, ei pääse pojat puuletkaan.* [If Vorna cannot make it to the top of holy Pälli, neither will half the men.] Once, when he returned from a raiding expedition, he told his wife to heat the sauna. The wife warned him, as she had dreamt of a lot of ravens following after Vorna. Vorna said: *Ei lie kukkoa kurahtavaa, kananlasta laulavaa aina Hailuotoa myöten.* [There is no crowing cock, no singing chick, as far as Hailuoto.] When Vorna went into the sauna, the ruotsit surrounded it. Vorna filled his pants with hot ash, ran through the gang of men killing several with his sack of ash, and would have escaped, had not a 15-year-old boy happened to shoot an arrow through his Achilles tendon. Peace prevailed after Vorna's death for a long time in the border region. Vorna's corpse haunted for several summers. A thigh bone five quarters long rose up from the grave and wailing was heard. When a priest blessed the grave, the haunting stopped.

Vorna's lines have also been preserved as songs in the old meter and sayings. For example, the punting line has been recorded from Dvina (Kontokki): *Ei peäse pojat puoletkana, ei kolmanneksetkana uroista, kun ei voinut Vorna nousta, peästä peällä Pällin korvan, ilman puun pusertamatta, rompsin roimahuttamatta, polvusilleen nousematta.* [Half the boys or a third of all men cannot rise up Pälli rapids, that Vorna could not rise up without grabbing the punt tightly, giving it all he had, rising on his knees.] (SKVR I 2:1266). Vorna's boast that no-one can be following him, since he has destroyed all habitation in Finland, so that as far as Hailuoto there is no 'crowing cock, singing chick' (*kukkoa kurahtavaa, kananlasta laulavaa*) has also been preserved in verse form.

**Hero type of tribal wars.** In narratives of bowmen, Vorna shoots an arrow across a river, but he also appears in a William Tell -type version, where he is said to have shot a egg off the top of his father's head as a youngster. The war hero of Olonets Karelians, Trohkima, also shot across a river into an enemy punting pole or a target set by the enemy, e.g. a ring, whereupon the attackers fled. Old records exist on punting the Oulujoki rapids, but Vorna does not feature in them. A response to the questionnaire of the Swedish Antiquity Collegiate sent by the vicar of Paltamo, Juhana Cajanus, in 1674 mentions Soini, son of the giant Calawa (cf. map 79) who punted up all the rapids seated, but was forced to rise up on his

knees at the Pälli falls. There are records of the same narrative also from the early 18th century, but they do not name the hero either.(5 Escaping from the sauna by blinding the captors with ash is likely to be a theme originally linked specifically to Vorna, although the motif is also found in connection with other Karelian guerilla heroes, such as narratives of Hilippa and Trohkima.

The legend of Vorna is not a biography, but it concentrates on a few narrative events; scarcely any real information is given about his possible pillaging expeditions. Compared with legends of Laurukainen, the distribution of the body of Vorna legends is small, but both central figures have been associated with themes from various sources and international legends of heroes and even giants. An international motif is also that of the denigrated or insignificant antihero killing the hero (cf. map 49), and Vorna is also shot in the heel, like Achilles in the legends of the Antiquity.

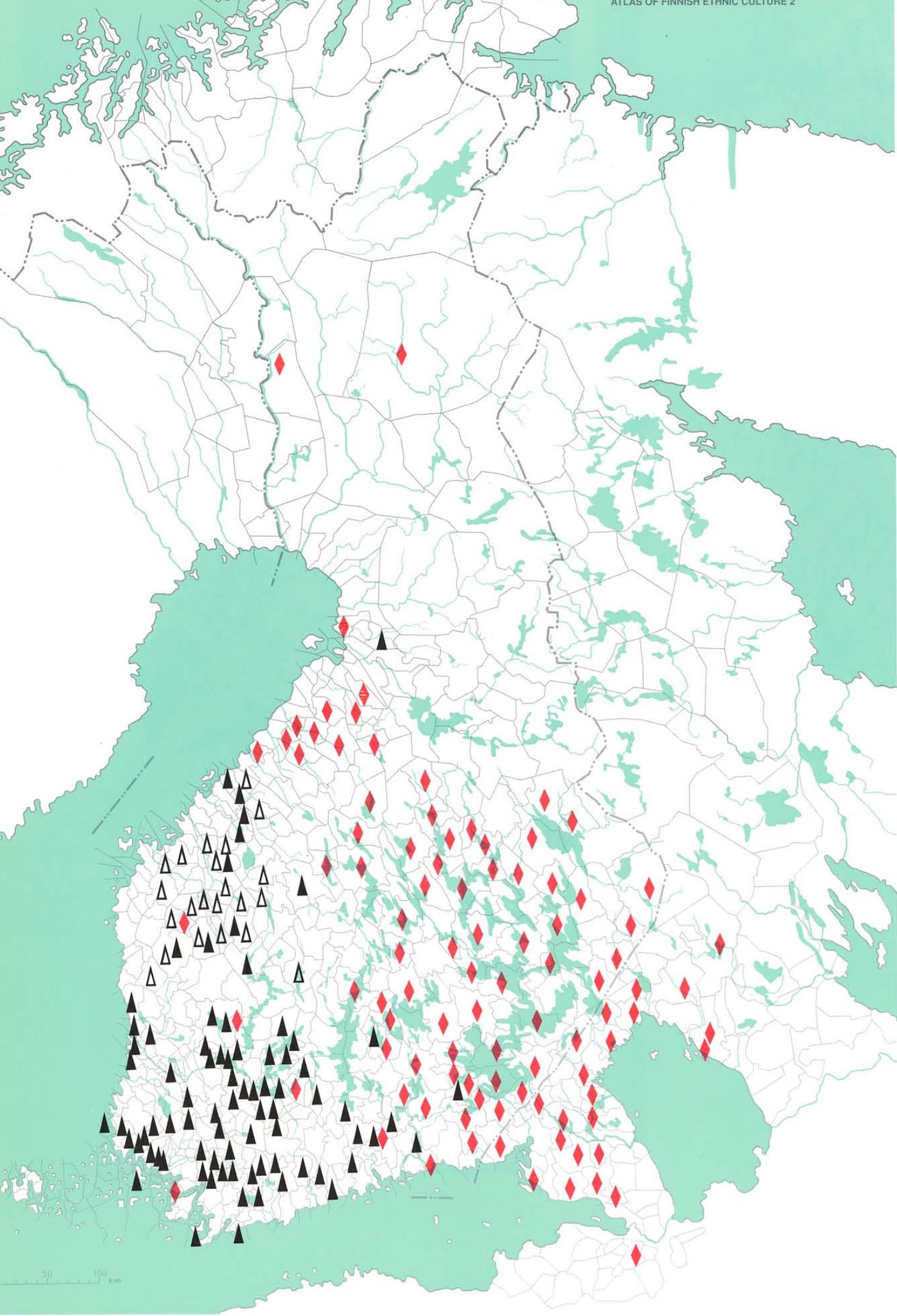
A vibrant body of folk narratives evolved around the events of the persecution, where sackings and pillage, murders and atrocities, and on the other hand the resistance of the home side and the ingenuity of its guerrilla bands are addressed using narrative methods. Historical facts, dates, locations and characters have become confused and clouded. The same narrative themes are used for different characters on either side of the border. The most enduring have been the narrative elements, plot twists, sayings and explanations of place names. As a hero, Vorna is a local human type, perhaps an idol of northern settlers, who coped in his environment as a shooter of rapids, Bowman, and if necessary, as a ruthless invader of swidden lands.

*Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa*

(MI F 661.3, Z 311)

*Ahokanta 1951. Haavio 1934a. Mattila E. 1955. Nuotio 1935. Rausmaa 1973, 97-98, 103.*

**1.** Luukko 1954. Kirkinen 1976, 44-. Keränen 1986. **2.** Ervast 1956 (1737), 55-. **3.** Ahokanta 1951. Mattila E. 1955. Nuotio 1935. **4.** Haavio 1934a. **5.** Erik Frosterus's material from the early 1700s and note by the land surveyor Wijkari from 1739, see Sarajas 1956, 102-, 175; Ervast 1956 (1737), 54.



## 82. Lapsi ja käärme

### The Child and the Snake

Tarina lapsesta ja käärmeestä yhteisellä ruokakupilla  
Legend of a child and a snake eating out of the same dish

▲ Syö puuroa (leipää) kanssa!  
'Eat porridge (bread), too!'

△ Syö omaalta laidatasil!  
'Keep to your own side!'

◆ Syö lusikalla, älä kienellä!  
'Use a spoon, not your tongue!'

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 82. THE CHILD AND THE SNAKE

**The child and the snake eating out of same dish.** The base narrative has a small child at home alone while everyone had gone to work, usually to make hay. He eats porridge with milk from his bowl on the floor or in the yard, sometimes with the haymakers in the shade of the barn. A snake appears at the porridge bowl, usually by chance; sometimes the snake has visited the child's milk cup earlier. The child hits or pats the snake with his spoon and tells it to eat porridge, too, and not just milk.

The bid is the set line of the narrative, the regional versions of which are shown on the map. The snake is not usually described in detail, but occasionally it is said to have come from under the floor or to be the pet snake of the house (in southwestern and eastern Finland, cf. map 5) or a crown-headed snake. One of the household may kill the snake, but this is a rare conclusion to the narrative in Finland, and the killing is sometimes followed by a supernatural punishment: the child itself or the mistress of the house dies (cf. map 3).

There are three basic versions of the child's bid to the snake in Finnish narratives:

- (1) Western Finland: *Syö puuroa kanssa, tiittinokka!* [Eat porridge, too, pointy-nose!] or *Syö leipää kanssa, pitkäpää!* [Eat bread, too, long-head!]
- (2) Ostrobothnia: *Syö omalta laidaltasi, silopää!* [Eat from your own side, bald-head!]
- (3) Eastern Finland: *Syö lusikalla, älä kielellä!* [Eat with a spoon, not with your tongue!]

In western narratives, the child calls the snake long-head or -nose, which is equivalent to the Swedish and Finland-Swedish expressions, eastern narratives contain names that are descriptive of the shape or position of the snake's head.

**The child and sacred snakes.** The legend is already included in the Indian *Pantshatantra* (original 1st century B.C.) and it can be traced to the texts of the Greek historian Phylarchus of 3rd century B.C. Elements of the narrative are also found in old European sources, e.g. in the *Gesta Romanorum* (1342) and Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555); Pietari Kalm wrote in his travelogue (1753-1761) that it was reported that snakes had been seen in North America drinking from the same cup of milk with children and they did not bite, although the children sometimes tapped them on the head with a spoon.(1) The German brothers Grimm published the story in their collection of folk tales (1812-1814). In Finland, Zacharias Topelius published it in Swedish around the middle of the 19th century (1845-1852). This note by H. A. Reinholm was [translated into Finnish by Martti Haavio] as follows: "Supernatural guardian snakes were still fed some time ago in every Karelian kitchen; even today it is not unknown to see it eating companionably from the same milk bowl as a child; it is not perturbed even if the child taps it on the head with the spoon and says: 'Don't eat so much!'"(2)

The legend is likely to have spread to Finland both from the west and the east. The set line from eastern Finland corresponds to the Estonian bid *Sõõ lusikaga, ära pistä pead kaussi!* [Eat with a spoon, and don't put your head in the bowl!](3 In Finland, too, the snake was originally interpreted as a pet snake. Many variants still contain references to a pet and guardian snake or a tame snake, indicated also by the snake's abode under the floor. Later, the legend has become a thriller especially in Ostrobothnia, where narratives about keeping house snakes have been almost unknown; at the same time the grass snake (*Natrix natrix*), possibly common as a tutelary animal, has in the narrative become a dangerous adder (*Vipera berus*). A means of adding effect to the thriller has been the encounter of the innocent-bold child and a dangerous poisonous snake, or even a friendship between the two. In some narratives, the snake has been deemed to be some kind of a soul animal of the child; if the snake is killed or dies at the child's hands, the child also dies. In Finland, pet snakes have been linked to the ancestral cult, and killing them, like felling of ancestral trees, led to the sickening and death of some member of the kinship group (maps 3, 7).

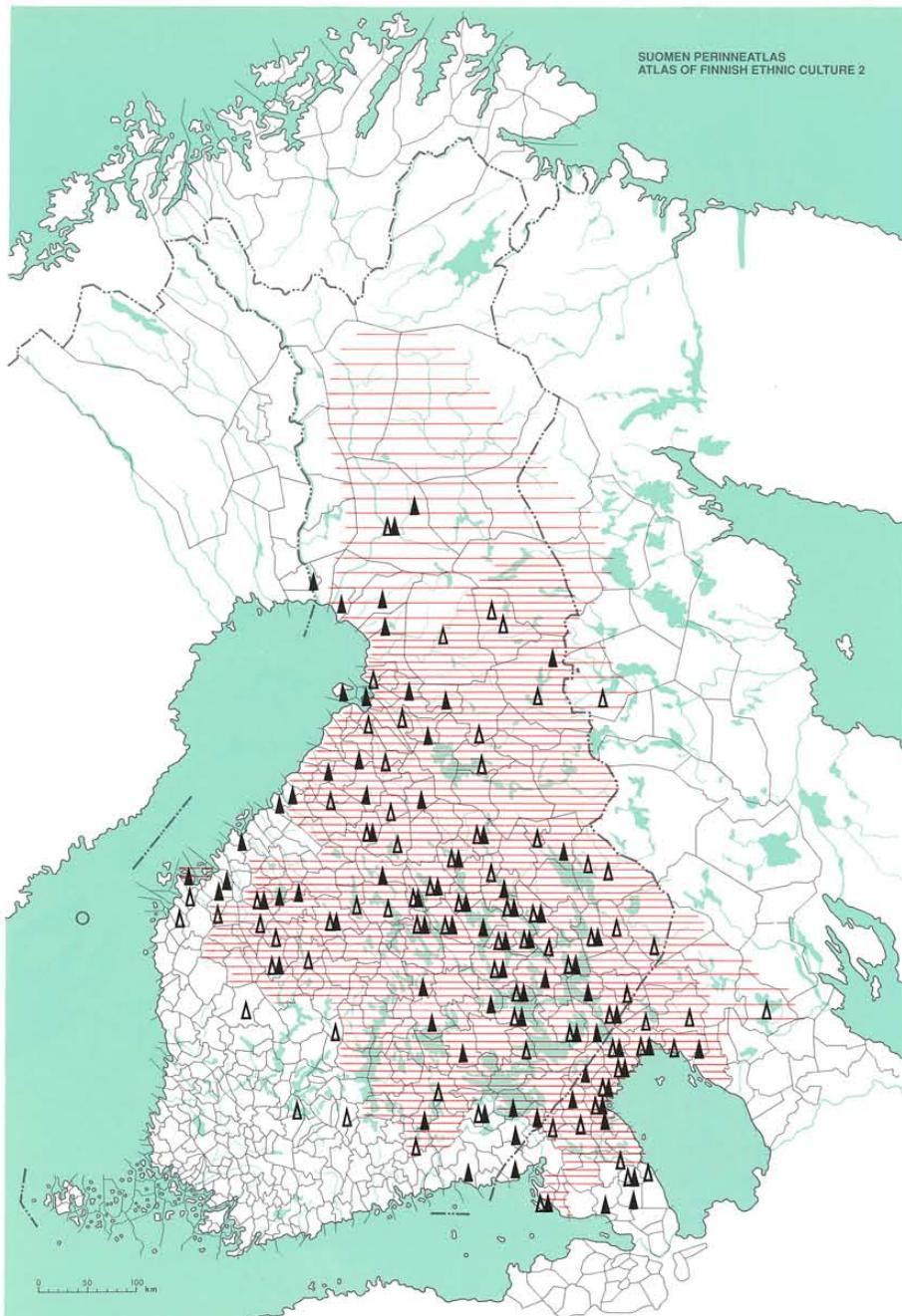
The child and snake sharing a dish is one variation of narratives exploiting snakes' fondness of milk. The milk motif also occurs in Finland in narratives about a snake sucking milk from cows, or how a snake is enticed with milk out of a person's stomach, having got there through the mouth while a haymaker rested at the field's edge.

*Marjatta Jauhiainen*

(AT 285. Si G 1501-1600).

*Bolte – Polívka 1915-1918 II, 459-. Haavio 1942, 549-. Liungman 1952, 49-. Waugh 1960.*

**1.** *Bolte – Polívka 1915-1918 II, 459-. Kalm 1991 (1753-1761), 118. Liungman 1952, 49-. 2. Topelius 1845-1852, 169. Haavio 1942, 551. 3. Eisen 1910, 153.*



### 83. Aarreuhrit Treasure Sacrifices

Lapsi aarteen nostoehdoissa  
Child as a condition for getting  
the treasure



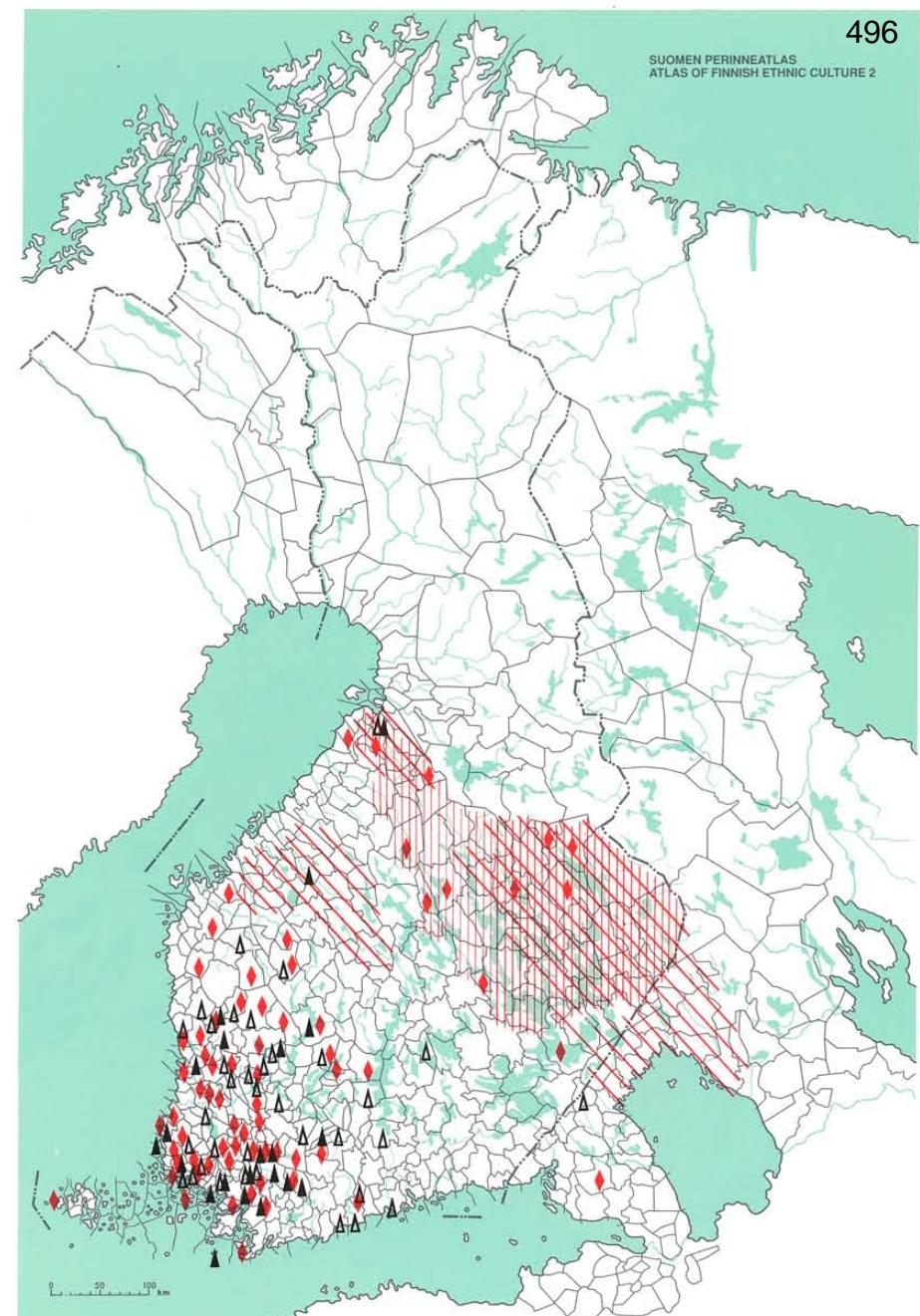
1. Lapsiuhrit  
Aarreteen löytäjän on  
Child sacrifices  
In order to get the treasure  
the finder must

▲ uhrttava valkeapääpoika  
sacrifice a white-haired boy

△ uhrttava (kastamaton,  
aviottomana syntynyt) lapsi  
sacrifice (an unbaptised,  
illegitimate) child

2. Mahdottomuusehdot  
Impossible tasks  
yksioisen pojant noudettava  
aarre yksiöistä jäätä myötä  
boy one-night old must go  
across the one-night ice

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



### 84. Aarre-eläimet Treasure Animals

1. Härkä aarretarioissa  
Oxen in treasure legends  
Aarreteen saajan on  
The winner of the treasure must  
taisteltava (verisen) härän  
kanssa aamuun asti  
fight with a (bloody) ox until  
morning



▲ kynnetvä aarre ylös härillä tai  
uhrttava kaksoishärät  
plough the treasure up with  
oxen or sacrifice twin oxen



△ kätketty kirkonkello on  
vedettävä ylös härillä  
pull up a hidden church bell  
with oxen

2. Aarreteen osoittaja  
Indicators of treasure  
*litomato* (*Sciara thomae*)  
johdattaa aarrepaikalle  
a treasure worm leads to the  
hiding place



unissa ilmaantuva olio  
*unikakkainen*, *unihippias*  
neuvoo aarrepaikan  
a being shows the place in a  
dream

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 83.-86. TREASURE LEGENDS

### ***Buried treasure***

**Dream of good fortune.** Man has always dreamed about getting lucky, suddenly becoming rich, which would change his daily reality. Therefore, legends of treasures have been told all over the world. The old body of legends about treasure is also still alive in Finland, although buried treasure and gold veins have been replaced by lotteries and gambling. Treasure narratives are imaginary narration, yet they are realistic, and sometimes historically true. They have been sustained by real finds, still unearthed in archaeological digs. Found treasures have been riches hidden to equip the dead, valuables sacrificed to gods or hidden from plunderers, pirates' hiding places, shipwrecks. 'Treasure fires' seen at hiding places may also sometimes be real light phenomena caused by the methane in swamp gases and phosphorus-rich rotting timber.

In Finnish legends, the treasure has often been a copper pan, liquor-distilling pan or boat filled with old coins. The treasure has also been said to consist of gold and silver objects, silk, or copper gates. Sometimes the treasure takes on a secret life: it comes to view, moves from one place to another, or turns into a living being. Money may at first look like a worthless object, coals or wood shavings, but then turns into gold and silver. Those who hide treasure, if they are mentioned, are miserly old people or ones who have been worried about wars and persecutors, and sometimes they are giants of bygone times. Sorcerer and ancestral beliefs are behind the ideas that a person hiding treasure can set a supernatural guardian animal to watch over his cache, or himself remain to guard his treasure after death. In Finnish narratives, the guardian of the treasure is seen in the form of the one who has hidden it, an old man or woman or a soldier, polishing his or her riches.

A separate group is formed by the legends about some parish and its sunken church bells, hidden at times of war from the enemy by sinking them in water, or dropped by raiders as they were transporting them across a lake or river. The legends have often been linked to historical events, such as those of the Great Wrath (1713-1721), as well as generally greatly localized. In many parishes, the knowledge of where the bells still await someone to raise them has been preserved from one generation to the next.

**How treasure may be possessed.** Hiding places of treasure have most commonly been a hole dug in a field, under a rock in the forest, a bog grave or a spring. In places where treasure was buried, a 'treasure fire' (Will o' the Wisp; Jack of the Lantern) would burn and at certain times cleanse the riches buried in the earth; narratives about treasure fires and sightings of them are common in Finland. A treasure site

may have been shown to a person in a dream, or a supernatural animal, a 'treasure worm' [*litomato*; *Sciaridae* larvae] led the way to the hiding place; bracken bloomed there; there was a hollow sound from the earth, it never froze, or there were some other special signs; sometimes a bystander has seen the owner hiding his treasure.

In the legends, the person who had hidden the treasure was often thought to have set some condition that had to be fulfilled before the treasure could be unearthed. The treasure may also be protected by a supernatural guardian. On festive nights, especially on Midsummer night, it polished the coins in the treasure fire in the form of a human or an animal. The central themes of Finnish narratives are the conditions that must be fulfilled before the treasure would come up. Such conditions have been sacrifices that had to be made at the hiding place, or prohibitions and commands that had to be observed. For example, a common condition has been that one must not speak while raising the treasure.

The narratives also describe people who have found treasure and managed to raise it. Often, they have evidently been unusually productive and thrifty people, who were suspected of having become rich by supernatural means. Sometimes the finder became sick and did not get better until he returned the treasure to where he found it. Although the narratives describe countless hiding places of treasure, only very few are believed to have taken possession of one.

Finnish treasure narratives usually consist of two scenes: (1) hiding the treasure and setting the conditions for raising it, (2) the attempt to raise it, which usually fails.

## 83. Treasure sacrifices

**Child sacrifices.** The conditions for obtaining treasure often juxtapose material wealth and humanity (map 83). To get the treasure, one had to sacrifice (a) a white-haired boy, (b) an unbaptized or newborn child. A boat full of money was hidden in a treasure spot. One could get it by throwing in the water or giving to the supernatural guardian of the treasure or the devil at the hiding place a white-haired, unbaptized boy child or one's own son. The narratives contain two common plot patterns: The treasure-raiser (1) promises to sacrifice e.g. her own child, but starts to have regrets, or the raiser (2) tries to deceive, but fails.

(1) The principal character of the narratives is usually a beggar, an unwed mother or tramp woman who intends to sacrifice her own child. When the boatful of cash starts to emerge, the boy with her turns black, cries out, faints, has fits or sinks under the water. Then the woman regrets the sacrifice or blesses herself and the treasure sinks back.

(2) Instead of sacrificing the child, the treasure-raiser attempts to deceive by offering a white hare, sometimes a lamb, cockerel, cat or piglet, sometimes wrapped in rags, or a doll she has carved from alder wood. When the treasure starts to emerge, a (supernatural guardian's, devil's) cry is heard from the forest or hill, saying that the raiser is attempting to get the treasure by cheating. There are a few standard formulas of the set line, often imitating the imagined speech of a supernatural being: *Pettää, pettää,*

*jänöpojan antaa.* [Deceives, deceives, gives a leveret/hare-boy.] *Ihminen pettää, jänöpojan antaa.* [Human being deceives, gives a leveret.] *Mies pettää, rahat ottaa, jänöpojan antaa.* [The man deceives, takes the money, gives a leveret.] Then the treasure sinks back down.

(Si P 271-272)

**Boy child one night old.** A boy child one night old must fetch the treasure with a foal one night old across ice one night old. In a certain spot, usually an island, is hidden as treasure a golden spinning-wheel, cart, table, dishes or church silver. One could obtain the treasure, if a boy child one night old or the finder of the treasure drives to the spot with a foal one night old across ice one night old. Some treasure islands have been a long way off the mainland. Sometimes the narrative contains local additional conditions and versions, for example in Ladoga Karelia one must use a boat made of birch bark, in North Karelia and Savo a sledge bound with willow grown in one summer.

(Si P 251)

**Impossible conditions.** Sacrificing one's own child or sending a boy child one night old to fetch the treasure are impossible conditions which an ordinary human being cannot fulfil. Although both narrative types are known in Finland-Swedish areas, their distribution is eastern. They are evidently characteristic of Savonian areas, where narration has favored realism or amusing twists. The condition of being one night old may even have been Savonian humor, gentle mockery of the treasure conditions. The white-haired boy is often nothing but a cliche, occurring in the same areas also as a variant name of Laurukainen (map 80). The message of the narratives of child sacrifices emphasizes the importance of humanity and blood ties. Practically no legend contains a person who really could sacrifice his or her child for the treasure, even an unknown newborn who was born out of wedlock and abandoned. The narrative juxtaposes human life and material wealth.

## 84. Treasure animals

**The ox in treasure narratives.** In western narratives, the ox occurs as (1) a guardian of the treasure site, (2) a sacrificial animal, or (3) an animal that manages to pull up a church bell hidden in the earth (map 84).

(1) The winner of the treasure must fight with a bloody ox until morning. The treasure site is guarded by an ox, and in order to get the treasure, the person must fight it until sunrise. In the introduction to the narrative, a person finds out the treasure hiding place having seen a treasure fire burning on the spot, or the treasure-seeker climbs on Midsummer's night onto the roof of a building moved three times, to see if any treasure fires are to be seen. On arriving at the treasure spot, he encounters a great, bloody or skinned ox that attacks him. The brave person grabs the ox by the horns and grapples with it until sunrise, when the treasure grave opens up or the ox vanishes and he finds himself holding the handle of a copper pot or liquor pan full of money. The narrative highlights the fighter's bravery; a timid treasure-seeker or his companion runs away, but the tenacious person gets the prize. (Si P 311)

(2) The twin oxen must be sacrificed or one must plow up the treasure with oxen. To obtain the treasure, the treasure site must be plowed with (twin) oxen or (twin) oxen must be sacrificed; sometimes a further condition is set that the plowmen must be twin boys. The narrative may end with an unsuccessful attempt at raising the treasure. (Si P 201)

(3) Hidden church bells must be pulled up by oxen. The narrative is associated with those of sunken church bells that might be raised by pulling with oxen. The conditions have been varied in a number of ways, e.g. the bell will only be raised by black twin oxen driven by twin boys. An important condition in narrative terms has been that speaking was forbidden during the raising, as the climax of the narrative is based on this.

The narrative usually ends in failure. The parish church bell is already rising to view, when a strange old woman (supernatural guardian) unexpectedly turns up, or a voice out of the air, breaches the prohibition to speak and asks: *Joko se Iso-Maija nousee?* [Is Big Mary rising?] Or, at the height of the tension, when the rope almost comes loose, an exclamation of alarm is let out by someone present. At this, the bell sinks back in the water and is never retrieved again. The line often contains an euphemism for the church bell, which may be an ox (*Joko se iso härkä nousee?* [Is the big ox rising yet?]), some other name descriptive of the sound of the church bell (*Joko se iso mäyhääjä nousee?* [Is the big bellowing rising yet?]) or the name is derived from that of the medieval matron saint of the church (Virgin Mary > Iso-Maija). As well as in Scandinavia, the legend of the sunken church bells is also known in other parts of Europe, but usually without the euphemism symbolizing the church bell. The prohibition to speak and sacrifices required for raising it are also found in Finland-Swedish material. (Si P 701)

**Symbol of ox culture.** The ox appears in treasure legends in the southwestern area of ox culture (Atlas Part I, map 25). The most widespread is the bloody ox motif; of plowing with twin oxen only isolated variants are found elsewhere in Finland. Narratives about church bells sunk at times of war are known everywhere, but only in southwestern Finland is found the condition that they must be raised with oxen. In a peasant economy, drawing with paired oxen has been associated with all the kind of power that might have enabled a human being to comply with the conditions of the treasure. As the guard of the treasure, the ox has been interpreted as a supernatural guardian animal, in Finnish folk narrative they may also be snakes and sometimes other animals. A skinned or bloody ox is rather intended as a supernatural monster. It is a ghost animal characteristic of village legends of western Europe, necessary to introduce dramatic tension and an element of fatalism in the narration.

## Treasure worm and dream creature

**Treasure worm goes to treasure site.** In eastern Finland, in an area from Ladoga Karelia right up to Ostrobothnia, it was said that one could take possession of the treasure by following a treasure worm, *litomato*, that would lead one to the hiding place (map 84). In some narratives, one had to follow the treasure worm all the way without blinking, or a silk kerchief had to be spread across the worm's path; if the worm wriggled onto the kerchief, it would turn into treasure. According to the narratives, scarcely

anyone has attempted to fulfil the conditions.

In the distribution area of the legend, the treasure worm has also been called *lito-* or *litamato* (dial. *litakka* = *litteä*, *lattea*; 'flat'), the name *lettimoto* [plait or braid-worm] is also known alongside it in various parts. The treasure worm was said to have been on its way to clean the treasure, to eat the mold and rust from its surfaces. At the site of the treasure it would burrow into the earth and suddenly disappear from view, or divide into two. It has also been said that a treasure worm portends wealth for the house when traveling towards the house, and poverty when traveling away from it.

*Litomato* is a procession of larvae of the dark-winged fungus gnat, Sciaridae, which form in late summer as the larvae start to migrate. The procession is a ribbon a few centimeters wide and 1-6 meters long, containing tens of thousands of tiny larvae in many layers. They exude a silvery slime that glues them together into a 'chain snake'. The procession travels 1-2 meters an hour, disperses to feed, and sometimes becomes partly hidden by leaves, when it looks like it is broken. Dark-winged fungus gnats occur everywhere where the earth is covered by vegetation, but the larval procession is only formed in fine and warm weather. The larval procession has attracted the attention of natural scientists, and Mid-European literature contains descriptions of it from the early 17th century, in Finland from the end of the 19th century.(1)

In Sweden and Estonia, *litomato* has been used for healing. In Finland, too, it was thought that anyone who touches it acquires a power in his finger enabling him to cure ills such as tooth and skin diseases and to facilitate childbirth. In various parts of Europe, the 'worm' has been thought to portend some future event: in Germany it has been held to be an omen of war and famine or peace and fertility, in Finland-Swedish folklore a bringer of illness and accidents.(2)

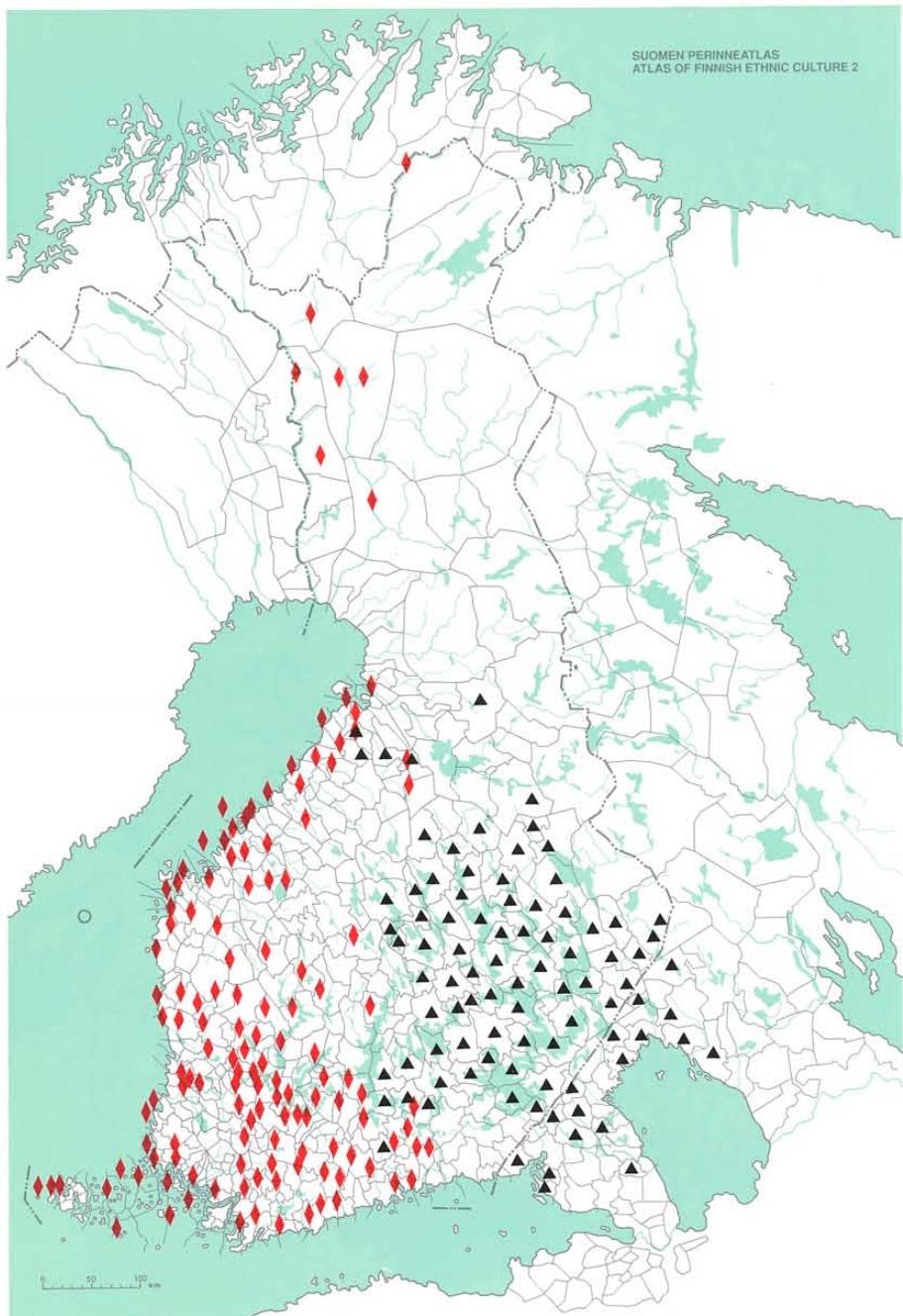
The 'worm' has probably become associated with treasure due to the silvery slime covering the larval procession. The folklore concerning the treasure worm as guide to treasure may have been harmless fun intended for children or the ignorant, same kind of play with treasure conditions as the one-night-old condition. Following the treasure worm without blinking is unlikely to succeed, and as the reward for his patience, the human being is finally forced to the realization that the larval procession is going nowhere, or it vanishes as if into thin air.

(Si P 51)

**Dream being discloses the place of the treasure.** In the area from northern Ostrobothnia to Savo and North Karelia, there is a legend of a dream creature called *unikakkainen* [dream cackster] or *unihuppias* that discloses the exact position of a treasure in a dream at night (map 84). One might sometimes drift into an unusual dream state during the day, too, and hear the voice of the creature. *Kakkainen* is the more common name of the harbinger of the treasure, *huppio* is only found around the southern and western parts of North Savo. The dream creature passes on the information, as if talking to a person, that the treasure is under a certain rock or ruin, at the foot of some unusual tree, in a named spring etc. At the same time, the dream creature sets the conditions for raising the treasure: one must go to the hiding place at once, alone and in one's night attire, speaking is not permitted while getting the treasure, money or various objects must be left as ransom, or a boy child must be sacrificed, an ox must be fought off etc.

The course of the narrative is often that the person who has received the information attempts to raise the treasure, but fails because some condition was left unfulfilled or fear prevented him from persevering to the end. Some variants recount how the information given by the dream creature was accurate and some local person managed to acquire the treasure.

The receiving of information in dreams is concentrated in eastern Finland. The dream notifier may also be the supernatural guardian of the treasure, an old man, an ancestor, or the devil. Often, the information



## 85. Aarrevalkeat ja raudan voima Treasure Fires and the Power of Iron

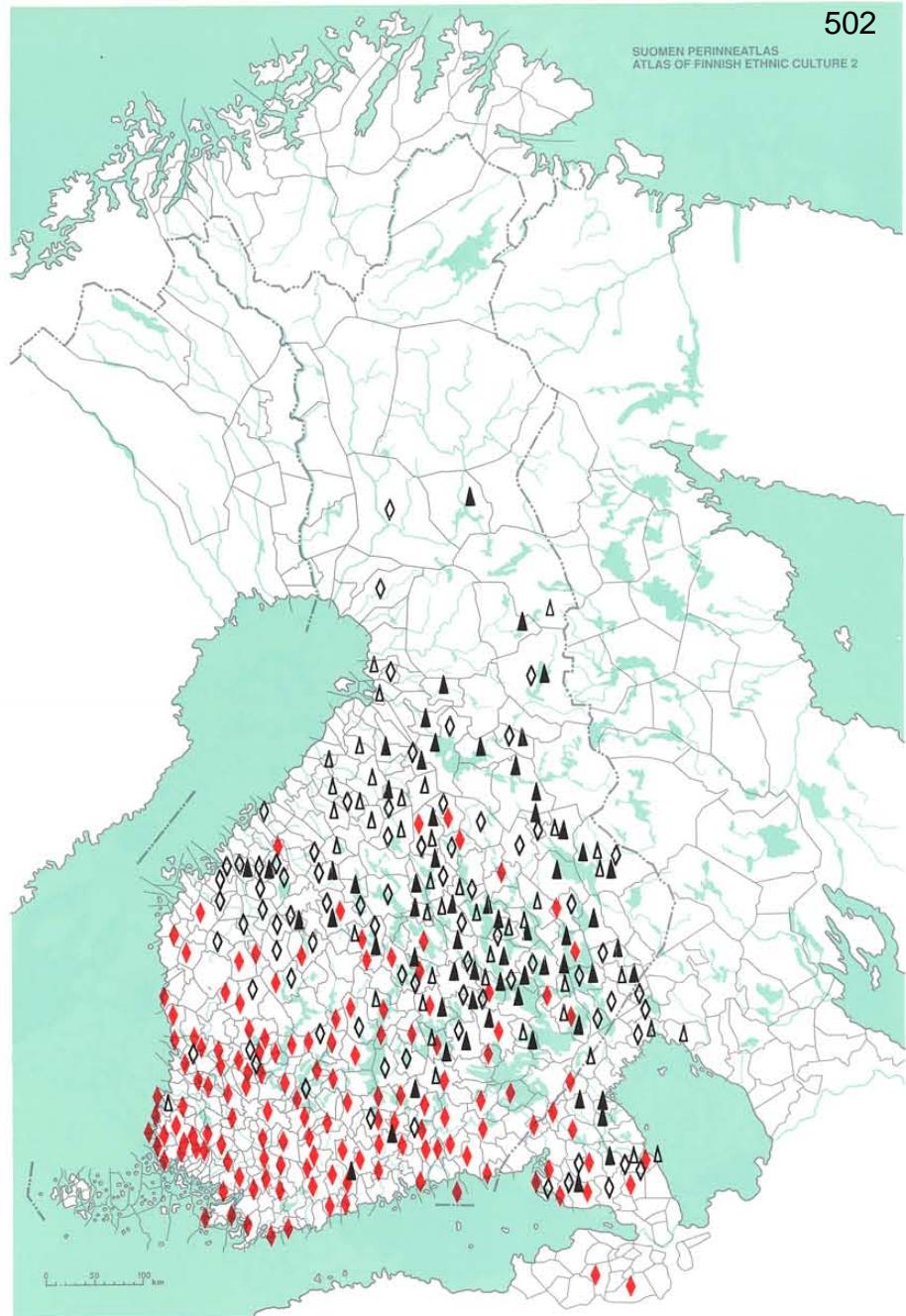
1. Aarrevalkeat  
Treasure fires

◆ aarrevalkeaan heitetävä terä-  
ase, rahaa tai metallia  
a knife, money or metal must  
be cast into the fire

2. Aarresaari  
Treasure island

▲ aarresaareen heitetävä kirves  
an axe must be thrown to the  
treasure island

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 86. Aarteenvaihto Getting Treasure by Deception

- Uhrina seitsemän veljeksen  
veri. Aarteenvaihto uhraa

The blood of seven brothers as  
terms. The receiver of the  
treasure sacrifices

◆ seitsemän kukonpojan päätä  
the heads of seven cockerels

◊ seitsemän eläimen päätä  
the heads of seven animals

▲ seitsemän kalan päätä  
the heads of seven fishes

△ seitsemän seipään päätä  
the heads of seven poles

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

comes as an auditory perception experienced in dreams, sometimes a vision. In the narratives, the dream creature is nebulous, and it is not usually seen during the dream. Although visual impressions are dominant in dreams, experiences of unikakkainen and unihuppio have been mainly (over 80%) purely auditory perceptions.(3)

Unikakkainen or -huppio is likely to be a fictional being rather than a mythical one, perhaps mirroring images of the money piritys (map 58), or it is just an euphemism for dreaming. More generally, unikakkainen or unihuppio has been a creature that advised, warned or foretold of various life situations, or showed dreams and made one sleepwalk or talk in one's sleep.

(Si P 321)

## **85. Treasure fires and the power of iron**

**Casting metal into the treasure fire.** There is a Finnish narrative type of western distribution, according to which a person obtains the treasure if he manages to cast a bladed weapon, metal, cash, or a personal object into the treasure fire (map 85). Sometimes, some person or the narrator himself has seen a treasure fire burning, perhaps on Midsummer's night, and attempted to obtain the treasure by throwing into the treasure site a bladed weapon such as a knife, puukko, needle, nail, or some iron, rarely money, or the caster has snatched his own coat, cap, shoe, button, any object at hand; in the same way that it was possible to take a cow belonging to the supernatural water guardian or earth dwellers (map 71). Anyone seeing the treasure fire had to act quickly, before the fire went out. The condition usually remains unfulfilled and the raising of the treasure fails.

**Throwing an axe onto the treasure island.** An eastern version of bladed weapon legends, also spread to southeastern areas, is throwing a heavy axe, usually across a strait onto the treasure island. The narratives usually have a boatful of money hidden on a treasure island, which may be taken if one could throw an axe, sometimes a heavy rock, from the mainland to the hiding place. The weight of the axe is given as 3, 5 or 7 pounds (1-3 kilograms), the distance to be thrown mostly as place names – from such-and-such a place to the treasure island. The old measure of weight, the pound (425 g), has remained in the narratives, but the measure of distance – if mentioned at all – is in meters which were adopted in Finland in 1892. Originally, the narrative was tied to familiar places, from the names of which the listeners have been able to gauge the distance to the treasure site.

Throwing the axe has been a show of strength and apparently realistic, but in practice an equally impossible condition as the one-night-old one.

(Si P 201)

## 86. Getting treasure by deception

**Blood of seven brothers.** A separate group is formed by picaresque legends, where a resourceful bystander obtains the treasure by changing the conditions (map 86). The frame narrative of the legends has the person burying the treasure, usually the old master of the house as he senses his imminent death, going into the forest to hide his money and valuables. Having buried his treasure, he sets the condition that nobody can raise it other than by sacrificing or spilling the blood of seven or nine brothers on the spot, or by cutting off the heads of seven or nine boy children or people. The master's own son, a farmhand from the house or some poor bystander, neighbor or traveler happens along, or has climbed up a tree on purpose to spy on the old master. On hearing the treasure-burier's setting formula he calls out quickly: "No, but heads of seven cockerels!" When the burier of the treasure has left or died, he comes and butchers seven cockerels on the spot and obtains the treasure.

The frame narrative is also found in a shorter form. The set line part may have been left off, and the person who heard the condition goes and sacrifices seven animal brothers, cockerels, instead of seven human brothers. In some versions of the narrative, the treasure-hider hears the call of the bystander and begins to hesitate, but believes that the speaker is God, the devil or a supernatural guardian and agrees, saying: "Let it be your will, dear God."

The idea of the legend is how the clever hero turns a human sacrifice into an animal sacrifice.

(1) Sacrifice of seven heads of cockerels or chickens. In the core narrative, the sacrifices of the deceiver, 'blood or heads of seven brothers' are seven cockerels, whose blood the hero lets in the hiding spot. The cockerels are part of the original idea of the legend, and the motif is dominant in the southwestern distribution area of deception narratives.

(2) Seven animal heads. Instead of the human sacrifice, the hero may bring some animals, for example five, seven or nine leverets. The frame narrative of the legends has the person burying the treasure order a sacrifice of, for example, a child, white-headed boy, instead of whom a white ram, hare or other animal is sacrificed.

(3) Seven fish heads. In the Savo lake district and also on the Isthmus, the sacrifice of the deception has become five, seven or nine fish heads.

(4) Seven ends of fence poles. In the peripheral area of plot narratives in North Savo, even animal heads have become pole ends.

A version of the deception narrative is also known in Finland, where the person hiding the treasure sets the condition that it can only be raised by his own hand: *Oma käsi ottakoon* [My own hand may take it] or *Näillä kynsillä kynnettävä* [Must be plowed by these claws]. When the hider dies, the hero of the narrative gets the dead man's hand from the grave, or plows the hiding place with the claws of a cock he has killed, and obtains the treasure. Deception narratives are known in Finland's immediate vicinity in Scandinavia, Estonia and Livonia. The number 7 has been thought to possess special magic powers in narrative and folk belief systems throughout the world. Seven is the number of the liar, seven deadly sins and seven virtues, seven sleepers etc. In Finnish folklore, seven occurs as a significant or magic number especially in healing formulas, incantations and beliefs.

(Si P 401, P 411, P 421, P 441)

**Finnish treasure legends.** Finnish treasure legends contain international elements from both the east and west. The folklore concerning the conditions of the treasure is very rich in Finland, but on the other hand, not nearly all the motifs common in Europe have become rooted in Finland, due to their environment-bound nature. In terms of motif, the Finnish treasure narratives included in the Atlas divide into western and eastern types. Western types are themes linked to supernatural beings and plot narratives: fighting with a bloody ox, the dramatic attempt at raising the church bells, the hero who alters the treasure conditions and takes the treasure.

The conditions of the eastern treasure sacrifices are seemingly realistic. Sacrificing one's own child or sending a boy one night old across ice one night old is an impossibility that seems possible, as is casting an axe onto a treasure island a long way off in the middle of a lake. The difference between western and eastern narration is also evident in the legend where the treasure is obtained by deception. In the southwestern core area of the legend the plot is actional. The hero follows the treasure-concealer and spots his opportunity: the blood of seven brothers might be substituted by the blood of seven cockerels. Further east and north the message loses the power characteristic of plot narratives, the cockerel heads become fish heads, and finally pole ends. All that remains of the motif is the inventive joke, changing of the treasure condition into a humorous one. But both in western and eastern Finland most treasure legends contain a fundamentally instructive Christian message. Man cannot obtain a treasure in this life. Hiding money and setting treasure conditions is futile, as is making a para (maps 58-60) or other attempts at capturing earthly happiness.

*Marjatta Jauhainen*

(Si P 1-900)

*Erdmann 1931. Haavio 1956. Halonen 1972. Hirschberg 1935-36. Hurley 1951. Liungman 1962, 299- (10 B). Mertamo 1965. Norlind 1918.*

**1.** *Rummukainen – Kjellander 1957, 537-.* **2.** *Mertamo 1965, 13-.* **3.** *Halonen 1972, 56-.*

VII.

SONGS IN THE ARCHAIC  
METRE

## THE POETIC TRADITION

### **Singing in archaic meter**

**Folk poetry archives.** By the year 1967, the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society held about 268,000 variants of folklore in verse form, of which half (52%) are runes and incantations in old (archaic) meter, and half folk songs in new meter. The total number of runes in old meter is about 85,000 variants, a quarter (26%) from western Finland (southwestern Finland – Ostrobothnia); from the Karelian region, from the Isthmus to Dvina, 30,000 variants (35%), and from Ingria 18,000 (22%) have been recorded. The class ‘poetry in old meter’ used by the archive includes all poetry in alliterative trochaic verse, from nursery rhymes from western Finland to heroic epics. The numbered variant is as likely to contain a very short couplet or proverb (western Finland) as an epic poem of several hundred lines (Dvina). Thus, the archive does not reflect the degree of preservation of folklore in archaic meter, or its vitality, in different areas. Nevertheless, the numbers show that the further east one goes, the greater the proportion of archaic runes also in numerical terms.

The archive has about 128,000 variants of folk songs in rhyming new meter, most of them collected in the western tradition areas. Of song and poetry folklore preserved from southwestern Finland, 70% is rhyming folk songs, 20% runes in archaic meter, and 10% incantations. In Dvina, the share of epic and lyric ‘ancient runes’ is about 40% of the total material from the region, similarly with incantations (40%), but the volume of new-meter folk songs is proportionally the lowest, less than 20%. About 60% of all new-meter folk songs are from southwestern Finland and Ostrobothnia, although they have also spread rapidly to eastern Finland and Karelia as swinging and dancing songs.

**Preservation of the ancient singing.** By the 1800s, epics and lyrics in archaic meter had almost entirely been displaced from western and southern Finland, leaving incantations and children’s verse, lullabies, chants and rhymes, of which large numbers have been recorded, more than 20,000 variants. By the 1900s, epic poetry in the areas of western agrarian culture had been replaced with rhyming folk songs in new meter, with the exception of *Ritvalan helkarunot* (map 99). In agrarianizing Savo and northern Finland, the old poetry was preserved in the 1800s only in remote areas, in the memories of a few tradition-bearers, with no social significance. Incantations and wedding songs were preserved the longest in Savo. However, epic verse in archaic meter, some collected in fragments (maps 87-96), show that at least the majority of the narrative poems of the Finnish national epic have also been known in Savo in the swidden era.

The preserves of poetry in archaic meter start on the Karelian Isthmus. The last territories of old verse

were Ingria in the south and eastern Karelia from the Ladoga to Dvina in the north. South Karelia and Ingria were agrarianized, but numerically the richest areas of archaic song. Epic and lyric verse common to Savo and Karelia, as well as wedding songs, have been collected on the Isthmus, in addition to legend poems and ballads in archaic meter (maps 97-99), some with western themes, others eastern. However, epic heroic poems, such as runes about Väinämöinen, were no longer found in South Karelia once folklore collection had begun, except in fragments (maps 90-93). As preserves of verse in the archaic meter, South Karelia and Finnish (Lutheran) Ingria belong together, while the Orthodox Ladoga Karelia is linked to Dvina and Olonets. Epic poetry sung by men has been preserved above all in Dvina, but many old poetry themes have also been recorded among the Izhorian element of the Orthodox Karelian population of western Ingria.

In the southern areas in Ingria and the Karelian Isthmus, above all lyrical poetry has been preserved; the old custom of singing has continued as women's culture. Women still sang working songs and emotional songs, at weddings, women's songs were an essential part of the rites of passage, and epics had also been transformed into girls' village songs (maps 87, 89, 93-94). While in western Finland young people's songs had already been completely replaced by rhyming ones, Ingrian girls sang in the old style, led by a lead singer, also at social occasions for village youth, dances, village swings, and while strolling on village lanes on holy days (maps 27-29, 34-35, 38). Scholars have often seen various tribal traditions in Ingrian singing customs. However, there have been more differences between religions, i.e. Orthodox Izhorians (indigenous Karelians) and the Lutheran majority population (Savakko and Äyrämöinen ethnic groups of Finnish origin), other local characteristics have leveled out as agrarian village culture became established.

In the areas of Ostrobothnian and Savonian settlement in northern Finland, in Kainuu and southern Lapland, incantations in archaic meter have been preserved, but also ancient hunting poetry (maps 1, 88) and mythical poems, such as the Creation of Earth and Heaven and the Great Oak (87, 94-95). In the 1700-1800s, epics and hunting poetry in archaic meter was still culturally significant in the communities of swidden farmers and settlers of Kainuu.

Dvina and Olonets are a preserve particularly of heroic epics, such as poems about Väinämöinen and the Sampo (maps 90-93). The maps and distributions of the poems reinforce the ideas that epic development, i.e. merging of poetic motifs, has taken place especially in Dvina, Olonets, Ladoga Karelia and North Karelia. This may have resulted from the fact that in these areas the performances in archaic meter continued, and poetry collectors could record entire repertoires of singers or singer families, not just individual runes or fragments of them. As they performed their songs at fishing huts and on festive occasions, epics specialists interwove poems, added their own verses, and detached them from other contexts. The presentation in archaic meter was still narration, which in the agrarian village culture was substituted by plot narratives.

## ***The age of archaic runes***

**Periods of archaic poetry.** Matti Kuusi distinguishes five layers of epics in old meter, based on poetic language and style: (1) pre-Finnic, (2) early Kalevaic, (3) core-Kalevaic, (4) medieval Kalevaic, and (5)

late Kalevaic eras.(1 From the pre-Finnic era would date the myths characteristic of Finno-Ugrians and other northern peoples in Eurasia, such as Creation of the World and Birth of the Bear. The manner of singing in the old meter would have taken shape in the early Kalevaic era, and the earliest runes would be the archaic creation runes in simple style, such as Creation of the World. In temporal terms, they date back to the aboriginal Finnic or the Baltic-Finnic period (map 87). The runes about Väinämöinen and Lemminkäinen, as well as the bulk of the other heroic epics, would be of core-Kalevaic style and date from the first millennium (maps 90-93). The stylistic devices of refrains or repetition of three scenes would have become fashionable in the mid-Kalevaic era. Scandinavian warrior songs, such as Ahti's, Kyllikki's and Kaukamoinen's runes, would have spread into Finland in the Viking era.

Medieval Kalevaic poetry would be characterized by ornamentation and clichés cultivating gold and silver, as in the Golden Wheel Oak (map 95); the environment of the poems would be the splendor of Catholic churches. The oldest legend poems and ballads (maps 97-99) would also be of medieval origin. The late Kalevaic period would be represented by Judging of Väinämöinen, Mermaid Vellamo and Giant Pig (maps 90, 91, 96).

In the Atlas, epic poetry in the old meter has been examined as a product of the cultural environment of its time, in common with other tradition; poetry has undergone structural changes along with ecosystems. The oldest plot motifs come from the world of northern hunter peoples, but shamanistic themes have become fragmented into many poems, or they have been reinterpreted in different periods. In terms of both their message and style, they have been molded to correspond to the expectations of man in each era. The archived poetic texts cannot as such be placed in a particular era or stylistic period, as even the names of the original heroes of the runes may have changed. But many narrative structures typical of the era, such as plot patterns and environmental descriptions, have survived, at least in fragments, in places where they have still had a cultural message. The explanations of the world of northern hunting communities, such as bear rites or supernatural guardians of quarry animals, still had a meaning for man of the remote villages in eastern Finland and Karelia even hundreds of years after they had become culturally void of meaning in the tradition environment of the peasant. The oldest structures of the poetic narration of Finland and all the Nordic countries may be found in Dvina, not from the Edda or other written sources.

**Songs of two environments.** Two eras are predominant in the preserved runes. In northern Savo-Karelian areas, the epic structures are from the experiential world of the hunter-swidden farmer, and in southern Karelia and Ingria of agrarian village communities. The layer of swidden culture and agrarian culture remains even in the very oldest common poetic themes, such as Creation of the Earth, the Cosmic Tree and Hunter poems; of them, Dvina has preserved its own versions and Ingrian villages their own (maps 87, 88, 94-95). The actual Sampo epics, adventure poetry woven around Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, has perhaps arisen in the era of long-distance hunting, partially as late as the early Viking raids. In Iron Age coastal villages, the heroes of the runes were blacksmiths, sorcerers and chiefs of hunting boats or Finnish *ledung* boats. From the era of the Crusades or early Middle Ages evidently originate the mocking runes of Giant Ox and Giant Pig, in which representatives of a new ideology parodied old myths.

In epics in old meter, the time differential between the oldest and latest world views or ideologies is hundreds, maybe thousands of years, but in 19th century Savo-Karelia, even ancient poetic themes have still become adapted to the living environment of swidden culture man, and the principal character of the runes was the sorcerer. Similarly in South Karelia and Ingria, where epic poetry in old meter has endured as village songs performed by women, the setting of the poems is an agrarian village, and the characters

are also from the life experience of village girls. In cartographic terms, the north and south are distinguishable in ancient runes.

Epic poetry in old meter often juxtaposes new and old culture, lifestyles of coastal farmers and inland hunters, sorcery and shamanism, Christianity and paganism, agrarian culture and swidden economy. The runes are interpretations of structural changes or hegemony songs, in which the new predominant way of life and society invalidate the old and turn it into anti-culture. What has remained are the runes of the ecological winners. In the heyday of sorcerers, the shamans were left in their graves, like Antero Vipunen (map 90). For the farmers of the Gulf of Finland coast and tax collectors of Lapland, the northern hunter-gatherer communities have represented tree-bark bread culture in the same way as the swidden areas of eastern Finland were hungerlands for later peasants of prosperous settlements.

**Representation of the archaic runes.** The old meter was narration or recitation, different from everyday speech; the meter and rhythm served as memory aids and helped the learning of the songs. The performance method has been used in all sacral or representational tradition, in festive and ritual poetry, even proverbs. In terms of rhythm, the archaic meter has evidently suited aboriginal Finnish; at the height of narration, it acquired its characteristic stylistic devices, such as the refrain, dialogic repetition, and the repetition of three scenes. Such devices broadened the narration and gave the lead singer, perhaps the coxswain of a boat transporting people, time to think of and improvize the next lines. This way, epic songs with short plot structures were stretched out almost ad infinitum. Arhippa Perttunen, renowned as the greatest rune singer in Dvina, told Elias Lönnrot in 1834 that when drawing seine nets, his father might sing at the campfire all night through, hand in hand with his companion, and never sing the same song twice. Epic poetry in the archaic meter has been men's singing, narration of hunter-fishermen, performed above all on long boat journeys; the rhythm of the singing followed the pace of the rowers' oars.

The old alliterative meter remained as the code language of the performing tradition right up to the peasant society of the Middle Ages. The earliest new age poems, legends and ballads were still translated in western Finland in the archaic meter, and in the eastern dialect area, folk poets used the alliterative meter right up to the 1900s. Development of local dialects has possibly contributed to the fact that the mode of singing became too far removed from everyday language in western Finland, and even in Dvina Karelia it was already difficult to fit living language into the old troche meter in the 1800s.

## **The new era**

**New singing cultures.** Songs in new meter are folk songs in rhyming poetic meter: ballads, broadside ballads, and round game, dancing and swinging songs. The earliest songs in new meter spread to western and southern Finland at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, gradually displacing the old- meter epic and lyric runes (maps 97-99). Along with new-meter poetry came also new tunes and dances, a whole new entertainment and youth culture (maps 34-38). Rhyming folk songs have spread from the west, usually direct from Sweden, but to Karelia and Ingria also from Slavic peoples. Their statistical distribution is opposite to that of poetry in archaic meter, and statistical differences are still very pronounced, although new-meter songs traveled in the 19th century with dance tunes rapidly across the entire Fin-

nish-Karelian tradition area, like youth trends do today. By the end of the 19th century, the rhyming folk song was already the predominant mode of singing in western Finland, in southwestern Finland the share of new-meter songs of all collected folklore in verse form is about 70%, in Ostrobothnia 58%, in Dvina and Olonets 17%.

The arrival of new folk songs was linked to the agrarian revolution and the birth of community culture. They are mostly a part of the tradition of getting together, performed at village weddings and social occasions of the young (maps 14-16, 34-38). The very message of the rhyming song is different from that of epic and lyric poetry in archaic meter. The old songs were still part of the poetry of a kinship society. Their central themes were proposal of marriage, the position of a daughter-in-law in a strange family, the fate of a kinless or orphaned child; love dramas are almost totally absent. Social themes only emerge in western ballads (map 99). Their standard themes are the tragic fate of lovers from mismatched social classes, rebellion of the young against marriages arranged by the parents, the deceitfulness of the upper classes. In the peasant society of western Finland, as was commonly the case in patriarchal agrarian cultures, parents controlled marriages more forcefully than in Savo-Karelia; for example, betrothals of children occurred specifically in Häme and Satakunta. Gradually, the new rhymed poetry brings out young people's emotions, treachery and faithfulness, the eternal themes of love songs.

The spread of village dances for the young marked the start of the pop culture era. Dancing and round-game songs were composed also by the village young, especially in Ostrobothnia, and their themes also came from their own life experience. The new-meter folk songs are about the boy or girl friend, longing for the beloved, faithfulness, but also about faithlessness and disappointments brought about by love. Many 19th century round-game and dancing songs dealt with social relationships of the peasant class society, the situation of landless young people, servant girls and farmhands, emigration, wealth and poverty. Youth culture brought about protest songs, defying village discipline, the restrictive Christian spirit of the village, gossiping women. On the other hand, mocking songs also served to maintain village discipline among the young themselves.

With the structural changes of culture, the idols of the songs also changed. The central characters of archaic runes were sorcerers, blacksmiths and Viking heroes, in medieval ballads high-born sons of kings and aristocratic maidens, at the end of the 19th century young people's own influential figures: fighters who had defied the values of the village community, itinerant loggers, sexual heroes, and increasingly also ordinary people. In local cultures, song was a means of expressing personal matters, feelings and thoughts. In Finnish village communities too, people sang a lot, both while working or walking or in their own homes; the young at their evening sittings and dances, at the village swings and playing fields.

After the local way of life disappeared, composing and performing of songs was transferred to professional technosystems. In the era of postlocal world culture, human feelings are produced and discussed by a global consciousness industry, which is a part of the scientific-technical control of the human mind. The consciousness industry, rolling day and night, has rendered an ordinary person's singing culturally insignificant, and the status of music has also undergone a structural change. Singing is less and less social. A sense of community may be experienced at a rock concert or disco, by consuming together. Singing is a part of entertainment, the actual purpose of which is to compensate for the loneliness and detachment of the privatized human being, to disguise the surrounding reality. An ordinary person can concentrate ever more on his own feelings, choose endless experiences, move over, entirely if he wishes, to an artificial sound and image reality.

## 87. Maan ja taivaan synty The Creation of Earth and Heaven

Maailmammuu  
The world egg

1. Lintu autiolla merellä (samanistinen versio)  
A bird in the empty sea (shamanistic version)

sotka  
a pochard

hanhi  
a goose

kotka  
an eagle

lintu tekee pesänsä  
Väinämöisen polven päälle  
a bird makes its nest  
on Väinämöinen's knee

2. Pääskyläinen päivälintu (agraarin versio)  
A Swallow, Sun-Bird (agrarian version)

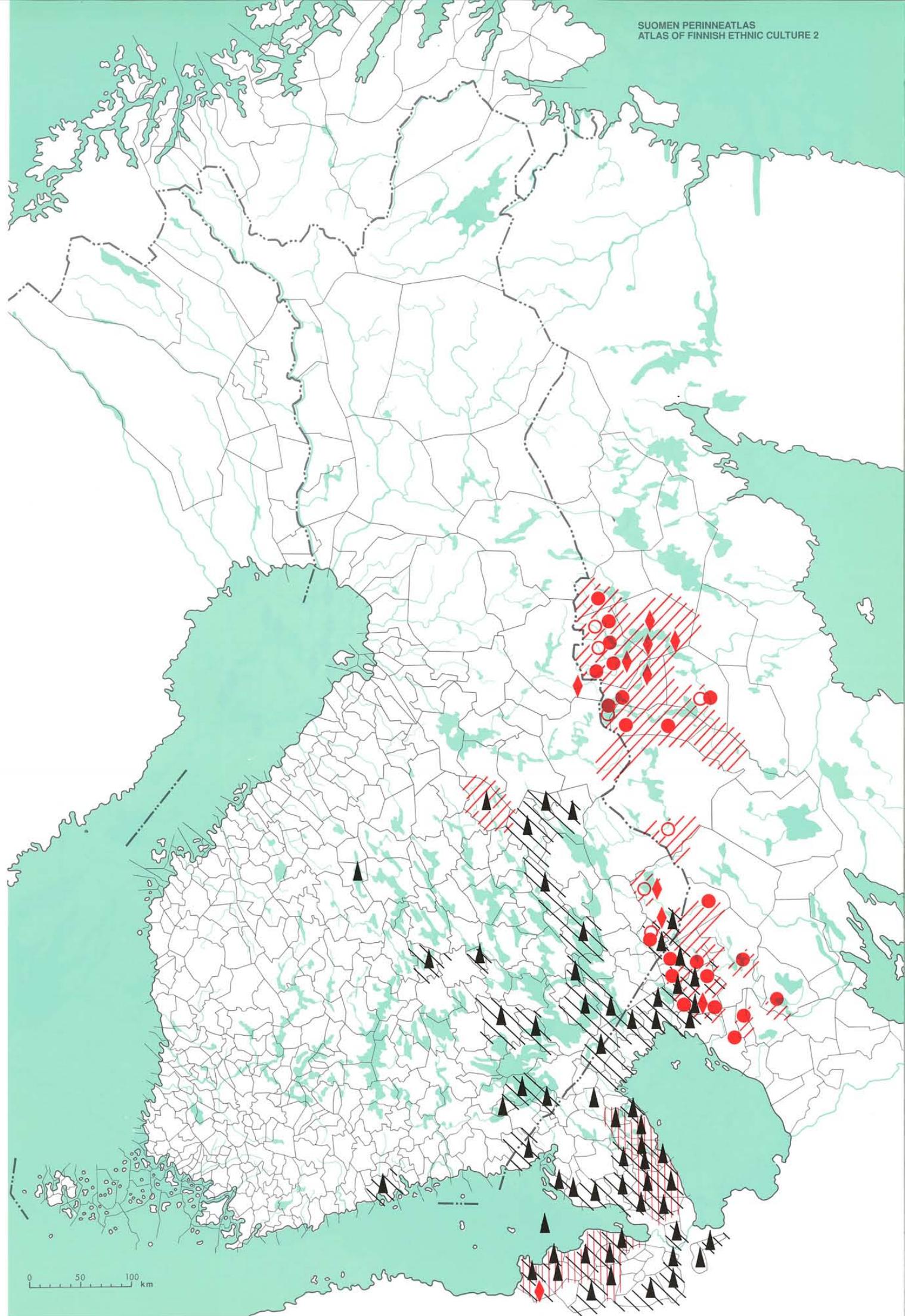
pääskynen merellä  
a swallow in the sea

pääskynen tekee pesänsä  
a swallow makes its nest

vedessä kelluvalle mättääälle  
on a hummock floating in the water

laivan kannelle  
on the deck of a ship

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 87. THE CREATION OF EARTH AND HEAVEN

### **The cosmic egg**

**A bird over the desolate sea.** In the northern rune areas of Finland, the poem on the creation of the world was a part of the Väinämöinen runes, describing how the primaeval bird made its nest on the knee of the demiurge drifting in the sea; its introduction is Shooting of Väinämöinen, and often also Formation of the Seabed (map 92). In the rune, a pochard or some other bird flies over the open sea, looking for a nesting site. Finally, it finds a hummock or an island, builds its nest there, lays an egg and starts to incubate it. The nesting place is the knee of Väinämöinen who is drifting in the sea, and on feeling the heat on his knee Väinämöinen moves his leg, causing the nest to fall into the sea and the egg to break. From the pieces of the eggshell were created the earth and heaven, sun, moon and stars.

#### **Creation of the World**

*Tuo oli vanha Väinämöinen selvällä meren selällä. Nosti polvensa merestä vihannaksi mättähäksi, tuoreheksi turpeheksi.*

(a) *Tuo oli sotka suora lintu/ (b) Tuo oli hanhut ilman lintu (c) Lensi kokko koilta ilman.*  
*Liitelevi, laatelevi, etsivi pesän sijaa. Näki mättään merellä.*

*Valoi vaskisen pesäsen, muni kultaisen munasen polven päälle Väinämöisen.*  
*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen tunsi polvensa palavan, jäsenensä lämpivän. Liikautti polveansa.*  
*Pesä pyörähti veteen, muna muruiksi vieri.*

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen itse noin sanoiksi virkki:*  
*"Mikä munassa alaista kuorta, alaisiksi maaemiksi.*  
*Mikä munassa yläistä kuorta, yläisiksi taivosiksi.*  
*Mikä munassa valkuista, se päiväksi paistamaan.*  
*Mikä munassa ruskuista, se kuuksi kumottamaan.*  
*Mikä munassa kirjavaista, se tähdiksi taivaalle!"*

*That old Väinämöinen was on the clear open sea. Raised his knee from the sea as a verdant hummock, a fresh turf.*

(a) *The pochard was a straight bird/ (b) The goose was a bird of the air (c) Flew an eagle from the east.*

*Glides, soars, looks for a nesting place. Saw the hummock in the sea.*

*Fashioned a copper nest, laid a golden egg on the knee of Väinämöinen.*

*Steady old Väinämöinen felt his knee burning, his limb getting warm. Stirred his knee.*

*The nest rolled into the water, the egg smashed to pieces.*

*Steady old Väinämöinen himself said the words:*

*"Nether shell of the egg to be the nether earth.*

*Upper shell of the egg to be the heavens on high.*

*White of the egg to be the sun to cast its rays.*

*Yolk of the egg to be the moon to shine.*

*Specks of the egg to be the stars in the sky!"*

**A swallow, Sun-Bird at sea.** The bird of the southern creation rune was a swallow, and it has two redactions. (1) A swallow flew at sea looking for a place to rest. It found a hummock floating in the water, made its nest there, but a storm blew up and swept the eggs into the sea. (2) A swallow saw a ship at sea and made its nest on the deck, but a storm sank the ship and the eggs rolled into the water. In both variants, the ending was generally the same. The swallow asked a smith to make a rake, with which it raked for the crumbs from the bottom of the sea. From the pieces of the eggshell were created the sun, moon and stars.

### Swallow, Sun-Bird

(a) *Pääskyläinen päivälintu, yölintu, lepakkolintu lenteli kesäisen päivän, syksyisen yösydämen. Etsi maata maataksensa, lehtoa levätäksensä.*

*Näki mättään meressä, muni kultaisen munasen. Nousi tuuli, aivoi tuuli, meren vihkura vihainen. Vieritti munat veteen.*

(a) *Swallow, sun-bird, night-bird, bat-bird, flew a summer's day, an autumn dead of night.*

*Sought for land to lie upon, a wood to rest in.*

*Saw a hummock in the sea, laid a golden egg. Rose a wind, whipped up a wind, an angry tempest of the sea.*

*Rolled the eggs into the water.*

(b) *Pääskyläinen päivälintu...*

*Näki laivasen merellä, punapurjeen laineella. Lensi laivan kannen päälle, valoi vaskisen pesäsen, muni kultaisen munasen. Tuli suuri pohjatuuli, kaatoi laivan kallelensa. Pesä pyörähti mereen, munat veteen vieri.*

[(b)] *Swallow, day-bird...*

*Saw a ship at sea, a red-sail on the waves. Flew onto the ship's deck, cast a copper nest, laid a golden egg. Came a great north wind, threw the ship on its side. The nest rolled into the sea, the eggs fell into the water.*

*Pääskyläinen päivälintu lensi seppälän pajaan:*

*"Seppyeni veljyeni, takojani tammueni taoit ennen, taoit eilen, niin tao tänäkin päivänä.  
Tao rautainen harava, teräksiset piit panele, varsi vaskinen valele. Haravoin meron kokoon,  
meron laineet lakoon."  
Pääskyläinen päivälintu haravoi meren kokoon, meren ruovot ruopotteli, meren kaislat  
karhenteli. Löysi puolen valkeasta, toisen puolen ruskeasta.  
Minkä puolen valkeasta, sen päiväksi paistamaan. Minkä puolen ruskeasta, sen kuuksi  
kumottamaan. Mitä muita muruja löysi, ne tähdiksi taivaalle.*

*Swallow, day-bird, flew into the blacksmith's hut:*

*"Blacksmith dear, brother mine, my forger, my protector, you forged before, you forged  
yesterday, so forge today too. Forge an iron rake, put on it steel tines, cast a copper shaft. I  
shall rake the sea aside, waves of the sea together."*

*Swallow, day-bird, raked the sea aside, gathered the sea reeds, roughed up the sea grasses.  
Found half of the white, the other half of the yolk.*

*The half of white to be the sun to cast its rays. The half of yolk to be the moon to shine. Other  
crumbs it found, they for stars in the sky.*

The Swallow, Sun-Bird rune also has other ending sequences not shown on the map. In some southern versions, an island grew into the sea from the eggs and on it a beautiful maiden, or fish and seals were created in the sea from the eggs. In Dvina, the final sequence of Creation of the World is sometimes the battle of an eagle and a pike (MI B 264.2). A large pike swallowed the egg that had rolled into the water, but a gigantic eagle caught the pike in its talons, and after a battle fought in the water, got its quarry. The eagle tore open the pike's belly and splattered the egg pieces all over the sky.

**Map diagram.** The rune about the bird at sea has survived in Dvina, Olonets and Ladoga Karelia usually as an episode in an epic poem woven around Väinämöinen. The hummock or island on which the bird makes its nest is explained as the knee of Väinämöinen floating in the sea. In the northern version, the primaeval bird is usually a pochard, its preservation area is also the largest. Alongside the pochard, a goose or occasionally some other water fowl may occur, even a bee, as in the Formula for Ointment (cf. map 44). The lines describing the eagle and its flight are the same as in the Hand-Striking Rune of the wedding poems (maps 13, 16). Although the eagle is also found in Estonian poems on the origin of the world, the Finnish creator-animal has been a water fowl, the pochard. Water fowl also have a central position in the folk narrative of northern Finno-Ugrian hunter peoples.

The Swallow, Sun-Bird rune has spread from Ingria via the Karelian Isthmus to Savo. Its opening lines are from the Estonian song *Pääsukene päevalindu*, which however takes a different form as a poem. Compared to the Dvinian version of Creation of the Earth, the swallow version is evidently a new rune utilizing the old themes of the etiological myth, even the raking of the seabed. In Ingria, Swallow, Sun-Bird has been one of the songs girls performed at young people's social occasions or while promenading and singing on village lanes (map 35). The setting of the rune is an agrarian seaside village with its ships and smithy.

In the northern rune area, Väinämöinen has become the creator of the world, who utters the words of the origin of the universe. However, Väinämöinen is a sorcerer in Finnish folklore and presumably does not belong to the oldest stratum of the rune. The creator-heros does not appear in all variants, nor has the anthropomorphic demigod endured in the Estonian-Ingrian etiological poem. The line *Näki mättähän meressä* [Saw a hummock in the sea] is also found in Ingria and South Karelia, so it is probably one of

the basic elements of the Baltic-Finnic myth, like the bird flying over the sea. The hummock or island, and the mountain occurring in a variant alongside them, refer to the first island of the primaeval ocean, the central mountain, or other first fixed point of the cosmic order. The original version of the Finnish Creation of the World rune is likely to have described how a water fowl flies over the primaeval ocean, discovers the first piece of land, and builds its nest there. The cosmos is created from a broken egg.

**Research history.** The early scholar, Otto Donner, compared the Finnish Creation of the World to Eurasian etiological myths, particularly those found in Indian literature. Julius Krohn linked the Finnish Creation of the World rune to northern Finno-Ugrian legends of the god drifting in the primaeval ocean enticing the devil to fetch land from the bottom of the sea in the form of a water fowl or other diving animal; thus the rune would belong in Nordic diving animal mythology. Kaarle Krohn thought the Creation of the World rune Christian, in common with other ancient runes, and held the Biblical Genesis to have been its model. In his view, the Estonian Swallow, Sun-Bird poem was an allegorical girls' swinging song.(1)

The most thorough exposition of the links of the Finnish rune to the cosmic egg theme was by Martti Haavio in his work *Väinämöinen*. In his view, the elements of the poem, such as the open sea, bird, floating nest, eggs of different colors, wind, division of the yolk from the white etc. have already existed in the mythology of Eurasian peoples, and traveled with the Estonians throughout the Gulf of Finland coastal circle. He believes that the setting of the mythical rune is a marine one. The Finnish version would also have evolved before the advent of Christianity; the poem has nothing to do with the Bible creation story. The rune would have survived in its most authentic form in the Dvinian lake district, and the Estonian and Ingrian Swallow versions would have gradually been adapted as agrarian women's tradition.(2)

Matti Kuusi has also believed the Creation of the World rune to be Estonian-Finnish. He assumes that in its basic form, the primaeval bird would be the eagle, as is the case sporadically also in Estonia. The first hummock would refer to the diver motif. In his view, the myth may have continued with the fight between the eagle and the pike, like in certain variants from Dvina. All in all, the Finnish etiological runes might have comprised seven mythical historiolas: Birth of Väinämöinen, Shooting of Väinämöinen, Formation of the Seabed, Creation of the Earth and the Heavenly Bodies, Forging of the Sampo or of the sky canopy, and Raking of the Seabed.(3) The question remains as one for research as to whether the background to the Finnish rune is an arctic diver myth, or whether the Estonian-Finnish Creation of the World is originally a part of the more southern Eurasian cosmic egg tradition. In any case, the Bird at Sea rune preserved in northern rune areas may be deemed to be a very archaic, shamanistic poem, with many metaphors probably dating back to the era of Uralian hunting cultures.

## Cosmic myths

**The cosmic egg.** Cosmogonic etiological legends share many basic structures. In the myths of numerous peoples, the earth and the entire universe have arisen in a void. Before the world was created, chaos or complete emptiness prevailed, described e.g. with visions of a sea of emptiness. The order of heaven

and earth was created by a supreme god, primordial creator or heros called the demiurge, or commonly also a creator couple of a man and a woman, who may be revered as the male and female progenitors, the divine couple, of the earth and heaven or of all the people and animals living on earth. The demiurge ‘separated the heaven from the earth’, created the categories of matters of the other side and this life. Etiological legends are often colored by descriptions of battles between demiurges; according to the Ymir myth, the universe was created from the body of a dead giant (monster, primordial man). The battle of demiurges is an allegorical interpretation of the forces that have carved the surface of the globe, as if pushing up mountains, tearing ravines and excavating rivers and lakes. The battle continues when natural forces rage, in volcanic eruptions and earthquakes.(4)

The cosmic egg or world egg interpretation has been known in various parts of the world from the ancient high cultures of the Middle East to the Pacific Ocean; the motif is even found in the mythology of the Incas. A second, parallel explanation is the so-called diver interpretation which has been characteristic to northern peoples, including North American Indian cultures.(5) There are a few basic versions of the world egg explanation. According to one version, the universe arises from the cosmic egg or the primordial heros uses pieces of the cosmic egg as elements of the universe; both of these themes occur in the Finnish rune. The myths may also describe how the first egg was created or appeared in the primordial void. Other basic versions have either the first human being, human couple or deity born from the primordial egg and perform the act of creation.

The earliest preserved cosmic egg legends have been found in ancient Egyptian manuscripts from the period 1500-1000 B.C. Alongside creator of the world myths, Egyptian folk narrative also contains a water fowl, the ibis, which laid its eggs in a nest floating on water. The cosmic egg theme is also found in the Jewish Talmud, as well as in early literary sources of the Greeks, ancient Persians, Indians and other Asian peoples. In one version known in Oceania, the world creator-god first frees himself from inside a gigantic egg and then uses the shell to fashion the sky with its stars and the sea with its numerous islands. Myths of Asian peoples also describe the egg as silver or golden, like in the Finnish verses, and even in the Japanese version, the primordial egg is broken by a storm.

Thus, the Finnish Creation of the World is one of the basic versions of creation legends, according to which the earth, sky, sun and other heavenly bodies originated from pieces of the cosmic egg. The rune has common elements of the cosmology of all peoples: the desolate cosmic ocean, first piece of land, primordial animal, demiurge, and cosmic egg. The universe is created from the broken egg, or the demiurge creates the universe above the primaeval ocean from the egg fragments. In the etiological drama a storm destroys the nest, and the world, like death, are created by accident (map 49). To a person looking at the universe, the canopy of the heavens is round, egg-shaped. In nature, the egg is the beginning of life, and all over the world and through the ages, man has seen the miracle of birth in the egg.

**Shamanistic vision.** Etiological myths have also been interpretations of their times, changing as man has made the transition from hunter-gatherer communities to a cultivation economy. In shamanistic narration, the creator of the world has perhaps been the first shaman or a pair of battling shamans, whose souls or soul animals traveled in the primordial chaos, obtained the elements of the earth by diving, or laid the cosmic egg. The elements of the soul journey – battles, transformations, escape and pursuit – may have colored the etiological myths of the time and survived as the base layer in Finland, too, in the Väinämöinen epic and Sampo runes. The battle of shaman-demiurges may also date back to the Finnish Creation of the Earth of the hunter era, of which are preserved the runes of the Shooting of Väinämöinen, the Formation of the Seabed, possibly also the Battle of the Pike and the Eagle, and even certain world views of the Singing Match and even the Sampo epic (maps 90-93).

Northern diver myths have evidently also been a part of shamanistic folk narrative. The creator-heros was helped by some aquatic animal, such as an otter, beaver or turtle, which dove down to the bottom of the sea and brought up a piece of earth (MI A 811). From the small tussock raised from the seabed grew the earth and was formed to become fit for man's habitat. In hunter era narration, the primordial bird may also have been interpreted as the shaman's tutelary or soul animal. The Finnish mythological rune does not include the diver motif, but Väinämöinen swimming around the cosmic ocean corresponds to the shamanistic demiurge of the diver myths (cf. map 41). The cosmic egg was laid by the shaman's soul bird, the pochard or goose, which live in a marine environment. A criterion of the credibility of shamanistic narration is often whether the soul animal was able to function in the circumstances where the shaman's soul happened to move. The diver animal is an aquatic animal, the primordial bird is a water fowl, or, as in Väinämöinen's Journey to Tuonela, the shaman transforms himself into a snake that swims in water and manages to deal with the nets strung across the Tuonela river (map 91).

In the Finnish rune, the egg-shaped universe is divided into various layers: the lowest is the underground world, and above all the starry canopy of the sky. The divisions of the universe are still clearcut: from man's perspective, there are the worlds above and below, the habitats of the dead and gods. Between them is the earth, the real living space of men. The sun rises allegorically from one side of the cosmic egg, travels across the sky's canopy and sets below the human world, to rise again from the other side. The universe is like an egg stood on end, around the surface of which the sun, moon and stars travel. In the same way, all living nature also travels in the universe, living its time and rising from the world on the other side again and again to an existence in the real world.

The rune Bird at Sea, preserved in Dvina and Ladoga Karelia, is one of the purest surviving variants of the shamanistic cosmic egg theme: the boundless ocean with a single rock, Väinämöinen, who on his way to death drifts in the emptiness forming the seabed; a bird from the soul world flying over the sea and building a nest on the first islet; the storm, the chance incident that destroys the nest; the idea of an egg-shaped world, of the sky's canopy and the underground portion. They are mental images or narration of hunting era man, dream language, through which hunter-gatherers living on the Baltic Sea coasts have described the settings of their imaginary travels and explained the most profound questions of their environment.

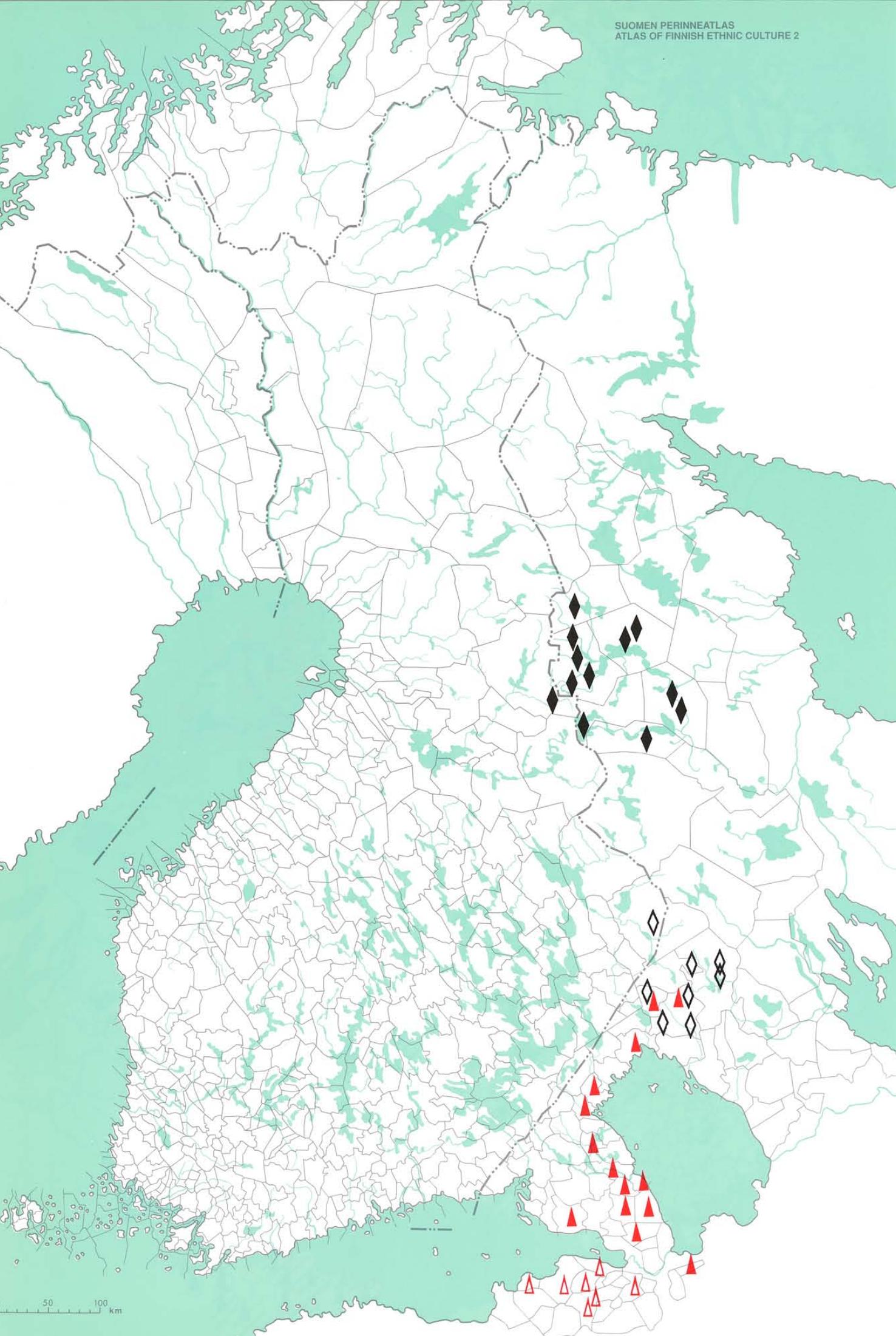
**Cultivating man's interpretations.** The egg-shaped universe corresponded to hunting culture man's concept of the elements of the reality surrounding him. The etiological myths of agrarianized peoples have become woven into dramas juxtaposing the order or agricultural man and chaos, fertility and infertility of the earth. Myths are used to control cultivating man's environment, weather, rains and storms; the demiurge is the fertilizer of the earth, the divine couple or mother earth (cf. map 96). The Dvinian Creation of the World lacks such thought structures of agrarian culture as the creator couple, mother earth and her fertilizer, as well as the conflict between growth and wilting, fortune and misfortune, good and evil. In the Finnish area, the 'god of heavens' Seppo Ilmarinen or Ägräs, Pellon-Pekko and other supernatural guardians of the power of growth correspond to the creator-heros figures of cultivation culture.

Swallow, Sun-Bird is an etiological poem which both in Ingria and in Estonia has been transposed to the living environment of the peasant; the poetic images of the hunting era have been reconstructed. Finnish etiological myths are still local and propose an everyday interpretation of how the world order surrounding ordinary man has come about. The rune does not talk about a god or hierarchic layers of the sky's canopy, like later texts of organized religions, such as Hinduism, in which the complexity of society has been transposed to the world view, as part of the cosmogonic order. Etiological myths are neither

sacred histories nor ritual texts, but they do belong to the primordial entity of religious thinking.(6 Basically, the Finnish myth justified the shamanistic world order, made it a logical entity, a religious information system that functioned in the cultural setting of hunting era man.

(MI A 641, A 814.9)

**1.** Donner 1863. Krohn J. 1885, 390-; 1894; Krohn K. 1903-1910, 190-, 827; 1930. Lid 1949. **2.** Haavio 1950c, 59-. **3.** Kuusi 1956; 1959; 1963a, 61-. Honko 1963c; 1963-1965, 322. **4.** Lukas 1894. Hellbom 1963. Long 1969. Freund 1965. Middleton 1967. Sproul 1979. Meletinski 1979. Lincoln 1986. **5.** Köngäs 1960. Rooth 1969, 73-; 1984. Dundes 1988. **6.** Eliade 1984.



## 88. Metsästäjät Hunters

1. Hiiden hirven hiihtäjä  
The *Hiiisi*-Elk Skier

◆ vienalainen runo  
Dvina Karelian song

◇ laatokankarjalainen runo  
Ladoga Karelian song

2. Oravan pyytäjä  
The Squirrel Hunter

▲ eteläkarjalainen runo  
South Karelian song

▲ inkeriläinen runo  
Ingrian song

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 88. HUNTERS

### **The Hiisi-elk skier**

**Unsuccessful elk hunt.** The rune Hiisi's Elk (the moose, *Alces alces*, is called an elk in Europe) tells the story of a hunter from a Lappish village, a hunting community, who made himself a pair of skis to ski after a forest reindeer or an elk, and boasts that there is not a creature in the forest that would escape him. A verse is included in Ladoga Karelia, in which the hunter goes on to urge his people to prepare for butchering and cooking the catch. A hiisi heard the boast, created an elk from scant ingredients, and sent it to the Lappish village. There the elk destroyed a *kota-hut* [Lappish shelter], toppled the cooking pots and frightened the women and children. The hunter set off on the chase and caught the elk, but when he began to boast about his catch, the animal became angry, tore itself away and escaped. Rushing again after the elk, the hunter's skis were broken.

#### Dvinian rune

*Lystikki (Lyylikki) lyljen seppä, Kauppi kalhujen tekijä syksyn lyljä vuoli, talven kalhua kavelti.  
Sai lylyn lykittäväksi, kalhun kannan lyötäväksi.*

*Lykkäsi lylyn lumelle, solautti suopetäjän. Kantoi kaksi sauvoansa kahden puolen kalhuansa:  
"Ei ole sitä metsässä jalan neljän juoksevaa, jota ei näillä yllätetä."  
Päätyi hiisi kuulemaan. Hiisi hirveä sukesi. Pään mäkäsi mättäästä, sääret aidan seipäästä,  
nahkan kuusen koskesta, korvat lammin lumpeista, muun lihan lahosta puusta.  
"Juokse tuonne, hiiden hirvi, poropeura poimettele Lapin lastutanterille!"*

*Sitä juoksi hiiden hirvi, poropeura poimetti Lapin lastutanterille. Potkaisi kodasta korvan,  
keitinselän keikautti. Liemen lieteen levitti, lihan tuhkaan tuhersi. Lapin naiset nauramaan, La-  
pin lapset itkemään, Lapin koirat haukkumaan.*

*"Mitä täällä naiset nauroi, mitä täällä lapset itki?"*

*"Juoksi tästä hiiden hirvi, potkaisi kodasta korvan..."*

*Niinpä kerran potkaisihe silmän siintämättömään, toisen kerran potkaisihe korvan kuule-  
mattomaan. Jo kerralla kolmannella, lautaselle hiiden hirven nostessa tapomäkeä, vuorta kirjo  
kiivetessä.*

*Laati vaajan vaahterisen, tarhan tammisen rakenti. Selkää silittelevi, taljaa taputtelevi.  
"Sopisipa tuossa maata nuoren neitosen keralla, kasvavaisen kainalossa."*

*Siitä suuttui hiiden hirvi, poropeura potkimaan/ rikkoi vaajan vaahteraisen, tarhan tammisen levitti.*

*Lysmähti lylly lävestää, taittui kalhu kannan tiestää, sauva suoveron sijasta.*

*Lystikki (Lyylikki) lylly-smith, Kauppi the kalhu-maker, spent the fall carving a lylly, the winter shaping the kalhu.*

*Finished the lylly for pushing, the kalhu for striking with the heel.*

*Took the lylly on the snow, slipped on the bog-grown pine. Carried his two ski-poles on either side of his kalhu:*

*"There is not a forest beast running on four legs that I won't surprise on these."*

*Happened a hiisi to hear. Hiisi fashioned an elk. Made the head from a tussock, legs from a fence post, skin from spruce bark, ears from lily-pads on the pond, other flesh from rotted wood.*

*"Run there, hiisi's elk, reindeer-elk pick your way to the forest-lands of Lapland!"*

*Ran he there, hiisi's elk, reindeer-elk picked his way to the forest-lands of Lapland. Kicked the corner off a kota, knocked over a cooking pot. Spread the soup in the stove, mixed the meat in the ashes. Lappish women got to laughing, Lappish children got to weeping, Lappish dogs got to barking.*

*"What did the women laugh at here, why did the children weep?"*

*"Ran he here, hiisi's elk, kicked the corner off a kota..."*

*So kicked he off once further than the eye could see, kicked again out of earshot. At the third kick he caught up as the hiisi's elk ran up Tapio's hill, piebald climbed up a mountain [Tapio denotes the supernatural guardian of the forest].*

*Made a stake out of maple, built an oaken corral. Stroked its back, patted its pelt.*

*"It would be nice to lie upon with a young maiden, in the arms of one still growing."*

*This angered hiisi's elk, reindeer-elk got to kicking/ broke the maple stake, flattened the oaken corral.*

*Snapped the lylly at the hole, broke the kalhu at the heel-place, ski-stick at the bone-joint.*

## Rune from Ladoga Karelia

*Viisas Viini Vuojolainen, kaunis Kauppi Lappalainen syksyn lyllyä vuoli, talven kalhua kaversi. Lykkäsi lylyn lumelle, kantoi kalhun hangen päälle. Lähti hirven hiihdäntään, poropetran potken-taan:*

*"Mitä lie Lapissa miestä, kaikki veitsien hiontaan. Mitä lie Lapissa naista, kaikki kattilan pesuun. Mitä lie Lapissa lasta, kaikki lastun poimintaan!"*

*Päätyi hiisi kuulemaan. Kuin kerran potkoavi, eipä silmä siinnäkkänä. Kuin toisen potkoavi, eipä korva kuulekkana. Potkaisi kolmannen kerran, jo tapasi hiiden hirven.*

*Wise Viini Vuojolainen, handsome Kauppi Lappalainen spent the fall carving a lylly, the winter shaping the kalhu. Took the lylly on the snow, carried the kalhu upon the drifts. Set off to ski after elk, to kick after reindeer-elk:*

*"All the men in Lapland, grind your knives. All the women in Lapland, wash your cooking pots. All the children in Lapland, go collect firewood!"*

*Happened a hiisi to hear. As he kicked once, the eye could not see him. As he kicked twice, the ear could not hear him. Kicked a third time, caught up with hiisi's elk.*

In the Ladoga Karelian version, the core verses have the same content as in Dvina, but the rune has survived as fragments. On the creation of the elk, destruction of the Lappish village, the skier's boast and the elk's escape, only isolated indistinct lines remain in Ladoga Karelia. However, they are sufficient grounds for concluding that the basic sequences were known there, too. There are no traces of the oak corral in the southern preserve; similarly, the boast "All the men in Lapland, grind your knives etc." is unknown in Dvina.

Based on comparative line analysis, Jouko Hautala makes the comment that the creation of the elk was not an original part of the rune, but it was formed according to a certain incantation formula using elements that also occur in many other contexts. Similar incantations from the sorcerer era include Birth of the Snake and Birth of the Bear, in which dangerous animals are created using scant materials and their power denied. The lines about grooming the elk (*Hiidet hirveä sukivat...*) are probably from the legend rune Cloud Boat.(1)

**The hero's name.** In Dvina, the hunter is usually called Lystikki or Lyylikki and in the refrain Kapo or Kauppi as the kalhu-maker, in Ladoga Karelia the hero of the rune is wise Viini Vuojolainen, handsome Kauppi Lappalainen. Explanations of the names have been pivotal in researching the rune. Vuojolainen has been linked to place names in Häme and Savo beginning with *vuaja* (Rafael Koskimies), but later Vuojola or Vuojonmaa has generally been thought to have meant Gotland (Gösta Grotenfelt, Jalmari Jaakkola), the ancient Swedish Gautlandia (Heikki Ojansuu), or 'German' in general, originally Goths (\**vokja*; Mikkola, E.N. Setälä). Kaarle Krohn has addressed the names in many contexts, suggesting for example that Lyylikki derives from the family name Lydecken; bourgeoisie of that name lived in Finland in the 15th and 16th centuries. In his opinion, the opening lines of Hiisi's Elk refer to the wise or fine (*viini* Sw. *fin*) Vintti Lyydikäinen or Vincentus or Wilhelm Lydecken, and appealing to e.g. the lines about the oaken corral and maple stake, he believed that the rune originated from the south and recounts the failed elk hunt of a foreign trader, probably one from Gotland.(2)

However, the relatively common name in Finland, Kauppi, is based on the name Jaakop, not on the word *kauppias* [trader, merchant]. Hautala deems as primary the Lapp (Fi. *lappalainen*) who also appears as the principal character in the Squirrel Hunter or the rune of Lauri Lappalainen, which is a sister rune of Hiisi's Elk. Vuojolainen may also derive from the ancient term *vuowjos*, a Sami person. The old word *viini*, deriving from Uralian languages, means a quiver for arrows.(3) Thus, the skier after Hiisi's elk would originally have been a hunter bearing a quiver, who was a member of an inland (Lappish) hunter people; another pointer is the scene of the rune: a Lappish village, kota shelters and meat pots.

**Hunting for elk and forest reindeer.** Skiing after elk (*Alces alces*) and forest reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus fennicus*) has been a real hunting method, practised particularly in late winter when the snow bore the weight of the skier but not that of the animal. Skiing to catch an elk or a wild reindeer may take days, and the method was also considered dangerous, as the animal would finally turn around and attack its pursuer with its sharp hooves. Before guns, the elk was killed with a spear used as a ski pole, a reindeer also with a hunting knife (*puukko*), or the tendon of the animal's hind leg was severed using an arrow with a horizontal tip. Elk and forest reindeer were still hunted on skis in eastern Finland and Karelia in the 20th century. After the Finnish forest reindeer died out in Finland in the 1700s, they were still present in Ladoga Karelia and Dvina, gathering on islands in large lakes in later winter, and reindeer

hunts were a part of the hunting every winter. Many of the people conversant with the epic poetry of Ladoga Karelia have themselves been renowned reindeer hunters.(4)

The rune mentions asymmetrical skis: the long sliding ski on the left foot was called *lyly* and the shorter, leather-covered ski for the right foot *kalhu*; it was used to kick up speed. The line *Lysmähti lyly lävestä, taittui kalhu kannan tiestä, sauva suoveron sijasta* describes briefly how the left ski was broken at the opening for the binding, *mäystin* or *varpaallinen*, and the right ski under the heel, and the ski pole at the point where *suovero*, the bone sheath protecting the lower part, ended.

Skis are the oldest means of travel of northern Eurasian peoples, and the word *suksi* already appears in Uralic languages. However, it is the current view that asymmetrical skis have only been used in Scandinavia. They seem to have been specifically intended for hunting forest reindeer and elk and used in latter winter at the time of crusted snows, or on the Lappish fells. The sliding ski, *lyly*, was made from hard, close-grained bog pine, which stood up best to wear on rough snow. Asymmetrical skis were used most recently in Ladoga Karelia, North Karelia, Dvina and Kainuu, but they became obsolete in the 1800s (Atlas Part I, map 83).

In his work *Lapponia*, Johannes Schefferus describes (1674) Sami skis and ski hunting in great detail. He comments that the *lyly* was made about a foot longer than the skier, and the *kalhu* only a foot shorter than the *lyly*. Thus, the skier after Hiisi's elk with his bow and arrows could be a member of an inland hunter community, similar to the 'skridfinns' who used asymmetrical skis, and who were mentioned by Adam of Bremen (1073-1075), Saxo Grammaticus (1180s) and Olaus Magnus (1555) .(5)

Niilo Valonen has compared the oaken corral to a word meaning 'elk corral', *hirvitarha*, that occurs in place names in southern Finland. *Hirvitarha* was a snare trap, a pen made of branches, with a loop snare set in its opening between the side posts (*vaajat*). Its northern equivalent has been *hangasaita*, [*hangasfence*]. The end of the snare rope was fastened on a growing tree bent to the ground, which snatched the elk up in the air once the snare was tripped. This would explain the lines of some variants about hanged elk.(6 Corral snares have also been used in Sweden, and the metaphors 'oaken corral' and 'maple vaaja' in the rune perhaps originate from some Scandinavian song, probably a medieval poem about a miracle animal, with the elk as a Christian symbol. As pointed out by Valonen, the corral snare also occurs in the set dialogue of the Elk Game. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the corral snare motif belongs in the original rune about skiing after Hiisi's elk.

## ***The squirrel hunter***

**Hunting for squirrel.** The rune is about Lauri Lappalainen [Laurentius the Lapp], who carefully prepares his skis and sets off to the forest with his dog in search of quarry. He skis for a long time in vain, until only one remote corner remains and he decides to examine this patch of forest too. The dog tracks a squirrel up a tree, the hunter shoots, but only hits the target at the third shot, having cleaned his gun with snow and fir fronds. He takes his catch home to his mother, and the rune continues with one about marrying the boy off. On the Isthmus, the follow-up rune is entitled 'Where should I put my money [squirrel skin]' and in Ingria 'Repaying the mother's trouble'; both end with the mother urging her son to find a wife.

## Rune from the Karelian Isthmus

*Lauri poika Lappalainen veisti suksia sykysyn, kesäkauden liukumia. Kesän säästi vuohen voita, talven pukin talia. Voiti voilla suksiansa, talmasi pukin talilla.*

*Läksi noilla liukumaan. Liukui soita, liukui maita, liukui maita liu'uttuja, liukui liukumattomia. Liukui surman suun editse, kalman kartanon perätse.*

*Jäi tuo liuska liukumatta, korven kolkka koskematta.*

*"La mie liu'un tuonkin liuskan, koskettelen korven kolkan."*

*Kuuli koiran haukahduksen, villähännän vingahduksen. Liukui koiran haukuntaan. Katsoi koiran suuta myöten, haukkujan haventa myöten. Näki oksalla oravan/ Näki näädän rekrorinnan.*

*Ampui kerran, kävi ylitse. Ampui toisen, kävi alitse.*

*Pyyhki pyssynsä lumella, havuloilla harjaeli, katajilla kampaeli. Ampui kohti kolmannella. Putosi puhas lumelle, raha hangelle hajosi.*

*Tuon kokosi kopraansa, pani paitansa poveen. Siitä vei emollensa, kantoi kantajallensa.*

*"Emoseni, vaimo vanha! Mihin panisin rahani, kuhun suuren saaliini? Ostanko orihevosen?"*

*"Älä ostaa poikueni! On ori isäsi saama."*

*"Ostanko sotasatulan (sotaisen miekan, pyssyn jne.)?"*

*"On satula isosi saama. Mene mustalle merelle, siellä on neidot kylpemässä, vaskipää valemassa. Katso kuudesta parahin, etsi selvin seitsemästä. Raho neito, tuo kotiin."*

*"Lauri the Lappish boy spent the fall making his skis, spent the summer on his sliders. Saved goat's butter through the summer, ram's tallow through the winter. Greased his skis with the butter, coated them with ram's tallow.*

*Went gliding on them. Glided bogs, glided lands, glided places skied already, glided places never crossed. Glided before death's maw, behind the halls of gravefolk.*

*Missed that swathe from his gliding, forest's corner left untouched.*

*"I shall glide through that swathe also, touch that corner of the forest."*

*Heard the bark of his dog, squealing of the woolly-tail. Glided toward the dog's barking. Looked along the dog's mouth, along the barker's coat of fur. Saw a squirrel on the branches/ Saw a white-breast pine-marten.*

*Shot once, went over. Shot another, went under.*

*Wiped his gun with snow, brushed with fir-fronds, combed with junipers. Shot at it a third time.*

*Fell the beauty upon the snow, dropped the money-skin on the snowdrift.*

*Picked it up in his paw, put inside his shirt. Took it to his mother, carried to the one who bore him.*

*"Mother mine, old woman! Where should I put my money-skin, where my great catch? Shall I buy a stallion horse?"*

*"Do not buy my son! Your father has got a stallion."*

*"Shall I buy a war saddle (warrior's sword, gun etc.)?"*

*"Your grandpa has got the saddle. Go to the black sea, there the maids are bathing, copperheads splashing. Choose the best of six, find the finest of seven. Propose to the maiden, bring her home."*

The rune 'Where should I put my money [squirrel skin]' from the Isthmus is a conversation between

mother and son about what the squirrel skin should be spent on, and it ends with the mother urging the boy to propose to a maiden.

### Ingrian rune

*Lauri poika lappalainen veisti suksia syksyn, kaplahia kevään kaiken. Suden luista sukset veisti, karhun luista kaplahaiset. Säästi vuoden vuohen voita, puoli vuotta pukin talia. Voiti voilla suksiansa.*

*Meni maita liukumaan. Liukui maita liu'uttuja, liukui liukumattomia. Liukui suureen saloon, koreaan koivikkoon.*

*Näki oksalla oravan, käsnällä kävyn purijan. Pyritteli pyssyään, keritteli keihästään.*

*Lauri the Lappish boy spent the fall carving his skis, all the spring on his sliders. Carved the skis from wolf's bones, the sliders from bear bones. Saved goat's butter through the summer, ram's tallow half the year. Greased his skis with the butter.*

*Went gliding in the country. Glided places skied already, glided places never crossed. Glided into a great forest, a pretty birch stand.*

*Saw a squirrel on a branch, cone-eater on a twiglet. Prepared his gun, got his spear ready.*

The hunter asks the squirrel to sit on its branch while he cleans his gun.

*Ampui kerran, löi ylitse. Ampui toisen, löi alitse. Kolmannen kohdalle puuttui. Putosi puhas lumelle, raha hangelle hajosi. Tuon sitoi silkkiriepuseen, pani paidan poveen. Vei emon ehdolle.*

*Shot once, went over. Shot another, went under. Hit the target on the third one. Fell the beauty on the show, dropped the money-skin on the snowdrift. Wrapped it in a scrap of silk, put inside his shirt. Took it to his mother.*

The Ingrian follow-up rune begins with the boy's question:

*"Emosein, ehtosein, maamosein marjasein! Joko on maidot maksettuna, kovat vaivat kostettuna?"*

*"Mother mine, gentle one, my dearest berry! Is my milk paid with this, your hard work reimbursed?"*

The mother replies that her troubles have not been reimbursed until she has a new fur coat, new house, cow etc. Finally, the mother wishes that she could have a daughter-in-law.

In his study of the rune of Lauri Lappalainen, Jouko Hautala has called the Isthmus version the Äyrämöinen redaction and the Ingrian one the Ingrian redaction; he believes that the rune was unknown among the Ingrian Savakko ethnic group. The basic sequences of both versions are the same: making and greasing the skis, skiing in the forest until the quarry is found, three attempts at shooting and cleaning the weapon, putting the catch in his shirt and taking it to his mother. The follow-up runes both on the Isthmus and in Ingria are agrarian, originally Slavic village poems, sung at girls' evening sittings and

weddings. They are different, but both end with the mother urging her son to get himself a wife.

**Skiing on a squirrel hunt.** The rune of Lauri Lappalainen is also basically an authentic description of hunting, recounting a winter squirrel hunt. The hunting technique is characteristic of northern peoples; it uses a dog that barks squirrels up a tree, a spitz. First, the squirrel-hunter made himself a pair of skis, as if it was a show of skill required of the hunter. The poetic images of carving the skis are similar to those in the opening lines of Hiisi's Elk. The squirrel-hunter skied with his dog and looked for quarry for a long time in spruce stands. Finally the dog began to bark, showing where the squirrel sat. The hunter shot impatiently, only hitting the target at the third shot.

The rune mentions a gun, but squirrels were hunted in the past using hand and foot bows. In dry, frosty weather, dampening the wooden bow with snow was a necessary measure that restored the original tension of the bow. Conversely, wetting a gun with snow may even be dangerous; snow frozen in the barrel can destroy the weapon. As a rune, Hunting for Squirrel probably dates back to the era of commercial hunting for fur, which in Finland began at least as early as the Viking era, but reached its peak in the first centuries following the first millennium. The rune uses the old term *raha* [money] for a squirrel skin. Squirrel skins were specifically used as trading currency in the prehistoric era and later in the taxation of inland hunting communities.

**Map diagram.** The rune Hiisi's Elk has survived in an area where skiing for elk and forest reindeer was still commonly practised in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and where asymmetrical skis were also last used. The map diagram for the runes is more Karelian than epic poetry in archaic meter in general, and in the actual areas of Savonian swidden culture, not even fragments of them have survived. The Ingrian rune of Lauri Lappalainen is printed in D. E. D. Europaeus's *Pieni Runoseppä* (1847), which also spread among the people, but the variants learned from the pamphlet have, if possible, been removed from the distribution maps during research.

Hiisi's Elk is probably originally passed down from the eastern hunter era, and maybe in Dvina and Ladoga Karelia it has had its roots in the hunter communities of the hunting era. The boundary of the preserves of bear and forest reindeer runes lies between Savo and Karelia. Reindeer-hunting culture has been preserved in Karelia, while on the Finnish side elk or reindeer songs in the old meter are unknown; people of Savo and Kainuu, on the other hand, have preserved bear runes. Thus, the map diagram would support the ideas that in the hunting era Finland would have had at least two totemistic clans: bear and elk peoples (map 1).

Hautala believes that Hunting for Squirrel or the rune of Lauri Lappalainen belongs to the original Karelian layer that spread to Ingria before the settlement of the 1600s and was preserved among the indigenous Izhorian population. Of the follow-up runes, 'Repaying the mother's trouble' is widely known from Ingria right up to Dvina, while 'Where should I put my money', which may also be called 'Choosing the maiden', is rare as a stand-alone rune and is mostly known in Ingria. In some form, it may have been a part of the original Hunting for Squirrel rune. Hautala assumes that Hunting for Squirrel is also purely Karelian, originating from the old central area of Karelia around the river Vuoksi in the 16th and 17th centuries. This would be indicated by the limited distribution of the rune and such essential details as the gun, goat's tallow and other peasant vocabulary.

## ***Song of the hunting community***

**Scholars' interpretations.** Hiisi's Elk has been compared to a magic animal also found in the folklore of European peoples. As a supporter of the school of natural myths, Julius Krohn interpreted Hiisi's elk as an astral myth; the elk would be an enchanted sun elk and the hunter Odin himself, who was chasing the sun.(7 Chasing an enchanted animal is a theme that can be traced back to the Antiquity. In the legends, a supernatural elk, reindeer or other animal leads its pursuer to the Underworld, into a dank ravine or other horrifying place, or to the hands of an evil being that has dispatched the animal to tempt hunters. But as Hautala has commented, creation of a mythical elk has not originally been a part of the Finnish rune, and the nearest equivalents to the elk-skier are rather the Osiris myths of northern hunter peoples.

Hiisi's Elk belongs to ancient shamanistic hunting poetry of northern peoples. A Mansi (Vogul) myth recorded by K. F. Karjalainen has the elk originally living in the heavens and having six legs, on which it ran so fast that no mortal could catch it. However, the heros of the myth made a pair of skis from a sacred tree and caught the elk. When the fleeing elk set down its front feet, a birch stand was left behind, when it set down its hind feet, a stand of pines was left behind. But in the same way, as the skier kicked once, he reached a birch stand and on the second kick a pine stand, caught the elk and cut off its hind legs so that only stumps remained; they are still visible on an elk's legs. Like astral myths, the elk chase was set in the night sky: the driven animal is the Big Dipper and the Milky Way the hunter's ski track. Jouko Hautala also considers the Hiisi's Elk rune to be heritage of northern peoples.(8)

Niilo Valonen sees the rock drawings at Zalavruga in Uikujoki as showing elements of Hiisi's Elk: a supernaturally large elk, a corral snare, a hiisi giving birth to an elk, skiing Sami people and even a hunter who catches an elk or a reindeer. In his view, certain rock pictures may be interpreted as illustrations of the elk myth, with the northern night sky as background to the runes. Many other rock drawings would also illustrate myths known as runes in archaic meter, with equivalent patterns in the stars of the northern sky.(9)

**Message of hunting runes.** In hunter-gatherer cultures, rites focused on hunting large quarry animals, strengthening totemistic kinship, and initiation of hunters and shamans. Hiisi's Elk and Hunting for Squirrel are not totemistic, nor are they texts of quarry rites, but they may be initiation runes, if they have had a ritualistic significance at all.

The message of Hiisi's Elk is likely to be: A young man living in a hunting community makes his first pair of hunting skis and boasts about his physical fitness. The supernatural guardian of elk, their female progenitor, arrives, or maybe the ancestors, hiisis, send the elk to his locality. A chase begins, acquires mythical dimensions, and is set in the night sky. The hunter is allowed to catch the elk, or maybe rather the haltia-elk allows itself to be caught, but then shows its powers and escapes. The final scene is enhanced with the hunter imagining how he would lie on the elk skin with his young wife. The young man who has behaved stupidly loses his hunting powers, his luck is broken.

Hiisi's Elk is about the hubris of a young hunter, about defying supernatural forces. A catch is given by the animal's female progenitor or the supernatural guardian of the location, no one could boast about it. In the hunter's culture, it was not permitted to divide the catch in advance, or to settle on an elk skin with one's woman, before one had really killed an animal and become accepted among reindeer hunters.

The rune about hunting for squirrel is perhaps also about a young man hunting for his first winter, who finally kills so many squirrels that he proves his adulthood, or is able to pay his capitation tax. Since in

early cultivation communities, especially in Karelia, the mother had the most say in marrying off her children, the closing dialogue is between mother and son. Both runes are about a young hunter and the turning point in his life cycle, about adulthood and taking a woman.

**Hunter's initiation.** The runes contain information about a hunter's reality and highlight the skills of hunters' culture. Making the skis, keeping a bow at correct tension, and knowledge about the behavior of the elk or squirrel are the hunter's basic knowledge. The core lines of Hiisi's Elk describe the masculine elk-skier idol: *Niinpä kerran potkaisihe silmän siintämättömään, toisen kerran potkaisihe korvan kuulemattomaan...* [So kicked he off once further than the eye could see, kicked again out of earshot.] Similarly, the most enduring poetic image of Hunting for Squirrel has been the line *Liukui maita liu'uttuja, liukui liukumattomia...* [glided places skied already, glided places never crossed]. Although both songs have acquired new elements, the core lines have been preserved everywhere the runes have been recorded. The message of the songs is personally known to be true by every hunter; only tenacity and patience result in a successful hunt, every forest stand must be searched.

Hunters' symbolism is usually extremely masculine, and both Finnish and Sami tradition contain many norms that have distinguished men's hunting culture from the feminine living environment. Sexual relations were forbidden when a hunt was being prepared; women sapped masculine strength. Maybe it is this that is described symbolically by the laconic ending to the rune: *Lysmähti lyly lävestä, taittui kalhu kannan tiestä...* [Snapped the lyly at the hole, broke the kalhu at the heel-place...]. Sexual fantasies were something that separated the novice from an experienced hunter and made him an object of ridicule. Thus, hunting runes may be initiation songs of the hunting era. They have been sung to young men who, having made their first skis, are entering the company of marriageable hunters.

The rune of Hiisi's Elk may have some connection with the rock drawings. Finnish, Karelian and other northern people's rock drawings are specifically about the world of reindeer hunters. They depict quarry animals, whole herds of reindeer, elk boats full of hunters, skiers catching a reindeer by the tail, men who have exposed their sexual organ. Maybe they do not represent myths or illustrate certain runes; their ritual significance should not be exaggerated. It is known that gatherer-hunters have made rock drawings or other images at least during initiation rites, or the drawings contain totemic symbolism used to reinforce identification of new members with the community. Rock drawings may have been used to transmit cultural knowledge in the same way as hunters' initiation songs; above all, new members of masculine hunter communities have been told something essential about surrounding nature, reindeer and elk hunting, relations between men and women. Initiation rites at hunting communities' sacred sites have served to reaffirm knowledge important to hunters and the cultural order prevailing in the environment of hunting community man.(10)

(MI B 184.4)

1. Hautala 1945, 1947, 136-. 2. Krohn K. 1903-1910, 802-; 1918 I, 213-; 1924a; 1924-1928 II, 153-. Setälä 1932, 418-. Hautala 1947, 76-. 3. Hautala 1947, 102-. Vilkuna K. 1950b. 4. Melander 1920. Virtaranta 1958, 329-. Leskinen 1939, 88-. Virtanen E. A. 1939, 11-. 5. Itkonen T. 1957. Schefferus 1963 (1673), 334-. Vuorela T. 1975, 678-. 6. Valonen 1981. Korteniemi 1992. 7. Krohn J. 1885, 271-. 8. Hautala 1947, 213-. Karjalainen 1918, 395-. Harva 1933a, 139. Barthens 1986. Cf. Ashimina 1992. 9. Valonen 1985, 8-. 10. Cf. Turner V. 1967; 1974ab. Smith N. 1992. (Kivikäs 1995; 1997. Autio 1981; 2000. Lahelma 2008.)

## 89. Kantele The Kantele

1. Kanteleen synty  
The Origin of the Kantele  
kalanluinen (hauenluinen)  
kantele  
from the bone of a fish (pike)



oinaanluinen kantele  
from the bone (horns) of a ram



hirvenluinen kantele  
from the bone (horns) of an elk



puinen kantele  
from wood



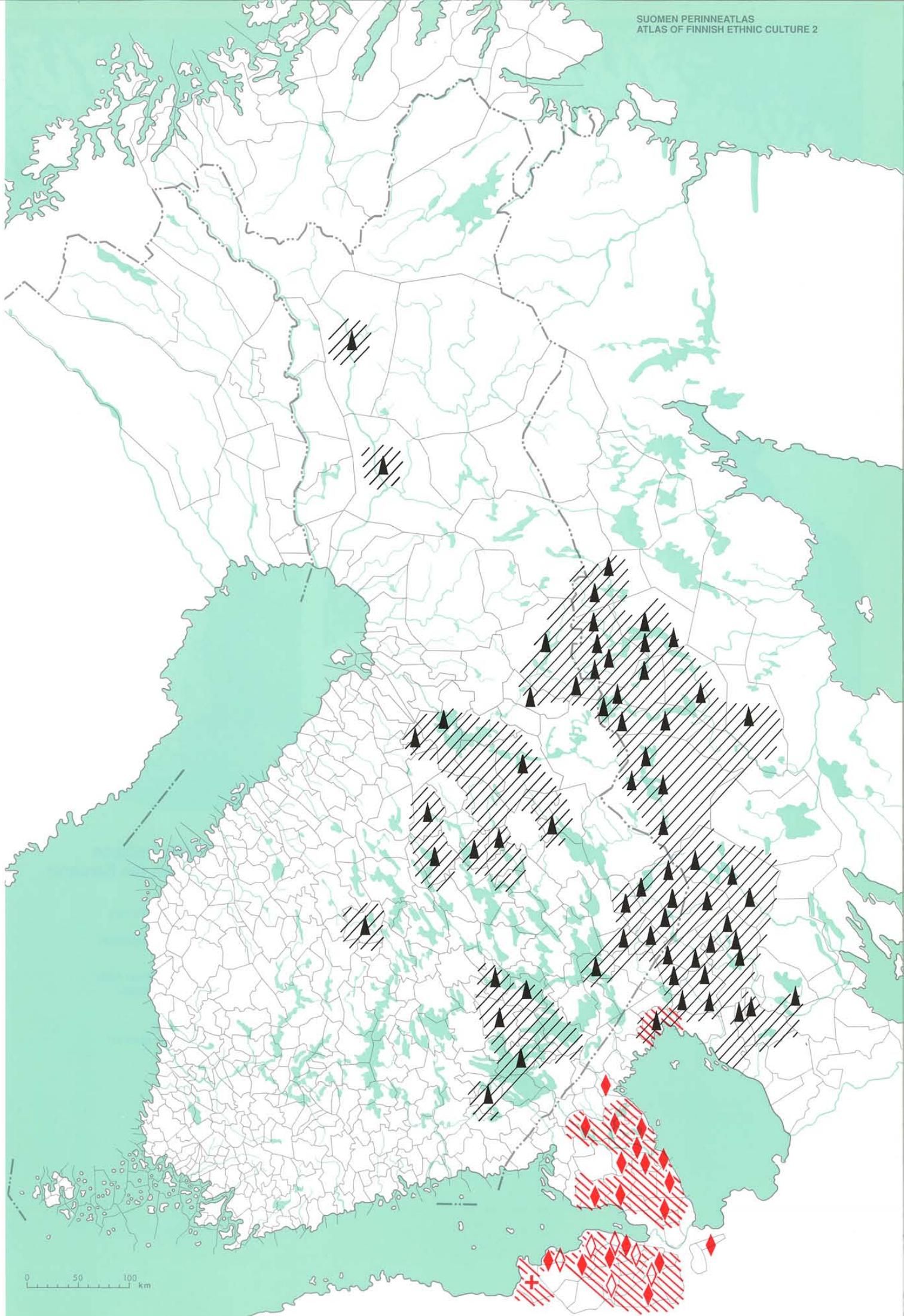
2. Kanteleen soitto  
Playing the Kantele  
Väinämöinen soittajana  
Väinämöinen as the player



sokeaa soittajaa  
a blind player



Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 89. THE KANTELE

### ***Origin of the Kantele***

**The beginning of music.** The rune about the origin of the *kantele* describes how a stringed musical instrument was created and played for the first time. As a musical instrument, the kantele belongs to the same type as the Russian *gusli*, and it has many counterparts among eastern stringed instruments going back to Byzantine culture. In the main genre of the kantele-runes, the hero Väinämöinen is caught in his boat on the shoulders of a big pike and makes a kantele from its jawbone. Many people attempt to play the instrument without success, until the sorcerer Väinämöinen himself starts to play. The rune Playing the Kantele describes Väinämöinen playing so enchantingly that the animals of the earth, air and water, the whole creation, stop to listen. The kantele (Finnish, Karelian, Estonian *kannel*; Latvian *kokle*, Lithuanian *kanklės*) is probably the oldest melodic instrument in the Baltic-Finnish culture area, and the runes of the creation and playing of the kantele could be seen as the 'coming of joy' and withdrawing of shaman drums from Iron Age villages. Perhaps as sheer exaltation of music, kantele-runes have been preserved in all Savo-Karelian and Ingrian areas and more variants of this topic have survived than is generally the case with epic poetry in the archaic meter. These runes may be divided into four types:

**Kantele made of fishbone.** The Pikebone Kantele, preserved in the Savo-Karelian area, is the main version of the genre. In its introductory rune, Väinämöinen is carving a boat on a mountain (cf. maps 45, 90), and having finished it, he launches the boat in the water. Alternatively, he meets a weeping sailing boat on the shore, lamenting that it has not been allowed to go to war; this introduction is also a separate poem, known as Lament of the Boat. On the boat journey, Väinämöinen first sets the old men at the oars, but only when they are replaced by the young does the boat start to make progress. But the boat runs aground; it is caught up on the shoulders of a big pike (salmon):

#### **The Pikebone Kantele**

*Puuttui pursi Väinämöisen, takeltui vene jumalan ei kivelle, ei haolle; hauen suuren hartioille, veden koiran konkkaluiile.*

*Jammed the craft of Väinämöinen, caught the god's boat not on a rock, not on a snag; on the shoulders of a great pike, on the haunches of the water dog.*

Väinämöinen enquires after who could release the boat or Joukahainen tries in vain to strike the pike with his sword, but the sword crumbles as earth. Finally Väinämöinen pulls the pike into the boat and strikes it with his sword, when:

*Hauki kolmeksi palaksi. Keskimuru keilahteli, häntämuru heilahteli meren mustiin muriin.  
Pääpala kätehen saatiin.  
"Mitä tuosta seppä tekisi, mitä tuosta tulisi?"*

*The pike broke in three. The center piece fell, the tail piece sank to the bottom of the black sea.  
They caught hold of the head piece.  
"What would the smith make from it, what might it be?"*

A kantele! The nails for the kantele are made from the pike's teeth and the strings from hair of Hiisi's maiden.

*Mistä kokka kantelehen? Hauen suuren hammasluusta. Mistä hiukset kantelehen?  
Hioksista Hiiden neidon.*

*What was the kantele's sound-board from? It was from the big pike's jawbone. What the kantele's strings from? From the hair of Hiisi's maiden.*

In Ladoga Karelia the kantele-maker is Kauko (Kauno, Kaino, Kallas). He makes the body of the kantele from the kneebone of a forest reindeer, the cover from a salmon tail, the nails from a pike's teeth and the strings from hair of Hiisi's maiden. The kantele is completed and both boys and married men play it, but the joy does not feel joyful. Only when Väinämöinen begins to play does everyone come to listen. There was not a creature in the forest on four legs, or in water swimming with six fins, nor in the air flying on two wings, that did not come to hear Väinämöinen's music. Right down to the old woman of Hiisi, all listened with tears in their eyes.

**Kantele made of ram bone.** In South Karelia and Ingria, mainly among the Äyrämöinen people, the kantele is made of ram's horns. The rune proceeds in first-person narrative, like the rune of the Great Pig (map 96).

### The Ram's Bone Kantele

*Olin orjana Virossa, paimenena pahalla maalla.  
Sain tuolta palkastani kupin ruista, kauhan voita, sarven täyden otrasia.*

*I was a serf in Estonia, a cowherd in a bad land.  
I was paid a cup of rye, a scoop of butter, a horn full of barley.*

The narrator sows the barley in the earth, and looking at his sowing three days later he finds a ram there.

*Oli oinas otrassani, sinisarvi saaressani.*

*A ram was there in my barley, a blue-horn on my island.*

The singer removes the horns from the ram and asks the smith to make a kantele from them. Often it continues with a list of materials:

*Kantele vähästä uupui; uupui kieltä keskimmäistä. Kävin tietä terhollista, tuli neito vastahani: "Anna, neito, tukkaasi, hipiäinen hiuksiasi!"*

*The kantele was missing something; it was without the center string. I walked along an acorn road, met a maiden:*

*"Dear maiden, give some hair, give some tresses from your head!"*

The girl or Hiisi's maiden gives her hair and the kantele is completed. The kantele was played by the young and the old, but it did not play a pretty tune. Then a blind boy calls from the corner: "Bring me the kantele!" When the blind boy starts to play, all the women listen with tears in their eyes, the men with their heads bared, and all the animals of the forest come to listen.

**Kantele made of elk bone.** In the variants sung by the aboriginal population of Ingria, the first-person narrator or alternatively a girl named Oute goes into a leafy grove and hears a strange drumming from a distance. She sees two elks fighting.

### The Elk's Bone Kantele

*Kuuluu kumu lehosta, korven korkia helinä. Hirvet sarvet tappelevat, luusarvet lutaelevat.*

*Hears a drumming from the wood, a loud clash from the forest. Elks there fighting, bone-horns wrestling.*

*The narrator goes home and asks her brothers to kill the pair of elks. The narrator or Oute is given the antlers, she goes to a smithy and asks the blacksmith to make a kantele:*

*"Seppyeni, selvyeni, tao mulle kanteloinen!"*

*"Dear blacksmith, make me a kantele!"*

The rune continues as in other Ingrian variants. The strings for the kantele are made from the hair of the maid from the Underworld, the nails from a big pike's teeth. But the instrument will not play until a blind boy starts to pluck it. Then all the forest animals come to listen and the people dance with joy as the blind boy plays.

**Kantele made of wood.** In the third Ingrian version, Iivana, Kalervo's son, makes a kantele from maple saplings, but the instrument does not play.

## The Wooden Kantele

*Kalervikko poisikkainen, teki kannosta kantelen. Ei tehnyt luusta eikä puusta, valoi vaahteran vesasta. Ei se kantele helissyt.*

*Kalervo's son, he made a kantele from a tree stump. Not from bone or from wood, but molded from a maple sapling. The kantele did not tinkle.*

Then a blind boy calls from the corner: "Bring me your kantele." And when the blind boy plays, the animals of the forest come to listen.

## Playing the Kantele

**Enchanting playing.** In northern areas the player is Väinämöinen, although sporadically other players, such as Joukahainen and the blind player, are known right up to Ladoga Karelia. Salient parts of the rune Playing the Kantele are asking around for the player and the unsuccessful attempts at playing the instrument. In the northern version, Väinämöinen asks for someone to play the kantele, young Joukahainen or someone else tries to show off his musical skills. When Väinämöinen picks up the kantele and starts to play, all the animals of the waters and forest, as well as people, come to listen. Touched to the point of tears, the whole creation listens to Väinämöinen's music.

### Väinämöinen Playing the Kantele

*Soitti nuoret, soitti vanhat; ei ilo ilolle tunnu eikä soitto soitannolle.*

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen itse istui soittamahan, otti soiton sormillensa.*

*Sormin soitti Väinämöinen, kielin kantelo pakisi/ käsin pienin, hoikin sormin, peukaloin ylös kiverin.*

*Ei sitä metsässä ollut jaloin neljin juoksevata, joka ei tullut kuulemaan. Itsekkin metsän isäntä (emäntä) nousi vuoren kukkulalle/ rinnoin aidalle kavahti.*

*Ei sitä vedessä ollut evin kuusin kulkevaa, joka ei tullut kuulemaan soitantoa Väinämöisen./ Itsekkin veden emäntä vetihen vesikivelle, rinnoin ruo'olle rupesi.*

*Played the old, played the young; joy does not feel like joy, or music like music.*

*Steady old Väinämöinen himself sat down to play, placed his fingers on the kantele.*

*Played his fingers did Väinämöinen, plucked the kantele strings/ with small hands, slender fingers, thumbs curved upward.*

*There was none in the forest running on four legs that did not come to hear. The very master (mistress) of the forest rose up on a mountain/leaned against a fence.*

*There were none in the waters swimming with six fins that did not come to hear Väinämöinen play/The very mistress of the waters rose up on a rock, lay on the reeds.*

In a rare additional sequence

*Itse vanhan Väinämöisen vedet juoksi silmistänsä; pyöriämmät pyyn munia, häriämmät härän pääti.*

*Old Väinämöinen himself had tears running from his eyes; rounder than partridge eggs, bigger than ox heads.*

In southern areas the player was a blind boy, who emerges from his corner once others have tried first:

### A blind boy playing the kantele

*Sokea sopesta lausui, kolkasta vähänäköinen:*

*"Tuokaa tänne kanteloinen sormille pojан sokean!"*

*Mitä oli poikia tuvassa, ne kaikki käsi poskella. Mitä oli tyttöjä tuvassa, ne kaikki vesissä silmin. Lintusetkin lentäväiset oksille ojentelevat, matoiset maanalaiset mullalla muhaelevat... Susi taittoi suuren päänsä, karhu kankeat niskansa järven jäätä juostessaan kanteloista kuulemaan, soittoa pojан sokean.*

*A blind boy from his corner said, from his niche one of little sight:*

*"Bring here the kantele, under the fingers of the blind boy!"*

*All the boys in the house, they leaned their cheeks on their hands. All the girls in the house, they had tears in their eyes. Little flying birds too settled on branches, worms under the ground lay upon the earth... The wolf broke his big head, the bear his stiff neck, running along the frozen lake to hear the kantele, to hear the blind boy play.*

## Interpretation of the kantele-runes

**International motifs.** Legends are known both in Asia and in Europe in which the creation of a musical instrument is associated with some animal. For example in Greek legends, Hermes made a guitar by using as the body a turtle shell he found on the banks of the Nile. Martti Haavio believes that the fishbone motif refers rather to the shape of the instrument than its actual materials, as the body of an old five-stringed kantele resembles a fish. In the rune The Elk-Bone Kantele, the frame narrative is a description of a maid who goes into the forest, sees a pair of elks fighting, and asks a smith to make an instrument from their antlers. In etiological legends of musical instruments, the horn motif is also universal: for example in Greek folklore, Apollo's lyre was made from the horns of his oxen.(1)

The maiden's hair motif has been linked to the international theme of a murdered girl and a musical instrument made from her body parts that laments the girl's fate and reveals the killer. In many European narratives, including those from Germany and Denmark, the materials for the instrument are a maiden's fingerbone and hair, as is the case in Estonian variants of Playing the Kantele. Among others, the motif

occurs in the fairytale of the singing bone (AT 780), also known in Asia and Africa, as well as a British-Scandinavian ballad (TSB A 38, Child 10), with the plot as follows: An elder sister wants the younger sister's lover, leads her sister to the seashore, pushes her into the water and lets her drown. From the body found on the beach a musical instrument is made, usually a harp, which starts to play at the older sister's wedding, revealing her guilt.

In the Finnish-Karelian area, the fingerbone theme has evidently been left out or mutated, leaving only the hair motif; on the other hand, hair has really been used as strings for musical instruments. Hiisi's maid in this context probably means a dead (murdered) girl who is in the burial ground, the hiisi wood, or the maid from Tuonela [the Underworld], who appears e.g. in the rune of Väinämöinen's journey to Tuonela (map 90).

The murdered maid motif is perhaps also concealed in the version about the wooden kantele. The rune has only been found in western Ingria and its clearest connections are with Estonian folklore. A common motif preserved in Estonia is one of a murdered maid who is hidden in the earth and a tree grows on her grave. It is based on the Singing Bone motif; however, the kantele is not made from the girl's body but from the soul tree that grows on her grave.

Studies on Playing the Kantele have from the beginning referred to the rune's similarities with the legend of Orpheus from the Antiquity. The Orpheus theme was cultivated a great deal in medieval Europe; it also occurs in ballad poetry. In 14th and 15th century England, the ballad of King Orfeo (Child 19) was known, evidently deriving from the same root as the Nordic ballad *Harpans kraft* (TSB A 50). There is also a bylina known in Russia of the gusli player Sadko whose boat is stopped by 'the king of the sea'. He would only free it if one of the men is sacrificed, and the lot falls on the boat's owner, Sadko. Having been taken to the bottom of the sea, the realm of the underwater folk, Sadko plays his kantele so prettily that all the inhabitants of the sea start to dance. As in the bylina, the Singing Bone fairytale also has apparent parallels to Väinämöinen's playing. According to Haavio, Väinämöinen plays a kantele made from the body parts of a murdered maiden or from her soul tree. In the sound of the kantele weeps the maiden's voice, arousing deep, weeping sorrow in those present, even Väinämöinen himself; all nature listens with amazement to the maiden's voice.(2)

**Layers of culture.** According to Matti Kuusi, the original core elements of the Kantele rune, the themes of creation of the kantele and making the boat, have been placed in the early Kalevaic or aboriginal Finnish era. He has defined Playing the Kantele and its northern main type as a neo-rune, originating from the core Kalevaic era; historically, it would be placed in Iron Age Finland. Kuusi drew attention to the stylistically original splendid idiom of Playing the Kantele, and calls the rune the unique, mysterious peak of Kalevaic epics. Playing the Kantele may also be seen as a genuine description of playing the archaic five-stringed plucked kantele.

The most widespread and evidently also the oldest main type is the The Pikebone Kantele, which has survived in the Savo-Karelian area of seasonal and long-distance hunting culture. This rune has originally been thought of as a rite rune; it has still been used as a fishermen's and hunters' incantation in the 18th century. Both Haavio and Kuusi deem it possible that Väinämöinen was a shaman heros of an arctic fishing people, with a reputation that survived in songs through the centuries. The role of the shaman in interpreting the song is also emphasized by Anna-Leena Siikala, who refers to the known uses of the song and the kantele as shamanic instruments for inducing ecstasy. Other Finnic peoples, at least the Samoyeds and Ostyaks, have also used stringed instruments alongside the drum in their shamanistic sessions.(3)

It is specifically the shamanistic system of concepts that appears to explain the background of both the

Kantele runes and much of other central epic poetry in the archaic meter. Iégor Reznikoff, the French expert on the Antiquity and early cultures, has commented that when interpreting the core message of songs, the world view they represent should be compared to conceptual systems prevailing in other cultures, rather than attempting to find equivalences and convergences in individual songs. He has drawn attention to the similarities between shamanistic epic poetry in old meter and the ancient Greek, so-called Orphic conceptual system. Orphicism, which also represents a shamanistic view of the world, is named after the myth of Orpheus. Orphicism maintains that the voice and its resonance in a human being connect him to the cosmic universe and an alternative reality. Through his voice, man carried in his own body the prospect of reaching the other side. Singing enabled him to enter a state of trance, and a stringed instrument assisted in this, as the strings resonate in the same way as the human voice. Reznikoff emphasizes specifically the crucial significance of the Kantele runes (*Origin of the Kantele, Väinämöinen Playing the Kantele*) as the key to interpreting the epic poetry on Väinämöinen.(4 In examining the core message of these songs, Finnish research has focused purely on their verbal form, paying no attention to the possibility that the message of epic poetry in archaic meter could also be interpreted through the dimensions of the human voice and music.

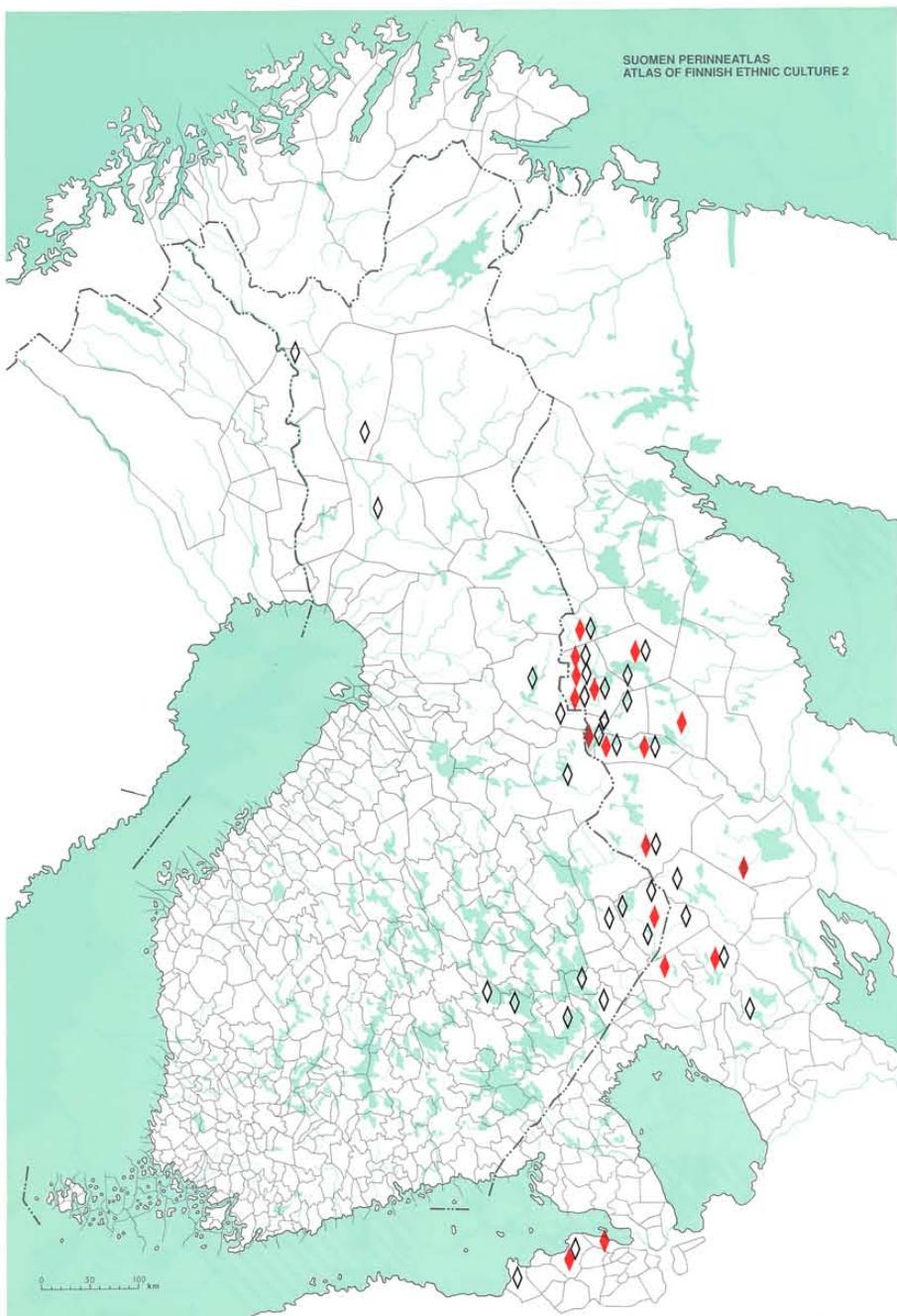
The Kantele-runes, in common with all poetry about Väinämöinen (maps 90-93) have gradually changed and turned into a culture of sorcerers. The shamanic drums have totally disappeared from swidden communities and passed with the hunting culture to Lapland, until the Christian clergy destroyed almost all "witch drums" during the 18th century. The old kantele-runes have remained closest to their original form in the area of Savo-Karelian culture, where the song was about a kantele made from fish-bone. The elk antler, ram-bone and wooden kantele occur on the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria, which have been areas of cultivation culture for a very long time. Southern agrarian versions have become women's songs, such as *Creation of the World* (map 87) and also acquired content more interesting to women. The player is a blind boy, no longer Väinämöinen.(5 In the south, the runes were latterly dramatic narration, social poetry that interested village culture man.

*Anneli Asplund*

(AT 780. Child 10, 19. MI A 1461.2, D 1419.3, D 1441.1.3.2. TSB A 38, A 50)

*SKVR 1908-1948. Andersson 1923; 1946. Haavio 1950c. Kuusi 1963cd. Väisänen 1928.*

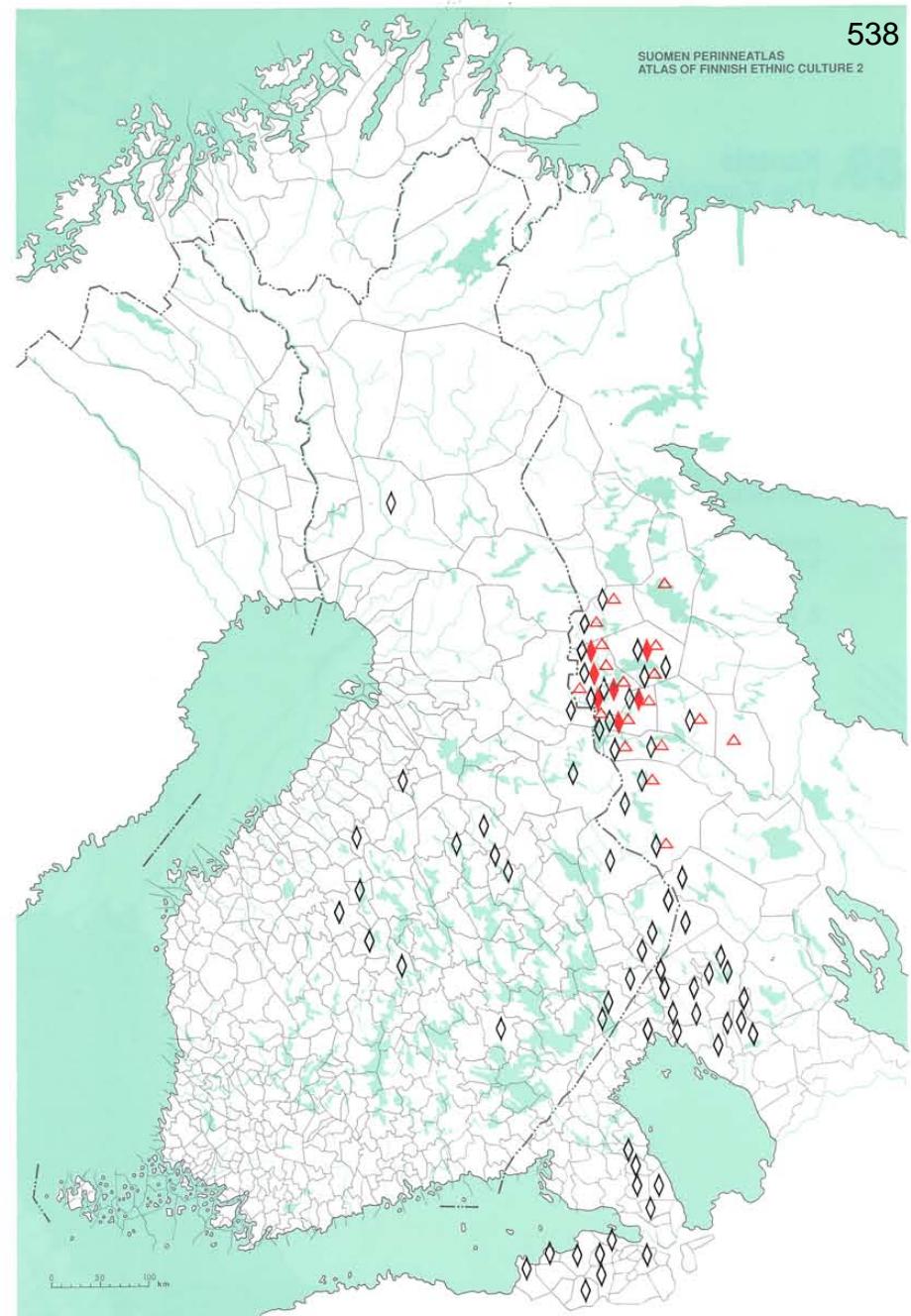
**1. Haavio 1950c. 189-. 2. Andersson 1923, 66-; 1946 n:ot 2-3. Haavio 1950c, 182-. Harvilahti 1985. 3. Siikala 1992b, 236-. 4. Reznikoff 1987, 253-. 5. Kuusi 1963c, 230-; 1963d, 147-. Haavio 1950c, 266-. Väisänen 1928, 294-.**



## 90. Väinämöinen ja vainajat Väinämöinen and the Dead

- ◆ Väinämöisen tuonelanmatka  
Väinämöinen's Journey to the Underworld
- ◊ Väinämöinen ja Antero Vipunen  
Väinämöinen and Antero Vipunen (dead shaman)

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 91. Tietäjä Väinämöinen Väinämöinen the Sorcerer

- ◊ Väinämöinen ja Joukahainen (Kilpalaulanta)  
Väinämöinen and Joukahainen (The Singing Match)
- △ Väinämöinen ja Vellamon neito  
Väinämöinen and Mermaid Vellamo
- ◆ Väinämöisen tuomio  
The Judging of Väinämöinen

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 90-91. THE SORCERER VÄINÄMÖINEN

**Runes about Väinämöinen.** Maps 90-91 show five runes with the central character the sorcerer Väinämöinen, the main hero in Savo-Karelian epic poetry. Many runes about Väinämöinen have a shamanistic basic plot, evidently dating back to the hunting era, that has acquired a new content in the sorcerer culture of the swidden era. In runes from the hunting era, the principal character has been a shaman; originally such a character is probably *Lemminkäinen*, another hero of old epic poetry. In the sorcerer culture, Väinämöinen gradually attained a dominant position. The runes also contain heroic layers from the Viking era, and in Dvina they have also acquired elements from the Slavonic quarter.

### 90. Väinämöinen and the dead

#### **Väinämöinen's Journey to the Underworld**

**A living being in the realm of the dead.** The Journey to Tuonela is about Väinämöinen's visit to the realm of the dead on the other side of the Tuonela River, and how he made it back to earth. The core sequences of the rune are the dialogue between Väinämöinen and the maid of Tuoni, and Väinämöinen's flight in the form of a snake through the net stretched by the maid of Tuoni across the Tuonela River.

On his arrival to the Underworld, Väinämöinen calls for a boat in order to cross the stream of Tuonela, and the maid of Tuoni asks for the cause of his death. Väinämöinen says that he died of fire, water and finally war, but the maid of Tuoni answers that Väinämöinen is lying. If he had died in fire, his clothes would have burned; if he had drowned, his clothes would be sodden; if he had died by the sword, he would be bleeding. Finally, Väinämöinen confessed that he had come while still alive.

The maid of Tuoni came to collect Väinämöinen, but would not let him return, weaving an iron net

across the stream of Tuonela to prevent him from escaping. But Väinämöinen transformed himself into a snake and swam through the net. In the end, Väinämöinen warns people from going to Tuonela before they have died, as there are many who would go there, but very few who have returned.

In addition to the core sequences, the rune contains three different, evidently later additions, providing reasons why Väinämöinen set off for Tuonela. The most common opening sequence is the same as that of the incantation Väinämöinen's Knee Wound (map 45) and the Rune of Vipunen. Väinämöinen (1) sings while carving a boat, but he is missing three words, in search of which he sets off to Tuonela. The other versions have Väinämöinen (2) break his rune sledge while singing at a feast in Päivölä, or (3) his sleigh as he is driving a horse to church. In order to repair his rune sledge, Väinämöinen sets off to Tuonela to search for words, or in the realistic version for an *ora*, an 'iron spike, branding iron, drill'. Matti Kuusi has suggested that *ora* (*otra* Rus. 'sturgeon') would have originally meant a supernatural guardian fish, and that the rune would be a version of catching the *primaeval fish* (pike), the possessor of the souls of fish, from the Tuonela river.(1) However, the words and rune are likely to refer to an incantation, a sorcerer's words, not a shaman's song.

Probably later additions are the descriptions of the hospitality received by Väinämöinen in Tuonela and his escape from the belly of the maid of Tuoni. In Tuonela, Väinämöinen is served frogspawn and snake venom, or the maid of Tuoni swallows him, but is forced to vomit him up after Väinämöinen starts rowing a boat around the maid's innards.

### Väinämöinen's Journey to Tuonela

(*Rikkoutui reki runolta, jalas taittui laulajalta. Silloin vanha Väinämöinen läksi Tuonelta oraa, Manalasta vääntiötä.*)

"*Tuo'os venettä Tuonen tyttö, lauttaa Manalan neiti!*"

"*Vene täältä tuotaneen, kun syy sanottaneen. Mikä sinut Manalle tuopi?*"

"*Tuli minut Manalle tuopi.*"

"*Jo tunnen valehtelijan! Jos tuli Manalle saattoi, tulin vaatteesi valuisi.*"

"*Vesi minut Manalle saattoi.*"

"*Jo tunnen valehtelijan! Jos vesi Manalle saattoi, vesin vaatteesi valuisi.*"

"*Rauta minut Manalle tuotti.*"

"*Jo tunnen valehtelijan! Jos rauta Manalle saattoi, verin vaatteesi valuisi.*"

"*Toki saatan todennkin sanoa. Rikkoutui reki runolta, jalas taittui laulajalta. Läksin Tuonelta oraa, Manalasta vääntiötä.*"

*Toi veneen Tuonen tyttö. Syötti miehen, juotti miehen, pani maata matkamiehen. Mies makasi, vaate valvoi.*

*Tuonen tyttö (poika) rautasormi, rautasormi, rautakynsi rautaverkkoa kutoo, vaskiverkkoa valaa poikki Tuonelan joesta.*

*Silloin vanha Väinämöinen muuttihen mustaksi madoksi, käärmeeksi käänälleiksen. Uusi poikki Tuonelan joesta, läpi Tuonen verkkoloista.*

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen itse noin sanoiksi virkki:*

*"Älkäätte vasta nuoret miehet menkö surmatta Manalle, kuolematta Tuonelaan. Paljon on sinne menneitä, ei paljon palanneita."*

(*Broke the sleigh of the rune, snapped the runner from the singer. Then old Väinämöinen went to get a spike from Tuoni, a drill from Manala.*)

*"Bring a boat, lass of Tuoni, bring a raft, maid of Manala!"*  
*"A boat will be brought if the reason is given. What brings you to Death?"*  
*"Fire brings me to Death."*  
*"I can tell a liar! If fire brought you to Death, your clothes would be burned."*  
*"Water brought me to Death."*  
*"I can tell a liar! If water brought you to Death, your clothes would drip with water."*  
*"Iron has led me to Death."*  
*"I can tell a liar! If iron got you to Death, your clothes would be pouring blood."*  
*"I might as well tell the truth. The rune-sleigh smashed, the song-runner broke. I've come to Tuonela for a spike, to the Underworld for a drill."*  
*Girl of Tuoni brought a boat. Fed the man, watered the man, put the traveler to bed. The man lay, the clothes watched.*  
*Girl (boy) of Tuoni iron fingers, iron fingers, iron nails, weaves an iron net, casts a copper seine across the river of Tuonela.*  
*Then old Väinämöinen changed into a black worm, turned into a snake. Swam across Tuonela's river, through the nets of Tuoni.*  
*Steady old Väinämöinen himself said the words:*  
*"Young men, do not go to Death while alive, to Tuonela if not yet dead. Many have gone there, not many returned."*

### Väinämöinen in the Belly of the Maid of Tuonela

*Syötettiin, juotettiin kyillä käärmeen kähyillä...*  
*Matala Manalan neiti syöpi vanhan Väinämöisen.*  
*Tuo vanha Väinämöinen, laati purren laulamalla. Alkoi soutaa luikuttaa suolen päästä suolen päähän.*  
*Tuo matala Manalan neiti oksensi pois Väinämöisen.*

*He was fed, he was watered with adder snake's venom...*  
*The small maid of Manala eats old Väinämöinen.*  
*That old Väinämöinen, made a boat by singing. Rowed and glided from one end of her gut to the other.*  
*The small maid of Manala puked out Väinämöinen.*

**Map diagram.** Core lines of the Journey to Tuonela have been recorded both in Ingria and from northern rune areas of Karelia, but not as far as Savo. Its preservation area is more limited than that of the Rune of Vipunen, with only about 60 variants recorded, of which 46 are from Dvina; in addition, a couple of variants of the rune have been discovered in Ingria. Thus, in terms of the map diagram, the rune would belong to the old Karelian or perhaps Baltic-Finnic layer. The rune was perhaps still sung during the hunting trips of Greater Karelians, and as a remnant of northern hunting cultures, it would have survived in Dvinian fishing grounds and hunting saunas.

**Research and interpretation.** Uno Harva and in agreement with him Martti Haavio, Matti Kuusi and other scholars deem Väinämöinen, assuming the habitus of a snake, to be a shaman, and the original version of the rune an account of a shaman's journey to the domain of the dead.(2 In terms of structure, it

is the shaman's soul journey to the otherworldly reality, the dream world. Väinämöinen's soul assumed different habituses and met with many dangers, but managed to return to the world of the living. The snake has been one of the soul animals of shamans (cf. map 5). Usually, the shaman has traveled to Tuonela to retrieve the soul of a sick person. It has been one of the primary tasks of the shamans of northern peoples (cf. the chapter Shamans, Sorcerers and Witches and map 39), and a crucial idea also in the shamanistic healing rites of North American Indian peoples.(3) The journey to Tuonela has been cult folklore that reinforced shamanism by stressing the dangers of falling into a trance and going on a soul journey.

The Journey to Tuonela is an ancient narrative theme with variants around the world and in all religions. The idea of the Underworld, with a stream or water separating it from the world this side, is also widely known among various peoples, and occurs in texts preserved from the times of the oldest Eastern cultures of ancient Assyria, Babylon and Egypt. The realm of the dead beyond a body of water is also known among peoples of the new continent, such as the Incas and Aztecs, as well as in the tradition of Arctic and sub-Arctic peoples. The Tuonela of the Finnish rune is similar to e.g. Hades in Greek mythology, where the ferryman Charon takes the dead across the river Styx.

Another widespread idea has been that the abode of the dead, Tuonela, was situated somewhere far north or at the edges of the earth, where according to a Finnish rune 'trees topple into the sea' (cf. map 7).(4) The unpleasant food served in Manala, snake's venom and lizards, is universal Underworld folklore, and in Finland narratives are also found about people who have ended up in Hell and in the realm of the underground folk (maps 57, 71). The food of Tuonela is anti-nutrition; it reflects the idea that in the underground world of the dead everything is the inverse of life on earth, but Finnish runes may also have been influenced by the descriptions of Purgatory in the Catholic era.

In the course of centuries, the principal character of the rune has turned from a shaman into a sorcerer and even a Viking hero. The Viking era Väinämöinen enters Tuonela like an adventurer, the Babylonians' Gilgamesh or the Greeks' Odysseus, meeting maids, monsters and battles on his travels. Julius Krohn compared the maid of Tuoni to the maid Módgudr of the Balder saga, whom Odin's son Hermoder meets by the river Gjöll.(5) Even more clearly, Väinämöinen resembles a hero of Viking sagas in the rare rune *Pohjolanmatka* [Journey to Northland], at least partially preserved in written form. In it, the smith Väinämöinen forges a sword and sets off to Northland, calls for a boat on the shore of the Northland River, and having reached the other side, challenges the boys of Northland into a sword fight. Some of the core lines of the rune are Väinämöinen calling on the bank of the Northland river, and the challenge to a fight: *mitelkäämme miekkojamme, katselkaamme kalpojamme* [let us test our swords, let us view our weapons].

The shamanistic journey to Tuonela has been adapted to sorcerer culture, evidently as early as during Iron Age farming communities, and in the preserved Dvinian folklore, its hero Väinämöinen is a sorcerer who warns future generations about believing in shamanistic soul journeys. The Christian generations that have preserved the rune have probably interpreted Väinämöinen's warnings to concern all dealings with the dead, causing its message gradually to become directed against the ancestral cult (maps 3, 7). Thus, the preserved Journey to Tuonela is in spirit a song of a sorcerer, no longer one of a shaman, and it has survived within Karelian swidden culture as a celebration of masculine sorcery.

(MI A 672, D 191, D 1810.13, E 481.2.2, F 81.1.2, F 93.1, F 141.1, H 1382.1)

## Väinämöinen and Antero Vipunen

**The Rune of Vipunen.** In its archived form, the rune of Antero Vipunen describes how Väinämöinen, in southern areas Lemminkäinen or incidentally someone else, such as the smith Ilmarinen, visits the dead Antero Vipunen to seek information, missing words, which in sorcerer language has meant incantations, creation formulas, or knowledge of how the future might be controlled. Particularly in Dvina, the introduction to the rune has become established as a description of Väinämöinen making a boat; the opening lines are the same as in the rune Väinämöinen's Knee Wound (map 45). Väinämöinen is building a boat by singing, but he is missing three words. At first, he asks around for words in his immediate environment, he even kills a large number of animals, swans, swallows and deer, in order to find the missing words of the boat inside them. In the end, he sets off to seek the words from Antero Vipunen or from Tuonela (Väinämöinen's Journey to Tuonela).

Väinämöinen is warned that Vipunen has lain dead for a long time; large trees are growing from his corpse. Having found Antero Vipunen, Väinämöinen bids him to rise up, but Vipunen replies that he no longer has the powers of a man.

Originally, Väinämöinen's journey probably ended with Vipunen's reply, but in different eras the final sequence of the rune has expanded in different directions. In the prevalent sorcerer tradition, Väinämöinen acts arrogantly, fells the trees that have grown from Vipunen's corpse, and demands the words. Then Vipunen tells him to first get his heart (innards) from Tuonela or Pohjola or 'from inside a multicolored rock'. In Dvina the poem has grown into an adventure story. Väinämöinen stumbles into Vipunen's mouth and ends up in the giant's belly, where he builds a smithy and forges himself an iron bar that he pushes between the giant's teeth. As Vipunen cannot bite through the iron bar and cannot get rid of his tormentor, he must finally give Väinämöinen the missing words. The rune often ends with the line *Saipa veneen valmihiksi* [He did complete the boat], followed by Lament of the Boat and Boat Journey (map 89).

### Väinämöinen and Antero Vipunen

#### General version

*Viikon on Vipunen kuollut, kauan Antero kadonnut. Kulmilla on oravikuuset, venehaavat harcioilla, pajupehko parran päällä.*

*Tuo vanha Väinämöinen, tietäjä iänikuinen kaatoi haavat harteilta, pajupehkon parran päältä, kulmilla oravikuusen.*

*"Nouse pois makaamasta, ylene uneksimasta!"*

*"Ei ole miestä menneessä, urosta kadonneessa. Vielä on tuolla syömykseni kiven kirjavan sisässä."*

*Vipunen has long been dead, Antero is gone for ages. Squirrel-spruces on his brow, boat-aspens on his shoulders, clump of willow on his beard.*

*That old Väinämöinen, everlasting sorcerer, felled the aspens from his shoulders, clump of willow from his beard, squirrel-spruce from his brow.*

*"Rise up from your resting, get up from your slumber!"*

*"There is no manhood in the dead, no power in one passed away. My heart is still there inside a*

*multi-colored stone."*

Dvina:

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen teki taidolla venettä, laati purtta laulamalla. Puuttui kolmea sanaa parraspuita pannessansa.*

*Tappoi joukon joutsenia/ tappoi parven pääskysiä, pellon petroja levitti.*

*Ei saanut puoltakaan sanaa.*

*"Olisi tuolla sanoja kolme, viisi virren tutkelmaa hauin suussa, lohen päässä, joutsenen kynän nenässä, peuralauman päälaella. Ei ole sieltä ottaminen mahdittoman, muistittoman, kunnottoman, tiedottoman."*

*Viikon on Vipunen kuollut, kuan Antero kadonnut. Suuri on haapa hartioilla, pajupehko parran pääällä, kulmilla oravikuusi. Koivut on keuhkoista kohottu, haavat hampaiden lomista, petäjät perälihoista.*

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen lähtevi sanoja saamaan. Astui päivän helkytteli miesten miekkojen teriä, toisen päivän torkutteli naisten neulojen nenää. Päivänä kolmantena astui suuhun Antero Vipusen.*

*Pani paitansa pajaksi, polvensa alasimeksi. Takoi rautaisen korennon, pani suuhun poikkipuolin. Puri poikki meltaudan, ei tiennyt terästä purra.*

*"Ulos koira keuhkoistani, maan konna maksoistani!"*

*"Ennen en lähde keuhkoistasi kuin saan sanoja kolme, viisi virren tutkelmaa."*

*Siitä sai sanoja kolme. Saipa purren valmiiksi.*

*Steady old Väinämöinen used his skill to make a boat, built a craft by singing. He was missing three words for the railing board.*

*Killed a flight of swans/ killed a flock of swallows, slew a field of deer.*

*Did not find even half a word.*

*"Would there be three words, five verse-spells in a pike's jaws, in a salmon's head, at the end of a swan's pen, on the crowns of a herd of deer. They are not found there by one with no power, no memory, no strength, no knowledge."*

*Vipunen has long been dead, Antero is gone for ages. Great is the aspen on his shoulders, clump of willow on his beard, squirrel-spruce on his brow. From his lungs have risen birches, aspens from between his teeth, pines from the flesh of his rear.*

*Steady old Väinämöinen went to find the words. Stepped a day clashing on men's sword blades, a second day tiptoed on women's needle points. On the third day he stepped into the mouth of Antero Vipunen.*

*Made a smithy from his shirt, an anvil from his knee. Forged an iron bar, placed it across the mouth. Bit through soft iron, could not bite through steel.*

*"Dog, leave my lungs, earth creature from my liver!"*

*"I will not leave your lungs until I have three words, five verse-spells."*

*He got his three words. Got his boat finished.*

A version recorded from the peripheral areas in Ostrobothnia, the Isthmus and Ingria:

*Virsikäs Vipusen poika, luottehikas Lemminkäinen teki tiedolla venettä. Ei tehnyt luusta eikä*

*puusta, teki sorvan suomuksista.*

*The wordy son of Vipunen, the spell-smith Lemminkäinen made a boat with his knowledge. Not from bone or from wood, but from rudd-fish scales.*

**Map diagram.** Core lines of the Rune of Vipunen have been recorded in a large area from Ingria right up to southern Lapland; the variants and fragments total about 95. However, the actual preservation area is Dvina, where about 60 variants have been recorded, and North Karelia and South Savo; conversely, the rune has not been found in the heartlands of Ladoga Karelia. The core text is formed by the lines describing Vipunen – he had lain dead for a long time; large trees were growing from his corpse – and Vipunen's answer. In Savo and North Karelia the rune usually begins with the core verses, without the boat-making sequence. In Ingria, the core lines of the Rune of Vipunen are also encountered in a rune where the sun's liberator visits Väinö's grave to enquire about the hiding place of the heavenly lights. The common basic plot of the rune in its entire preserve would appear to be the visit to the grave; the hero of the rune goes to seek information to the grave of the dead Vipunen, but he replies that the dead cannot help the living.

**The shaman trapped in a trance.** Starting with Julius Krohn, scholars have commented that Carving the Boat and visiting Vipunen's belly perhaps do not belong to the original rune. The core poem of the Rune of Vipunen is about the visit to the grave. Kaarle Krohn has emphasized the belief in the three words. A rite was not considered effective if the sorcerer did not know precisely the right technique or the correct formula; the faith in the word he deemed to be Christian. Uno Harva associated the name Antero (Antervo) Vipunen with St Andreas (Andrew), who was the protector of fishermen, among other things. St Andrew's emblem, the saltire, would have been seen as a trap among the people.(6)

Interpretations of the rune took a new direction when Martti Haavio presented the idea that Vipunen was a shaman who had become trapped in a state of trance: his soul had not returned into his body. The shamanistic folklore contains narratives of how a shaman has failed to return from his journey, for example because his assistants have forgotten how his soul was recalled. The whale motif has perhaps become associated from the ideas of the rune that a shaman on a soul journey could travel in the habitus of a whale. Haavio sees Vipunen as a similar major shaman as Akmeeli (Akimelek 'Ikämieli'), the Sami leader who lived in the Sompio area of Lapland, and to whom a lot of local folk narrative is attached. People were still visiting Akmeeli's grave in the 19th century to seek advice. Thus, the basic plot of the rune would be a visit of a shaman to a master shaman, who would, however, have remained in a state of trance, between life and death. Vipunen's soul would be inside a whale, and the line *kiven* or *kian kirjavan sisällä* [inside a multi-colored stone] would also refer to a whale (Rus. *kit* 'whale').(7)

The journey to Vipunen's stomach is a separate narrative, one of a group of international legends of a hero swallowed by a sea monster, great fish or whale. The hero manages to use his wits to escape. The Jonah motif is one of the basic elements of sailor stories known among seafaring peoples from ancient Greece to the Pacific Ocean. In the sailor narratives, a monster swallows a ship, but the men are saved by setting fire to their ship or by cutting up the monster's internal organs for their food, whereupon it in its agony vomits out its tormentors. The hero of the narrative may also be a fisherman or in an agrarian environment a peasant, whom a monster swallows complete with his load of timber. In Finland, the visit-in-the-stomach motif also occurs in the rune Journey to Tuonela and Work Proposal (Sampo epic, map 93). Matti Kuusi has drawn attention to the fact that the name Lemminkäinen occurs in the rune of Vipunen more often than in other contexts, both as the boat-maker and shaman trapped in a trance.(8)

**Sorcerer of a seafaring people.** In the preserved version of the Rune of Vipunen, Väinämöinen is a sorcerer visiting Vipunen's grave; in the Dvinian version he even defies the dead, cuts down the trees from the grave and forces Vipunen to give him the missing words. Specifically in Dvina, felling trees from a burial site has been an actual taboo (maps 3, 7). Visiting graves is unlikely to have featured in shamanism, but in the ancestral cult of emerging cultivation communities. The shamans' technique and the burial customs of early hunting communities have also been different.

Some mysterious lines have survived in connection with the Rune of Vipunen. In notes made by Chr. Ganander in the 1700s, the smith Ilmarinen makes a boat by singing and covers it with fish skin (*ketti kalan kedellä, voiti sorvan suomuksella* [*covered it with fish skin, smeared with rudd scales*]). A version from the southern Isthmus also mentions a rudd-skin boat (Reinholm's collections). Haavio believed that the lines refer to the leather boats of the hunting era, placing the rune in the Estonian-Finnish culture era.(9)

The rudd-skin boat is unlikely to mean a sealskin or even whaleskin boat, but should probably be interpreted symbolically. Perhaps the lines contain remnants from a hunting era rune in which a shaman, originally evidently Lemminkäinen, builds a fish-shaped soul-boat in preparation for a journey to the other side, either to Tuonela or the feast of Päivölä; Lemminkäinen's journey to Päivölä is also a soul journey in terms of plot structure.

Thus, the Rune of Vipunen may be based on a shamanistic soul journey and cosmic view, but as a boat-carver, Väinämöinen is a sorcerer of a seafaring people, even some kind of an augur or diviner of the future from the innards of sacrificial animals; he kills large numbers of animals, as if to study their intestines (extaspicia). Väinämöinen may be a sorcerer of Iron Age coastal villages on the Gulf of Finland, who was charged with securing the good sailing and fortune of a boat built for long-distance hunting and fishing, to ascertain its future success. These have been important issues for seafaring peoples, and Väinämöinen's boat-carving with its rites may even have been a similar holistic ritual process as the building of a Kula canoe of the Trobriand Islanders.(10)

In the preserved rune, Väinämöinen visits graves to seek the advice of the deceased, like in later tradition sorcerers went to the burial ground or church (map 52). The environment of the Rune of Vipunen is the Iron Age village community with its ancestral cults and hiisi woods, and Väinämöinen is a boat-carver, sorcerer-blacksmith, who looks for omens, performs various sacrifices or seeks protection from the dead in order to ensure good fortune for the boat. Vipunen lying in his grave is perhaps a major character of kinship cults similar to Akmeeli, but the message of the poem is negative, declaring the folly of visiting graves. In common with many other epic poems, Antero Vipunen contains dramatics resulting from structural changes. In sorcerer tradition, the shaman's knowledge, even the soul journey and being trapped in an altered state of consciousness becomes insignificant; the same fate befalls sorcery, and finally the visitor to graves is associated with a fairytale hero and his adventures in a giant's belly.

(MI D 1810.13, F 531.2.6, H 1382.1)

## 91. Väinämöinen the sorcerer

## Väinämöinen and Joukahainen

**The Singing Match.** The rune opens with the description of how old Väinämöinen and young Joukahainen came face to face with their horses on a narrow road. Väinämöinen asked Joukahainen to give way as he was younger, but the latter replied that the one who had less knowledge should give way. Then Väinämöinen asked Joukahainen to show his knowledge. In some versions, Joukahainen listed his knowledge of how various things were created or things that were self-evident, whereupon Väinämöinen made fun of him, saying that they were women's and children's knowledge. Finally, Joukahainen boasted that he could remember the creation of the world, but Väinämöinen informed him that he had created the world himself, plowed the sea and dug the fish pits.

At the turning point of the rune, Väinämöinen becomes angry and sings Joukahainen into a swamp *suolivyötään myöten* [up to his waist] or *suin lumeen, pään vitiin, kourin ilmaan kovaan* [face into the snow, headlong into the white, fists in the cold weather] (Ladoga Karelia). Especially in Dvina, the rune continues with a description of how Väinämöinen also sang Joukahainen's dog, horse and his equipment into the sea. Joukahainen, sinking to his death, asked Väinämöinen to take back his words, offering first his boat and then his horse as ransom, in some local variants also his bow or sword, or gold and silver. In the end, Joukahainen promised his sister as wife to Väinämöinen.

The rune ends with Joukahainen's homecoming. Downcast, he confessed that he had promised his sister to Väinämöinen, but Joukahainen's mother exclaimed, delighted, that she had always wished for a great man in her kin.

### Väinämöinen and Joukahainen

*Yksi oli vanha Väinämöinen, toinen nuori Joukahainen.*

*Ajoivat tiellä vastatuksin. Vemmel tarttui vempaleen, rahe rahkeen nenään. Vesi kiehui vemplessä, rasva rahkeen nenässä.*

*Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:*

*"Väisty tieltä, Joukahainen!"*

*"Kumpi on tiedoilta parempi, sen on tiellä seisominen. Kumpi tiedoilta vähempi, sen on tieltä väistyminen."*

*"Oi sinä nuori Joukahainen, mitäpä syvintä tiedät?"*

*"Muistan meret kynnetyiksi, kalahaudat kaivetuiksi. Ilman pielet pistetyiksi, taivaan tähditetyksi. Luodot luoduksi kokoon."*

*"Lapsen tieto, vaimon muisti, ei ole partasuu uroon! Meret on minun kyntämäni, kalahaudat kaivamani, ilman pielet pistämäni, taivas tähdittämäni, luodot luomani kokoon."*

*Sitä suuttui Väinämöinen. Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen, lauloi suohon suolivyöstä, niittyn nivuslihoista, kainaloista kankaaseen. Lauloi koiran Joukahaisen kynsin kylmään kiveen, hampain vesihakoon, lauloi hevon Joukahaisen hylkeeksi hyppimään. Lauloi jousen Joukahaisen kaareksi vesien päälle, lauloi nuolen Joukahaisen havukaksi kiitäväksi ylhäälle taivoselle.*

*"Oi vanha Väinämöinen, tietää iänikuinen. Pyörrytä pyhäät sanasi, peräytä lauseesi!"*

*"Mitäpä minulle annat, kun pyörrän pyhäät sanani, luovuttelen luotteeni?"*

"On minulla venettä kaksi; yksi on soudulta keveä, toinen paljon kantavampi. Ota niistä jompikumpi."

"On vene itsellänkin. Ei ole venhon soutajaa, itse pitäisin perää."

"On minulla oritta kaksi; toinen on juoksulta parempi, toinen raisu rahkeelta. Ota niistä jompikumpi."

"On ori itsellänkin kahta kolmea parempi. Ei ole reessä istujaa, itse ohjissa olisin."

"Vaiva on täällä ollakseni. Virta jalkoja vetää, hiekka silmiä hioo. Voi sinä vanha Väinämöinen, pyörrytä pyhät sanasi, peräytä lauseesi. Annan ainoan sisaren, laitan emoni lapsen."

Tuosta Vanha Väinämöinen pyörrytti pyhät sanansa, päästi nuoren Joukahaisen. Siitä nuori Joukahainen ajoi itkien kotiin. Isä päätyi ikkunaan, emo aitan portaille. Emo ennätti kysyä:

"Mitä itket, poikani. Joko on naisesi naurettuna vaiko voitettu oriisi?"

"Ei ole nainen naurettuna eikä voitettu oriini. Annoin ainoan sisaren oman pääni päästtimiksi vanhan Väinämön varaksi, laulajalle puolisoksi, turvaksi tutisevalle."

"Tuota toivoin koko ikäni, poikki polveni halasin suvukseni suurta miestä, vävykseni Väinämöistä!"

*One was old Väinämöinen, the other young Joukahainen.*

*Came face to face on a road. Harness bow caught on harness bow, trace upon trace. Water boiled on the harness bow, grease upon the trace.*

*Said old Väinämöinen:*

*"Give way, Joukahainen!"*

*"One who has more knowledge, he shall stay on the road. One whose knowledge is less, he shall give way."*

*"Oh you young Joukahainen, what deepest knowledge have you?"*

*"I remember how the seas were plowed, fish-pits dug. Corners of the wind fastened, sky studded with stars. Water-rocks put together."*

*"Child's wisdom, woman's memory, not that of a bearded fellow! It was I who plowed the seas, dug the fish-pits, fastened the corners of the wind, studded the sky with stars, put together water-rocks."*

*This made Väinämöinen angry. Sang young Joukahainen, sang him into a swamp up to his waist, into a meadow up to his groins, into heathland up to his armpits. He sang Joukahainen's dog with its claws in a cold rock, its teeth in a sunken log, he sang Joukahainen's horse to leap around as a seal. He sang Joukahainen's bow to become a rainbow over waters, Joukahainen's arrow a hawk to speed high in the sky.*

*"Oh old Väinämöinen, everlasting wise man. Take back your sacred words, reverse your phrases!"*

*"What will you give me if I take back my sacred words, give up my spell?"*

*"I have two boats; one light in rowing, the other carries much more. Take either one of them."*

*"I have a boat myself. I have no-one to row the boat, I would steer it myself."*

*"I have two stallions; one better in running, the other a good draft-beast. Take either one of them."*

*"I have a stallion myself better than two or three. I have no-one to sit in the sleigh, I would drive it myself."*

*"It is painful in here. The current draws my legs, the sand rubs my eyes. Oh you old Väinämöinen, take back your sacred words, reverse your phrases. I will give my only sister,*

*settle my mother's child."*

*At this old Väinämöinen took back his sacred words, released young Joukahainen. Now young Joukahainen drove weeping to his home. Father at the window, mother at the barn steps. Mother hurried to ask:*

*"Why do you weep, my son. Did someone take your woman or win your stallion?"*

*"No-one took my woman or won my stallion. I gave away my only sister to save my own neck, to old Väinämö, as spouse to the singer, as help to the shaking man."*

*"This I wished all my days, all my life longed for, to have a great man in my kin, Väinämöinen as my son!"*

**Map diagram.** The Singing Match is one of the most common of the epic runes, with about 185 variants preserved. They have been recorded in Ingria and the Isthmus, and it has survived in fragments in a large swathe of Savo. The core sequences are the horses coming face to face, which is found in all the preserves, as well as singing into the swamp and the forming of the seabed. The Singing Match has still been a popular or living rune in agrarianizing society, and probably for that reason it also has plenty of local versions. The rune's message has been stressed in different ways, depending on whether the singer is on the side of old Väinämöinen or young Joukahainen and his sister. Variation occurs particularly in the dialogue. Some ransom versions emphasize Joukahainen's misery. He pledged his only horse, his boat and personal weapons, and finally his only sister, and drove home in tears.

In Dvina and Ladoga Karelia, the Singing Match has evolved into an extensive description, which the attached reconstructed text follows in the main. In it, Joukahainen is able to offer two, in Ladoga Karelia (in the Shemeikkas' version) three boats or horses. Väinämöinen is made an old man longing for a wife, like in certain other Dvinian epic runes. Väinämöinen does not want a boat as ransom, as he has no wife to row him; nor a horse, as he cannot give his mistress rides in the sleigh; the custom of women rowing and the men steering survived particularly in Dvina.

**Heroes competing with knowledge.** Renowned among Finnish interpretations is E. N. Setälä's theory of natural myth, according to which the Singing Match would be an allegory of the battle between summer and winter. The name Väinämöinen would be derived from *väinä*, a large, swiftly running river, and the turning point of the battle would describe the river Väinäjoki (the river Dvina, Latvia) freeing itself from its icy covering and the allegoric drifting of the ice floes into the sea.(11 Theories of natural mythology were interpretations of their period, but they soon ceased to be interesting.

Competing with knowledge, such as duels between shamans or their souls in the other world is an ancient narrative theme, and the background to the rune may well also be the custom of resolving quarrels by public singing contests, known among the Inuit and other Arctic peoples.(12 It would seem that in Dvina, shamanistic rune fragments have been preserved among the predominant layer, where Väinämöinen and Joukahainen compete in singing to turn each other into various animals. The lines have usually been thought to belong to other runes, mostly Lemminkäinen's Lament, but a duel of the soul animals of two shamans may also constitute the earliest layers of the Singing Match.

Sequences comparable to the Singing Match of Väinämöinen and Joukahainen are also found in the Edda in the runes of Alviss and Vafthrudnir, in which Odin and Thor, like Väinämöinen, bid the heroes to prove their wisdom. Joukahainen's right to promise or marry off his sister to Väinämöinen is an ancient Scandinavian practice, rather than one of Karelian kinship communities (maps 13-14), although the eldest brother may have held the status of legitimate marriage broker also in the Viking era communities on the Gulf of Finland coast. From the Viking era is probably also the masculine heroism exuded by

many variants. In almost all its preserves, an episode has intruded in the rune where Joukahainen first challenges Väinämöinen to a sword fight (*Mitelkäämme miekkojamme...* [Let us measure our swords]); however, the line has changed into a literal comparison of sword lengths in the peaceful tradition environment of inland regions. In common with many epic poems, the Singing Match contains elements from both the eastern hunting era and the western Iron Age and Viking eras.

**Agrarian hierarchy.** The Singing Match between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen recorded in the 19th century belongs in agrarian culture. The term ‘singing’ no longer means the singing of a shaman but an incantation of a sorcerer, and the ‘creations’ are cognitions of the sorcerer tradition, etiological legends, the knowledge of which was a part of the technique of making an impression. The rune of Väinämöinen and Joukahainen is about a contest in sorcery. The setting of the rune is again the Iron Age village community on the Gulf of Finland coast, with its powerful families and sorcerers. The maritime scene of creation of the world, Joukahainen’s accoutrements of boats, bows and swords are from the living environment of coastal hunter-farmers and long-distance hunters and fishermen. In some variants from both Dvina and Ingria Väinämöinen and Joukahainen meet in the open sea, and Väinämöinen sings his adversary, complete with his equipment, into the sea. The horses, sleighs, the farmstead of Joukahainen’s house with its barns, all already depict a peasant way of life.

Singing contests have contained a social message specifically in evolving cultivation communities. Singing manifested masculine hierarchy based on age. Cultivation cultures have become patriarchal in various parts, and in Finland, too, men’s dominance has become emphasized in the restless circumstances of the Viking era. Sorcerers and healers were usually old men or women. In northern hunting communities, age hierarchy has not been as significant, a part of the infrastructure, and it was possible to become a shaman while still young. In the Singing Match, youth is forced to step aside faced with age and experience. In agricultural communities, the older generation knew the local cultivation techniques, social tradition of village communities, and wisdom of generations. Epic poetry has also reinforced the social order of the cultivation economy, village communities, and extended families. In everyday life, the message of the Singing Match might have actualized in many ways. It is a victory song of old men who were competent rune singers; on the other hand, it has been used to mock young people who discarded traditional knowledge, etiological legends. In some variants, the marriage of an old man and a young girl has been seen as justified, while other singers have dramatized the fate of Joukahainen’s sister and raised the subject of conflicts between generations.

(MI A 15.3, D 522, D 523, D 1275, D 1781, J 185)

## Väinämöinen and Mermaid Vellamo

**Mermaid caught on a fishing hook.** The rune *Väinämöinen ja Vellamon neito* [Väinämöinen and Mermaid Vellamo] is also known as *Vellamon neidon onginta* [Mermaid Vellamo caught on a fishing hook], and it describes how Väinämöinen or Lemminkäinen hook a mermaid while fishing. About 70 variants of Mermaid Vellamo have been recorded in Dvina, with an additional 10 variants or fragments from Olonets. Some lines of the rune have also been recorded in Finland, but it is possible that they originate from another context. Mermaid Vellamo is a Dvinian variation of a fishtailed mermaid with a

beautiful upper body; in men's tradition, the mermaid is a similar fictitious character of erotic folk narrative as the maid of the forest (map 70).

### Väinämöinen and Mermaid Vellamo

*Vaka vanha Väinämöinen oli ongella olija, käsiverkolla kävijä nenässä utuisen niemen, päässä saaren terhenisen. Vapa vaskinen vapisi, hopeainen siima siukui onkiessa Väinämöisen. Lohi puuttui onkeensa, taimen takrarautaansa.*

*Katselevi kääntelevi, ei tunne kalaa tuota. Sileä on siikaseksi, halea on haukiseksi, suomuton lohikalaksi, räpyläton hylkeeksi, päärivaton neitoseksi, vyötön Väinön tyttäreksi. Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:*

*"Vyöllä on veitsi Väinämöisen, kattila sepon pajassa lohi leikkaellakseni, kala palstoin pannakseni murkinaisiksi muruiksi."*

*Lohi kimmahti mereen, kala kirjo kimmeltihe. Äsken päätänsä ylenti vihurilla viidennellä, aallolla yhdeksännellä:*

*"Ohoh hullu hulluuttasi, vähämieli miehuuttasi, kun et tuntenut pitää Ahdin lasta ainoata, vetistä Vellamon neittää. En minä sinulle tullut murkinaisiksi muruiksi, lohisiksi lounaiksi. Olinpa minä tuleva ikuseksi puolisoksi, sijasi levittääjäksi, panjaksi päänalasen, valkean virittääjäksi, pirtin pienen pyyhkijäksi."*

*Steady old Väinämöinen was angling, trying his hand-nets at the tip of a misty point, at the end of a foggy island. The copper rod stirred, the silver line tightened as Väinämöinen fished. A salmon caught on his line, a trout on his fishing tackle.*

*Looks at it, turns it around, does not know such a fish. Too smooth for a whitefish, too pale for a pike, webless for a seal, no head-band for a maid, no belt for a daughter of Väinö. Said old Väinämöinen:*

*"On his belt is Väinämöinen's knife, a pot in the blacksmith's forge, for to cut up the salmon, for to fry the fish, for a morsel of food."*

*The salmon sprang into the sea, flashed the colorful fish. Then raised its head on the fifth wind, the ninth wave:*

*"Oh you madman for your madness, half-wit for your manhood, that you did not know to hold the only child of Ahti, watery maid of Vellamo. I would not come to you for a morsel of food, a salmon lunch. I would have come for your everlasting wife, to make your bed, place your pillow, light your fire, sweep your little house."*

**Mermaid Vellamo in Dvina.** The Finnish scholars Julius and Kaarle Krohn, K. A. Franssila, Antti Aarne and A. R. Niemi have commented that the nearest counterparts of the Dvinian Mermaid Vellamo are found in Estonia.(13) Their studies have debated how the rune has traveled a long way to the north, while it is not found in Ingria or other Karelian rune areas. Niemi in particular has considered the Estonian runes the models of the Dvinian ones, and shown many similarities between them, such as the attempt of the fisherman to cut up and cook his catch, and the line of the fish-maid that she has not come to be eaten but as a wife; in Estonia the bed-maker, mattress-beater, sheet-spreader, guardian of the berry-bush, tender of the orchard, beater of the kota-path etc. In Estonia, the rune progresses in first-person singular form, like in some Dvinian variants.

Mermaid Vellamo has been seen as the Finnish equivalent of the Sirens. Niemi associates Mermaid

Vellamo with the female supernatural guardian of water and the *näkki*; however, they belong to different layers (map 69). Narratives, or rather fairy stories, of how some man managed to get a (fish-tailed, combing her hair) mermaid as his wife have been widely known in the Eurasian culture circle. Thus, Väinämöinen and Mermaid Vellamo is a fairy story set in archaic meter. The fish-tailed figure of the mermaid was known early, even through art and decorative objects, evidently also in the Nordic countries. Some of the oldest images of mermaids are in a mural of the medieval church in Hattula parish (Häme), dating from the early 1500s. Nevertheless, finding the rune in 19th-century Dvina is still a mystery, but as many scholars point out, it is evidently one of the most recent of the genuine runes the old meter in which Väinämöinen still appears as the central character.

(MI B 81.13.11.1)

## **Väinämöinen's judgment**

**Väinämöinen's departure.** The Judgment rune is about Väinämöinen's departure from his people, after he was humiliated by a newborn new king. The plot of the rune, preserved in fragments, appears to be: A fatherless boy is born in Northland and it is not possible to give him his correct name. Väinämöinen judges that the boy should be taken to the swamp and killed. Then the boy begins to speak and declares that Väinämöinen has given him the wrong judgment. Väinämöinen has himself seduced the boy's mother or been guilty of other moral crimes, for which he should be similarly sentenced to death. The child is baptized, evidently as a Christian, and the shamed Väinämöinen makes a copper boat with a bottom of iron and sails off to Kurimus, a vortex in the sea. The child becomes the new king. Some singers have Väinämöinen departed for good, even condemned by God; others expect him to return as the bringer of a new song.

### **Väinämöinen's Judgment**

*Syntyi poika Pohjolassa, pieni mies Pimentolassa, uros kylmässä kylässä. Iso kutsui Ilmariksi, emo Ehtapojaksensa, sisaret Sotijaloksi, veljet vennon Joukoseksi. Etsittiin ristijää. Ei tullut nimi vakava. Kätyiin tuohon tuomaria.*

*Tuli vanha Väinämöinen:*

*"Poika suolle vietäköön, puulla päähän lyötäköön!"*

*Puhui poika puolikuinen:*

*"Oho sinua ukko utra, kun olet tuhmin tuominunna, väärin kantanut lakia! Ei sinua silloin suolle viety eikä puulla päähän lyöty, kun oman emosi nauroit/ kun sinä herjasit hevoset, juoksuttelit suorajouhet maan navoilla, suon selillä, rannalla meren karisen."*

*Silloin pappi ulkomainen, Virokannas karjalainen risti lapsen ripsautti, kastoi lapsen kapsautti. Kastoi Pohjolan kuninkaaksi, rahavaaran vartijaksi./ Ristittiin Riion poika, kastettiin Kaukomiehi.*

*Silloin vanha Väinämöinen sekä suuttui että häpesi. Lauloi vaskisen venosen, umpipurren rautapohjan. Lähti sillä laskemaan Kurimuksen kurkun suuhun, kidan kielen kääntimille.*

*A boy was born in Northland, a little man in the Darklands, a male in a cold village. His father called him Ilmari, his mother Ehtapoika, his sisters Sotijalo, the stranger's brothers Joukonen. They looked for one to christen him. The name could not be decided. They went to a judge. Came old Väinämöinen:*

*"The boy must be taken to the swamp, clubbed over the head!"*

*Spoke the boy two weeks old:*

*"Oh you old man, that you have judged ill, carried the law wrongly! You were not taken to the swamp or clubbed on the head when you seduced your own mother/ when you abused the horses, ran the straight-tails on the poles of the earth, on the open swamps, on the rocky sea-shore."*

*Then a foreign priest, an Estonian Karelian, christened the child quickly, baptized the child boldly. Baptized him the King of Northland, guardian of the money mountain./ Christened him Son of Riiko, named him Kaukomiel.*

*Then old Väinämöinen was both angered and ashamed. Sang a copper boat, a one-piece iron-keel. Sailed away to the throat of Kurimus, to the root of the tongue in its jaws.*

Only about 15 variants of the rune have been recorded from the rune villages of the Dvinian heartlands; in addition, K. A. Gottlund recorded a few verses of the rune among Värmland Finns. (1821). Like with many epic poems, the opening sequence of Väinämöinen's Judgment also varies. Evidently, the rune originally opened with the line *syntyi poika Pohjolassa* [*a boy was born in Northland*], but singers have endeavored to explain the pregnancy of an unmarried girl, or used lines from the ballad Marjatta and Hannus (< legend of St Margaret) in the opening sequence, a rune about the love affair of a foreign merchant and a local girl. In this rune, too, a foundling is threatened with death, but the newborn starts to speak and reveals its parents.

**Collision of kinship justice and Christianity.** The judgment passed by Väinämöinen has been held as proof that killing or abandoning children was customary also in Finland.(14 In prehistoric Scandinavian societies, infanticide was deemed to be an institutionalized kinship right. The child's father would have had the power to accept his child or to leave to be killed or abandoned children born with abnormalities or ones he had produced with a slave. If the father accepted the child, took it symbolically in his arms, and it had been given a name, it could no longer be abandoned, but such an action was even considered murder. The child was then attached to the kinship group and acquired the rights to the inheritance of his kin (cf. maps 73-75).

When Christianity arrived in Iceland in the year 1000, the country's Althingi approved the new faith with the condition that the right to abandon children and to eat horsemeat would continue to be honored. But King Olaf soon removed the right of kinship groups to decide on children's fate, and the old Nordic provincial laws (from the 1100-1200s) stipulate that all children born must be cared for and strictly disapproved of infanticide. Children's right to life and horse sacrifices were issues of conflict between Viking communities, or at least Icelandic pagan kinship culture, and Christianity.

The problem of abandonment is already mentioned in the saga poetry of the pre-Christian era. The Icelandic Dorstein Saga, which may be thought of as a distant equivalent to Väinämöinen' Judgment, describes how a child abandoned by its father starts to speak, whereupon it is allowed to live and baptized; Dorstein becomes one of the first settlers in Iceland and the progenitor, chief of his kin. If the Finnish rune is seen as Scandinavian in origin, Väinämöinen would therefore have condemned his own son to death. In the original version, the boy would name Väinämöinen as his father, and the line *itse*

*viettelit emosi [you seduced your mother]* would perhaps have been *itse viettelit emoni [you seduced my mother]*. Finnish variants do not contain such lines, but Väinämöinen is accused of incest and sodomy; corresponding lines are on rare occasions found in other contexts too.

**Problem of naming.** The principal elements of Väinämöinen's Judgment are giving the child a name, condemnation of the child to death, and Väinämöinen's departure. In the rune's Pohjola [Northland] or some other distant place is born a boy, and his correct naming is posing a problem. This is a problem of an ancestral cult. Kinship communities around the world have deemed it important that a child is given the name (soul) of the ancestor who is reincarnated back to earth in the newborn. If the name was not the right one or in the language of Finnish rune *vakava* [serious, steady], the child was given the wrong soul, it cried at night, sickened and failed to thrive. In order for the child to become fit for life, the correct ancestor had to be found and the name changed for a new one.

Changing the name, like possibly giving the name, was the remit of shamans and sorcerers: the letter by Archbishop Makarij (1548) mentions that in Karelia the child was named by the soothsayer. The correct reincarnated ancestor was recognized by repeating the names of dead relatives and observing the child's reactions.(15 If the child's behavior changed in some way, perhaps it sneezed or stopped crying at a certain name, the name was '*vakava*', and the child had been endowed with the correct, sustainable soul and life force. Lines where the father of a daughter calls her Ilmari, the mother her Ehtopoika, the sisters Sotijalo, the brothers Joukonen (Joukkari) – all boys' names – may have originally referred to the trying out of names.

It is likely that in Finnish hunting and swidden communities, the father did not hold a similar right to kill his children as in Iceland or other parts of Scandinavia. In the era of extended families, a fatherless child was not a particularly serious social issue; a single mother or a woman abandoned by her husband has remained with her children in her father's or brothers' extended family, as was the case in the Judgment rune. Children born out of wedlock only became a moral problem in the era of Christian ideas of marriage. If the rune is Scandinavian in origin and became known in Iron Age farming villages on the Gulf of Finland coast, its message has been reinterpreted, and at least in the Savo-Karelian kinship culture circle the most pressing issue has been finding the correct name. In the Middle Ages, the theme of the rune has become Christianized, juxtaposing sorcery and Christianity, names of the ancestors and new Christian names given by priests. Väinämöinen is even made a false judge: the line *suolle vietäköön ja puulla päähän lyötäköön [let him be taken to the swamp and clubbed over the head]* are evidently from a pre-Christian direction to judges on punishing criminals.

**Birth of a new king.** The narrative turning point of Väinämöinen's Judgment is the speech of a two-week-old child. The motif is international (e.g. AT 531), and central to its message is that a child of lowly birth, unfortunate, or even thought unfit for life, is saved and grows up to become a hero, in the Finnish rune described by the cliché *Pohjolan kuningas ja rahavaaran vartija [King of Northland and guardian of the money mountain]*. Singers of the Christian era have associated the child of an unmarried mother to Jesus, and the message of the rune becomes increasingly clearly the victory of Christianity over sorcery. The Christ Child becomes the judge of Väinämöinen and the whole amoral, pagan society. Incest and sodomy are epitomes of sinfulness, used to control morality above all in the era of Mosaic Law or the Reformation in the 1600-1700s.

The disgraced Väinämöinen sailed to his death in a copper or iron-bottomed boat. Kurimus or the throat of Kurimus means Charybdis, which according to beliefs of various peoples was the source of tidal flows. Kurimus was thought to be a large hole in the ocean, capable of sucking into its vortex even whole

ships. In the *Carta Marina* (1539) by Olaus Magnus, Kurimus is positioned on the Norwegian coast near the Lofoten Islands, while in Finnish folklore the whirlpool was usually placed in the north in the Arctic Ocean, on the coast of which the tidal phenomenon exists.

Väinämöinen's departure has been thought to symbolize the displacement of paganism. However, Kaarle Krohn believed that the rune juxtaposed Lutheran religion and Catholic doctrine, semi-paganism; the rune would be Christian in common with all other epic runes in his view. Haavio has viewed Väinämöinen as the leader of his people, stepping down; King Scyld of the epic Beowulf or the Toltecs' Quetzalcoatl who went off to sea, having fallen to sin.(16) In narratives of numerous peoples, a yielding cultural hero has gone off to sea, towards a new land, from whence he is expected to return to save his people.

Väinämöinen's departure has engendered conflicting interpretations in the last domain of the rune. In Dvina, sorcery was still accepted and respected in the 1800s; on the other hand, Karelian hinterlands were influenced by old Orthodoxy with its rigid rules. As Haavio points out, some singers considered Väinämöinen's departure a loss to their own culture, while others declare that he had finally gone to the Tuonela of the pagans, only to return at the Last Judgment, if at all.

## Väinämöinen

**Väinämöinen's character.** Studies of runes in archaic meter have produced numerous explanations of Väinämöinen's persona. In the oldest literature, Väinämöinen has been thought to be, in accordance with interpretations of ancient Greek legends, (1) the supreme god of Finnish Olympus or the deity of water, earth, music and singing. In the foreword of Agricola's *Psalttari* (1551), Väinämöinen is mentioned as the god of the people of Häme and forger of verses. In reality, Finnish ancient beliefs only contain supernatural guardians, neither is there any other information on worshipping Väinämöinen.

The representatives of a second line of explanations have thought Väinämöinen (2) a historical character. Kaarle Krohn characterized Väinämöinen as a personal name that could belong to a tribal chief from western Finland. Of the historians, Jalmari Jaakkola has placed the central location of the runes on Väinämöinen and the Sampo epic (maps 92-93), Väinölä, in the ancient agricultural areas of southwestern Finland, and considers Väinämöinen to have been a Varyag chief from Satakunta, leader of raids carried out via the Gulf of Bothnia to Lapland. Along with the raiders (so-called Pirkkalaiset), settlements and also epic poetry in the old meter would have spread north as far as Dvina. Similarly, Matti Klinge thought Väinämöinen to have been a member of a party of long-distance hunters and fishermen and fur producers, leader of a ledung boat, but he places Väinölä on the Baltic coast; the adversaries would have been the early maritime powers of the Gulf of Finland and Scandinavia (Götaland), with the Åland archipelago as boundary (Skiftet or Kihdin selkä).(17)

A third line of thought has Väinämöinen in a (3) religious role of his time. The Italian Domenico Comparetti was the first to suggest (1892) that Väinämöinen was a shaman who had lived on the river Väinäjoki and acquired the name of his village, albeit that his definition of shamanism is a closer approximation to sorcery.(18) The actual proposer of the shaman theory is Martti Haavio. He and other later scholars, such as Matti Kuusi and Lauri Honko, believed that the early layers of singing in the archaic

meter dated back to the shamanistic era. Väinämöinen would specifically be the spiritual leader of a small Arctic community: shaman, singer and advisor.

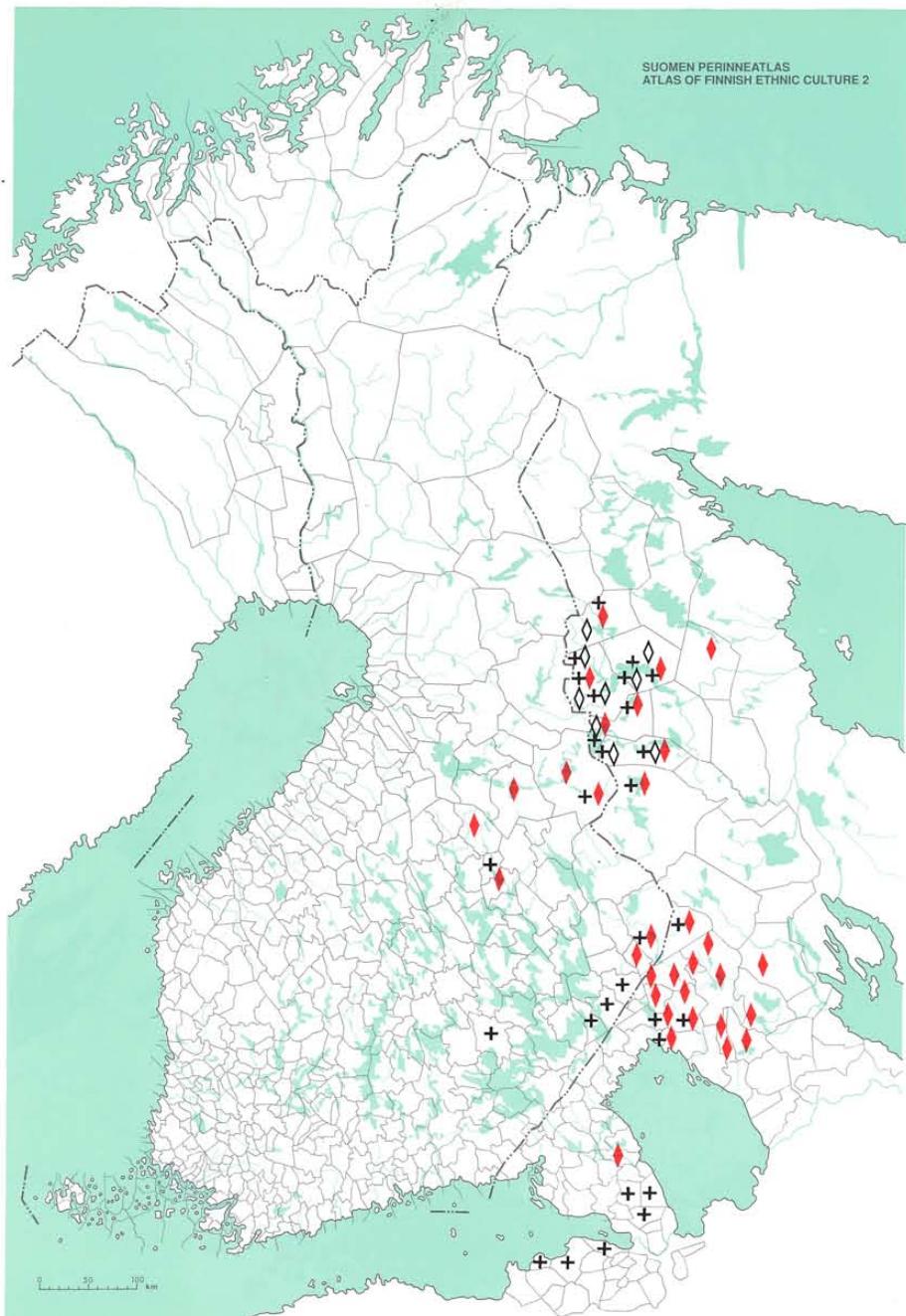
The name Väinämöinen derives, as Setälä has suggested, from the Baltic-Finnic word *väinä*, ‘wide, slow-flowing river’ or ‘sea strait’, which occurs in the name of the Väinäjoki in Livonia (Latvia). As a person, Väinämöinen may have been a boat-builder, seafarer, sorcerer and smith in some Bronze or Iron Age riverside village on the Gulf of Finland coast, and endured as the archetype of his living environment as the central character of epic runes sung by men. However, in the dominant layer of preserved runes in the old meter, Väinämöinen, true to his epithet, has been an old sorcerer, *vaka vanha Väinämöinen, tietäjä iänikuinen* [steady old Väinämöinen, the everlasting sorcerer/ wise man]. Shamanic characters of the runes have evidently been Lemminkäinen, derogatively called *ukko märkähattu* [old man Dripcap], *umpiputkella puhuja* [speaker through a sealed tube], with equipage which according to Uno Harva indicates a shaman’s dress (belt). The shaman-names have been displaced in favor of Väinämöinen, but as Kuusi points out, Lemminkäinen has evidently appeared in the runes that were the most shamanistic in their original structure, the Journey to Tuonela, Lemminkäinen’s Lament and the Rune of Vipunen.(19 Great sorcerers were skilled singers and incantors, as were the numerous later rune singers of Savo-Karelia from whom the epic poems were recorded. Väinämöinen was a symbol of their culture, forger of incantations, correct words and Origins, and they sang about their sorcerer long after the old runes had entirely vanished from the peasant society of western and southern Finland.

**Message of structural changes.** Most of the miniature epics in archaic meter have been runes about structural change, and interpretations of the victors of the new era. The core element of many runes is a shamanistic vision. The shaman visits the realm of the dead, the soul of the traveling shaman encounters many dangers and perhaps is unable to return to the body; shamans fight, sing their souls into an alternative habitus. Lemminkäinen’s Lament is probably one of the oldest shamanistic battle songs. Lemminkäinen travels, uninvited, to the feast of Päivölä (Tuonela), crosses fiery rapids in his soul boat, makes it through obstacles, stops the raised bears, and enters the house without the dogs barking. In Päivölä he enchants people’s souls, but fails to sing a blind herdsman who treacherously murders Lemminkäinen.

Gradually sorcery overcomes shamanism. In the runes about the dead, Väinämöinen belittles the trip to Tuonela, denies the soul journeys, the Singing Match exults the power of the old and wise sorcerer, but in Väinämöinen’s Judgment a new regime, evidently Christianity, supersedes sorcery. Pitted against each other were the shamanism of hunting communities and the sorcery of early cultivating villages, finally paganism and Christianity. Alongside the structural changes, epic poetry in archaic meter followed from the Iron Age communities on the Gulf of Finland ever further into the outlying areas of Savo-Karelia, like hunting and swidden culture. In the end, the runes of Lemminkäinen and Väinämöinen have only held a message and significance to the singers of Dvina and Ladoga Karelia, who in the 1800s themselves experienced the demise of swidden culture, death of the sorcerers’ way of life, the dramatics of whole epochs.

1. Kuusi 1976a. 2. Harva 1937. Haavio 1950c, 103-. Kuusi 1963c, 251-. 3. Miller 1988. 4. E.g. Haavio 1948; 1950c, 119-. Davidson 1975. Klimkeit 1978. Siikala 1992b, 250-. 5. Krohn J. 1885, 258. Ellis 1977, 170-. 6. Krohn K. 1904, 451-. Harva 1937. 7. Haavio 1950c, 138-. 8. Kuusi 1963c, 255-. 9. SKVR XII 1:70. Ganander 1789. Haavio 1950c, 131-. 10. Malinowski 1932, 124-. 11. Setälä 1913; 1932. 12. Hoebel 1967, 92-. Cf. Itkonen T. I. 1960. 13. Krohn J. 1885, 329-. Krohn K. 1903-1910, 399-. Fransila

1900, 76-. Aarne 1923. Niemi 1925. Mansikka 1915. **14.** Haavio 1950c, 232-. Pentikäinen 1968, 68, 76-, 86-. **15.** Kirkkinen 1970, 130-. Vilkuna A. 1989, 118-. **16.** Krohn K. 1924-1928 V, 167-. Haavio 1935, 276-; 1950c, 259-. **17.** Krohn K. 1914, 301-. Jaakkola 1935, 380-. Klinge 1984, 7-. **18.** Comparetti 1892, 155-. **19.** Harva 1922b; 1945. Kuusi 1963c, 259; 1981.

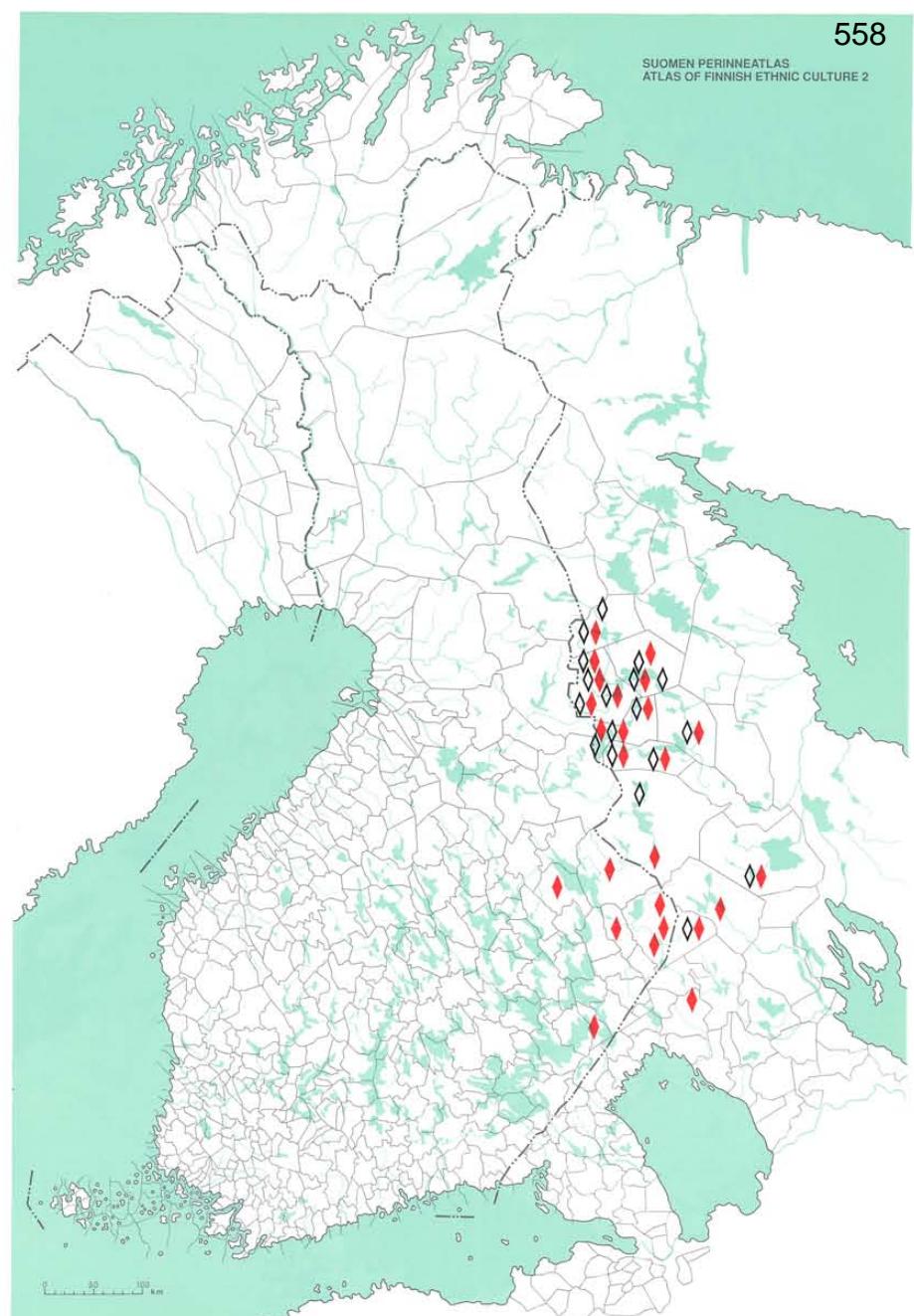


## 92. Väinämöisen ammunta The Shooting of Väinämöinen

Mereen ammuttu Väinämöinen ajautuu Pohjolaan ja lupaa sammon henkensä lunnaksi  
Shot hero is driven to Pohjola (Northland) and promises the Sampo as ransom

- ◊ Väinämöisen ammunta  
The Shooting of Väinämöinen
- ◊ Jatkeena Merenpohjan muodostelu (luominen)  
Extension: The Formation of the Seabed (creation)
- + Väinämöinen merenpohjan kytäjänä Kilpalaulanta-runossa (kartta 91)  
Väinämöinen ploughs the seabed in the poem of The Singing Match (map 91)

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 93. Sammon taonta ja ryöstö The Forging and Stealing of the Sampo

- ◊ Sammon taonta  
The Forging of the Sampo
- ◆ Sammon ryöstö  
The Stealing of the Sampo

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 92.-93. THE SAMPO EPIC

### **Dvinian adventure story**

**Events of the epic.** The Sampo runes form the most important sequence of the *Kalevala*; Elias Lönnrot collected the Finnish national epic around them, with the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as his inspiration. The plot of the Finnish epic is the heroes' raid to Northland (Pohjola) to steal a magical sampo-object that brings riches and good fortune to its owner. The sampo, or more specifically the mystery attached to it, has been one of the prime subjects of Finnish folk culture studies, and even today people still write about it as if the epic described something that really took place in the prehistory of Finnish people and a cult object like the sampo had really existed.

Maps 92-93 concern epic runes that have been linked to the so-called Sampo epic, although they have originally been independent poems. In Dvina, the most famous singers often performed the Forging and Stealing of the Sampo as a single sequence, with its opening scene consisting of the Shooting of Väinämöinen or the Proposal Contest and Work Proposal. The basic plot of the Sampo epic is as follows: (1) The Shooting of Väinämöinen. A hostile Lapp shoots Väinämöinen at sea, causing him to topple into the water; the shooting is usually followed as an additional episode by the Creation of the World (map 87) and Formation of the Seabed. Map 92 also shows the variants in which Väinämöinen in the rune The Singing Match (map 91) declares that he has formed the seabed. (2) Forging of the Sampo. Having been shot into the sea Väinämöinen drifts to Pohjola, and in order to get home, promises the mistress of Pohjola a sampo. On his return home, Väinämöinen entices the blacksmith Ilmarinen to go off to Pohjola with the tale that the daughter of Pohjola is promised to the person who forges a sampo. Alternatively, Väinämöinen dispatches Ilmarinen in a gust of wind to Pohjola, after he has had him climb a spruce tree to catch a pine marten with a golden coat. In Pohjola, Ilmarinen forges a sampo as proof of his skills for a marriage proposal. (3) Stealing of the Sampo (map 93). When he heard how the sampo was grinding riches for Pohjola, Väinämöinen with his comrades sets forth on a looting expedition to steal it for himself.

Väinämöinen sends the people of Pohjola to sleep, plows the sampo's roots free, and takes it into his boat. At sea, his comrades ask Väinämöinen to sing, but then the folk of Pohjola awake, and the mistress of Pohjola with her soldiers sets out in pursuit of the robbers. When the mistress of Pohjola catches up with Väinämöinen, he throws a piece of flint into the sea and this grows into a rock that causes the pursuers' boat to become shipwrecked. The mistress of Pohjola turns herself into a great eagle, takes the armed men on her back and attacks Väinämöinen's boat. The mistress of Pohjola grabs the sampo, but

Väinämöinen hits the eagle with a paddle across the talons, breaking them, and the sampo falls into the sea; hanging from one talon the mistress of Pohjola manages to take the sampo lid – the bright-lid – back to Pohjola. The sampo continues to grind on the seabed.

There are various endings to the battle for the sampo. In a scene common to the runes, Väinämöinen swipes the mistress of Pohjola across the talons. The robbers' boat capsizes and the sampo disappears into the water, or, as the rune-singer Arhippa Perttunen sang, Väinämöinen smashes the sampo with his sword and the pieces fall into the sea, but the mistress of Pohjola manages to take the lid back to Pohjola. The sampo sinking into the sea is also reflected in the explanations that it grinds salt there, and that is why the sea is salty or otherwise rich, forever abundant. In some variants, the battle of Väinämöinen and the mistress of Pohjola continues; the mistress of Pohjola blows a cold fog over the sea, Väinämöinen in his turn sends hail and blizzards to Pohjola. The rune singer Ontrei Malinen has said that the Battle for Growth was performed in connection with spring and autumn sowings, evidently as a conclusion to the Stealing of the Sampo. Raking of the Seabed may have been a part of it. Väinämöinen manages to rake up crumbs of the sampo and says: *Tänne kyntö, tänne kylvö, tänne vilja kaikenlainen. [Here plowing, here sowing, here all kinds of grain.]* At some time, the Sampo epic has apparently been performed as a ritual rune of the swidden community.

## 92. The Shooting of Väinämöinen

### The Shooting of Väinämöinen.

*Lappalainen kyytösilmä piti viikkoista vihaa, kauaista ylenkatsetta päälle vanhan Väinämöisen. Vuotti illoin, vuotti aamuin tulevaksi Väinämöistä, saavaksi uvantolaista.*

*Katsoi päivän, katsoi toisen, niin päivänä muutamana keksi mustasen merellä, sinervoisen laineilla. Jo ajavi Väinämöinen selässä sinisen hirven, Hiiden hirven lautasella.*

*Niin koppoi tulisen jousen korvalta kodan tulisen. Jännitti tulisen jousen, nuolen juonelle asetti. Käsi kielsi ampumasta; käsi kielsi, toinen käski, sormet suoniset epäsi:*

*"Älä ammu Väinämöistä. Ilo ilmalta katoovi, laulu maalta lankeavi."*

*Toki ampui, ei totellut. Ampui kerran nuolellansa, niin meni kovin alitse. Ampui toisen nuolian, niin meni kovin ylitse. Itse noin sanoiksi virkkoi:*

*"Kun käsi alentanevi, niin nuoli ylentäköön. Kun käsi ylentänevi, niin nuoli alentakoon!"*

*Koki kerran kolmannenkin. Ampui vanhan Väinämöisen selästä sinisen hirven./ Ampui olkisen oriin, hiirenkarvaisen hevoset alta vanhan Väinämöisen.*

*Siitä vanha Väinämöinen sormin suistui veteen, käsin kääntyi laineisiin. Siellä kulki kuusi vuotta, seuroi seitsemän kesää. Kulki kuusisna hakoina, petäjäisnä pölkyn päänä.*

*A Lapp with a watchful eye held a grudge for weeks, long-standing disdain over old Väinämöinen. Waited evenings, waited mornings for Väinämöinen to come, for the man of Uvanto to arrive.*

*Watched a day, watched another, so one day spotted a black thing at sea, a blue thing on the*

waves. It is Väinämöinen riding on a blue elk, on the back of Hiisi's elk.

So he grabbed a fiery bow by a fiery kota. Tensioned the fiery bow, placed an arrow in the groove. His hand said not to shoot; one hand forbade, the other bade, his sinewy fingers warned:

"Do not shoot Väinämöinen. Joy will vanish from the air, singing from the world."

He did shoot, did not obey. Shot once with his arrow, went well under. Shot another of his arrows, went well over. Himself said the words:

"When the hand lowers, let the arrow rise. When the hand rises, so let the arrow lower!"

Tried a third time. Shot old Väinämöinen from the back of the blue elk./Shot the straw stallion, mouse-gray horse from under old Väinämöinen.

There old Väinämöinen fell his fingers in the water, turned his hands into the waves. There he traveled six years, stayed seven summers. Traveled as spruce boughs, as a pine log end.

### **Formation of the Seabed**

*Missä maatui maata vasten, siihen siunasi apajat, kalahaudat kaivatteli. Missä päätänsä kohotti, siihen luopi luotoloita, karipäitä kasvatteli.*

*Where he lay against the ground, there he blessed the catches, dug the fish-pits. Where he raised his head, there he made sea-rocks, grew shallows.*

Formation of the Seabed in the rune of Väinämöinen and Joukahainen:  
*Minun on meri kyntämäni, kalahaudat kaivamani, luodot luomani kokoon.*

*It was I who plowed the sea, dug the fish-pits, put together water-rocks.*

## **93. The Forging and Stealing of the Sampo**

### **Forging of the Sampo**

*Nousi tuuli luoteesta, idästä iso vihuri. Kantoi vanhan Väinämöisen pimeään Pohjolaan nenään utuisen niemen, kiven kirjavan sivulle.*

*Pohjan akka harvahammas nousi aivan aikaiseen, pyyhki pitkin pirttiänsä, lattiatansa lakaisi. Veipä rikkansa pihalle, pellolle perimmäiselle, takaiselle tanhualle.*

*Seisotaksen kuulemaan. Kuuluvi mereltä itku.*

*"Ei ole itku lapsen itku, eikä itku naisen itku. Itku on partasuun uroon, jouhileuan juorottelu."*

*Pohjan akka harvahammas koprin helmansa kokosi, käsin kääri vaatteensa. Meni luota katsomaan, tarkasti tähyämään:*

*"Mitä itket Väinämöinen, kuta Untamo uriset?"*

"Onpa syytä itkijällä. Jo jouduin poloisen poika, jouduin maalle vieraalle, äkkioudolle oville."

"Mitäpä minulle annat, kun saatan omille maille...?"

"Mitäpä kysyt minulta, mitä unnalta utelet?"

"Saatatko sampo takoa, kirjokantta kirjoitella? Annan neidon palkoistasi."

"En saata sampo takoa, kirjokantta kirjoitella. On seppo omilla mailla, joka on taivosen takonut, ilman kannen kalkutellut. Ei tunnu vasaran jälki eikä pihtien pitämät."

Pohjan akka harvahammas otti vanhan Väinämöisen; sata on haavaa sivussa, tuhat tuulen pieksemää. Syötti miehen, juotti miehen, saattoi miehen terveeksi. Työnsipä omille maille.

Siitä vanha Väinämöinen purjehti punaista merta punaisilla purjeilla. Laski päivän merivesiä, toisen päivän enovesiä, kolmannen kotivesiä./ Pani orin juoksemaan, liinaharjan liikkumaan pimeästä Pohjolasta, summasta Sarajasta, miestensyöstä kylästä, urosten upottajasta.

Siitä vanha Väinämöinen päästyä omille maille lauloi kuusen kukkalatvan, lauloi näädän kultarinnan kultalatvakuuusoseen.

*Jo kuului pajasta pauke, hilke hiilihuoneesta.*

"Oho seppo Ilmarinen, kun on neito Pohjolassa, impi kylmässä kylässä. Maan kuulu, veden valio, kiitti puoli Pohjanmaata. Lihan läpi luu näkyvi, luun läpi ydin näkyvi. Sille tyttö annetaan, joka sammon valmistavi."

"Oho vanha Väinämöinen, jopa sinä minut lupasit, oman pääsi päästimeksi, itsesi lunastimeksi."

"Oho seppo Ilmarinen, kun on näätä kultarinta kukkalatvakuuusosessa. Nouse näätä ottamaan!"

Siitä seppo Ilmarinen nousi puuhun korkealle. Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:

"Nouse tuuli tuppuriin, ilma raivoon rakennu! Ota tuuli purteesi, ahava venoseesi viedä viilläteläksesi pimeään Pohjolaan!"

Nousi tuuli tuppuriin, ilma raivoon rakenti. Sepon saattoi Pohjolaan luokse Pohjolan emännän.

Siitä seppä Ilmarinen päivät sampo takovi, kirjokantta kirjoittavi, yön neittä lepyttelevi.

Jo sai sammon valmiaksi, kirjokannen kirjatuksi, ei neittä lepytetyksi/ neidon lepytetyksi.

Tuonne sampo saatettiin, kirjokansi kannettiin Pohjolan kivimäkeen. Sinne juurtui sammon juuret yhdeksän sylen syvään./ Juuri juurtui maaemään, toinen juurtui taivoseen, kolmas vesi-vierteeseen.

*There rose a wind from the sou'east, great storm from the east. Carried old Väinämöinen to dark Pohjola to the tip of a misty headland, by a colorful rock.*

*Gap-tooth hag of Pohjola rose up early, cleaned her house, swept her floor. Took her dirt to the yard, to the farthest field, to the back meadow.*

*Stopped to listen. Hears weeping from the sea.*

*"It is not a child's crying, nor is it a woman's weeping. It's the cry of a bearded male, grumble of a bristle-chin".*

*Gap-tooth hag of Pohjola grabbed her hems in her fists, folded her skirts in her hands. Went closer to look, better to see:*

*"Why do you weep Väinämöinen, what are you grumbling Untamo?"*

*"I have good reason to weep. I was sent, poor boy, to a strange land, to doors quite unknown."*

*"What will you give me, if I take you to your own lands...?"*

*"What do you ask, what do you want from a wretched man?"*

*"Might you forge a sampo, fashion a bright-lid? I will give a maid as reward."*

*"I cannot forge a sampo, fashion a bright-lid. There is a smith in my land who has forged the sky, hammered the canopy of the air. On which there is no hammer-mark, no trace of where the*

tongs have held."

*Gap-tooth hag of Pohjola took old Väinämöinen; a hundred wounds on his sides, a thousand wind-chaps. Fed the man, watered the man, made the man well. Pushed him off to his own lands.*

*There old Väinämöinen sailed the red sea under red sails. Sailed a day on sea waters, another on a great river, a third day in home waters./ Got the steed running. Blond-man moving from dark Pohjola, sombre Saraja, a village of man-eaters, killer of men.*

*There old Väinämöinen once he got to his own lands sang a flower-top spruce-tree, sang a gold-breast marten into the gold-top spruce-tree.*

*Now was heard clashing from the smithy, tinkering from the charcoal-house.*

*"Hear Blacksmith Ilmarinen, there's a maid in Pohjola, a girl in the cold village. Famed in all land, finest across waters, praised in half of Northland. Through her flesh her bone shows, through her bone the marrow shows. The girl shall be given to the one who makes a sampo."*

*"Oh old Väinämöinen, you did promise me, to save your own neck, as ransom for yourself."*

*"Oh Blacksmith Ilmarinen, there's a gold-breast marten in a flower-top spruce tree. Go get the marten!"*

*Now Blacksmith Ilmarinen climbed high up the tree. Said old Väinämöinen:*

*"Rise, wind to gusts, air build up to a rage! Catch the wind in your sail, blow in your boat to take you speeding to dark Pohjola!"*

*Rose the wind to gusts, air built up to a rage. Took the smith to Pohjola to Pohjola's mistress.*

*Now Blacksmith Ilmarinen spends the days forging a sampo, coloring the bright-lid, nights wooing the maid.*

*Got the sampo finished, but not yet wooed the maiden.*

*There they took the sampo, carried the bright-lid to the stony hill of Pohjola. There set the sampo its roots to the depth of nine fathoms./ Sank its root to mother earth, another in the heavens, a third in running water.*

## Stealing of the Sampo

*Kysyi vanha Väinämöinen:*

*"Miten Pohjola elävi?"*

*Sanoi seppo Ilmarinen:*

*"Hyvä on Pohjolan elää, kun on sampo jauhamassa, kirjokansi kiikkumassa. Jauhoi purnun puhteessa; jauhoi purnun syötäviä, toisen purnun myytäviä, kolmannen kotieloja."*

*Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:*

*"Oho seppo Ilmarinen, lähde sammon noudantaan, kirjokannen kannantaan pimeästä Pohjolas-ta!"*

*Yksi vanha Väinämöinen, toinen seppo Ilmarinen laski laivansa mereen, nosti päälle purje-puunsa. Niemi matkalla tulevi. Laskeepi sinistä merta melan koukkupään nojassa. Ikutiera Lie-ran poika (Vesiliito laito poika) se sanoi nenästä niemen:*

*"Oho vanha Väinämöinen, ota minut matkaasi! Olen minäkin miesnä siellä, uroona kolmantena, kun saat sammon nostantaan, kirjokannen kannantaan."*

*Sitä vanha Väinämöinen otti senkin matkaansa. Laski päivän suovesiä, toisen päivän maave-siä, kolmannen merenvesiä. Portit Pohjolan näkyvät, paistavat pahat saranat, pohjan ukset ul-*

vottavat.

*Siiä vanha Väinämöinen sormin soitti kanteletta/ otti uniset neulat, kaiken Pohjolan nukutti, pahan vallan vaivutteli.*

*Kulki jouhisna matona, sykysisnä käärmeenä lukkojen lomia myöten. Sylin sampa piteli, käsi- varsin kallutteli. Eipä sampo liikukana; juuret on maahan juurutettu.*

*Ikutiera Lieran poika härän suustansa sukesi, satasarven kieletänsä. Itse vanha Väinämöinen kynti irti sammon juuret satasarvella härällä, tuhatpääällä tursalla. Vei sammon veneeseensä.*

*Siiä vanha Väinämöinen nosti päälle purjepuita, itse istuvi perään. Laski pitkin Pohjan merta. Sanoi seppo Ilmarinen:*

*"Mikset laula Väinämöinen, hyreksti hyväksukuinen Pohjolassa käytyäsi, hyvän sammon saatua-si?"*

*"Aikainen ilonteoksi, varhainen laulannaksi. Portit Pohjolan näkyvät, paistavat pahat veräjät. Äsknen laulanta sopisi, kun omat ovet näkyisi, omat ukset ulvottaisi."*

*"Oisinpa itse perässä, laulaisinpa, taitaisinpa hyvän sammon saatuan..."*

*Siitä lauloi Väinämöinen. Äreä uroon ääni lainehillä laulaessa. Vuoret loukkui, paadet paukkui, kaikki kalliot järisi. Ilman kannet katkieli, portit Pohjolan repesi.*

*Pohjan akka harvahammas tapasihe sampoansa.*

*"Joko on täältä sampo saatu, kirjokansi kannettuna yhdeksän lukon takaa Pohjolan kivimää-tä?"*

*Tuopa Pohjolan emäntä työnsi maalta puisen purren, seitseenlaitaisen veneen. Pani joukot jousiinsa, laittoi miehet miekkoihinsa. Sata miestä soutamaan, tuhat ilman istumaan.*

*Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:*

*"Oho seppo Ilmarinen, nouse purjepuun nenään, kasisliekaan kavahda. Katso itä, katso länsi, katso pitkin pohjan ranta!"*

*Siitä seppo Ilmarinen nousi purjepuun nenään, kasisliekaan kavahti. Katsoi idän, katsoi lännen, katsoi pitkin pohjan rannan. Niin sanoi sanalla tuolla:*

*"Jo tulevi Pohjan pursi, satahanka hakkaapi. Sata miestä soutimilla, tuhat airon tutkaimessa; sata miestä miekallista, sata toinen ampuria."*

*Silloin vanha Väinämöinen jo näki tuhon tulevan, hätäpäivän päälle saavan. Tapasipa tasku- ansa, löysi piitä pikkaraisen, taulaa toki vähäisen. Nepä mestasi mereen, saattavi sarajaseen. Luotiin mereen luoto, salasaari siunattiin. Siihen puuttui Pohjan pursi, satahanka salpasihe.*

*Itse Pohjolan emäntä jaloin tammasi veteen, läksi purtta nostamaan, laivaa kohottamaan. Eipä pursi liukukaan, ei vene ylenekään.*

*Pohjan akka harvahammas, nenä vanka vuojolainen nousi lievon lentimille, kokon kynkkäljuun nenille. Sata miestä siiven alla, tuhat purston tutkaimessa. Lentä purjepuun nenään, vaatevar- paan rapasi. Tahtoi pursi päin pudota, laiva lastuin lohkeilla.*

*Asked old Väinämöinen:*

*"How is Pohjola doing?"*

*Said Blacksmith Ilmarinen:*

*"Fine is Pohjola prospering, with the sampo grinding, bright-lid churning. Ground a pot in the evening; ground a pot to eat, another pot to sell, a third to store at home."*

*Said old Väinämöinen:*

*"Oh Blacksmith Ilmarinen, come to get the sampo, to carry away the bright-lid from dark Pohjola!"*

One old Väinämöinen, the other Blacksmith Ilmarinen launched their boat on the sea, raised their sail-masts. Running on the blue sea leaning on the hooked rudder. Came to pass a headland. Ikutiera son of Liera (Water-glider, a fine boy) he said from the tip of the headland: "Oh old Väinämöinen, take me along! I will make another man, a third male, to help lift the sampo, to carry off the bright-lid."

So old Väinämöinen took him along too. Sailed a day on swamp-waters, a second day on land-waters, a third on seawaters. See the gates of Pohjola, shine the evil hinges, squeal the doors of Northland.

Now old Väinämöinen played his fingers on the kantele/ took the sleepy needles, sent all Pohjola to sleep, subdued the force of evil.

Traveled as a sinewy worm, a wiry snake in between the locks. Held the sampo in his lap, tried to lift it in his arms. But the sampo does not move; it's rooted to the earth.

Ikutiera son of Liera spat an ox from his mouth, a hundred-horn from his tongue. Himself old Väinämöinen plowed loose the sampo's roots with an ox of hundred horns, a monster with a thousand heads. Took the sampo to his boat.

Then old Väinämöinen raised the sail-masts, sat in the stern himself. Sailed along the sea of Pohja. Said Blacksmith Ilmarinen:

"Why do you not sing Väinämöinen, hum, one of good kin, now you've been to Pohjola, now you got the good sampo?"

"It's early to make merry, too soon to sing. The gates of Pohjola are still in view, evil doors shining. Then it would suit to sing, when our own doors come to view, our own doors squeal."

"If I was in the stern, I would sing, I would so, having got the good sampo..."

So sang Väinämöinen. Rude was the man's voice as he sang on the waves. Mountains shook, boulders cracked, all the rocks trembled. Broke the canopy of the sky, tore the gates of Pohjola.

(Or: an ant that had remained awake pissed on a crane's feet, the crane let out a great shriek, which awoke all Pohjola.)

Gap-tooth hag of Pohja came to look for her sampo.

"Have they taken the sampo, carried off the bright-lid, from behind nine locks from the stony hill of Pohjola?"

Now that mistress of Pohjola pushed from land a wooden sail-boat, a seven-boarded vessel. Set the troops to their bows, put the men to their swords. A hundred men to row, a thousand to sit idle.

Said old Väinämöinen:

"Oh Blacksmith Ilmarinen, climb up the sail-mast. Look east, look west, look along the northern shoreline!"

So Blacksmith Ilmarinen climbed up the sail-mast. Looked east, looked west, looked along the northern shoreline. So said he these words:

"Here comes the ship of Pohja, hundred-rowlock beats the waves. A hundred men at the oars, thousand at the oar-ends; hundred men with swords, another hundred bowmen."

Then old Väinämöinen saw his end coming, trouble coming on. Felt around his pocket, found a little bit of flint, a tiny piece of tinder. These he cast in the sea, threw into the waves. Made a sandbank in the sea, created a hidden island. There stuck the ship of Pohja, hundred-rowlock caught fast.

*The Mistress of Pohjola herself trod her feet in the water, went to raise the boat, to lift the ship. But the boat does not shift, the ship does not rise.*

*Gap-tooth hag of Pohja, sturdy hook-nose got up on the wings of a bird, on the nose of an eagle's hip-bone. A hundred men under the wing, a thousand upon the tail. Flew to the top of the sail-mast, rushed upon the sail-tree. The boat almost capsized, the ship broke into splinters.*

In the form of an eagle, the mistress of Pohjola grabs the sampo in her claws. Väinämöinen orders Ikutiera Niera's son to take his sword and to strike the eagle, but the sword is powerless against it. Then

*Itse vanha Väinämöinen melan merestä nosti, lapiansa laineesta. Kokon koprille sivalsi, vaaka-linnun varpaille. Jäi yksi nimetön sormi sampaan pitelemään kirjokantta kantamaan.*

*Pohjan akka harvahammas kannen kantoi Pohjolaan, rivan kylmään kylään sormella nimettömällä vasemmalla varpaalla.*

*Old Väinämöinen himself lifted his paddle from the sea, his blade from the waves. Swiped the eagle across its claws, on the toes of the dragon-bird. Remained one ring-finger to hold on to the sampo, to carry off the bright-lid.*

*Gap-tooth hag of Pohja carried the lid to Pohjola, the handle to the cold village on her ring-finger, on her left toe.*

Ever since then the sea has been rich (salty).

**Elements of the Sampo epic.** Studies of the Sampo runes have contained various ideas of whether a uniform Sampo sequence has existed, and which runes might have been included in a possible epic. Matti Kuusi tagged (4) the Proposal Contest and Work Proposal and (5) Forging of the Gold Maiden to the end of Stealing of the Sampo. After Ilmarinen's failure in wooing the Maid of Pohjola, Väinämöinen surreptitiously goes off to Pohjola to propose himself, but Ilmarinen's sister winkles out of Väinämöinen the true purpose of his mission when she sees him sailing by. Ilmarinen also hurries off to Pohjola, after which the Proposal Contest becomes the Work Proposal. In his attempt to woo the daughter of Pohjola, Ilmarinen forges a new sampo as proof of his skills. In the end, having lost and been disappointed, Ilmarinen forges himself a golden maiden as a substitute for a wife (Forging of the Gold Maiden). In that case, the Sampo epic would contain a plot entity including the principal runes about the adventures of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen.

In his work *Kansanruno-Kalevala*, Kuusi has taken a different direction and included in the opening sequences the Great Oak and Release of the Sun, which structurally is the sister rune of Stealing of the Sampo. The Sampo epic, opening with Shooting of Väinämöinen and Creation of the Earth might have also contained other cosmic etiological events, such as the myths of how the heavenly illuminators were freed and the cosmic tree or the Milky Way felled into the sky.

From Stealing of the Sampo, Kuusi has assembled three basic epics, but later joins with Setälä in the interpretation that there are two plot structures: one begins with the creation of the world, and the main plot of the other is the proposal contest for the maid of Pohjola.(1 Uno Harva believes that the core theme is the stealing of the sampo from Pohjola. The forging motif would originate from the Proposal Contest and the Work Proposal, and it was required to explain why there is a wealth-producing sampo in Pohjola. (2 The impossible tasks of the Finnish Work Proposal are plowing a field full of adders, catching a pike from the river of Tuonela, and forging the sampo or the sky's canopy. The epithet of the smith Ilmarinen is specifically the forger of the sky-lid, and that is why he has also become a character of the

Sampo epic. Thus, the original Sampo epic could be a narrative of two or three comrades' trip to a place called Pohjola.

Forging and Stealing of the Sampo are not a part of a more extensive adventure or etiological epic. Many other narrative runes have become entwined around Stealing of the Sampo, with their heroes Väinämöinen or Ilmarinen: interim episodes could be the Boat Journey, Creation and Playing of the Kantele (map 89) or even Fishing for the Maid of Vellamo (map 91). In Dvina, and probably in all long-distance hunting cultures, people with epic skills have – on their long boat journeys – extended their performance by combining runes with compatible themes and weaving the events around a certain principal character. Singers have competed in their epic skills and produced their own epics. They may have followed the local singing convention or kinship tradition to a degree, but the Sampo epic as such did not exist.

**Map diagram.** The core runes of the Sampo epic, Forging and Stealing of the Sampo, have been recorded in Dvina, the part of Olonets Karelia bordering on Dvina, and from North Karelia, with some excerpts of the Stealing also found from Värmland Finns. Variants or fragments counted as belonging in the Forging of the Sampo sequence number about 80 in the Atlas material, 65 of them from Dvina. About 100 recorded rune variants exist of the theft sequence (60 from Dvina). Stealing of the Sampo contains some evergreen core lines that have survived better than others, such as the hero's song at sea. All in all, there are about 130 variants that concern the sampo, its forging or theft. Shooting of Väinämöinen has been preserved in a wider area than the Sampo runes; the total number of its variants is about 160. A relatively large proportion has been recorded in Ladoga Karelia, where Forging and Stealing of the Sampo are almost completely absent.

In terms of their map diagrams, the preservation areas of Shooting of Väinämöinen and the Sampo runes are so mutually divergent that they can be held to be runes from different eras. Plowing of the Seabed, found in the rune of the Singing Match (map 91) is even more widespread than Formation of the Seabed. Variants of it come from Ingria and the Isthmus right up to Dvina. The forming or plowing of the seabed are individual etiological mythical themes dating back as far as the hunting era or the Baltic-Finnic period, like Creation of the World or the Cosmic Tree (maps 87, 94-95).

The preservation area of Stealing of the Sampo is a little larger than that of Forging of the Sampo, which would lend credence to Harva's premise that the forging rune is of later origin. The sequence of the Sampo starting from Shooting of Väinämöinen is, according to Kuusi, characteristic of the great rune-singing kinship groups of northeastern Dvina, the roots of which are often on the Finnish side of the border. The distribution area of the Sampo epic beginning with Work Proposal is limited to southeastern Dvina, and in terms of their background, both the runes Work Proposal and Proposal Contest are eastern: they have material from songs, narratives and fairy tales of northern Russian peoples interwoven into them, with the motif of supernatural tasks.<sup>(3)</sup> Thus, the proposal theme would be a late addition, neither do Väinämöinen's or Ilmarinen's proposal trips correspond to the actual marriage customs of the Savo-Karelian kinship community in any other respect (maps 11-21). Rather, it is possible that Väinämöinen's drifting or shipwreck has somehow been connected to the Sampo runes; the hero has visited Pohjola before setting off on the plundering expedition.

All in all, the core of the Sampo epic is the description of a plundering expedition, and as a rune it would appear to belong to the adventure epics with Scandinavian influences that have spread from western Finland direct to Dvina. In Dvina, the plundering theme has been augmented with various introductory and concluding sequences, usually Shooting of Väinämöinen and its auxiliary episode, Formation of the Seabed.

## **Interpretations of the Sampo epic**

**Mystery of the sampo.** The sampo has been the subject of dozens, according to some calculations around a hundred interpretations, which may be split into three categories: allegorical, cult-related and historical. In allegorical theories, the stealing of the sampo is seen as a natural myth, a battle of the forces of nature, and the sampo as the sun, moon, North Star, rainbow, etc. Cult explanations have the sampo as a religious idol: a cult statue, god-image, witch's (shaman's) drum, talisman, even the Bible or some other holy artefact with special symbolic value. Many explanatory chains start from the etymology of the words *sampo* 'sammakko' [frog], *sampi* 'kala' [fish] or *sammaas* 'patsas' [pillar, statue]. *Sammakko* may also mean a support, e.g. *sammakkorauta* [frog iron] of a mill, a base on which a support beam leans, allegorically a supporter, e.g. the cosmic pillar.(4)

According to historical interpretations, the Sampo epic is thought to be basically a real description of relations between Iron Age communities or chiefdoms; Väinölä and Pohjola would be actual places. For example, according to Matti Klinge, a tall standing stone (Roland Pillar) was the sign of a free trading site in the circle of Baltic fur trade, and the Sampo narrative would be about the pillage of a trading center established by the Germans, and the theft of its emblem.(5)

The most sustainable of the explanations is probably Uno Harva's theory that the sampo is a cosmic pillar supporting the sky's canopy, the bright-lid of the runes. It is a symbolic pillar ending in the 'sky's nail' or the North Star, *irminsûl* of the ancient Germans, *veralden tsuold* or 'world pillar' of the Sami, the hub around which the northern night sky rotates. The same idea was put forward also by E. N. Setälä, but his interpretation of Stealing of the Sampo was allegoric.(6) The cosmic pillar may have been situated on the central mountain of the world, the stony hill of Pohjola, where according to some variants, the sampo was rooted. Wooden cosmic pillars have been found at the seide sites of the Sami and other northern hunter peoples; they have been symbols of the natural order and perpetuity of life.

Elaborating on the ideas proposed by Harva, Martti Haavio has arrived at the view that the sampo would be a 'cosmic rotating machine', a divine churn going round in a sea of milk similar to that in Indian mythology, producing an elixir of immortality, and with some animal supporting the rotating piston; in the folklore of many peoples the supporter of the world is the turtle, in Finland it might have been a frog. The appellative *sampi* has led Kuusi to associate the sampo with a supernatural guardian fish. The thieves who took the sampo removed the 'sacred fish' of the cult site (seide): they symbolize the primaeval fish that supports the world, on which fishing fortunes depended.(7)

According to preserved rune verses, the sampo ground riches for Pohjola, one day things to eat, another day things to sell, and remained on the bottom of the sea grinding salt or the riches of life. Even the earliest foreign scholars of the Kalevala, from Jacob Grimm onwards, and of the Finns M. A. Castrén and Julius and Kaarle Krohn, have compared the sampo to the *grotti* mill of Germanic peoples, endlessly grinding riches, flour and salt.(8) Dvinian folk singers themselves have also interpreted the Sampo as a mill or hand-grinding stones. The sampo would have been a mill producing fortune or riches, or another kind of a horn of plenty, the Finnish Pandora's Box. The Grotti song contained in the Edda describes King Frodi's magic mill that ground gold and other riches; it was turned by two gigantic female slaves.

When a jealous competitor stole the mill, the women began to grind salt, filling the robber's ship and sinking it. The saga says that the Grotti mill continues to grind on the bottom of the sea as a whirlpool, which is why the sea is salty.

**Sampo of hunting communities.** Nils Lid has compared Stealing of the Sampo and the ancient Scandinavian *fornaldarsagas* with their journeys to 'botten', Trollbotten, Nordbotten, Havsbotten or 'Pohjola', a place inhabited by man-eaters and guarded by the female mythological monster *gygr*, the Finnish Louhi ['gap-tooth hag of Pohja']. The journeys are fairytale-like, but contain many of the same elements as Stealing of the Sampo. Lid has also found corresponding features in the folklores of the Sami and other northern peoples. The Gygr monster or the griffin (*griippi*) would be equivalent to the gigantic *vuogo* bird or *vaakalintu* [dragon-like bird] which caught hold of ships by their masts and carried them to the shore. Y. H. Toivonen has explained that *vaakalintu* or *lievo* probably originally referred to the shaman's tutelary bird; when the mistress of Pohjola *nousi lievon lentimille* [rose up on the lievo's wings], she transformed herself into the form of her soul bird.(9 Arctic Pohjola, the Sami *boasso*, Lid explains as an opening where the earth and sky meet, through which shamans were able to pass to the world on the other side, Tuonela or the sky's canopy, or from where a road led to Lintukotola, the place where birds fly for the winter; it was guarded by dwarves or birds, specifically the crane. Thus, behind the Fornaldar sagas and the Finnish Stealing of the Sampo would be the shamanistic world view and folk narrative common to northern peoples.

The mystery of the sampo cannot be solved by seeking a single explanation. The sampo is the illusion of the sustaining force of life and security of each era; Stealing of the Sampo is a story of man's failed efforts to snatch eternal well-being for himself. In the era of hunting communities, the cognition of the sampo may have been the cosmic pillar, around which the sky's canopy turned endlessly from one year to the next. As the starry night sky, the 'bright-lid', turned, the seasons changed, nature reawoke, and quarry animals were reincarnated back to earth. The thief of the sampo attempted to take possession of the renewing of nature, reincarnation of quarry, the inexhaustible gifts of the sea and land.

Preserved Dvinian runes still retain many shamanistic elements. Väinämöinen creates for himself a blue elk, upon which he travels in the open sea like a shaman on his soul journey, and sings Ilmarinen from the top of a spruce tree to fly to Pohjola in the same way as Sami witches (orig. shamans) were said to have traveled in a whirlwind or in the form of a bird. In Pohjola, Väinämöinen turns himself into a snake or the heroes *sukevat suustaan* [sing forth] helper animals, so they can carry the sampo away. The flight from Pohjola is myth-like, but basically apparently a shamanic battle of transformation, a battle of souls; the plot pattern is flight and pursuit culminating in the transformation of the pursuer into an eagle.

Stealing of the Sampo may have been a narrative about a great shaman who attempted to find the keys to the reincarnation of quarry animals and also human beings, the foundation of natural order. The narrative has touched on the deepest questions of hunting community man, as did Creation of the World and Formation of the Seabed. In these runes of the Sampo sequence, the milieu of the hunting community is still discernible, even the one who shot Väinämöinen is categorized as a Lapp, a hunter, one of the 'kota people'.

**The sampo of agrarian communities.** In runes from the swidden era, Väinämöinen is a sorcerer and the chief of a boat with many rowlocks, a coxswain, one of the duties of whom was to act as lead singer on long voyages. A seven-boarded boat of that period was a large ocean-going vessel, a Viking ship. The shamanistic narrative has become infiltrated by narration of a cultivating community. In the most agrarian version Väinämöinen is driving a horse and sleigh along an ice road when a Lapp shoots him; or

Väinämöinen drives a horse when returning from Pohjola, as does Ilmarinen when he travels to Pohjola to forge the sampo. Ilmarinen is the village blacksmith, and the mistress of Pohjola rules her house and daughters like the matriarchs of the swidden era. But the Sampo epic also appears to contain traces of the Viking era community and masculine adventure narration. In some variants, the mistress of Pohjola orders her slaves about and sets them at the oars. While the swidden community Väinämöinen hits the eagle across the claws with a paddle, the Viking hero Ikutiera swings his sword.

In the agrarian version, Väinämöinen, as well as the mistress of Pohjola with her warrior troops, have even acquired features of tribal chiefs. Slavery and swordsmanship may have been reality in the society of western Finland in the late Iron Age, but alien to Savo-Karelian swidden communities, let alone Arctic cultures. Heroes like those in the Fornaldar sagas have in Savo-Karelian communities been peaceful swidden cultivators, enticing sorcerers and smiths.

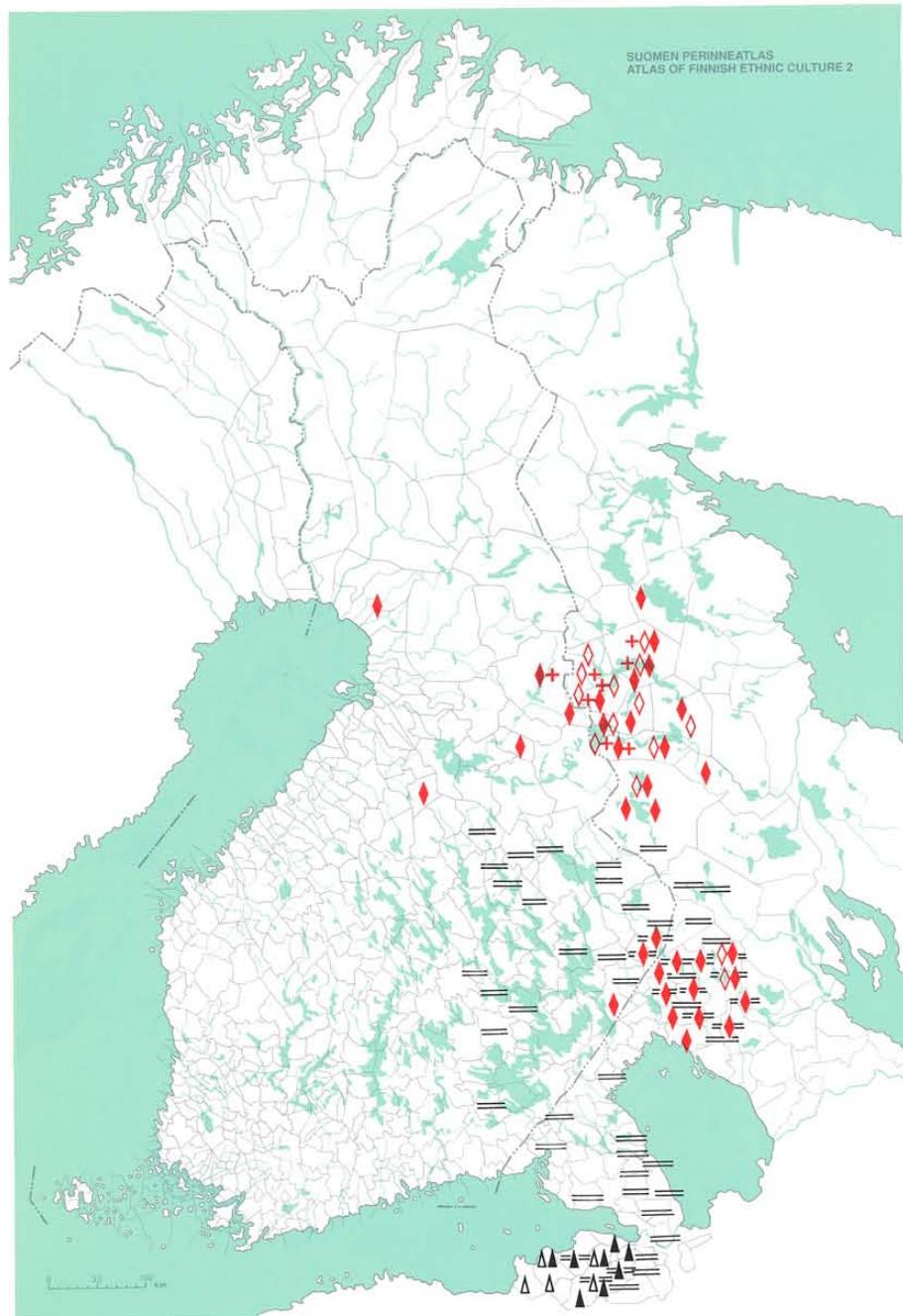
The plot structure of the Sampo epic is a journey in quest of something: a shaman's journey to find knowledge, a hero's journey to free the daylights, the journey described by ancient Scandinavian sagas to mythological Pohjola. The journey is an essential formula for the narration that may be justified and illustrated with various elements, such as Tuonela, Trollebotten, Pohjola and the Maid of Tuoni, the griippi monster, the mistress of Pohjola. The reason for the journey has also varied in different environments; the goal has been to obtain knowledge, the sampo mill, the king's daughter. The Viking era heroes are on a raid, representatives of peaceful kinship communities intent on stealing or making a proposal of marriage. The Sampo epic crystallizes one of the basic human challenges of performing arts: to transport the listeners away from surrounding reality. There is no real, historic Pohjola, although different cultures do have their own anti-realities, dream worlds or visionary environments.

Old samos of cultivating man are the grotti mill, the Paradise machine endlessly grinding both things to eat and to sell, cash, grain, milk, material wealth, or the gods' churn or Pandora. In agrarian cultures, Paradise has been the cradle of abundance, the center of the world, where according to the Genesis of both Eurasian peoples and the Jews was situated the source of life, milk lake, horn of plenty, the divine animal of endless well-being or the mill of fertility. In northern Finland too, cultivating man adopted the new world view and illusion of security.

The sampo of ancient times is no more a mystery than the illusion of endless energy, endless growth and development sustaining the culture of the industrial society; the nuclear power plant, automated robot factory. The sampo is the cult statue of a secure future and cultural order. In the postlocal environment it might be the supercomputer, world brain, controlling scientific-technical knowledge, possession of nature and regulation of global life.

(MI F 871, A 15.3, A 142, A 1115, B 31, D 152.2, D 1175, D 1275, D 1364, D 1419.3, H 335, L 113.6, R 225, T 52)

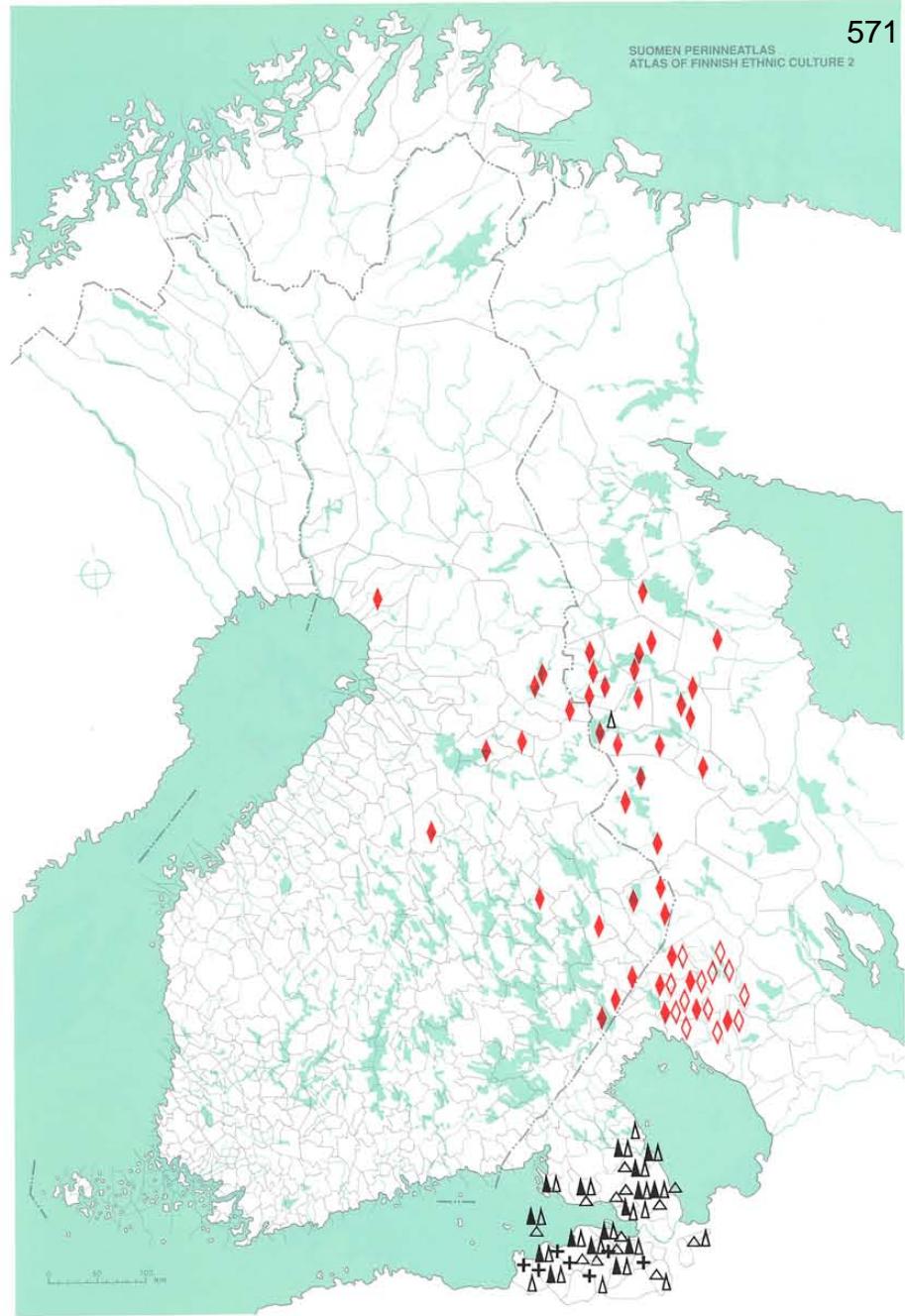
- 1.** Kuusi 1949, 311-; 1976b; 1977. **2.** Harva 1943, 59-. **3.** Kuusi 1977. Rausmaa 1964. **4.** Setälä 1932, 192-. Kettunen 1941. Harva 1944b. Mäkeläinen 1945; 1976. **5.** Krohn K. 1918, 192-. Klinge 1984, 70-. **6.** Harva 1943; 1948, 43-. Setälä 1932, 537-. **7.** Haavio 1967b, 189-. Kuusi 1976a. **8.** Castrén M. A. 1853. Krohn J. 1885, 230-. Krohn K. 1924-1928 IV. Niemi 1928. **9.** Lid 1943; 1949. Kuusi 1963c, 216-. Toivonen 1931. (Anttonen 2000.)



### 94. Ison tammen kasvu Growing the Great Oak

- 1. Pohjoinen runo  
Kaskikulttuuri  
Northern poem  
Swidden culture
- ◆ tammi syntyy tuhkasta  
(Neidot niemessä)  
oak grows out of ash  
(The Maids on the Headland)
- ◆ tammi syntyy lehdestä  
(Neidot niemessä)  
oak grows out of a leaf  
(The Maids on the Headland)
- + tammi syntyy hiuksesta  
(Manalan tytär)  
oak grows out of a hair (The Daughter of the Underworld)
- 2. Eteläinen runo  
Agraarikulttuuri  
Southern poem  
Agrarian culture

- ▲ tammi syntyy terhosta  
(Neidot tiellä)  
oak grows out of an acorn  
(The Maids on the Road)
  - △ tammi syntyy oluen vaahdosta  
(Laulaja pidossa)  
oak grows out of beer foam  
(The Singer at the Feast)
  - 3. Muita runoja  
Other poems
  - Kultapyörätammi  
(Laulajan tammi)  
The Golden Wheel Oak  
(The Singer's Oak)
- Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



### 95. Ison tammen kaato Felling the Great Oak

- Pieni mies kaataa tammen  
A little man fells the oak
- Kaadetun puun käyttö  
Use of the tree
- 1. Tietäjäkulttuuri  
Culture of sorcerers
- lastuista syntyvät pistosnuolet  
(kartta 49)  
sting darts grow out of  
shavings (map 49)
- lastut viedään lehmien alusiksi  
shavings carried to cowshed  
as bedding
- 2. Agraarinen kyläkulttuuri  
Agrarian village culture
- Tammesta tehdään  
The oak is used to make
- laiva tai sen osia  
a ship or parts of it

- △ astioita ja esineitä  
vessels and objects
- △ kellari  
a cellar
- + sauna  
a sauna
- Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

## 94.-95. THE GREAT OAK

### 94. *Growing the Great Oak*

**Baltic-Finnic cosmic tree.** The Great Oak is a cosmic tree that grew up to the sky and prevented the sun and moon from illuminating the earth. The cosmic tree is thought to be one of the oldest themes of runes in the old meter, and in its Estonian-Karelian preservation area the theme has branched out in many directions. Map 94 shows six different etiological runes of the Great Oak. In Dvina and other northern areas, the runes have retained the ancient symbolism of northern hunter peoples, while in the south the Great Oak has moved over to village songs about the life of unmarried girls. Common themes of the runes are the Great Oak, descriptions of the growth and felling of the great tree.

#### Northern rune areas

The oak grows from ashes.

#### The Maids on the Headland 1

*Oli ennen neljä (kolme) neittä. Nepä heiniä tekivät, kokosivat kortteita nenässä utuisen niemen. Minkä niitti, sen kokosi, pisti heinät pielekseen.*

*Lensi Lapista lintu, tuli kokko Turjan maalta/ tuli Tursas Pohjolasta, se poltti poroksi heinät. Jäi tuhkaa vähäsen.*

*Nousi tuuli Pohjolasta. Tuonne tuuli tuhkat kantoi: meren mustiin muriin, vaaran vankan rinteille, niemelle nimettömälle, Pohjan pellon pientarelle. Siihen kasvoi kaunis tammi.*

*There were once four (three) maidens. They were making hay, gathering up reeds at the tip of a misty headland. What they scythed, they gathered, put the hay in a stack.*

*A bird flew from Lapland, an eagle came from Turja land/ Tursas came from Pohjola, it burned the hay to ashes. A little ash remained.*

*A wind rose from Pohjola. There the wind carried the ashes: To the black depths of the sea, to the slopes of a sturdy fell, to a nameless headland, to the edge of Pohja's field. There grew a*

*gorgeous oak.*

The oak is created from a leaf.

### **The Maids on the Headland 2**

*Oli ennen neljä (kolme) neittä. Nepä heiniä tekevät nenässä utuisen niemen. Löytyi sieltä tammen lehti. Viettiin maalle kasvamaan, norolle ylenemään. Siihen kasvoi kaunis tammi.*

*There were once four (three) maidens. They were making hay at the tip of a misty headland. Found an oak-leaf there. Took it to their land to grow, to the wetland to rise up. There grew a gorgeous oak.*

The oak grows from a hair.

### **The Daughter of the Underworld**

*Neiti musta hyyretyinen, impi virran vierellinen, sepä päästäänsä sukivi korvalla tulisen kosken, pyhän virran viertänellä. Hius päästäänsä putosi, suastansa pii pirahti. Siihen kasvoi kaunis tammi.*

*Black maiden, hoar-frosty maid by the stream, she was combing her hair by fiery rapids, on a holy riverbank. A hair fell from her head, a bristle broke from her brush. There grew a gorgeous oak.*

### **Animal version**

*Vilja ennen maata juoksi, kave muinen kankaita. Jopa villat siitä vieri, karvat kantaan repesi. Siihen kasvoi kaunis tammi.*

*A beast once ran over the land, a hind of old on the heaths. Now it lost some wool, caught some fur on the earth. There grew a gorgeous oak.*

### **Southern rune areas**

The oak rises from an acorn.

### **The Maids on the Road**

*Kolme (neljä) neittä tietä käyväät, käyväät tietä terhollista, maata maksankarvallista. Löysivät tieltä tammen terhon, lepän lehtien seasta. Mihin terho pantaneen? Sanoi nuorin neitosista: "Vien mie tammen kankaalle, kannan keloille maille."*

*Sanoi vanhin neitosista:*

*"Tammi ei kasva kankaalla. Vien mie tammen kaskimaalle."*

*Kasvoi tammi kaskimaassa/ ison ikkunan alle, veljen seinän vieryeen. Iso tuohon istutteli, veli*

*tuohon vettä kantoi.*

*Three (four) maidens walk along a road, walk upon an acorn road, liver-colored earth. Found an acorn on the road, among the alder leaves. Where shall we put the acorn? Said the youngest of the maidens:*

*"I will take the acorn to the heath, carry it to pine-lands."*

*Said the oldest of the maidens:*

*"The oak will not grow on a heath. I'll take the oak to swidden land."*

*Grew the oak in swidden land/ under father's window, by brother's wall. Father planted it there, brother carried the water.*

The oak grows from beer froth.

### A Singer at the Feast

*Olin juottossa Jumalan, pidoissa pyhän Kalevan. Kysyin vettä juodakseni. Tuotiin tuopilla olutta. Alla hiiva, päällä vaahto, keskellä olut punainen. Mihin vaahtosen valutan? Valan isoni ikkunan alle, veljeni veräjän suuhun.*

*Siihen kasvoi kaunis tammi.*

*I was at God's table, at a feast of holy Kaleva. I asked for water to drink. They brought a tankard of beer. Yeast below, froth above, red beer in the middle. Where should I pour the froth? I'll pour it under my father's window, by my brother's gate.*

*There grew a gorgeous oak.*

The lines describing the growth of the oak are the same in all rune areas.

### Growth of the Oak

*Kasvoi tammi tasalatva, ojenteli oksiansa, levitteli lehviänsä. Latvoin taivosta tavoitti. Peitti päivän paistamasta, kuun kumottamasta. Esti pilvet juoksemasta, hattarat harittamasta. Neidot neuvoa pitävät:*

*"Kuinka kuutta oltaneen, päivättä elettäneen?"*

*Etsittiin kaatajaa. Ei ole tammen taittajaa, puun suuren murtajaa.*

*There grew an oak level-top, stretched its boughs, spread its leaves. Its top reached the sky. Hid the sun from shining, the moon from glowing. Stopped the clouds from running, wisps from melting away. Maids are debating:*

*"How can we do without the moon, live without the sun?"*

*They looked for someone to fell the tree. There was no-one could fell the oak, break the great tree.*

## The Golden Wheel Oak

*Laulan tähän taloon, laulan tammen lattialle. Tammelle tasaiset oksat, joka oksalle omenan, omenalle kultapyörän, kultapyörälle käkösen.*

*I will sing into this house, I will sing an oak on the floor. Even boughs on the oak, an apple on every bough, a golden wheel on the apple, a cuckoo on the golden wheel.*

## 95. Felling the Great Oak

**Feller of the cosmic tree.** In northern areas, the oak-feller is a small man who rises out of the sea, and also appears in the rune of the Giant Ox (map 96). In southern rune areas, the oak is felled by the singer maid's brother (brothers), who make from it a sauna, house, ship's mast or other objects.

### Northern areas

#### A little man fells the oak

*Pieni mies merestä nousi, uros aalloista yleni. Pystyn peukalon pituinen, vaimon vaaksan varrelinen. Alle maljan maata mahtui, alle seulan seisomaan. Vaskikintaat kädessä, vaskivyöhyt vyölle vyöttty, vaskikirves olkapäillä/ kultakirves olkapäillä, hopeata ponnen päässä.*

*A little man rose from the sea, a fellow out of the waves. Height of an upright thumb, or a woman's span. He might lie beneath a goblet, stand up under a sieve. Copper mittens on his hands, copper belt around his waist, copper axe on his shoulder/ golden axe on his shoulder, silver at the shaft tip.*

### Additional lines

#### Ladoga Karelia:

*Rauta suuna, rauta päänä, rautahattu hartioilla, rautasaappaat jalassa, rautavyö vyölle vyöttty, rautakirves vyön takana (olkapäillä).*

*Iron mouth, iron head, iron hat on his shoulders, iron boots on his feet, iron belt around his waist, iron axe behind his belt (on his shoulders).*

#### Dvina:

*Hiusjouhet kantapäihin, parta polvilla edessä. Syltä oli suusta housun lahkeet, kahta kaatiot leveät. Hyinen (jäinen) hattu hartioilla, hyiset kintaat kädessä, hyinen varsi kirveessä.*

*Hair down to his heels, beard to his knees at the front. Trouser legs a fathom wide, pants two fathoms wide. Frosty (icy) hat on his shoulders, frosty mittens on his hands, frosty handle on his axe.*

### Felling the Great Oak

*Iski kerran, iski toisen, iski kohta kolmannenkin. Jo taisi tammen kaataa. Tyven työnsi pohjaseen, latvan suureen suveen, poikki Tuonelan joesta sillaksi ikusijaan. Pääsi päivä paistamaan, pääsi kuu kumottamaan.*

*Struck once, struck another, soon struck a third time. Now he managed to fell the oak. Pushed the foot to the north, top to the great summer, across the river of Tuonela for a bridge to eternity. The sun could shine again, the moon glow.*

### Southern areas

Ingria:

*Menin, etsin veljeäni. Etsin Suomet etsin saaret/ Moskovan molemmin puolin, kahden puolin Kapriota. Tuolta löysin veljyeni homesuiden huoneesta. Veli kultia lunasti. Otin veljen olkapäästä.*

*Tuli veli, tammen tagroi, puun pitkän piotti/ taittoi tammen, veisti oksat, pitkän puun lyhensi.*

*I went to look for my brother. I looked in Finland I looked on islands/ either side of Moscow, both sides of Kaprio [an Ingrian parish]. There I found my brother in a house of moldy-mouths. Brother was buying gold. I took my brother by the shoulder. Brother came, cut the oak, felled the tall tree/ broke the oak, carved the boughs, cut down the tall tree.*

The Isthmus:

*On minulla ainoa veli, oiva veikko ja väkevä, syötetty sianlihalla, kamaralla kasvatettu. Viikon hioi kirvestään. Tuopa tammen taittelee, puun pitkän piottelee.*

*I have an only brother, a fine fellow and strong, fed with pork meat, reared on rind. Ground his axe for a week. He will cut the oak, fell the tall tree.*

**Items made from the oak.** In northern areas, the oak is turned into stinging arrows (map 49). According to the frame narrative, the oak slivers end up in the sea and drift to Manala, Pohjola or some other place. A girl or an old woman doing the washing on the shore, or a dog running around, finds the slivers and takes them to the smithy, where they are thrown into the furnace or catch the smith's eye. In Ladoga Karelia, the oak-feller chops the slivers for cow bedding, and only some obscured lines remain on making stinging arrows. The various versions are united by the line *Noista noita nuolet saisi, ampuja pahat aseet* [They would make witch's arrows, bad weapons for the shooter], uttered by the oak-feller, finder of the slivers, the smith or someone else looking at the slivers in his hand. An evil one, i.e. a malevolent sorcerer or the devil, hears the words, takes the slivers and makes stinging arrows from them. This has been followed by Shooting of the Sting (*Kolme on poikaa pahalla...* [Three sons has the evil one...]).

## Northern areas

*Lastut kauas kirpoavi selvälle meren selälle, ulapalle aukealle. Niitä tuuli tuuditteli, meren läikkä läikytteli, aalto rannalle ajeli Tuonen mustiin muriin, Manalan alusveteen niemelle nimettömälle, Pohjan pitkiin periin.*

*Hiiden piika pikkarainen (Marjatta mataala neiti) lastut helmaansa kokosi. Vei seppojen pajaan, kantoi hiilihuoneeseen./ Pohjan musti musta koira, Lapin koira rautahammas koppoi lastun lainehilta, kantoi kavolle käteen.*

*Noista noita nuolet saisi, ampuja pahat aseet.*

*The slivers fly afar to the clear open sea, to the wide waters. The wind rocked them, the sea's glimmer rolled them, a wave drove to the shore to the black mire of Tuoni, to the waters under Manala on an unnamed headland, at the far reaches of Pohjola.*

*Hiisi's maid little one (Marjatta the little maiden) gathered the slivers in her skirts. Took to the smiths' forge, carried to the house of charcoals./ Pohja's Blackie the black dog, Lappish dog iron-tooth caught the sliver from the waves, took to the pretty maid's hand.*

*They would make witch's arrows, bad weapons for the shooter.*

## Southern areas

*Tyven veisti tynnyriksi, keskipaikan kellariksi, latvan laivaksi rakensi/ latvan lapsen kätkyeksi. Suorat oksat soutimiksi, väärät oksat värttinöiksi. Sydänpuusta saunaan salvoi./ Mitä jäi muruja muita, ne salvoi saunakseen.*

*Carved a barrel from the base, cellar from the middle piece, built a boat from the top/ a child's cradle from the top. True boughs into oars, crooked boughs into spindles. From the heartwood built a sauna./ What other crumbs left over, those he stacked for his sauna.*

In Ingria, the sauna version often ends with a sequence where the singer girl heats up the sauna for her brother.

**Map diagram.** The preservation area of the Great Oak is divided into two layers: (1) the northern or Savo-Karelian swidden culture and (2) southern or Estonian-Ingrian agrarian village culture. In the north, the opening verse to the Great Oak is usually a rune about four maidens who are making hay on a headland by the sea or the seashore. The north wind or a bird flown from the north, evidently meaning a lightning bolt, sets the hay on fire and the ashes drift to Pohjola, to an unnamed headland or other mysterious place, where an oak grows. In another version, the maids find a leaf from which the oak starts to grow. According to a third, northern opening rune, the oak grows from a hair or a bristle from a brush dropped by a maid combing her hair on the shore of the Tuonela stream. The hair theme may be the root of the verses in which the oak has grown from the fur of animals running in the forest (cf. Origin of Iron, map 43).

In South Karelia and Ingria, the oak arises from an acorn the maids find on the road and plant in a swidden or in the house yard. Another etiological motif is the froth from beer; the oak grows from the froth

of beer spilled on the ground by a singer at a feast.

The most widespread of the etiological runes is Golden Wheel Oak; in Savo, on the Isthmus and in North Karelia its distribution area is even larger than the preservation area of the Great Oak runes in general. Based on the map diagram and as has generally been assumed, it is a separate rune and has not originally been associated with the Great Oak.

The differences between the northern and southern areas are also apparent in map 95. In the north, the feller of the oak is a little black man who rises from the sea, in the southern area the brother of the singer girl. In the north, the Great Oak continues with the Incantation for Stings; slivers of the felled oak were used to make the arrows of death (map 49). In Ingrian and South Karelian village songs, the oak is used for making objects and buildings required in a peasant household.

## Baltic-Finnic background

**Estonian-Ingrian village runes.** Songs from Ingria and the Isthmus are closely associated with Estonian runes of the Great Oak. According to K. A. Franssila's detailed analysis of the variants, there are three main versions of the etiological runes in Estonia. (1) A tree dedicated to a family member that will not grow. In a version known in various parts of Estonia, the singer plants an oak for her family member, for the pleasure or in the name of father, mother, brother or sister, but it fails to grow. Finally, she takes the seedling under her own window, plants it in her own name or for her betrothed (groom or bride), and then the sapling begins to thrive. There are other alternatives in seeking the planting spot. The tree is planted in various places around the homestead, for joy or sorrow etc., until the correct spot is found. Franssila believes that the rune is originally a women's song and recounts how a girl plants herself a tree from which her future groom makes a trunk for her dowry, groom's gifts or household implements. The great oak would be the girl's dedicated tree.

In a second principal theme (2) maidens plant an acorn. A girl or several maidens sweep the *tupa* [main kitchen/living room] floor and take the sweepings to the edge of a field, a holy hill or some other place; the opening verse might be collecting the twigs and making the broom. There is an acorn among the litter, and it grows into a great tree. In coastal areas, e.g. in northern Estonia, the maidens 'sweep the sea' and the groom also rises from the sea, or the maids take the litter to the sea, an island grows and on it a great oak or ash. Franssila believes that these themes are also originally girls' marriage runes. They describe a hard-working girl who keeps the house clean and takes so much litter to the field that the soil becomes fertile, and finally grows a great oak from which many kinds of implements are obtained.

From Estonia originates a motif that (3) the oak grows from the froth from beer, yeast or a beer tankard thrown into the yard. The singer goes to a feast or wedding, where he is served foaming beer (*Hiiva alla, vaahto päällä, keskellä olut punainen* [*Yeast below, froth above, red beer in the middle*]). The singer pours the froth on the ground or during the drinking session throws the beer *haarikka* [tankard] out into the yard. The rune contains motifs from other feasting songs intertwined, for example from the rune of the Giant Ox.

In Estonia, too, the oak (ash) grows up to the sky, and its boughs prevent the sun from shining and the clouds from moving. A girl looks for someone to fell it and finds her brother; often the search for the feller

and coaxing the brother is a separate long sequence that may also include sharpening of the axe with the 'decorated shaft'. Some variants from southern Estonia have preserved a similar description of the felling as in northern rune areas: the brother strikes once or one sliver, then a second time, and at the third strike fells the tree into the sea (Red Sea) or to form a bridge between various places. Usually, the oak runes end with the making of various objects.

According to Franssila, the making of the objects originates from the rune Weeping Oak. It has been very common in Estonia and recounts how a girl meets an oak in a forest, weeping that it has not been felled like other trees around it. The girl consoles the oak by saying that she has five brothers at home already sharpening their axe, or the girl promises that her brother will come and fell the oak. Finally, the rune describes in detail all the objects made from the oak; they include a house and various dishes and items of furniture, a cradle, a ship or mast, sauna, church, and bridal objects, such as a trunk for the dowry; objects that were necessary in the house and village. (1)

**Common elements.** Finnish-Karelian runes of the Great Oak have in common four, originally evidently three, maidens who sweep the sea or gather hay on a headland by the sea. All areas have preserved the vision of the tree reaching up to the sky, covering the sun and preventing the clouds from moving away; the theme is parallel to the myths about imprisoning the sun. The third common motif is searching for the feller. In the north the maidens, people or Väinämöinen enquires after a feller, in the south the singer girl looks for her brother and finds him in town, often in suspect company.

The poetic images of the maidens and the sea may be connected to the tree of life motif. Franssila was the first to refer to Roman incantations with three maidens.(2) The historiola of the incantation follows the formula of causing and its prevention: *Puu seisoi keskellä merta; siinä riippui astia täynnä ihmisen sisälmyksiä, kolme neitoa ympäröi sitä, kaksi niistä sitoi, yksi päästi auki* [*The tree stood in the middle of the sea; a dish full of human entrails hung from it, with three maidens around, two tying, one undoing*]. The maidens are mistresses of fate, *fortunae* or *fata*, and also appear in Greek mythology. The Scandinavian equivalent of the Great Oak is the Yggdrasill Ash. Near it lived three maidens, *norna* or mistresses of fate, who measured the allotted shares of humans and gods too, their life spans. In early Christian-based incantations, the three mistresses of fate were replaced by three Marys (cf. maps 45, 50).

**Interpretations of the Great Oak.** Julius Krohn compared the Great Oak to the Yggdrasill Ash, and following the natural-mythical explanation model of his time, believed that the tree is an allegoric representation of a great cloud spreading across the sky and covering the sun, until thunder breaks it up. In Franssila's view, the runes of the Great Oak would have originated in Estonia and spread into Finland; in northern areas the runes would have been interwoven with elements from other contexts, especially incantations. The growth of the tree to enormous proportions would be only stylization, and its naming as an oak due to the fact that it is the largest tree in the Baltic region. V. J. Mansikka associated the Great Oak to the tree-of-life theme, but thought that the rune had stemmed from medieval cross-tree legends; the feller who fitted under a sieve or a goblet would be a Christ character or Christ child, who in Russian incantations has been placed in the communion chalice.(3)

Uno Harva has associated the Dvinian rune of the Great Oak with northern people's narratives about the Milky Way. In his view, the lines *Latvoi suureen suveen, tyvin kohti koilliseen t. pohjoiseen* [*Top toward the great summer (south), foot towards the north-east or north*] precisely describe the curve of the tree-like Milky Way in the wintry night sky. Martti Haavio has also supported this view. Many kinds of narrative themes have been attached to the Milky Way. Among Finnic and many other northern peoples,

the Milky Way [Finnish *Linnunrata*, Birds' way] has been understood as an avian route, along which birds migrate to *Lintukotola* [Birds' home] for the winter. Finnish runes of the Great Oak also contain lines about how birds flew to the branches of the oak. Northern hunter peoples have also seen in the Milky Way the tracks of a skier pursuing a mythical elk (map 88).

In the narratives of cultivating peoples, the Milky Way has been a track of straw or milk. But a very old idea, and one known in the folklore of numerous European peoples, is that the Milky Way is a great tree that bends over the stream of the Underworld, along which the souls (soul birds) of the dead traveled to the Underworld, Paradise, or in Christian tradition to the Kingdom of God. Haavio has sought for equivalents for the rune of the Great Oak from the cosmic tree legends of e.g. Asian and South American peoples.(4) In the narratives of the Chinese, Lao people and Japanese, the tree shading the sky prevents the growth of rice fields, and when it is felled, agricultural implements, the agrarian world order, are created from it.

The tree reaching from earth to sky has also been placed as part of the Paradise myths, narratives known throughout the world about the happy primordial period of humanity, when heaven was still close to the earth and people or human souls could ascend to heaven along a great tree, liana, or vine. The felling of the cosmic tree signified severing of the connection, falling into sin and the demise of Paradise.(5)

**The oak-feller.** In northern areas, the oak-feller is a little man, usually described as being the height of a thumb or a span, but other epithets vary. In Ladoga Karelia the little man appears in an iron suit; the man rising from the sea is wearing an iron hat, iron shirt, iron belt and iron mittens. According to K. F. Fransila, the iron man originates from the rune Wooers of the Sea known in Estonia and other southern areas, about a medieval knight coming from the sea. In his view, the frosty or icy man known in Dvina and elsewhere originates from the incantation for healing a burn. Kaarle Krohn agreed with V. J. Mansikka's interpretation that the little man is a metaphor of Christ. Y. H. Toivonen has thought the little man an inhabitant of Lintukoto or the edge of the earth; in the folklore of Finno-Ugrian peoples, they are a Lilliputian people who lived (in Lintukotola) far north at the end of the Milky Way, on the edge of the earth where the sky's canopy and the earth met.(6)

In Haavio's view, the little black man is a cliché that has been employed in various contexts; both in the runes of the Great Oak and the Giant Ox, the small size emphasizing the dramatics of the felling scene. In general, the tree-feller has been of secondary importance in cosmic tree legends.(7) However, it is possible that the little black man rising from the sea, who in many Dvinian variants is characterized as being a little better than dead, has perhaps meant inhabitants of the underground or inverse world, earth folk or ancestors, who are often imagined as small in stature (cf. map 71).

## **Message of the cosmic tree**

**Cosmic tree of the hunting era.** The runes about the creation and felling of the Great Oak are interpretations of different eras of the cosmic tree theme. The original etiological rune has probably never existed, but the great tree is an image used by shamans, sorcerers and people of the agrarian community,

village girls, to express matters significant to them. The message of the cosmic tree has become assimilated to cultural structures.

Baltic-Finnic visions of the Great Oak are evidently based on three universal themes: (1) the cosmic tree, (2) the tree of life, and (3) the giant tree that darkens the sky and threatens the cosmic order.

(1) The cosmic tree connects the different layers of the universe in the same way as the cosmic pillar, and it is often placed in the center of the world: the cosmic mountain, the Pohjola of Finnish runes. The roots of the tree are in the underground world, Tuonela, and the top rises up to the night sky, abode of the gods; along the cosmic pillar or tree, the shaman's soul was able to ascend to the realm above. In shamanistic astral myths it is the Milky Way, bridge to Tuonela or the passageway of the dead. Whatever ideas are attached to the cosmic tree in the folk narrative of various peoples, it is specifically the cosmic tree which originally supported shamanistic concepts of the structure of the cosmos.

The shamanistic cosmic tree tradition of the hunting era has been preserved by northern hunter peoples, and visions of the shamanistic world view survive in Dvinian runes, with the Great Oak growing on the shore of the Tuonela stream and being felled across the Tuonela River, to serve as a bridge to the eternal destination. As an astral myth, the Great Oak is unlikely to have comprised more than a description of a tree that grows and is felled across the sky. It has been an explanation of why the Milky Way exists and of its significance in the universe. The myth explained the order prevailing in the cosmos of the hunting period.

(2) The tree of life grows in the realm of the gods or in Paradise on earth at the spring of life or by the stream of life, and the gods use its fruits as nourishment. The Paradise tree crystallizes man's hopes of abundance and immortality, but it is also a tree of destiny, onto the leaves of which the goddesses of fate have written the length of every human life. The garden of Paradise with its tree of life and spring of plenty is perhaps an illusion particularly of peoples living in the deserts of the Middle East, but it also appears in texts of high religions, and traces of it are also found in Finnish poetry in the old meter.

(3) A giant tree stops the movements of heavenly bodies and clouds, prevents the sun from shining and the rains from coming. It threatens to stop time, to shake the order prevailing in the world, and its proportions are larger than nature like the great primordial animal, the Giant Ox (map 96).

The Yggdrasill Ash also contains a number of elements. It is a tree supporting the different levels of the world, with an eagle sitting at its top, like the heavenly eagle at the top of the cosmic pillar of e.g. the Khants (Ostyaks).<sup>(8)</sup> At the end of time, the tree is burned to ash and the worlds collapse. But the Yggdrasill Ash is also an evergreen Paradise tree, giver of life and growing at the spring of life. And finally, with its norna maidens it also represents the tree of destiny and death; the spring at its foot was also the spring of wisdom visited by the gods to hear the talking head of the giant Mimir handing out its advice. The roots of the ash tree were home to snakes, which in the shamanistic world view are associated with the realm of the dead.<sup>(9)</sup> In the same way, runes in the old meter of the Great Oak contain many cosmic views and explanations of different periods of man's visible and invisible environment.

**Cultivating man's cosmic tree.** In early cultivation communities, in the sorcery period, the cosmic tree has become associated with the incantation about the making of stinging arrows, the etiological myth of the sting. Death's arrows are made from slivers of the Great Oak; they are carved from the tree of Tuonela, from the path walked by the dead. In the Dvinian rune of the Great Oak, the realm of the dead is repeated. The oak is born from the hair of the maid of Tuonela, from her soul force, it is felled to become a bridge across the Tuonela River, and in some variants, its slivers also drifted on the stream of Tuonela.

As the tree of sorcerers, the Great Oak is rather the tree of life of the Antiquity and ancient Scandina-

vians, at which the mistresses of fate mete out human beings' thread of life. The workaday mistresses of fate of Finnish swidden culture are perhaps the maids who, as if by a quirk of fate, are making hay, combing their hair, and find the oak slivers. The etiologies of the sting are some of the basic myths of sorcery. Through them, sorcerers of the swidden culture took possession of the arrows of sickness and death, the force of the tree of life and death, and began to control the destinies of living people.

In Ladoga Karelia the slivers of the Great Oak are taken for cows' bedding, the tree is associated with cattle fortunes, prosperity of the house. In South Karelia, Ingria and Estonia, many kinds of household implements are made from the great tree, but it is also associated with girls' marriages, fertility of the field, and other peasant life values. In village songs, the characters are the girl's brother, sisters, father and mother; death and fate have become luck in marriage, and the Great Oak stands for a house and goods, the kind of a solid base for living that cultivating man has valued.

In agrarian cultures, the cosmic-Paradise tree becomes a symbol of growth force, the miracle of growth, a giant liana or pumpkin that grows up to the sky and blots out the sunlight and prevents the movement of rain clouds. The great tree poses a threat to farming, but on the other hand it kind of accumulates the growth force of the earth, and when it is felled, its boughs and trunk bring forth beneficial plants and a new era, cultivating man's world and village culture. The giant plant must be felled for the rains to come and the sun to be able to help grow the crop; a new era begins from the freeing of the clouds, sun and moon. From branches of the giant tree are made new implements and tools or plants and fruits, cultivated from then on. Through cultivating man's cosmic tree narratives, the environment has also been divided into hierarchical categories, useful and useless objects from man's point of view defined, things producing good and evil, natural forces associated with growth or anti-growth, life and death.

(MI A 652, A 2681.2, D 950.2, E 481.2.1, F 95.5, F 535.1, F 610.2)

**1.** Franssila 1900. **2.** Franssila 1900, 439-, 454-. **3.** Krohn J. 1885, 289-. Mansikka 1910, 179-. **4.** Harva 1933b, 48-; 1945; 1948, 70-. Haavio 1941; 1967b, 342-, 354-. **5.** Eliade 1961, 62-. **6.** Franssila 1900, 265-. Krohn K. 1917, 77-; 1932, 44-. Mansikka 1910. Toivonen 1935; 1937. **7.** Haavio 1967b, 353. **8.** Harva 1920, 20; 1933b, 29-. **9.** Edda 1982: *The Seeress's Prophecy and the Rune of Grimnir*. Bauschatz 1982. Butterworth 1970. Mannhardt 1904-1905 I. Roe 1982, (136-).

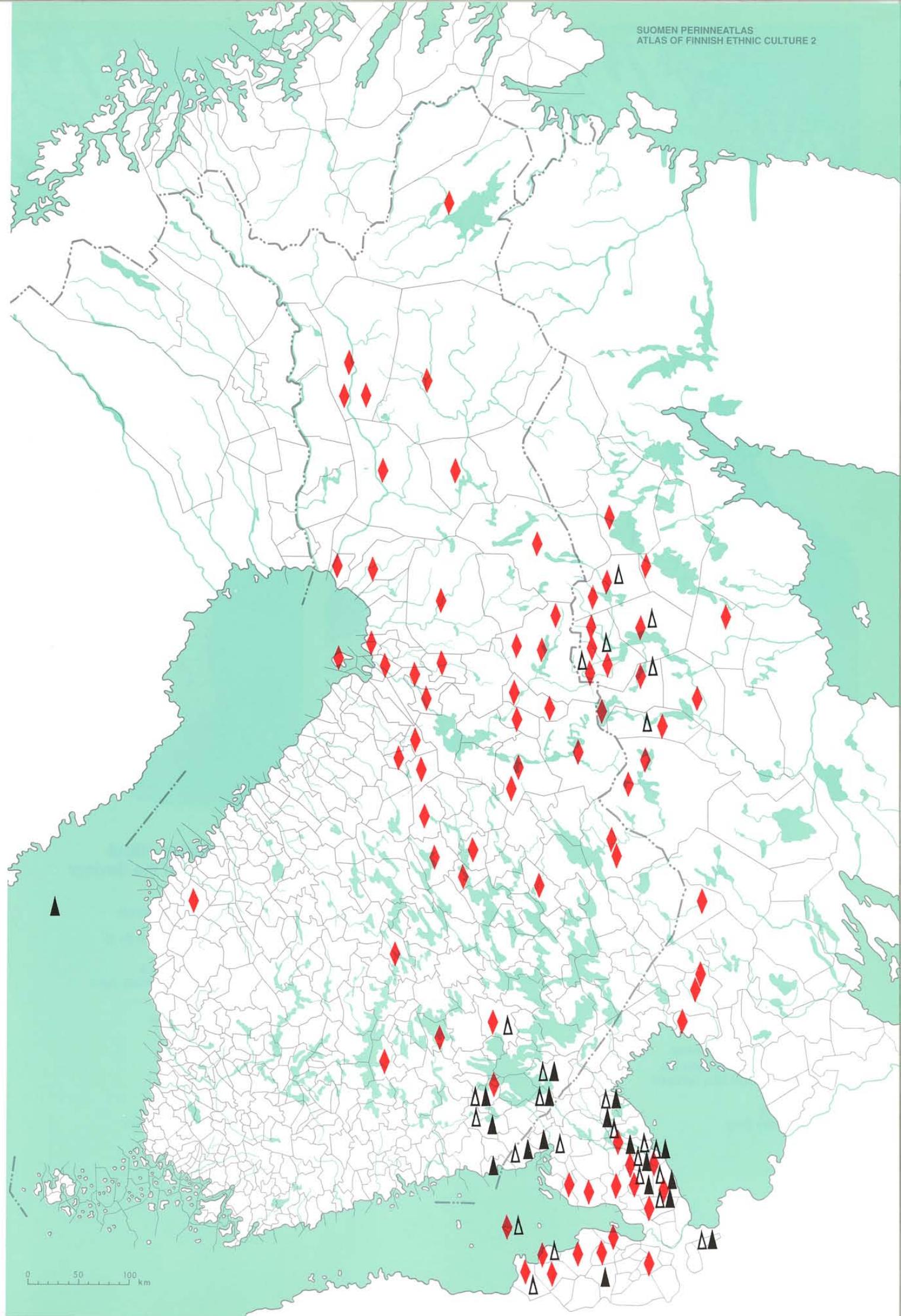
## 96. Suuri eläin Giant Beasts

◆ Iso härkä  
The Giant Ox

▲ Iso sika  
The Giant Pig

eläimen tappaminen  
killing the animal  
jumalten tapporyitykset  
attempts by the gods

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 96. GIANT BEASTS

### **Giant Ox and Giant Pig**

**The giant domestic animal and its slaughter.** The rune of the Giant Ox recounts how in Häme, which in the refrain is called Suomi [Finland], there grew such a big ox that its head swung as far as Kemijoki (river in South Lapland), and it took a swallow two days to fly the distance between its horns. A slaughterman was sought for the ox and the gods came along. When the ox swung its head and rolled its eyes, the gods fled up trees and issued their threats from there. Many variants end in the same way as the Great Oak (map 95): A little black man, an iron man, rises from the sea, strikes the ox dead, and great quantities of meat and blood are obtained from it.

Another song in the old meter is about the Giant Pig; it is a humorous village rune in its preserved form. The opening sequence describes a villager who has lost his house through drink and been forced to enter service, or the singer himself has been in service (a slave in Estonia) and received a piglet as wages. He feeds his piglet well and it grows into a huge pig, with its back seven *vakos* or *ases*, its snout six axe shafts, and its tail a hundred fathoms.

#### **The Giant Ox**

*Hämeessä härkä syntyi, sonni Suomessa sikisi. Ei ollut suuri eikä pieni: Hämeessä häntä hei-lui, päät keikkui Kemijoella, sarvet torkkui Torniossa. Päivän lensi pääskylintu härän sarvien vä-liä, kuukauden orava juoksi härän selkäpiitä (häntäluuta) myöten.*

*Etsittiin iskijää. Tuotiin Ukko iskemään, Virokannas viilemään, Palvanen pitelemään. Ukko kirvestä heristi.*

*Härkä päättä häiläytti, sonni sorkkansa soristi. Ukko kuuseen kavahti, Rauni pihlajan nenään, Vi-rokannas vitikköön, muut jumalat muihin puihin. Ukko kuusesta toruvi, Rauni pihlajan nenästä: "Kun mä tulen toisen kerran: sata saavia lihaa, kuuta kuusi tynnyriä, verta seitsemän venettä."*

*Musta mies (rautamies, vaskimies) merestä nousi, pystyn peukalon pituinen. Iski härän häi-läytti. /Ensin väänsi polvillensa, sitten käänsi kyljellensä, siitä siirsi selällensä. Saatiin sata saa-via lihoa, kuuta kuusi tynnyriä, verta seitsemän venettä.*

*There was an ox born in Häme, a bull begat in Finland. It was not large or small: its tail hung in Häme, its head swung in Kemijoki, its horns touched Tornio. A day took a swallow to fly between the ox's horns, a month took a squirrel to run along the ox's spine (tailbone).*

*They looked for a slaughterman. They brought Ukko to strike it, Virokannas to slash it, Palvanen to hold it. Ukko shook his axe.*

*The ox swung his head, the bull stretched his hoof. Ukko shot up a spruce tree, Rauni to a rowan top, Virokangas into a willow bush, other gods in other trees. Ukko declares from the spruce, Rauni from the rowan top:*

*"When I come another time: a hundred tubs of meat, six barrels of fat, seven boats full of blood."*

*A black man (iron man, copper man) rose from the sea, height of an upturned thumb. Struck the ox with a swing. /First forced it on its knees, then turned it on its flank, then moved it on its back. Got a hundred tubs of meat, six barrels of fat, seven boats full of blood.*

### The Giant Pig

The narrator of the rune, Lauri the Lappish boy or someone else is a slave in Estonia or sells his lands, drinks his money and goes into service as a farmhand. He is given a piglet as wages.

*Talvet syötin (syötti) tahtahalla, kesän voilla, vehnäsillä. Sika suureksi sikisi, possu (ortti) kasvoi kauhiaksi: selkä on seitsemän vakoa, kärsä kuusi kirvesvartta.*

*Tuli ukko tappamaan/ kultaisella kurikalla, vaskisella vasaralla. Sika käänsi kärsäänsä, törrötti saparoansa. Ukko kuuseen kavahti, muut jumalat muihin puihin. Ukko tuolta uhottelee:*

*"Malta malta possu parka. Et tongi toista vuotta Toron pellon pientareilla (Torajoen penke-reillä)."*

*Fed it with dough in winter, summers with butter and wheat. The pig became big, the porker grew to terrible size: its back is seven furrows, its snout six axe-shafts.*

*Ukko came to slaughter/ with a golden club, a copper hammer. The pig turned its snout, pointed its tail. Ukko shot up a spruce tree, other gods in other trees. Ukko boasts from there:*

*"Wait, wait poor pig. You won't root another year on the edges of Toro's fields (on the banks of the Tora River)."*

**Gods' attempts at slaughtering.** The sequence is a little different in each rune, but they are depicted on the map with one symbol. The common core elements of the sequence are the arrival of Ukko and possibly other gods to slaughter the animal, the lines of how the ox swung its head or the pig turned its snout and stiffened its tail, whereupon the gods climbed up a tree and issued their threats from there.

**Rune of the Giant Ox.** The location of the enormous ox is generally Häme, but for example in a variant published by Christfried Ganander (1789) Kainuu, and in some records from Savo, also Karelia. However, the other provinces are mentioned sporadically, and the most original and widely known seem to be the lines saying that the ox was so big that it stretched from Häme to the Kemijoki river.

Other metaphors expressing the size of the ox are typically animal allegories: a swallow or quail takes a day to fly the distance between the horns, and similarly a squirrel would take a month or a year to run along the ox's back or its tail end to end. The third, rare animal is the stoat; it occurs in place of the squirrel, or it is said that it would take the summer season to circle the ox's hoof, hoof print etc. (*Kesän kärppä kääntelihe, yhden kyntyvän sijalla. [A whole summer the stoat ran around the print of one hoof.]*) The same animals and metaphors occur in the Estonian counterpart of the Giant Ox. Such mensural definitions are evidently very old and known in some form all over the world in descriptions of the size of a

mythological animal or plant.

The sequence of the attempted slaughter by the gods contains an excerpt from Mikael Agricola's list of gods included in the foreword of *Davidin Psalttari* (1551). Ukko, Rauni, Virokannas are specifically Karelian gods, according to Agricola. Ukko was honored with the Vakkove festival at spring sowing time (map 4), and Rauni was Ukko's wife, the supernatural guardian of weather (*Kuin Rauni, Ukon naini, härsky, jälosti Ukko pohjasti pärsky. [When Rauni, Ukko's wife, raged, nobly Ukko brought rain and thunder from the north.]* So, he gave the weather and the year's harvest.); Virokannas *kauran kaitsi* [tended the oats]. According to Martti Haavio, Ukko and Rauni correspond to Thor and Freya of Scandinavian mythology, the name Virokannas would be based on the saint Virak-Hannos (Johannes; John), with virak referring to Catholic incense. On the day of St John the Evangelist, oats were blessed in medieval churches. Palvanen (Pajainen etc.) would be a variant or the epithet of Ukko, meaning 'to be worshipped' or 'exalted'.(1)

**Rune of the Giant Pig.** As Haavio has pointed out, the size of the pig is described using old measures, entirely differently from the descriptions of the size of the ox. Vako or *vakolenko* means the length of a furrow (ca. 300 cubits), ase (*seitsemän asetta, aselta, sasenta*) may be the same as *askel* [step, stride] or the Russian measure of distance, *sasen*. The episode of the gods' pig slaughtering differs in detail from the striking of the ox. In Haavio's view of the rune of the Giant Pig, Ukko, with his axe or armed with a golden club (*nuija*), is the Thor figure, god of heaven and thunder, the Germans' Donar. He believes that the Estonian lines *Toodi Turgi tappamaie* (in Ingria *Tunkei Turulta miekko*) would refer to Thor, similarly the linguistically unusual place name Toro river or Torojoki.(2) In some variants, Ukko strikes the pig and a lot of meat is obtained from it, some of it salted for Christmas (SKVR XIII 1:258). If the introduction is thought of as a later addition, the rune may originally have been a description of how somewhere there is such a large pig that the god of heaven himself is required to kill it.

**Map diagram of the Giant Ox.** Relatively few independent variants of the Giant Ox have been recorded, but the core lines of the rune, describing the dimensions of the animal, have survived in various contexts almost throughout the whole preservation area of runes in archaic meter, especially in Kainuu and southern Lapland. The Giant Ox occurs as a demonstration of a sorcerer's incantational skills in some variants of Lemminkäinen's Lament and the Singing Match (map 91), as well as in an introduction to, for example, the Formula for Ointment (healing ointments are based on ox grease) and the Incantation for Stings (map 49); in addition, cliché lines about a great ox are found e.g. in the mockery rune The Miracles of Häme, even in some children's poems, chain fairytales and riddles.

The rune of the Giant Ox is Estonian-Finnish-Karelian, and in the Gulf of Finland area it evidently represents the aboriginal Finnish layer. The rune has perhaps evolved in the early cultivating communities of the Gulf of Finland or in Iron Age Häme and been preserved within the swidden culture of the Savo-Karelians. However, its preservation area is more western than is usual for epic runes, and in Karelia and even in Dvina, it has generally only been known in connection with the mockery poem The Miracles of Häme. Although Haavio sees place names as only allegories of distant places, they are likely to have a real significance. Häme, Suomi, Kemijoki, Tornionjoki and even Kainuu refer to the Finland of the 11th century, the then Häme, which until the 14th century bordered on Karelia. The place names all fit into the Häme in which the hunters and settlers from Varsinais-Suomi and Häme (Pirkkalaiset) moved, and the tribal relations of the period make sense of why the ox reached from Häme to Kemijoki in particular.

The gods' attempted slaughtering appears in both runes, but only within the Karelian culture circle in western Ingria, the Isthmus, and Dvina. From areas on the Finnish side, the lines on the attempted

slaughter have not been recorded with the exception of South Savo, where it has evidently spread from the Isthmus. Thus, on the basis of the map diagram, too, the listed gods are Karelian.

A little man risen from the sea would seem to belong to the rune of the Giant Ox everywhere, also appearing as the ox-slayer in Estonia. It is possible that the little black man originates from the rune of the Great Oak. (maps 94-95). The singers have elaborated the dimensions of the slaughter scene by describing how the little man struck the ox dead with his fist or thumb. Matti Kuusi believes that the killing with bare hands would indicate that the episode has been transferred to the mythical primordial age. (3 The striker, who is the height of a span or a finger, is armed with an axe, but also a golden *kurikka*, a silver club, which also appear in the lines of Ukko. Thus, the ox-slayer might originally be a similar lightning-striking figure to the ancient Scandinavian Thor, whose emblems are the club or hammer. It might be thought that the Giant Ox is about a huge slaughter or sacrificial animal struck dead by lightning. The rune would have concluded with praise of full meat-pots, symbolism of plenty and well-being.

**The Giant Pig and mockery of gods.** The rune of the Giant Pig has only been recorded from South Karelia and Ingria, and Kuusalu in Estonia, where it may have spread from Ingria.(4 In addition, lines of the Giant Pig have been recorded from Värmland Finns, among whom the rune has survived as an incantation for pigs. The rune is originally South Karelian or possibly Estonian-Karelian; on the map its core area is the old Käkisalmi or Vuoksi Karelia, including the parishes of southern Saimaa. The rune of the Giant Pig may have had a similar basic structure; it was about a supernaturally large animal killed by a god. Particularly in lines of the Giant Pig, details have survived that may refer to Thor.

According to the map diagram, the attempts at slaughter by the gods are an addition made in Karelia, which originally perhaps only belonged in the rune of the Giant Pig, but was also attached to the Giant Ox, possibly in Dvina. The mocking lines ridicule the Karelians' pagan gods who run off to the trees to shout their threats. Ukko, Rauni or Röönikkä, Virokannas and Palvanen are like an excerpt from a Finnish Olympus, and the list has been transferred as a cliché line also to some other runes. Kaarle Krohn was among the first to believe that the people of Häme might have used the runes to mock the Karelians, Kuusi has deemed the gods' efforts at slaughtering to have originally belonged in the rune of the Giant Pig, and suggested that the rune is a medieval mockery adaptation of the Giant Ox. It might have been made up by some cleric in order to caricature pagan gods and sacrificial customs. Later, the runes of the Giant Pig and Ox have become intermingled in Karelia and Ingria. The Giant Pig would be placed in the same early medieval stylistic period as the Judging of Väinämöinen, Catching the Maid of Vellamo (maps 90-91) or the parody versions of the Creator's Voyage.(5

The author of the sequence on the gods' attempted slaughtering must have known Agricola's list of the gods or the idea prevalent among the clergy of the Karelians' pagan 'gods'. The rune sequence is created by learned people, and it is written according to the model provided by the Antiquity. A hierarchical world of the gods, Olympus, does not exist in ancient Finnish religion, but the gods have been supernatural guardians of various animals or natural sites, or saints of the Catholic era. No other runes in the old meter contain similar lists.

## Mystery of the runes

**Slaughtering myth.** In his *Mythologia Fennica* (1789), Ganander compares the message of the Giant Ox about abundant meat pots to the expectations of apocalyptic movements, separatists and chiliasts believing in the advent of a millennial realm, but also thought that the heavenly ox or bullock has referred to the Plough.(6 Thus, the rune would be an astral myth. As a representative of the natural-mythological school of thought, Julius Krohn interpreted the Giant Ox as an allegory of a thundercloud and storm.(7 Kaarle Krohn recorded the information about the rune of the Giant Ox in Dvina that it was always sung at Kekri. There was a special 'Ox song' for Kekri, the New Year feast.

Researchers of The Giant Ox have usually thought of it as a myth or ritual rune, whereas there are differing views of the age and message of The Giant Pig. Haavio calls the runes Kekri verses and considers them to be parallel runes originating from the same ancient layer.(8 He has associated the Giant Ox with the so-called killing myths that describe the killing of a great primaeval creature. A god or primordial heros figure slays a monster, giant or demon threatening the cosmos, its carcass is chopped up, and its various parts are the origin of the various surface formations of the earth, plants and animals. Thus, it would be a case of one of the basic types of the cosmogonical myth (map 87). The Scandinavian equivalent of the primordial monster is the giant Ymir, mentioned in some of the poems in the Edda.

**The Mithra cult in Karelia.** Haavio believes that the closest model of the Giant Ox is the etiological myth of the Mithra religion. Mithra was the god of light of the Iranians, originally the Aryans, who in the battle against the powers of darkness was charged with the task of killing the giant primordial ox, the first living creature created by Ahuramadza. Mithra catches up with the ox, grabs it by the nostrils from behind and kills it with his knife. The parts of the dead ox are the origin of grain and medicinal plants used by humans, as well as the animals. The event will be repeated at the end of time. Then Mithra will return, slaughter an ox, and share out its meat to the members of the religious sect. Its blood and fat he will mix in wine and share it out among the righteous; they will become immortal and be saved from the great cosmic fire that will destroy evil. This will mark the beginning of a new age. Preserved temples of Mithra usually contain a picture of him behind the altar, depicting him as having forced the ox on its knees; consequently, it has been supposed that the killing myth has been renewed in Mithraic mysteries, as the cult group shared a meal.

For the gods' attempts at slaughtering, Haavio has found a counterpart in ancient Assyrian clay tablets depicting how the gods were asked to kill the leonine Labbu monster. As the animal raises its tail, the gods are frightened off, until the god Tispak (Man of Heaven) succeeds in killing it in the shelter of a storm he has sent. The animal was so large that it bled for more than three years. Haavio sees many similarities between the Finnish runes and the Labbu myth, such as the expressions of the animal's large size, the search for the slaughterer, the flight of the gods as the animal 'swung its head' or 'shook its tail', even the large amount of blood from the animal. The Giant Ox and Giant Pig would be Finnish equivalents of the killing myths originated within ancient eastern high culture.

Haavio even considers the rune of the Giant Ox evidence that the Mithra cult would have been known in some form also in the ancient Gulf of Finland culture circle, specifically in Karelia. The Mithra religion with its mysteries spread to Rome in the second century A.D., and its supporters were particularly soldiers and merchants. They spread the religion to various parts of the Roman empire, including Germania and Britannia. The heyday of the Mithra religion in Europe was A.D. 200-300s, until Christianity destroyed it. In Haavio's view, the Mithraic mysteries could have spread to Finland as early as the Roman Iron Age, when trade in furs and amber created contacts with the Roman Imperium. At that time, young soldiers from Baltic and Finnish areas may have served in Roman mercenary forces and obtained weap-

ons, among them Roman-style swords that have been found in graves from the period. The rune of the Giant Ox would thus have been 'the foundation book of Karelian religion'. At festivities at the turn of the year, members of the Karelian mystery group would have sacrificed an ox or a pig and enjoyed a shared meal modeled on the Mithrans' convicium.(9)

A number of comments might be voiced against Haavio's bold parallels. Franz Cumont's reconstruction of the etiological myths of Mithraism is largely based on interpretations of preserved imagery, and practically no information exists on what the message of the mysteries has been in Europe in different periods. Mithra's supporters were soldiers, clerks and merchants, not peasants, and Mithraism was not a village religion by nature, but sacrifices were made individually at temples or altars. Mithra as the ox-slayer has symbolized masculine strength, battle, contest and discipline.(10) As an idol, such a hero may have been acceptable in the Viking era, but hardly in early Iron Age cultivating villages.

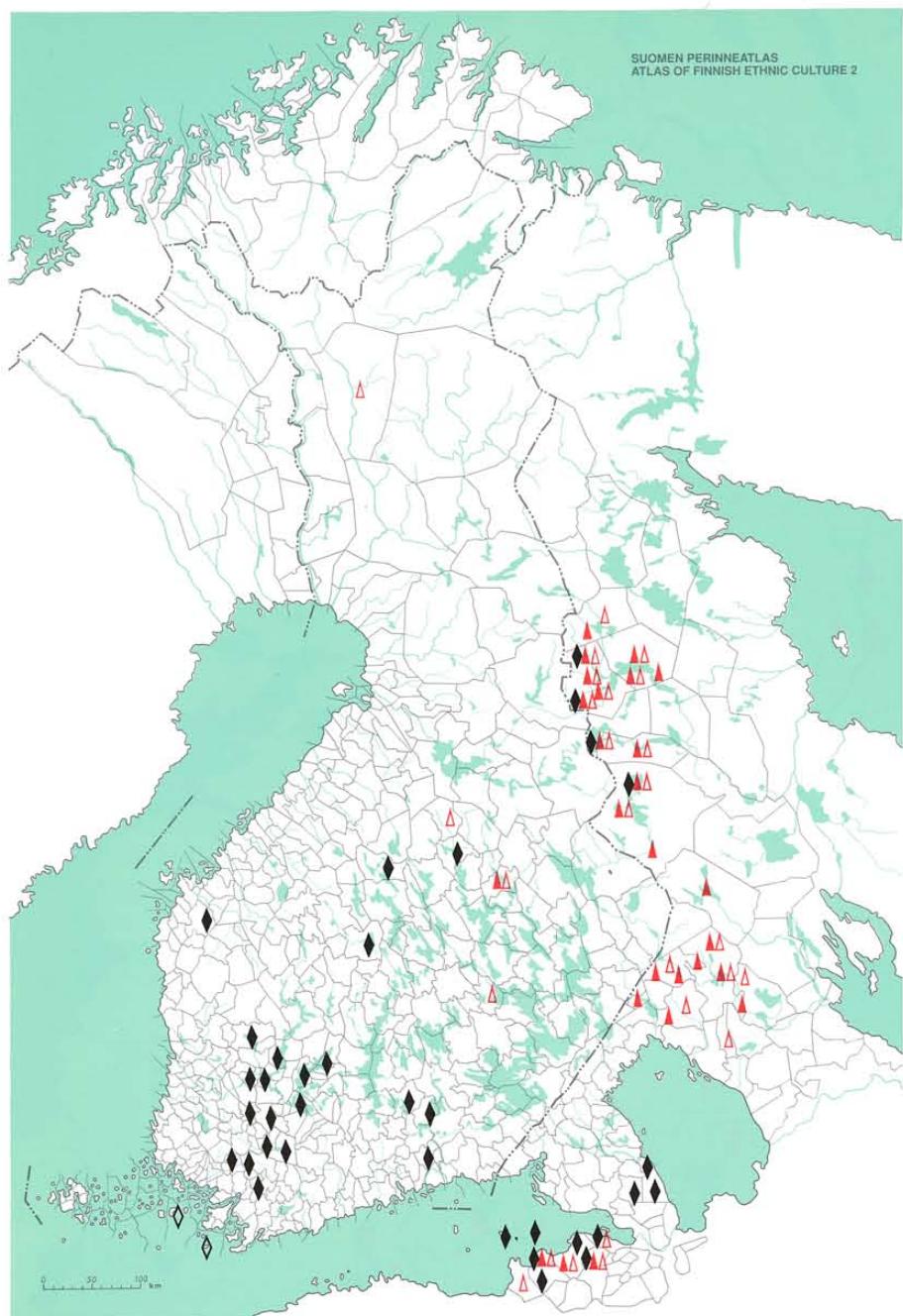
**Festive rune of the turn of the year.** Although the runes of the Giant Ox and Pig may not be directly associated with the Mithra religion, they may originally have had some role in the Iron Age livelihood rites of the Gulf of Finland coast. The Giant Ox may have been a Kekri rune, as indicated by the contextual information preserved from Dvina and the Isthmus. Kekri was the old turn of the year, the time of sharing, when the autumn slaughter was done and grain and cattle fortunes passed on to the new year. The cognitive background to the runes may be the myths of killing a large primordial animal. Among hunter peoples, they have been quarry myths about how the animals and plants in nature originated. In cultivating cultures the myths have been reformed, and the slaughtered 'primordial monster' is now a large domestic animal, from the body parts of which originates the life order of a farming community. They have overturned hunters' environmental ideas and transferred the abundance of life, the future and ecological security to the cultivating, cattle-tending man.

In agrarian cultures, the great ox is a symbol of fertility and the force of growth, both in ancient Middle Eastern dynasties and among Finno-Ugrian peoples. Oxen were slaughtered in the cultivating rites of the Mari (Cheremis) and Mordvins, as well as in Karelian sacrificial festivals (map 4).(11) Snorri Sturluson's *Ynglinga saga* contains the Swedish folk tradition of gathering in Uppsala once a year to sacrifice oxen for the god of fertility, Freyr, in order to ward off crop failures; the pig also held a special status in the cult of Freyr and Freya.(12) The animal offering of Germanic peoples, in common with the Finnish, has consisted of the consecration of the animal, ritual slaughter and a communal meal. Ancient German sources also mention runes that were called 'power runes', and they were often written or drawn using animal blood.(13) The rune of the Giant Ox may have been performed as an incantation when slaughtering animals at Kekri, as a rune of exaltation or power to the supernatural guardians of growth, or as a feasting song when celebrating a good year.

In Finland, the original environments of the rune about a great slaughter animal may have been the early cultivating communities on the Gulf of Finland coast or Iron Age villages in Häme. In Estonia, and on the Finnish side in Varsinais-Suomi and Häme, the ox was the oldest draft animal and held a special status culturally (Part I, map 25). Particularly in prehistoric Häme, but also in Ladoga Karelia, oxen may have been consecrated for the supernatural guardians of domestic animals and eaten at similar shared meals of the kinship group as the Kekri sheep of Michaelmas ram later (map 4). Thus, the Giant Ox and in South Karelia, alternatively the Giant Pig, too, may originally have been songs of the turn-of-year kinship rites. They praise a great domestic animal that provided meat, fat and blood both for the living and the ancestors, that was so large that a human being could not strike it dead.

(MI B 16.1.5.1, B 871, F 610.2)

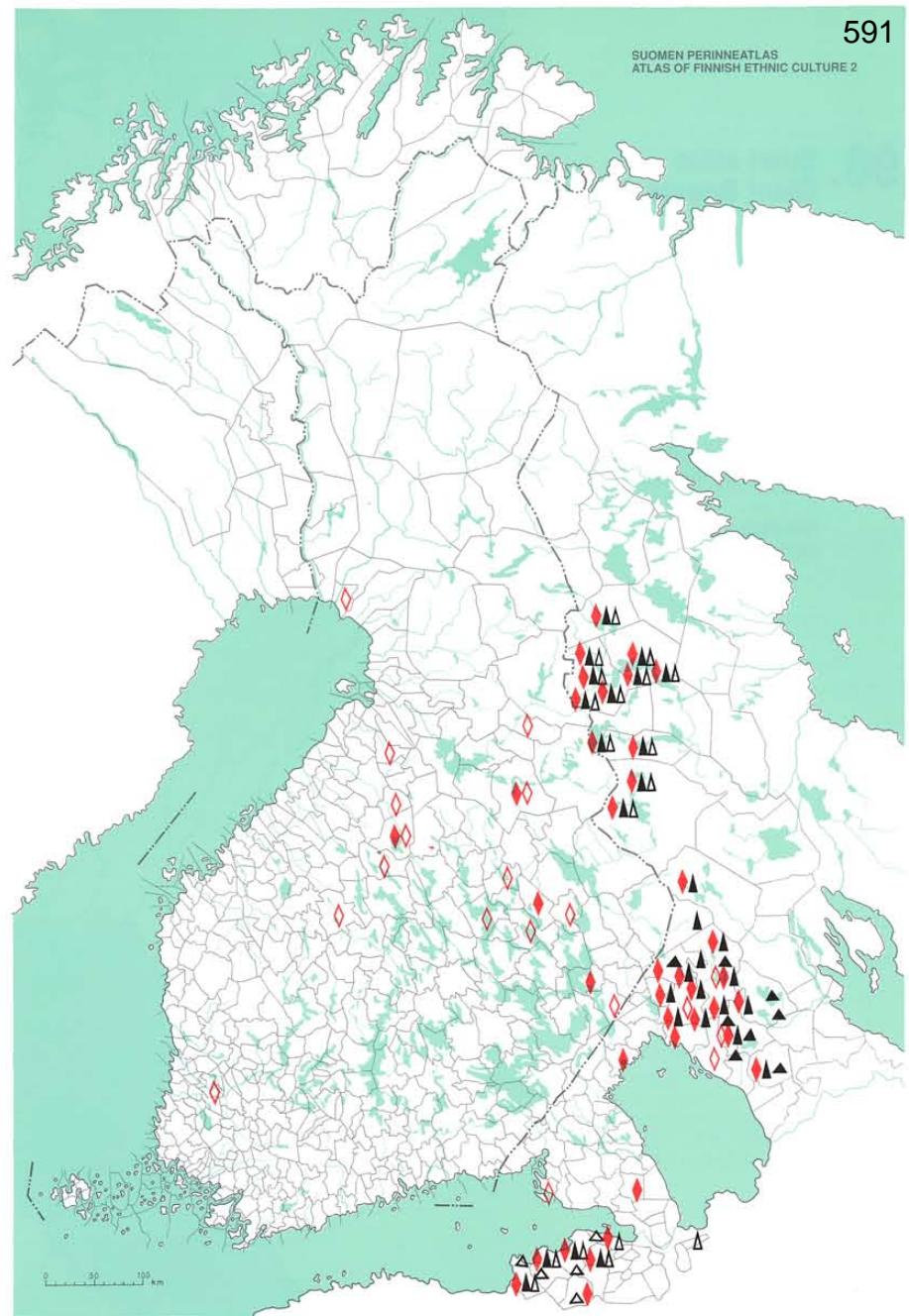
- 1.** Haavio 1959c, 79-, 95-, 245. **2.** Haavio 1959c, 49-, 60-, 96-. **3.** Kuusi 1963d, 162-. **4.** Tedre 1969. Salminen 1929. **5.** Krohn K. 1924-1928 II, 157-. Kuusi 1963b, 326-, 336-. **6.** Ganander 1789, 9-. **7.** Krohn J. 1885, 492-. SKVR I 2:896. **8.** Haavio 1959c. Niemi 1913, 13-. **9.** Haavio 1959c, 40-. **10.** Cumont 1956, 135-. **11.** Krohn J. 1894, 141-. Harva 1914, 65-; 1915b, 124-; 1942b, 135-; (1996). **12.** Davidson 1969, 25-, 74-, 86; 1985, 95-. **13.** Derolez 1963, 229-.



## 97. Vapahtajan syntymä The Birth of the Saviour

1. Tapani, Herodeksen tallirenki  
Stephen, Herod's groom
- ◆ Tapanin virsi  
Stephen's Song
- ◊ Staffan och Herodes (Sw.)  
Stephen and Herod
2. Luojan syntymä  
The birth of the Saviour
- Neitsyt Marian raskaaksi tulo  
How the Virgin Mary becomes pregnant
- ▲ Marjavirsi  
The Berry Song

- Synnytyspaikan etsintä  
The search for a place in which to give birth
- △ Saunanhakuvirsi  
The Sauna Seeking Song
- ◊ Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 98. Vapahtajan elämä The Life of the Saviour

- Legendalauluja Jeesuksen elämästä  
Religious songs of the life of Jesus
- △ Jeesus-lapsen etsintä  
The Search for the Infant Jesus
- ▲ Kylvöhme  
The Sowing Miracle
- ▲ Ylösnousemus  
The Resurrection
- △ Silta ja kirkko  
Bridge and Church
- ◆ Hiiden sepän kahlinta  
Chaining the Devil-Smith

- ◊ Rekisterikartta  
Archive map

◆ Hiiden sepän kahlinnan suora-sananaisia toisintoja  
prose variants of Chaining the Devil-Smith

## 97.-98. RELIGIOUS SONGS

### ***Christian epic poetry***

**Christian ballads.** European ballad tradition also includes religious songs about the lives of Jesus and other biblical characters or saints. Their themes are more often derived from apocryphal literature and medieval legends than direct from the Bible. In Central Europe and Scandinavia, religious ballads were already sung in the Middle Ages; some of the songs only originate from the late Middle Ages. Many Roman Catholic countries have a wealth of religious songs, for example the Slovenes identify over a hundred song types.(1) In Scandinavia, 37 types (TSB B 1-37) of religious ballads are identified; Finland has fifteen religious songs in the archaic meter. As examples of religious songs on the maps, we have taken *Tapanin virsi* [Stephen's Song] and *Luojan virsi* [Savior's Song], of which the latter has evolved into an extensive entity, kind of a miniature epic.

*Luojan virsi* has been called the Finnish or Kalevaic Messiad.(2) Its preserved variants are on average about 200 lines long, but the longest may consist of over 300 lines. The written records usually contain three or four sequences about an event attached to the life of Jesus or the Virgin Mary.(3) Singers of the religious songs have combined themes in various ways. The songs about the events of the Christmas gospel, *Marjavirsi* [Berry Song], *Saunanhaku* [The Sauna-Seeking Song] and *Lapsenetsintä* [The Search for the Infant Jesus] often form a single entity, as do the Easter songs *Ylösnousemusvirsi* [Resurrection Song] and *Hiiden sepän kahlinta* [Chaining the Devil-Smith]. The longest entities have been recorded in Dvina, where singing customs in general have been characterized by joining songs up to form epics. In Dvina and Ingria, particularly among the Orthodox Izhorians in Hevaa, Savior's Song has sometimes been augmented with Stephen's Song, and occasionally also other themes, such as the Church and the Bridge, the Sowing Miracle, and the narrative about Jesus's ride that was used as an incantation for sprains (map 50). This kind of combining of songs used to be thought of as deterioration of rune-singing. The modern view is that variation of the themes is a facet of singers' method of using the folkloric materials at their command, rather reflecting the vitality of the singing culture than its degeneration.

### **97. The Birth of the Savior**

**Stephen's Song.** The religious song is based on the Star of Bethlehem announcing the birth of Jesus, and King Herod, who according to the Bible and apocryphal narratives saw the newborn infant Jesus as a threat to his earthly power (map 97). In the Finnish legend, Ruotus's (Herod's) groom, Tapani (Stephen), takes his master's horse to the spring to drink, but the horse refuses to drink. The reason is the bright start reflected from the spring. Tapani takes the horse to the stable, goes into Ruotus's house and says: "God's King is born. I give up Ruotus, and put my faith in Jesus." Ruotus receives the news with doubts and says that he will only believe it if a roasted cockerel on a dish begins to crow, a bullock as a roast on the table begins to bellow, and the knife handle to sprout. The miracles happen.

Stephen's Song has always existed as an independent song on the Finnish side, and in Dvina, too, it has only exceptionally been combined with another entity of the Savior's Song. Conversely, in Ingria, especially in Hevaa, it has been sung following on from The Search for a Sauna. Stephen's Song has also been preserved in western Finland, due to the fact that the song was part of the repertoire of Christmas-time tours (maps 27-29). Fragments of the song have also been recorded in incantations associated with caring for horses.

### Stephen's Song

*Tapani oli tallirenki ruman Ruotuksen talossa.*

*Ajoi juomaan hevosen jouluyönä korkeana. Lähde läikkyi hepo korskui, ei hepo vettä juonut.*

*"Mitä korskut korpin ruoka, hirnut Ruotuksen hevonen?"*

*Tapani oli tallirenki, vedestä vikaa etsi. Näki tähden taivaalla pilkun pilvien raossa, tähden varjon lähteessä.*

*Tapani oli tallirenki, ajoi juoksulla kotiin. Meni Ruotuksen tupaan, seisathihe oven suuhun:*

*"Syntynyt on Jumalan valta! Jo nyt luovun Ruotuksesta, otan uskon Kiesuksesta!"*

*Vastas Ruotus ruo'altansa:*

*"Jollet ääntäsi vähennä, niin minä ikäsi lyhennän! Sitten tuon toteksi uskon, jos tuo kukko laulaneepi, joka on paistina vadissa." Rupesi kukko laulamaan.*

*"Sitten tuon toteksi uskon, jos tuo härkä mylvineepi, joka on luina lattialla." Rupesi sonni mylvi-mään.*

*"Sitten tuon toteksi uskon, veitsenpää jos vesoneepi, jolla on vuosi vuoleskeltu."*

*Paiskas veitsen permantoon. Veitsenpää vesomaan alkoi, vesoi kuusi kultavesaa kultalehti kunkin päässä.*

*Stephen was a stable groom in the house of ugly Herod.*

*Drove the horse to drink on high Christmas night. The spring glittered, the horse reared, the horse would not drink.*

*"Why do you rear up, raven's food, why neighs Herod's horse?"*

*Stephen was a stable groom, sought a fault in the water. Saw a star in the sky, a dot in between the clouds, the star's shadow in the spring.*

*Stephen was a stable groom, drove home at a pace. Went into Herod's house, stood at the door:*

*"God's Kingdom is born! I give up Herod, and put my faith in Jesus."*

*Herod answered from his meal:*

*"If you don't pipe down, I will shorten your life! Then I will believe it, if that cock should sing that*

*lies roasted in the dish." The cock began to sing.*

*"Then I will believe it, if that ox should bellow that is bones on the floor." The bull began to bellow.*

*"Then I will believe it, if that knife-handle should sprout, with which I have whittled for a year."*

*Flung the knife into the floor. The knife-handle began to sprout, grew six golden shoots, each tipped with a golden leaf.*

The Finnish Stephen's Song is an adaptation of St Stephen's Ballad known in Scandinavia and also in England. An English note from the 1400s (Child 22) describes how Stefanus, servant of King Herod, on seeing a bright star in the sky wants to leave Herod and become a servant of the newborn Savior. Herod says that he will believe in the newborn, if the cock roast on the table starts to crow. A miracle takes place, the cock crows: "Christus natus est!" In spite of the miracle, Herod orders Stefanus to be stoned to death. The translator augmented the Scandinavian song by adding to the cock miracle those of the bull and the knife handle. Reflection of the star in the spring: *Näki tähren taivahas, tähren varjon lähtehes* [Saw a star in the sky, the star's shadow in the spring] is a motif absent from European folklore, but it has at one time been known at least in Sweden; a star reflected in a spring is found in a painting of Staffan in Dädesjö church.(4)

In Nordic religious songs, Stefanus has become Herod's stable groom, because as a saint, Stefanus was the patron of horses. In Sweden, there are two overlapping layers of *Staffansvisan* that have also been part of Finland-Swedish folklore. The older, the so-called Ballad of Staffan and Herod (FSF V 1:23. TSB B 8) was the model of the Finnish Stephen's Song; the map also shows the few Swedish-language variants. The later version, the Christmas song known as *Staffan stalleträng* (FSF V 1:24) has no direct connection with the ballad *Staffan och Herodes*, but it is a ceremonial song of Christmas singing tours. (Child 22. FSF V 1:23-24. MI B 130, D 1311.4.0.1, E 32, E 168.1, E 741.1.1.2, F 960.1, H 252. TSB B 8)

**Berry Song.** The first fixed sequence of the Savior's Song, Berry Song, explains the Virgin Mary's supernatural pregnancy in folk terms: Jesus was conceived from a berry eaten by Mary. In the opening lines of Berry Song, the berry calls her from the hill: "Come, maid, and pick me!" Mary, the pretty maid, goes off to pick berries, picks one and puts it to her lips, from the lips the berry is passed onto her tongue, from the tongue into her stomach. Mary becomes pregnant from the berry. In Dvina and Olonets Mary picks a lingonberry, in Ingria, especially in Hevaa, Mary, the holy woman, leaves her home, comes to the edge of a forest, sees an apple on a branch, a nut in the tree, picks it, eats it and becomes pregnant.

## Berry Song

*Marjanen mäeltä huusi punapuola kankaalta:*

*"Tule neiti poimimaan, tinarinta riipomaan ennen kuin etana syöpi mato musta muikkajaa."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen keksi marjasen mäeltä punapuolan kankaalta. Heitti marjan helmoihinsa, helmoiltansa rinnollaenssa, rinnollaenssa huulillensa. Siitä tyytyi siitä täytyyi, siitä paksuksi panichen. Kantoii kohtua kovaa vatsan täyttää vaikeaa ympäri yhdeksän kuitta, kuuta puolen kymmenettä.*

*A berry called from the hill, a red lingon from the heath:*

*"Come, maid, and pick me, pluck me, tin breast, before a snail eats me, a black worm devours me."*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother saw the berry on the hill, red lingon on the heath. Threw the berry in her skirts, from her skirts to her breast, from her breast to her lips. From it she was filled, from it she swelled. Carried her hard womb, a heavy bellyful, all through nine months, half of a tenth.*

In the symbolic language of the conception, the original is evidently the apple motif, as it is also found in Central European and English variants of the ballad (e.g. Child 54 A). The apple may originate from an apocryphal narrative where a palm tree bent its top in front of Mary to offer her its fruits during the holy family's flight to Egypt. In the north, the legend has become adapted to the local environment and existing folklore. A fruit unknown in Finnish conditions, the apple, has become a berry; the change may have been aided by the similarity of the words 'Maria' and 'marja' [berry]. In Karelia, there is also a separate lyrical song where the berry calls from a tussock and asks to be picked; it may be older than the religious song and has become the introduction to Berry Song.(5)

The delayed eating of the berry, picking it from the ground to her skirts, from skirts to breast and then to the lips, tongue and finally into the stomach originates from the Estonian description of Tears Rolling.(6 In Ladoga Karelia, Berry Song and other poetic elements have in turn combined to form an anti-Christian legend of the maid Iro, who became pregnant after eating a berry and gave birth to three male children, Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen and Joukahainen.

(Child 54. MI T 511.1.2)

**The Sauna-Seeking Song.** The second sequence of the Savior's Song, The Sauna-Seeking Song, describes how the forlorn Mary searches for a place to give birth to her child. In the legend song, people around her think Mary an alien, immoral woman, and she is not allowed to go to the sauna to give birth, as was customary in the Savo-Karelian culture area, but she was sent to a cold stable.

### The Sauna-Seeking Song

*"Piltti pieni piikaseni! Lähde kylpyä kylästä sauna Sarajalasta, jossa huono hoivan saisi. Avun ange tarvitsisi."*

*Piltti pieni piikojansa, hyvä kielas käskeäkin sekä juoksi että joutui ruman Ruotuksen taloon. Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä liikkui keskilattialla:*

*"Ei ole kylpyä kylässä sauna Sarajalassa. On talli Tapomäellä, johon portot pojat saavat, tulen lautat lapsen luovat."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen astua taputtelevi talliin Tapomäelle. Yläiset maat aleni, alaiset maat yleni.*

*"Henkäise hyvä hevonen, kylyn löyly löyhäytää, jotta huono hoivan saisi. Avun ange tarvitsisi."*

*Henkäisi hyvä hevonen. Synnytteli poiuttansa talliin hevosen luokse. Jouluna Jumala syntyi, paras poika pakkasella.*

*"Little child my maid! Go look for a bath-house in the village, a sauna in Sarajala, where a poor one may be cared for. A wretch would need some help."*

*The little child maid, good and biddable too, both ran and made it to the house of ugly Herod. Ugly Herod's wife strode the middle of the floor:*

*"There is no bath-house in the village, no sauna in Sarajala. There's a stable on Tapomäki hill, where sluts have their sons, whores shed their children."*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother, made her way to the stable on Tapomäki hill. High ground lowered, low ground rose up.*

*"Breathe, good horse, blow out a sauna steam, to care for a poor one. A wretch would need some help."*

*The good horse did breathe. She gave birth to her son in the stable by the horse. God was born at Christmas, the best son in frosty weather.*

Sauna-Seeking Song has three main redactions: (1) Dvinian, (2) Olonetsian and (3) Ingrian.

(1) In Dvina, the Virgin Mary gives birth to a child and sends a little maid to enquire about a sauna at Sarajala. "Let whores go to the stable on Tapomäki", answers the master (Ruotus or Herod) and does not allow her to use the sauna. Mary goes to the cold stable with her newborn, puts the child in the horse's manger, and asks the horse to breathe a warm sauna-steam for the child. So the horse breathes warmth for the newborn and his mother.

(2) In the Olonetsian legend Mary comes, pregnant, to her mother, but she drives her away. Mary goes to the rapids and asks them to take her with them, but they say: *Ei sinua virta voi viedä, kun on poika polvillasi, Herra Kristus helmoillasi.* [The stream cannot take you, as you have a son on your knees, Lord Christ in your lap.] Mary returns and her mother tells her to go to the stable to give birth. Three times, Mary sends her slave to see if the sun is up yet, and at the third time the slave says: "God's sun is shining now." Mary gives birth to a boy.

(3) In the Ingrian version, Mary comes to the village and enquires at a house about a place where she could have her baby. The mistress tells her to go to the stable on a hill. Mary goes to the cold stable, gives birth to a son and puts him on the icy hay.

In Dvina and Olonets, the birth sequence comes after Berry Song, but in Ingria it has followed The Search for the Infant Jesus, and after this, Stephen's Song was sung. The whole thus created is illogical in the sequence of its events. Senni Timonen has attempted to explain such a turn by emphasizing the strongly mythical aspect of the sauna-seeking sequence. By searching for a child that is not yet born, the Virgin Mary senses something exceptional about her person and understands that she is about to bring into the world a holy child.(7)

In Sauna-Seeking Song, biblical events have been transplanted into such a typically Finnish environment that there is no direct equivalent for the song in European folklore. There are some similarities in Rumanian *kolinda* or *kalendas* songs, and the same motifs are also found in certain French and German religious songs.(8)

(MI T 511.1.2, T 581.4, Z 216)

## 98. The Life of the Savior

**The Search for the Infant Jesus.** The song on the search for the child Jesus is based on the Bible story of the disappearance of the 12-year-old boy Jesus and of how his parents searched for their son until they found him in the temple (map 98). In the Finnish-Karelian legend song, Mary's child disappears and

she goes off to look for him. She meets the sun, moon and a star, in local variants a road, tree, church, wind or something else, and asks them if they have seen her son. All refuse to tell her, even if they have seen him; the sun because Mary's son has created it to rise in the morning, go down in the evening; the moon because it was created to rise at night, go down in the morning; the road because it was created to be trodden on by war horses etc. Finally, Mary is taken to the door of the Savior. There the child sat with red flowers in his hand, or, for example, the sun told her where the boy was.

### The Search for the Infant Jesus

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen piilotteli poiuttansa kultaista omenuttansa alla seu-lan seulottavan, alla korvon kannettavan. Alkoi päätänsä sukia hapsiansa harjaella. Katosi poika polviltansa.*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen etsiskeli poiuttansa kultaista omenuttansa. Etsis-keli hienot heinät, katseli kanervan juuret. Käy tietä, astelee. Kumartaa tien eteen.*

*"Näitkö pientä poiuttani kultaista omenuttani?"*

*"Jos lien nähnyt, en sanele. Poikasi on minutkin luonut kovin kengin käytäväksi, ratsain ajetta-vaksi."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen käy tietä, astelee. Kuuhut vastaan tulee.*

*"Näitkö pientä poiuttani kultaista omenuttani?"*

*"Jos lien nähnyt, en sanele. Poikasi on minutkin luonut illasta ylemään aamusta alenemaan."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen käy tietä, astelee. Päivyt vastaan tulee.*

*"Näitkö pientä poiuttani kultaista omenuttani?"*

*"Poikasi on minutkin luonut aamusta ylemään illasta alenemaan. Nän minä poikasi pyhäisen.*

*Luoja lapsen korjaeli, kappelin Jumala laati. Pani lapsen lavitsalle punakukkisen käteen."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen rakas äiti armollinen käypi Luojan uksen suulle Jumalan oven eteen.*

*"Tulipa minun emoni, tuli lasta ottamaan!"*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother, hid her little son, her golden apple, under a sieve for sifting, under a butt for carrying. Started to comb her hair, to brush her locks. The boy vanished from her knee.*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother, searched for her little son, her golden apple. Searched through the fine grass, looked at the heather roots. Walks along the road, steps ahead. Bows to the road.*

*"Have you seen my little son, my golden apple?"*

*"If I have seen him, I will not tell. Your son created me to be walked upon with hard shoes, to be ridden on horseback."*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother, walks along the road, steps ahead. She meets the moon.*

*"Have you seen my little son, my golden apple?"*

*"If I have seen him, I will not tell. Your son created me to rise at night, to go down in the morn-ing."*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother, walks along the road, steps ahead. She meets the sun.*

*"Have you seen my little son, my golden apple?"*

*"Your son created me to rise in the morning, to go down at night. I saw your holy son. The Lord took in the child, God made a chapel. Put the child on a bed, a red flower in his hand."*

*Virgin Mary, dear merciful mother, goes to the Lord's doorstep, to God's door.*

*"My mother did come, came to get her child!"*

In Dvina and Olonets, The Search for the Infant Jesus has mostly been sung after Berry Song and Sauna-Seeking Song, in which case it has been followed by Resurrection Song. The Search for the Infant Jesus has not been found in Ladoga Karelia, and in Ingria many singers have performed the song either as a separate entity or attached it as the opening sequence to Resurrection Song.

There are ballads on the disappearance of the child Jesus in Central Europe and Scandinavia (e.g. TSB B 4), but the theme has evidently not traveled to the Finnish-Karelian area from the west, but via Slavic peoples. The nearest equivalents to the Finnish legend have been found in Ukrainian *kolyada* songs.(9 In Russian iconography and legend tradition, symbolism involving the sun, moon and star has been very prominent. They are also the basic symbols of the Finnish song The Search for the Infant Jesus, although the song has acquired local elements, and Mary meets objects or people who are present in the singers' own daily environment.

(MI D 1311.6, H 1385.2, N 818.1. TSB B 4)

**The Sowing Miracle.** The legend song is based on the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas and concerns the Virgin Mary fleeing from enemies with her son. The Sowing Miracle is known both as a song and a narrative in prose form. As a religious song, The Sowing Miracle has belonged to the Savior's Song entity, while the prose version has been known as a fairy story entitled the Magic Escape (AT 313) right down to western Finland.

### **The Sowing Miracle.**

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen pyhä piika pikkarainen pienen poikansa keralla hiihti maita hiihti soita, hiihti Hiiden kankahia. Meni kohti kylväjää:*

*"Kylväjäinen, kyntäjäinen, kun tulee parvi pakanoita ja kysynevi: Amмоинко таstя Maaria matkasi? Sano silloin menneeksi, konsa oli kaski kasvamatta, joka nyt on ohran sänki; konsa oli hepo syntymättä, joka nyt on kyntöhepo."*

*Tulee parvi pakanoita:*

*"Аммоинко таstя Maaria matkasi?"*

*"Vielä oli kaski kasvamatta, joka nyt on ohran sänki, vielä oli hepo syntymättä, joka nyt on kyntöhepo. Silloin таstя Maaria matkasi."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen pienen poikansa keralla hiihti maita hiihti soita, hiihti Hiiden kankahia. Oi sinä paras paimenen, kun tulee parvi pakanoita ja kysynevi: Amмоинко таstя Maaria matkasi? Sano silloin menneeksi, konsa oli lehmä syntymättä, joka nyt on lypsylehmä."*

*Tulee parvi pakanoita:*

*"Аммоинко таstя Maaria matkasi?"*

*"Vielä oli paimen palkkaamatta, lehmä vielä syntymättä, joka nyt on lypsylehmä. Silloin таstя Maaria matkasi."*

*Neitsyt Maaria emonen pienen poikansa keralla hiihti maita hiihti soita, hiihti Hiiden kankahia. Meni parhaan papin luokse:*

*"Ои sinä paras pappiseni, kun tulee parvi pakanoita ja kysynevi: Amмоинко таstя Maaria matkasi? Sano silloin menneeksi, konsa oli pappi panematta, kirkko vielä salvamatta."*

*Tulee parvi pakanoita:*

*"Аммоинко таstя Maaria matkasi?"*

*"Vielä oli pappi panematta, kirkko vielä salvamatta. Silloin tästä Maaria matkasi. Nyt on partansa homeessa, kirkon katto jälässä."*

*Virgin Mary the mother, holy little maid, with her small son skied across lands, skied across swamps, skied across Hiisi's heaths. Approached a man sowing:*

*"Dear sower, dear plower, when a group of heathens comes and asks: Did Mary pass through here? Tell them that she did, when the swidden was not grown that is now barley stubble; when the horse was not born that is now the plowing-horse."*

*Comes a group of heathens:*

*"Did Mary pass through here?"*

*"The swidden had not yet grown that is now barley stubble, the horse was not yet born that is now the plowing-horse. That is when Mary passed through here."*

*Virgin Mary the mother with her small son skied across lands, skied across swamps, skied across Hiisi's heaths.*

*"Oh my best cowherd, when a group of heathens comes and asks: Did Mary pass through here? Say that she did pass here when the cow was not yet born that is now a milking-cow."*

*Comes a group of heathens:*

*"Did Mary pass through here?"*

*"The cowherd was not yet hired, the cow not yet born that is now a milking-cow. That is when Mary passed through here."*

*Virgin Mary the mother with her small son skied across lands, skied across swamps, skied across Hiisi's heaths. Went to the best priest:*

*"Oh my best priest, when a group of heathens comes and asks: Did Mary pass through here? Say that she did pass, when the priest was not yet engaged, the church not yet built."*

*Comes a group of heathens:*

*"Did Mary pass through here?"*

*"The priest was not yet engaged, the church not yet built. That is when Mary passed through here. Now his beard is hoary, the church roof covered in lichen."*

The song is divided into three scenes: On fleeing, the Virgin Mary or Savior meets first a farm worker, second a cattleherd with his cattle, third a priest at the church. But the fugitive asks each to deny having seen him or her, when the enemy arrives on the scene. This is done, and Virgin Mary is saved.

The flight theme is known in many European countries (e.g. Child 55) both as songs and prose versions. The song has reached Finnish-Karelian areas from the Slavic direction, and its distribution is limited. About 15 variants in total of the Sowing Miracle song have been recorded in the Karelian borderlands and Olonets. Despite the locality of the preservation area, the variants are not based on the same root format, but they derive from different Russian legend versions. Haavio has linked the Sowing Miracle legend to the themes describing the conflict between Jesus and his adversaries. It has been one of the core themes of apocryphal literature and folk legends. Basically, the Sowing Miracle legend would be about the battle between God and the devil, one of the basic themes in the sacred narratives of all high religions.(10)

(AT 313. Child 55)

**Resurrection Song.** The most unorthodox treatment of the biblical message is in Resurrection Song, which is based on the Easter Gospel. The oldest record of the religious song is in the thesis of Juhana

Cajanus in 1697. Finnish religious songs describing Jesus's Resurrection may be divided into two main redactions. (1) In the Karelian-Ingrian legend song, the Savior has been killed and placed in an iron-bottomed tomb, under rocks. The tomb is sealed with nails of tin, iron, silver and copper. But the sun shines of the Savior's tomb, melts the nails and the cover of the tomb is opened. (2) In the second, mainly Orthodox Karelian version, the Virgin Mary asks the sun to fly to the Savior's tomb and to send the guards to sleep, so the Savior can escape from the tomb. The sun obeys.

### **Resurrection Song 1**

*Mitä laulan, kuta laulan? Laulan Luojan kuolemasta. Kunne Luoja haudattiin? Yhdeksän sylen syvyyteen, tinanauloin naulattiin vaskivitjoin vahvistettiin.*

*"Oi Jumala armollinen, pane päivä paistamaan! Sulata tinaiset naulat, vaskinaulat pois valele." Paistoi, paistoi Luojan päivä. Sulatti tinaiset naulat, vaskinaulat pois valeli. Päästi Luojan kuolemasta katoamasta Kaikkivallan.*

*What is my song, of whom is my song? I sing of the death of the Savior. Where was the Savior buried? In the depth of nine fathoms, nailed with tin nails, held with copper chains.*

*"Oh God merciful, make the sun shine! Melt the tin nails, slide away the copper nails."*

*Shone, shone the Lord's sun. Melted the tin nails, slid away the copper nails. Saved the Savior from death, the Almighty from His demise.*

### **Resurrection Song 2**

*Laulamme Jumalan virttä. Ammoisia ajattelemme muistelellemme muinoisia, kun oli Luoja kuolettetu, kadotettu Kaikkivalta kiven alle kiusattuna, paadet päällä paadet alla somerot sydäntä vasten.*

*Maaria matala neiti pyhä piika pikkarainen itse noin sanoiksi virkkoi:*

*"Oi päivä Jumalan luoma, lennä päätönnä kanana Luojan haudan partaalle. Paista kerran hempeästi toinen himmeesti hiosta, kolmas koko terältä. Nukuttele nuiva kansa painele väki pakanan. Nosta Luoja kuolemasta!"*

*Tuo päivä Jumalan luoma lensi päätönnä kanana Luojan haudan partaalle. Paistoi kerran hempeästi toisen himmeesti hiosti, nukutteli nuivan kansan paineli väen pakanan. Nosti Luojan kuolemasta. Kitket silloin kielin lauloi paateret sanoin pakisi. Joet liikkui, järvet järkkyi, vuoret vaskiset vavahti.*

*We sing God's verse. We think of past times, remember ancient days, when the Savior was killed, the Almighty lost under a rock tortured, rocks above rocks below, gravel against his heart.*

*Mary the small girl, holy little maid herself said the words:*

*"Oh sun God's creation, fly like a headless chicken to the grave of our Savior. Shine first gently, second sweat mildly, third at your full strength. Send to sleep the weary people, lay down the heathen folk. Raise the Savior from death!"*

*That sun God's creation flew like a headless chicken to the Savior's grave. Shone first gently, second sweated mildly, sent to sleep the weary people, laid down the heathen folk. Raised the Savior from death. Then the rocks sang in tongues, boulders spoke in words. Rivers moved, lakes shook, copper mountains trembled.*

The third version of the religious song (3), the so-called Suojärvi version, is structurally a dialogue between the Savior and the sun. The Savior is buried under rocks. The sun flies in the form of a bird to the Savior's grave. The Savior asks from the grave: "Why did you come?" The sun replies that it has come to die together with the Savior. The Savior now urges the sun to return to its proper place and to shine so scorchingly that the tomb guards, Hiisi's folk, fall asleep. The sun goes, shines scorching hot, and so the Savior is able to rise from the grave.

Variants of Resurrection Song describe how the Savior is buried at the depth of nine fathoms, rocks rolled over him, and the grave is guarded by a hundred men with swords, a thousand carrying shields, a herd of heathens or Hiisi folk – all analogous to the Roman soldiers of the gospel. The angel, who in the Bible rolled away the rock from the entrance to the tomb, is depicted as the sun. It melts the rock or flies to the tomb as a bird.

The sun has been thought to originate from a belief going back to pre-Christian times that the sun trembles or 'dances' at great turning points. In Christian folklore, this would happen on Easter morning; the belief has been common not only in Finland and Karelia, but also in Estonia, Scandinavia and Central Europe. For the Karelian women singing religious songs, the sun has also held the meaning of hope or something that makes everything good. Particularly in Orthodox Karelia and Ingria, the Virgin Mary asks the sun to make the tomb guards fall asleep; she has become her own son's savior and instigator of the resurrection. In Orthodox tradition the role of Mary has expanded: she is the central figure of Easter, Good Friday and Great Saturday songs.(11)

(MI A 733.6, N 818.1, V 211.8)

**The Church and the Bridge.** In Ingria, Resurrection and Chaining the Devil-Smith are linked by a sequence known as the Church and the Bridge, which has not been found outside Ingria. The basis of the song is Jesus's surprising behavior: he values the lowly bridge trampled by everyone's feet more than the venerable church.

In the Church and the Bridge legend, the Savior or the Virgin Mary walks along the road followed by saints and angels. They come across a bridge and the Savior greets it with a bow. The saints and angels enquire why he should greet a bridge. The Savior replies: "When I was being pursued, I took shelter under the bridge." They come across a fence, the Saviour greets it, too, with a bow and again explains to the others that the fence has protected him. They come across a church, but the Savior does not greet or bow to the church, but says: "I will not shake hands with the church, for there I was captured."

### The Church and the Bridge

*Luoja ratsulla ajaa hevosella hiirakalla, sata santtia jälessä. Oli tielle silta tehty. Luoja sillalle kumarsi, antoi kättä siltapuille. Enkelit ihmettelivät, pyhäät miehet naurahtivat:  
"Mikä meidän Luojallamme, kun sillalle kumartaa, antaa kättä siltapuille?"*

*Luoja siihen vastaeli:*

*"Siksi sillalle kumarsin, annoin kättä siltapuille. Seisoin silloin sillan alla, kun Juutas julki juoksi paha päällitse pakeni."*

*Luoja ratsulla ajaa hevosella hiirakalla. Oli kirkko tielle tehty. Luoja ei kirkolle kumarra, anna ei kättä alttarille. Enkelit ihmettelivät, pyhäät miehet naurahtivat:*

*"Mikä meidän Luojallamme, kun ei kirkolle kumarra, anna ei kättä alttarille?"*

*Luoja siihen vastaeli:*

*"Siksi en kirkolle kumarra, anna en kättä alttarille. Kirkossa minut kiinni pantiin, alttarilla ahdistettiin."*

*The Savior rides a gray horse, a hundred saints following. A bridge was built on the road. The Savior bowed to the bridge, shook hands with the timbers. The angels wondered, the holy men laughed:*

*"What is it with our Savior, to bow to the bridge, shake hands with the timbers?"*

*The Savior replied:*

*"This is why I bowed to the bridge, shook hands with the timbers. I stood beneath the bridge when Judas ran abroad, the evil one fled above."*

*The Savior rides a gray horse. A church was built along the road. The Savior does not bow to the church or shake hands with the altar. The angels wondered, the holy men laughed:*

*"What is it with our Savior that He does not bow to the church or shake hands with the altar?"*

*The Savior replied:*

*"This is why I will not bow to the church or shake hands with the altar. In the church I was captured, at the altar pursued."*

No clear international equivalent has been found for the song, nor is any apocryphal legend known that may be behind the theme. Matti Kuusi makes the assumption that the song reflects the mutual hostility between beggar monks who held services on roads and bridges and the clergy, and deems it possible that the writer may have been a Dominican monk who lived in the Turku area in the 1300s. Structurally, the Church and the Bridge is a refrain song, and its language is pious and exalted in style. In Haavio's view, "there are, as if in a coronation procession, Salvator mundi, accompanied by Regina coeli, ahead the shining swarm of angels, behind the throng of martyrs and the beatific".(12 Reduction of the noble and elevation of the lowly has been a common effect in Christian narration, as have the surprising actions of Jesus and their explanation, the so-called exemplum technique.(13 (MI V 138)

**Chaining the Devil-Smith.** The final sequence of The Savior's Song, Chaining the Devil-Smith, describes how the Savior defeats his adversaries with his wisdom and chains the devil in a neck iron it has forged itself.

In the Chaining the Devil-Smith songs, the Savior goes in disguise to the workshop of the devil's smith and enquires as to what he is forging. The smith answers that he is forging chains for the Savior's neck and complains that he has forgotten to measure its girth and length. The visitor replies that the Savior's neck is the same length and girth as the smith's own neck. "I cannot turn my hand to measure it", says the smith. The Savior promises to help with the measuring. The chain is placed around the smith's neck for measuring, but the Savior locks it up and the devil-smith is imprisoned.

### Chaining the Devil-Smith

*Nousi Luaja kuolemasta, Herra haudasta heräsi. Kuuli seppien taonnan, Hiiden joukon hilkutukseen. Meni köyhänä pajaan:*

*"Mitä rautiot takovat, Hiiden sepät hilkuttavat?"*

*"Taomme Jumalan rautaa, Jeesukselle kaulaköyttää. Vaan en muistanut mitata, kuinka on paksu Luojan kaula. Kuinka on pitkä, kuinka on paksu. En sitä takoa taida."*

*Virkkoi Jeesus Juuttaalle:*

*"Niin on pitkä Luojan kaula kuin on kaula itselläsi."*

*"Eipä mun käteni käänny itse mittaeläkseni. Vaan minä antanen mitata, jos et lukkoon lukota."*

*Niin meidän suuri Luoja pani Hiiden istumaan. Raudan lukkoon lukotti takasalpaan takitsi, perän polki kallioon vuoreen teräksiseen. Niin sanoiksi virkkoi:*

*"Pysy tuossa pintahinen, paru tuossa pantahinen tekemässäsi pahassa luomassasi kahleessa."*

*Niin meidän suuri Luoja kiven karkaisi kovaksi, raudan kastoi karkeaksi.*

*Rose the Savior from the dead, awoke the Lord from the grave. Heard the smiths hammering, tinkering of Hiisi's folk. Entered the smithy as a poor man:*

*"What do the iron-makers hammer, Hiisi's smiths tinker?"*

*"We hammer God's iron, a neck-chain for Jesus. But I forgot to measure how thick is the Savior's neck. How long, and how thick. I cannot forge it."*

*Said Jesus to Judas:*

*"As long is the Savior's neck as is your own neck."*

*"I cannot turn my hand to measuring myself. But I might let you measure, if you don't lock me up."*

*So our great Savior sat Hiisi down. Fastened the iron lock fixed the double seal, trod the end into rock, into the steel mountain. So said the words:*

*"Stay there choker-neck, cry there evil one in the bad thing you made, in the chain of your own creation."*

*So our great Savior tempered the rock hard, wet the iron to make it strong.*

The core area of the rune-form Chaining the Devil-Smith is Ladoga Karelia, but it is also known in other parts of Karelia, from Ingria to Dvina. The legend has also been recorded in prose form in Savo and northern Ostrobothnia. Haavio assumes that the legend song has evolved from the prose narrative. He believes that the prose version has also originally taken shape in Ladoga Karelia, but traveled north perhaps along the ancient connections of Greater Karelians. The legends recount how the Antichrist or the evil forces described in the Apocalypse have been dislodged and imprisoned.

The chained devil also appears in beliefs used to maintain the world view and moral norms of Christian agrarian society. The devil was thought to be constantly struggling to get free from its chains, fastened to a rockface, and if it succeeds, the end of the world would come. Everyone had to act in such a way as not to help the devil and to hasten the end of the world. One must not file iron on a Sunday, because this would have worn down the devil's chains. When washing the cauldron, its handle had to be washed too, as otherwise the rust on it would have furthered the wearing of the chains etc. One had to be especially careful on Easter Saturday or 'Thread Saturday', since that was the time the chains were at their thinnest, only the thickness of thread. The turn of the year may also have been a critical period, after the turning point the chains again started to strengthen until the next crisis period.

The prose redaction of Chaining the Devil-Smith is based on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus about how Jesus defeated the devil in the Underworld. Beneath the Christian layer, some scholars have seen an older and widespread Eurasian myth tradition. According to the cosmogonical myths of various peoples, the Savior organized the chaos into the cosmos, but the demiurge of chaos did not want to yield to him, whereupon the Savior defeated it by force or stealth and created the order prevailing in the world, the system of existence (cf. maps 42, 87, 94-95, 96). Thus, the background would be the myth of the savior-god and his adversary, the battle between chaos and order, which in Christian tradition has be-

come a battle between good and evil lasting until the end of the world.(14  
(MI A 677.1, A 1071.1)

**Savior's Song.** The epic of Finnish religious runes, Savior's Song, has been recorded above all among the Orthodox population of Karelia and Ingria (Hevaa). Matti Kuusi considers it likely that religious songs have traveled to the Finnish-Karelian language area with specifically the Orthodox church and not the medieval Roman Catholic church, as was assumed by Julius and Kaarle Krohn. Some of the sequences of Savior's Song, in common with other religious songs, are evidently creations of missionary work, deliberately written to counterbalance the pagan heroic epics. Heikki Kirkinen has also emphasized the Karelian origins of the core elements of Savior's Song.(15)

Senni Timonen thought the Virgin Mary the principal character of Savior's Song, and interpreted the religious songs as descriptions of the life of the Mother of God in such form as it filtered through Karelian women's own feelings and life experiences. The external frameworks of the legends are from texts of the Orthodox church, but within them women have defused their own daily life, becoming pregnant, the loneliness of the confinement, the fear of losing one's child. Timonen actually speaks of Mary's Song and calls Savior's Song a women's heroic myth, sung by women regardless of the Christ and Mary images created by the patriarchal church. The area of Mary songs has been Russian Karelia and Ingria, while the Jesus figure would be pivotal in Ladoga Karelia, which has had close links to Lutheran Finland.(16)

*Anneli Asplund*

*Erk - Böhme 1893-1894. Haavio 1935; 1952a; 1955. Jevsejev 1950; 1976-1980. Järvinen 1981. Kirkinen 1988. Krohn J. – Krohn K. 1900-1901. Kumer 1974. Kuusi 1963b; 1975; 1980. Oinas 1969. Suomen kansan sävelmiä 1910-1930 IV:1-2. SKVR 1908-1948. Timonen 1990. Vilkuna K. 1973b.*

1. Kumer 1974, 37-. 2. Haavio 1935, 67. Kuusi 1963b, 294. Kirkinen 1988, 110. 3. Timonen 1990, 117.
4. Haavio 1952a, 359-. Vilkuna K. 1973b, 345-. 5. Krohn J. – Krohn K. 1900-1901, 52-. 6. Kuusi 1963b, 296.
7. Timonen 1990, 126. 8. Kuusi 1963b, 295. Kirkinen 1988, 112. Erk – Böhme 1893-1894, n:ot 1943, 1945, 1950, 1951.
9. Oinas 1969. 10. Haavio 1955, 119-120. 11. Krohn J. – Krohn K. 1900-1901, 103-.
12. Haavio 1952a, 374. Kuusi 1975, 73. 13. Järvinen 1981, 13. 14. Haavio 1955, 59-. 15. Kuusi 1963b, 297. Timonen 1990, 133. Krohn J. – Krohn K. 1900-1901, 193-. Kirkinen 1988, 110-.
16. Timonen 1990, 111-.

## 99. Balladit Ballads

Naisten balladeja  
Ballads of women

1. Helkavirret  
Helga songs

Mataleenan virsi  
Mataleena's song

▲ Magdalena-visan (Sw.)  
Magdalene's Song  
(The Maid and the Palmer)

◆ Inkerin virsi  
Dejellill och Lagerman (Sw.)  
Inkeri's Song

◆ Annikaisen virsi  
Annikainen's Song

2. Muita vanhamittaisia balladeja  
Other ballads in the ancient metre

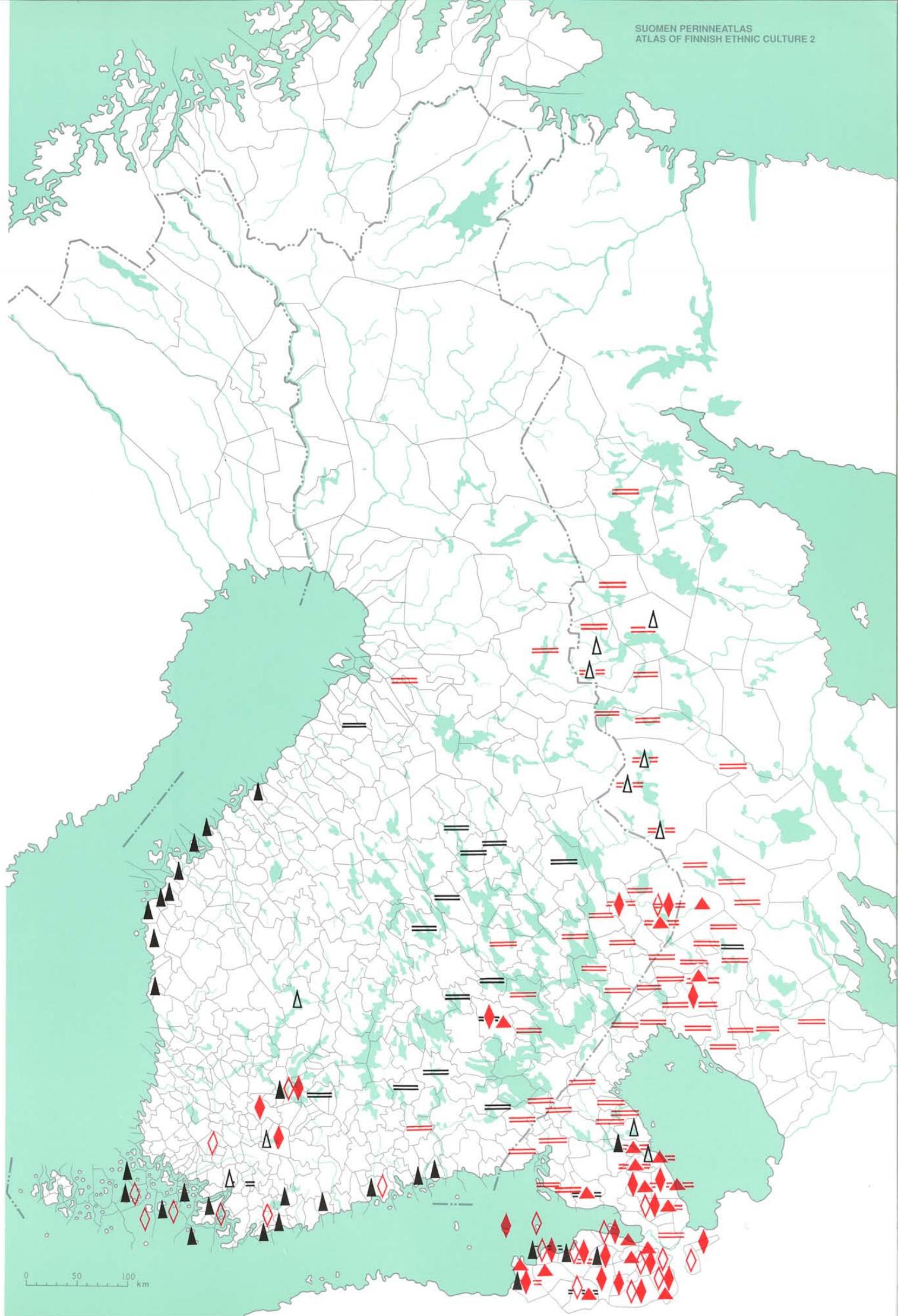
▲ Miehentappaja  
The Man-Killer

Merien kosijat  
The Woors from the Sea

— Kirstinen-versio  
Kirstinen version

— muita toisintoja  
miscellaneous variants

Rekisterikartta  
Archive map



## 99. BALLADS

### ***Finnish ballad poetry***

**What is a ballad?** European folk ballads may be categorized as a uniform way of singing characterized by dramatic, fatalistic themes. Structurally, ballads have typically been rhyming quatrains; these have been deemed to be the main criteria of a ballad, especially in Scandinavia. However, the Finnish ballad is unique, as it does not rhyme or comply with the four-line structure. Consequently, the Finnish ballad should be thought of as a category of content, a song dealing with certain types of theme.

In Europe, the ballad is thought to have been created in the 1200-1300s.(1 In the area surrounding the Gulf of Finland, ballad-singing probably began in the 1300s. At that time, alongside epic poetry in the old meter came narrative songs, in which the fairytale or mythical quality gave way to themes that were linked to the immediate environment, for example to the world of kinship groups and families. Finnish ballad poetry is characterized by description of events using dialogue and the dramatic final twist of the plot.(2 Defining a boundary between it and other epic poetry in the old meter is difficult. To date, research in Finland has also distinguished religious legend songs as a separate genre (maps 97-98), while European scholars usually include them with ballad poetry. The boundary of refrain songs and lyrical songs is not always clearly definable either.

The models of Finnish ballads may be found from the Scandinavian quarter. Their nearest equivalents are usually found in Finland-Swedish tradition, although ballad themes have also been borrowed along eastern and southern routes. Counterparts to Finnish ballads have been found in the folklore of Great Russian and Ukrainian peoples, but also in that of other Slavic peoples. The songs have been largely passed on by the Ingrians, in the tradition of whom both Finnish-Karelian, Estonian and Slavic elements have melded together. In Finland, the ballad themes were adapted to the archaic mode of singing, if possible. Sometimes the overall structure of the original model ballad has survived reasonably well, but in most cases, the Finnish version is so innovative that it is impossible to identify the original source.

As they have been adapted to Finnish culture, the ballads have also gained a peasant quality. The aristocratic milieu of Scandinavian tradition with its castles and king's courts disappears, the chatelaines and knights wearing golden crowns and silk dresses or velvet cloaks become bourgeois girls, merchants, tax collectors, or most often just ordinary daughters and sons of landed peasantry, living in a Finnish peasant setting.

**Ballad themes.** The principal themes of ballads were fateful events, love and death. The principal character is placed in a conflict situation with his or her beloved or family members. Unlike the characters in heroic epic poetry, the principal characters of ballads are antiheroes or succumb to their fate; they are forced to make inevitable decisions that lead to a tragic end. In a song entitled *Anterus ja Kaloiniemen neito*, the protagonist kills himself on hearing that his wife has died during his absence. In *Tuurikkaisen runo*, the hero unwittingly seduces his own sister, and once he finds out the truth, he falls upon his sword. In *Elinan surma* [The Death of Elina], the jealous Klaus Kurki believes the word of the evil wench Kirsti and burns alive his innocent wife Elina and his small son.

An important difference from heroic songs is also that women often take the principal role. The women in ballads are courageous personalities who are aware of their worth, such as *Annikainen*, *Miehentappa-janeito* [The Man-Killer] or the maid in *Meren kosijat* [The Wooers from the Sea], in other songs they are humiliated like *Mataleena* or faithful in their love, like *Inkeri*. Compared to heroic poetry, the viewpoint is different. The ballad no longer idolizes masculine adventures, knowledge and skills, but the spotlight is also on the feeble, weaker and often oppressed party; our sympathies are with her. Although the descriptive method of ballads is generally objective, the function of many ballads is clearly cautionary. A recurring theme is the relationship between a high-born or foreign seducer and an innocent maiden.

Map 99 shows five ballads sung in the old meter, of which three are known as *Helkavirret*. A common feature of the ballads is that the central character is a woman.

## Ritvala helkavirret

**Singing the Helka.** The songs of Mataleena, Inkeri and Annikainen are known as Helkavirret, because they were part of the program of the Helka festivities held in the village of Ritvala in Sääksmäki parish (Häme). Between Ascension Day and St Peter's day (13.6.), the young unmarried girls of the village of Ritvala would assemble on Sunday afternoons at the crossroads in the village center, where they formed a singing procession. From the crossroads, the procession, with 4-5 girls abreast, proceeded in turns along each of the roads leading off from the crossing. After walking some way the girls returned to the crossroads; finally they wandered off to the nearby Helkavuori hill, where the singing was concluded.

In the first row of the procession were the girls with the best voices, acting as the lead singers. Each line was always followed by the refrain *Jumala on kauniissa joukoss* [God is in fine company]. The following lines of girls repeated the lines of the songs each in turn. This way, the singing lasted the whole way to Helkavuori. Each evening, they began with a lyrical opening song and continued with one of three ballads, of which *Annikaisen virsi* was usually not performed until the last night. The singing ended with the lines of the lyrical *Loppuvirsi* [Final Song]. On spring Sundays, Ascension Day and Whitsun, the program ended with the burning of Ascension Day bonfires on Helkavuori (cf. maps 24-25).

Celebration of the Ritvala Helka-festival continued until the mid-1800s, after which it became irregular, until it ceased altogether by the turn of the century. In the 20th century, Helka songs have been performed at folk festivals organized by local youth associations. The custom survived as long as it did to the last century aided by the belief that the village fields would cease to grow, if the girls did not 'sing in the Helka'. The Helka festivals of Ritvala village have no counterparts elsewhere in the custom tradition

of western Finland. Instead, girls' singing processions or 'walking the gulanya' have been common in Orthodox Karelia, Ingria and Estonia. The custom has spread from the Slavic quarter, but the roots of women's processional singing reach way back to the Antiquity. In Ingria, like widely in villages of northern Russia, girls would gather in summertime on the village lane to sing on almost every Sunday evening (map 35).<sup>(3)</sup>

## ***Helka songs***

### **Opening song**

*Ruvetkaamme, rohjetkaamme, älkäämme ääntämme hävetkö! Annas mun käen kukuta merihelmen helketylälä. Käykäämme siskot sinelle mataroille morsiamet. Tehkäämme sinestä silta jumaloihin mennäksemme!*

*Let us make a start, bravely, let us not be ashamed of our voice! Let my cuckoo call, let my sea-pearl tinkle. Sisters, let us go into the blue, brides out on meadowlands. Let us make a bridge from the blue to go up to the gods!*

### **Magdalen's Song**

*Mataleena neito nuori kauan kotona kasvoi tykönä hyvän isänsä kanssa armaan emonsa. Palkin polki permannosta hänen korkokengillänsä. Hirren kynnystä kulutti hänen hienohelmallansa. Meni vettä lähteeltä kultakiulunen kädessä. Katseli kuvaajastansa:*

*"Oho minua neito parka, pois on muotoni muuttunut kaunis karvani kadonnut!"*

*Jeesus paimenna pajussa anoi vettä juoaksensa.*

*"Ei ole mulla astiaa, ei ole kannua mukana."*

*"Pistäpä pivosi täysi, kahmalolla kanniskele!"*

*"Mitä puhut Suomen sulha, Suomen sulha maiden orja isäni ikäinen paimen, ruotsin ruodoilla elänyt kalanpäillä kasvatettu."*

*"Silloin lienen Suomen sulha isäsi ikäinen paimen, ellen elkiäs sanele."*

*"Sano kaikki minkä tiedät!"*

*"Missä on kolme poikalastas? Yhden tuiskasit tuleen, toisen viskasit veteen, kolmannen maahan kaivoit. Se jonka tuiskasit tuleen, se olisi Ruotsissa ritari. Se jonka viskasit veteen, se olisi herra tällä maalla. Siitä jonka maahan kaivoit, siitä olisi pappi tullut."*

*Mataleena neito nuori itki vettä kiulun täyden, pesi Jeesuksen jalat, hiuksillansa kuivaeli:*

*"Lienet itse Herra Jeesus, kun minun elkeni sanelit. Pane minut, Herra Jeesus, pane minut mihiin tahdot, soihin maihin portaiksi jaloin päällä käytäväksi, joka tuulen turjotella joka laineen ladera."*

*Magdalen, young maid was long growing up at home with her good father, beside her darling mother. She trampled down the floor-beam with her high-heeled shoes. Wore down a threshold-timber with her fine skirt-hem. Went to the spring for water, a golden pail in her hand. She looked where her likeness was:*

*"O what a poor maid I am! My form has quite changed, my lovely hue has vanished."*

Jesus, a herdsman among willows asked for water to drink.  
 "I have no vessel, I did not bring a pitcher."  
 "Then scoop a handful, fetch me some in your two hands,"  
 "What do you say, Finnish slave, Finnish slave, serf of the soil, always my father's herdsman,  
 fed on fish-bones left by Swedes, nourished on fish-heads?"  
 "Then I am a Finnish slave, always your father's herdsman, if I don't say your sins."  
 "Tell me all you know."  
 "Where are your three little boys? One you thrust into the fire, one you plunged in the water, one  
 you dug into the field. He you thrust into the fire would be a knight in Sweden. He you plunged  
 in the water would be a lord in this land. He you dug into the field would be a priest of the best."  
 Magdalen, young maid, only then began to weep, wept the pail full of water, and washed the  
 feet of Jesus, and wiped them dry with her hair:  
 "You must be Lord Jesus himself, since you said my sins. Put me, Lord Jesus, put me wherever  
 you will – to become steps on marshy ground to be trampled on by feet, tossed about by every  
 wind, swept by every wave."

### Inkeri's Song [The Faithful Bride]

*Lalmanti iso ritari kihlasi vakuun neidon, antoi kättä kätkyneen.*  
 "Odottele vuotta viisi, vuotta viisi vuotta kuusi vuosikausi kymmenettä. Kun sa kuulet kuolleeni,  
 ottaos uros parempi, ällös pahempaani."  
 Eerikki vähä ritari valhekirjat kannatteli:  
 "Lalmanti on voitettu sodissa, pantu maahan paineluissa."  
*Inkeri ihana neito viettiin vihintupaan, väkisin kihlat annettiin. Väkisin ei vihille saatu, ei miehin  
 eikä miekoin eikä vaimoin valituin.*  
*Inkeri ihana neito istui luhdin solassa, sekä istui että itki. Katsoi itään katsoi länteen, näki kykkärän merellä:*  
 "Jos lienet lintuparvi, niin lähde lentämään, jos lienet kalaparvi, niin vaipune mereen. Jos lienet Lalmantini, laske pursi valkamaan."  
 "Mistä tunnet Lalmantisi?"  
*"Tulennasta tunnen purren kahden airon laskennasta. Toinen purje uusi purje, purje silkkiä si-nistä, silkki Inkerin kutoma."*  
 "Minun nuori veljyeni, ota ohrlita oriisi, aja vastaan Lalmantia!"  
 "Terve nuori näälämies! Kuinka Inkeri elää?"  
 "Hyvin Inkeri elävi, viikkokausi häitä juotu toinen lahjoja jaettu."

*Lalmanti, great knight pledged an infant maid, gave his hand to the cradle.*  
*"Just wait for five years, five years or six years, a space of ten years. When you hear I am  
 dead, take a better man, not worse than me."*  
 Eerikki the little knight carried false letters:  
 "Lalmanti conquered in wars, brought to the ground in struggles."  
*Inkeri the lovely maid was led to the wedding house, by force was betrothed. By force could not  
 be wedded – not by men, not by sword, not by choice women.*  
*Inkeri the lovely maid sat on the loft balcony, both sat down and wept. She looked east,  
 looked west. She saw a bulge on the sea:*

"If you are a flock of birds, then take flight and go, if you are a shoal of fish, then sink in the sea.  
If you are my Lalmanti, move your boat into haven."

"How do you know it's your Lalmanti?"

"I know the boat by the way it comes, and its two oars move. One sail is a new sail, sail of blue silk, the silk Inkeri's weaving."

"My young brother, take your stallion from the barley, drive to meet Lalmanti!"

"Hullo, young brother-in-law. How is Inkeri faring?"

"Inkeri is faring well: one week the wedding's toasted, another the presents given."

### Annikainen's song

*Annikainen neito nuori istui Turun sillan päässä, katsoi kaupungin kanoja neuvoi Turun neitosia:  
"Älkää tehkö, toiset tytöt, niin kuin tein minä poloinen: Kesän kestiä leptytin, kesän juotin talven  
juotin. Lihat ostin leivät ostin, viinat ostin viidenlaiset kalat ostin kaikenlaiset kestin syödä, kestin  
juoda."*

Kesti kesää toivoi. Kun näki kesän tulevan, kantoi rannalle kalunsa veneelle vei elonsa, työnsi veneen vesille muille maille mennäksensä. Jätti neidon itkemään.

"Tuo Jumala suuri tuuli, rakenna rajuinen ilma. Kaada laiva kallelensa, sysäele syrjällensä!"

Toi Jumala suuren tuulen, rakensi rajuisen ilman, kaatoi laivan kallelensa, sysäeli syrjällensä.

"Kutti kutti kestin kelmi! Meren tyrsky tyynynäsi meren hiekat hurstinasi meren vaahto vaippanasi meren aalto pääsi alla."

*Annikainen, young maid, sat at the head of Turku bridge, looked at town hens, advised the maids of Turku: "Don't do, other girls, like did I the poor wretch: All summer I kept a pedlar, gave him drink summer and winter. Bought the meat bought the bread, bought five kinds of liquor, all kinds of fish for the pedlar to eat and drink."*

*The pedlar waited for the summer. When he saw the summer come, he carried his wares to the shore, his living to the boat, pushed the boat on the water on his way to other lands. Left the maid weeping.*

"Bring, God, a great wind, make stormy weather. Send the boat listing, push it on its side!"

*God brought a great wind, made stormy weather, sent the boat listing, pushed it on its side.*

"Serves you right, rotten pedlar! The sea-surf for your pillow, sea-sands as your undersheet, the sea-foam for your cover, the sea's wave under your head."

### Ending song

*Hikosi hirvi juostuansa, joi hirvi janottuansa heranteesta lähteestä. Siihen kuolansa valutti, siihen heitti haivenensa. Siihen kasvoi tuomi kaunis, tuomeen hyvä hedelmä. Joka siitä oksan otti, se otti ikuisen onnen, joka siitä lehvän leikkas, se leikkas ikuisen lemmen.*

"Jeesuksen jätän sijaan, Maarian tähän majaan. Hyvä on toiste tullakseni parempi palatakseni."

*An elk sweaty after running, drank for his thirst from a spring. There he ran his dribble, there cast his whiskers. There grew a pretty bird-cherry, a good fruit upon it. Whoever broke a sprig had happiness forever, whoever cut a frond cut love everlasting.*

"Jesus be in this place, Mary in this house. Good for me to come again, better to return."

The oldest records of Ritvala Helka songs were noted down by K. A. Gottlund in 1824, among later collectors were Elias Lönnrot, H. A. Reinholm and A. A. Borenius-Lähteenkorva. Both Gottlund and Lönnrot published the songs, the former in *Otava*, the latter in *Kanteletar*. Aug. Blåfield of Sääksmäki arranged the publication of a third volume of Helka songs before the mid-1800s, a broadside (1846), much used by Ritvala girls when the songs were already becoming forgotten.

From Gottlund on, scholars have puzzled over the Helka festivals. The studies of *Kanteletar* (1900-1901) by Julius and Kaarle Krohn contain the first relatively extensive analysis of the songs. The most detailed study of the Helka songs and the whole Helka culture of Ritvala village was carried out by Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio (1953). She linked the custom of girls' singing processions to Roman Catholic Rogation (Ascension) processions performed to pray for rain and encourage the growth of grain, customarily organized also in medieval Catholic Finland. Progressing to Helkavuori hill, in her view, reflected elements of the 'mountain processions' common in Central Europe and also in the Nordic countries, emulating pilgrims' ascent of to the Mount of Olives.

Scholars have usually thought of Ascension Day singing and the Helka songs, too, as a custom originating in western Finland. Later, Pertti Virtaranta deduced on the basis of the language of the songs that at least Inkeri's Song would have arrived in the locality via Ingria. Matti Sarmela has considered Ascension Day singing to be a girls' *gulanya* tradition (map 35), traveled to Häme heartlands possibly with Ingrian immigrants, regardless of the majority of the Helka songs arriving in the Finnish culture area via Finland-Swedes. In any event, apart from Ritvala, Helka songs have only really been recorded in Ingria.(4)

## **Women's ballads**

**Magdalen's Song.** The Helka song known as *Mataleenan vesimatka* or Magdalen's Song is based on the legend of Holy Mary Magdalen. The legend is based on the Bible stories of Mary Magdalen who washed Jesus's feet, and of the Samaritan woman whose sins Jesus reveals while talking to her at the well.

In the Sääksmäki version of the song, Mataleena goes to fetch water from a spring. Looking at her reflection in the water, she realizes that her beauty has faded. Jesus in the habitus of a cowherd comes along and asks for water. Mataleena haughtily refuses. Jesus says: "Although I am a slave, I know your sins. What did you do with your three baby sons? One you flung on the fire, another you cast into the water, the third you buried in the earth. The first would have become a knight in Sweden, the second a lord in this land, the third a priest." Mataleena starts to weep: "You must be Lord Jesus himself, since you knew my sins." She weeps a painful of tears and, humbled, washes Jesus's feet and dries them with her hair.

In the Ingrian redaction, Mateliina (Mary) asks the seamstress Omelia (shoemaker of Germany) to make her a gorgeous cloak for her to show herself off in church. The seamstress Omelia makes the cloak and Mateliina goes to church, but at the door the Lord says to her: "Go away, whore, from the church. At home you have three children, one by your father, another by your brother, the third by your godfather (priest?)." Mateliina begs for forgiveness, but the Lord says: "Two I forgive, but not the third."

The song has been thought to originate in Catalonia, from where it spread to France, Italy and among Slavic peoples. The ballad was also sung in England and the Scandinavian countries (Cf. Child 21. TSB B 16). The Finnish song follows the version known by the Swedish-speaking population of the country (cf. FSF V 1:18), but it also contains original features. They include the motifs in the opening scene of tarnishing jewelry and fading of Mataleena's beauty, and the appearance of Jesus in the form of a lowly cowherd.

The motif of Magdalen being accused of murdering her children is more allegorical in the Finnish version than in its models. In accordance with the ancient concept of the world, the methods of the children's murders are cited as the three natural elements: earth, fire and water. Instead, Finland-Swedish variants only speak in general terms about the sea, stream or swamp. The Finnish song also includes a sequence describing what Mataleena's dead children would have become, had they been allowed to live. However, the motif has been borrowed from the poem *Leino leski*. In the Nordic countries, like in Ingria, one of the methods of introducing dramatic effects to the ballad is the crime of incest. In Scandinavia, the fathers of Magdalen's bastard children are revealed as her own father, brother and the parish priest. Ingrian variants differ in some parts from the Sääksmäki one; for example, the version of Orthodox Ingrians stresses the seriousness of the breach of celibacy and deems it to be even worse than incest. The Ingrian redaction combines motifs found in variants from both Scandinavian and Romance countries, such as the scene of going to church at the beginning of the song and disclosure of the murdered children's fathers.

Records of the Magdalen ballad exist from throughout the Finland-Swedish area except the Åland Islands. Conversely, Finnish-language variants have not been found outside Sääksmäki, apart from Ingria, and there only among the Karelian indigenous populace, the Izhorians. In western Finland, a few lines have been found both isolated (Uskela, Tammela) and linked to another theme (Ruovesi). Some lines have also been recorded from Dvina, Olonets and the Karelian Isthmus, but they occur in other contexts entirely. The map diagram would indicate that the song has spread to Ingria before the Savakko and Äyrämöinen ethnic groups migrated to Ingria in the 1600s. The song has entered Ingria via the Estonians, and it may be that the song has spread with Swedish-speaking emigrants of the Estonian coast.

Finnish scholars have generally thought Magdalen's Song independent and artistically effective (Matti Kuusi), more discreet than its foreign models and therefore more elegant (Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio). The headless, haunting murdered children and the wretchedness of the sinful woman of the Central European equivalents have been lost from the Finnish variants. Similarly, the complete, submissive humility of the final scene highlights the original elaboration of the theme.(5)

The juxtaposed pair of the Finnish song, rich Magdalen – poor Jesus, has been seen as an example of the ideology of poverty, pauperism, that emphasized the sinfulness of wealth and the glory or poverty and spread also to Finland with mendicants.(6) Feminist research has examined the reasons why the medieval Magdalen's Song should have survived. At Ritvala, as well as the ritual use of the song, it must have had a message that also appealed to the young performers. Aili Nenola links the song to the attitudes of patriarchal society, under which in breaches of sexual mores, the woman was always responsible and the guilty party, not the man. The lines of Magdalen's Song would contain traces of the misogynous Finnish culture that still exists, albeit so covertly that people are not always even aware of it.(7)

(Child 21. FSF V 1:18. MI V 211.2.1.3, V 223.3. TSB B 16)

**Inkeri's Song.** Another ballad performed in Ritvala, Inkeri's Song, is known among Finland-Swedes under the name *Dejelill och Lagerman* (FSF V 1:74). In Scandinavia, it is included under chivalric ballads

with the theme of bridal abduction, and it probably originates from Denmark (see TSB D 45). The basic theme of the song is the return of the real groom or husband at the moment when the beloved or wife is about to marry another. The theme is common in European folklore from the *Odyssey* epic of the Antiquity onwards; the core message of the theme is a woman's faithfulness.

The content of Inkeri's Song is the following: Lalmanti the great knight betrothes Inkeri when she is still a child. The knight goes off on a journey but bids Inkeri to wait for him until he returns or someone brings news of his death. Eerikki the little knight brings false word that Lalmanti has been killed in a war. Now Inkeri is forced to become engaged to Eerikki, but she cannot be forced to the altar. Inkeri sits, weeping, on the drying-barn balcony and looks out to sea in despair. She spots an object far out to sea, which she hopes is Lalmanti's ship. Inkeri's wedding is celebrated.

The Finnish-language ballad is missing a clear closure. The Swedish-language song ends with the description of Lagerman arriving at the last moment to his bride's wedding and managing to displace his rival, while in the Finnish song the closing events remain open, the song is kind of unfinished. Original features of Finnish-language variants are the betrothal of Inkeri in the cradle or as a child, which has been customary in peasant society of western Finland, and the account of how the bride looks out to sea awaiting the return of her true love.

On the Finnish side, Inkeri's Song has only been recorded complete from Sääksmäki, with the other records fractions of a few lines that may actually originate from a printed broadside. Conversely, the ballad has been widely known in Ingria. However, the treacherous rival is completely missing from the Ingrian song. Enäjärvi-Haavio believes that the Finnish version was written in western Finland at the turn of the 1300-1400s at the earliest; by the 1600s the song would have already spread as far as the Karelian Isthmus, proven by the variant from Sakkola, and from there to Ingria, possibly with the Äyrämöinen and Savakko ethnic groups which had emigrated from Finland. However, Virtaranta has shown that the Ritvala variants contain numerous linguistic forms characteristic of eastern dialects that do not occur in Häme dialects, and that the roots of the song should be sought in Ingria. Gottlund's early notes also mention that according to oral history, the events of the song would have concerned Ingria or Estonia.<sup>8</sup>

(FSF V 1:74. MI T 61.5.1, T 210.1. TSB D 45)

**Annikainen's song.** The third Helka song, Annikainen's song, was sung at Ritvala less often than the others, usually only on the second Whitsun Day after the songs of Magdalen and Inkeri, and according to some sources it was not part of the repertoire of all Helka singers. No counterpart has been found for Annikainen's song among Swedish or other European ballads, so it must be considered Finnish in origin.

Annikainen's song opens with the principal character, Annikainen, sitting at the end of Turku bridge, imparting advice to the maids of Turku: "Do not do as I did, maidens. I fed a foreign pedlar all winter long, bought butter, meat, bread, tobacco, liquor from Vyborg. I thought the pedlar was contented, but he was waiting for summer, thinking: When Jesus brings the summer, I will escape by boat." When summer arrives, the pedlar leaves Annikainen, but she goes to the sea shore and prays God to raise a great wind. A storm blows up and Annikainen mocks: "Now you have the sea foam as your sheet, the rock of the sea as your mattress, no longer my pillow or wool coverlet."

The song is one of the ballads describing relationships between German Hanseatic merchants and Finnish young women. Hanseatic traders were in Finland until the trading supremacy of the Hansa association collapsed in the 1530s, but the term *kesti* may also refer to foreign merchants who settled in Finland later. A common feature of the songs is the hostile attitude to the stranger and the tendency to warn Finnish girls. Enäjärvi-Haavio thought the song originated from western Finland, like the other Helka

songs. Kuusi has characterized the author of the song 'a modernist from Turku', an unconventional female singer, who in joyous, humorous tones recounts the softening of a young maiden in the hands of a foreign Hanseatic merchant or *kesti*. The writer of the song would be the 'original Finnish feminist', who opposes conventional norms of behavior maintained by men.(9)

Based on the opening lines, the song has been thought to originate from western Finland; both Enäjärvi-Haavio and Kuusi have placed the events of Annikainen's song in the bourgeois milieu of late medieval Turku. The same opening formula is also found in some of the Ingrian variants. However, the song's events might equally well be set in Vyborg as in Turku. The word *turku* may also mean a market, and the bridge to Vyborg castle was formerly known as Turku Bridge.(10) The words' Swedish roots (*kelmi*, *kesti*, *paatti*, *piika*, *tyyny*) could just as well originate from the Swedish-speaking environs of Vyborg; they are also known in the Finnish dialects of the Isthmus and Ingria. In the late Middle Ages, Vyborg was a similar marine trading town as Turku. Thus, Annikainen's song may also have traveled to Ritvala via Ingria.

If singing the Helka songs in Sääksmäki was originally Ingrian custom culture, Annikainen's and Inkeri's songs would have, having first spread to Ingria, traveled back to Finland to become the repertoire of Sääksmäki girls. The scarcity of material from western Finland and the Finnish side in general makes it impossible to ascertain whether the Helka songs were known in Häme and how commonly they may have been sung in Sääksmäki. The history of the Helka songs remains a mystery.

**The Wooers from the Sea.** The ballad The Wooers from the Sea [*Meren kosijat*] is one of the songs in archaic meter that could still be recorded in the 20th century, even after the Second World War. The variants number almost three hundred, and the core areas of the song were the Karelian borderlands and northern Ingria. In terms of structure, the Wooers from the Sea is a so-called refrain song, which Finnish research has often considered a separate group, although they are ballads as far as their themes are concerned. Refrain songs employ various refrain formulae as stylistic devices, such as comparing suitors, but comparisons of people encountered or family members are similar structures. The structure has been explained to originate from the fact that the songs were used in singing games and dances; the refrain as a stylistic device also occurs in European ballads. Characteristics of ballad poetry in refrain songs are the copious use of dialogue and monologue, stereotyping of the characters, and the elaborately stylized eroticism.(11) In refrain songs, the narration progresses at a slow pace, and the events do not acquire the same dramatic impact as in actual ballads.

### The Wooers from the Sea

*Kirstinen kivellä istui, toivoi miestä mieleistä sulhasta sulosanaista. Mies merestä nousi rautahattu hartioilla, rautakintaat kädessä.*

*"Tuletkos Kirstinen minulle?"*

*"Ei ole suotu eikä luotu rautamiehelle tuuditettu."*

*Kirstinen kivellä istui toivoi miestä mieleistä sulhasta sulosanaista. Mies merestä nousi vaskihattu hartioilla, vaskikintaat kädessä.*

*"Tuletkos Kirstinen minulle?"*

*"Ei ole suotu eikä luotu vaskimiehelle minua."*

*Kirstinen kivellä istui, toivoi miestä mieleistä sulhasta sulosanaista. Mies merestä nousi hopeahattu hartioilla, hopeakintaat kädessä.*

*"Tuletkos Kirstinen minulle?"*

"Ei ole suotu eikä luotu hopeamiehelle minua."

Kirstinen kivellä istui, toivoi miestä mieleistä. Mies merestä nousi kultahattu hartioilla, kulta-kintaat kädessä.

"Tuletkos Kirstinen minulle?"

"Ei ole suotu eikä luotu kultamiehelle minua!"

Kirstinen kivellä istui, toivoi miestä mieleistä. Mies merestä nousi leipähattu hartioilla, leipä-kintaat kädessä.

"Tuletkos Kirstinen minulle?"

"Nyt on luotu, nyt on suotu, nyt on käsketty kotoa. Sinulle on tuuditettu!"

*Kirstinen sat on a rock, hoping for the right man, a sweet-talking groom. From the sea rose a man, with an iron hat on his shoulders, iron mittens on his hands.*

"Will you come, Kirstinen, to me?"

"Neither meant nor made, nor rocked at home for an iron man was I."

*Kirstinen sat on a rock, hoping for the right man, a sweet-talking groom. From the sea rose a man, with a copper hat on his shoulders, copper mittens on his hands.*

"Will you come, Kirstinen, to me?"

"Neither meant nor made, nor rocked at home for a copper man was I."

*Kirstinen sat on a rock, hoping for the right man, a sweet-talking groom. From the sea rose a man, with a silver hat on his shoulders, silver mittens on his hands.*

"Will you come, Kirstinen, to me?"

"Neither meant nor made, nor rocked at home for a silver man was I."

*Kirstinen sat on a rock, hoping for the right man. From the sea rose a man, with a golden hat on his shoulders, golden mittens on his hands.*

"Will you come, Kirstinen, to me?"

"Neither meant nor made, nor rocked at home for a golden man was I."

*Kirstinen sat on a rock, hoping for the right man. From the sea rose a man, with a hat of bread on his shoulders, mittens of bread on his hands.*

"Will you come, Kirstinen, to me?"

"Yes, both meant and made and bidden from home, for you I was rocked!"

In the main Finnish version of the Wooers from the Sea, Kirstinä or Annikki (Anni, Annikainen) sits on a rock or at the end of the Turku (island) bridge, waiting for a man she likes. An iron man rises from the sea and asks the girl to marry him. The girl refuses, saying that she was not rocked in her cradle for him. Copper, silver and gold men rise from the sea, each asking for the girl's hand, but she refuses each one. But when a man of bread (earth, plowing man) rises from the sea, the girl accepts: "For you I was rocked."

In northern Ingria, the structure of the Wooers from the Sea was used in a local poem, with a maid singing in first person singular form. The singer maid walks along the road when a man steps out from behind an oak tree and asks her to be his own, to milk his cows. The maid asks what her payment will be, and the suitor promises her "a first week of happiness, but weeping for the rest of her days". The singer replies that her mother did not give birth to her for this. The next suitor promises "a first week of weeping, but happiness for the rest of her days". The maid becomes his wife: for such a man her mother bore her.

The Wooers from the Sea is a story about a maid who chooses as her husband realistically the most

secure, the 'bread man', a farmer or peasant, and rejects gold, silver and copper men. In the fashion of Annikainen's song, the ballad is a warning to girls; a suitor from a familiar walk of life is preferable to a rich stranger. It has been suggested that the song is modeled on the originally German ballad *Meererin*, but apart from the proposal theme, the Finnish Wooers from the Sea contains no similarities to the German ballad. The most widespread of the opening formulae of the song is Annikki, the maid of Turunen, sitting at the end of the Turku bridge, but more original as the principal character may be Kirstiina (Ristiina), sitting on a rock on the sea shore. The Wooers from the Sea is from eastern Finland-Karelia, as is perhaps Annikainen's Song, and their opening lines have merged together.

(MI L 213.3)

**The Man-Killer.** Thematically, The Man-Killer belongs in the same category as Annikainen's song and the Wooers from the Sea. The basic theme is the relationship between a foreign seducer and a Finnish maiden. The principal character is a girl who rails against a seducer and gets her revenge on behalf of a woman's honor.

### The Man-Killer

*Hannus Saaren saksalainen soitti kauan kanteletta viikon viimapilliänsä. Nuoria nukuttelee, vanhempia vaivuttaa. Sai nuoret nukkuneeksi, vanhemmat vaipuneeksi. Voiti ukset vierteellä, kastoi kaljalla saranat. Meni Kaisan kainaloon ylisille yläisille luhdille lukolliselle.*

"Oletko oma urooni vaiko huorien hosuja?"

*Tuo oli vieraas ventolainen.*

*Kaisa vaimo aivan kaunis tempaisi tupesta tuiman otti vyöltänsä veitsen, sysäsi sydänalaan. Lähti veri juoksemaan läpi viiden villavaipan päälle kuuden päänalaisen. Alkoi halli haukkuellea. Sanoi Anni Antilleen:*

"Mene Antti katsomaan, ei halli valetta hauku!"

*Meni Antti katsomaan. Kaisa seisoi seinän viertä kädessä verinen veitsi, päässä huntu hurmeinen.*

"Voi huora häpeätäsi, tapoit oman uroosi!"

*"Ei ollut oma urooni, oli huorien hosuja. Päästin heimolta häpeän, suvultani suuren soiman."*

*Hannus, the German on the island played the kantele a long time, played his windpipe for a week. Lulls the young to sleep, wears out the old. Got the young to sleep, wore out the old. Greased the doors with trub, wet the hinges with ale. Went to lie with Kaisa in the sleeping barn, in the locked attic.*

"Are you my own man or a harasser of whores?"

*He was a complete stranger.*

*Kaisa, the pretty wife, snatched a weapon from its sheath, took the knife from her belt, stabbed into his heart. Sprung the blood through five woollen covers, over six pillows. The dog began to bark. Said Anni to her Antti:*

"Go take a look, Antti, the dog does not bark at nothing!"

*Antti went to take a look. Kaisa stood by the wall, bloody knife in hand, gory veil on her head.*

*"Shameful whore, you killed your own man!"*

*"It was not my own man, it was a harasser of whores. Saved my family from shame, took a great blame from my kin."*

In the ballad, Vietrikkä (Hannus, Antero, Nyrvi, Lauri) plays his kantele and blows his wind-pipe (bagpipe) until all in the house are asleep, and then sneaks into Kati's bedchamber. Kati bids the man to leave if he is a stranger, but to come in if he is her husband or groom. Vietrikkä says that he is a stranger, but still goes to Kati, whereupon the girl grabs a knife and plunges it in the man's heart. Below, the house folk wake up with the noise and wonder whether there is a bear among the cattle. When they see what has happened, they all accuse Kati: "Woe is you, Hiisi's whore, killed your own man." Kati defends herself: "It was not my own man, it was a harasser of whores."

The Man-Killer has no clearly identifiable counterpart in the European ballad tradition, although it has been assumed to be modeled on the extensive ballad cluster *Lady Isabel and the False Knight* (Child 4).<sup>(12)</sup> The murder motif is also present in the Estonian-Ingrian ballad *Maie*, but the songs are unlikely to be linked. In terms of distribution, the Man-Killer maiden is eastern, with Ingria its core area judging by the number of variants, but the ballad has also been sung in the Karelian borderlands and Savo. K. A. Gottlund recorded the song in Juva in 1816, and his explanation was that the background of the song would be a true event that took place in the parish of Ristiina, taken as the subject of a song written by the parish chaplain around 1776-1780. Research has been unable to conclusively prove or disprove the claim.<sup>(13)</sup>

(MI T 173)

**New age – new meter.** The ballad tradition in the old meter remained alive until the 1600s, when singing customs in western and southern Finland gradually began to change. Western European, strophed singing with its more varied melodies gradually gained ground from the archaic tradition. In the 1700s, new ballads were still adopted mainly from the Finland-Swedes, but the songs retained increasingly more distinctly their original strophed form, content and melody; in spreading of the ballads, the melody became more and more important. Examples of ballads in the new meter are *Velisurmaaja* [Brother-slayer], *Morsiamen kuolo* [Death of the bride], *Lunastettava neito* [Freeing of the maid] and *Herra Petteri* [Master Peter]. In the 1800s, ballads in the new meter were also published in printed form as broadside ballads, which has affected the distribution of individual songs. In the second half of the century, romance-type songs, customarily termed broadside ballads in Finland, gained great popularity. They were initially translated direct from Swedish broadsides, but later, Finnish broadside ballads were also written.

Ballads in the old meter were a feature of the kinship culture era, when even the individual was above all a member of his kin, and marriages of young people, their happiness and misfortunes concerned the whole kinship group. During that period, man did not live for himself alone, but his conduct brought honor or shame to the kinship group. The wife or unmarried maiden of the Man-Killer was a representative of her family; she removed the shame of the whole kinship group. The songs of the kinship community era, poetry in archaic meter, do not speak openly of love, although human emotions, mutual attachment and faithfulness undoubtedly influenced human lives then as they did later. Feelings were expressed with different words, a different way, or maybe public expressions of love were thought culturally embarrassing.

With folk songs and dance tunes in the new meter began also a new era of emotional and self-expression. In peasant society, the kinship group gradually decreased in importance and was replaced by neighbors and the local community. Music became a part of the culture of social intercourse, belonging in the programs of village weddings (maps 11-21), village dances and other social events (maps 34-36). Through music, emotions and values of life were addressed more openly, as well as relations between social classes and man's status under the changes of daily culture. In the era of industrial culture, music has become concentrated as professional entertainment systems, part of state culture and uniform, tech-

nological development. Village man has become a consumer of international music, ever-growing emotion and illusion industry. In the postlocal world, human feelings and experiences are produced by a global technosystem, a consciousness industry operating worldwide. Constantly playing music belongs to the media environment, surrounding the global man, independent of time and place, everywhere and at all times of day or night, in reality and unreality.

*Anneli Asplund*

*SKVR 1908-1948. Suomen kansan sävelmiä 1910-1930 IV:1-2. Aarne 1921. Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953. Haavio 1952a. Hodgart 1962. Jevsejev 1950; 1976-1980. Kemppinen 1954. Krohn J. – Krohn K. 1900-1901. Krohn K. 1924a. Kuusi 1963b; 1978; 1980. Kuusi – Bosley – Branch 1977. Nenola 1986b. Sarmela 1969. Virtaranta 1981. Asplund 1994.*

**1.** See e.g. *Hodgart 1962*, 66-. **2.** *Kuusi 1963b*, 327-. **3.** *Sarmela 1969*, 70-. **4.** *Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953*, 326-. *Sarmela 1991b*. **5.** *Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953*, 187. **6.** *Kuusi 1980*, 237. **7.** *Nenola 1986b*, 166-. **8.** *Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953*, 250. *Virtaranta 1981*. **9.** *Enäjärvi-Haavio 1953*, 267-. *Kuusi 1963b*, 337-. **10.** E.g. *Jääskeläinen L.* 1940, 19; 1941, 15. *Pacius s.a.* **11.** *Kuusi 1963b*, 348. **12.** *Kemppinen 1954*. **13.** *Haavio 1952a*, 325-.

# APPENDIX

## Archives

Finnish Literature Society (SKS) Folklore Archives. Helsinki.

Research Institute for the Languages of Finland/ Finnish Language Audio Recording Archive, Lexical Archive of Finnish Dialects (formerly Finnish Dictionary Foundation), Names Archive and Dictionary of Karelian. Helsinki.

Finnish National Board of Antiquities Archives for Oral Tradition and the Archives of Prints and Photographs (Cultural History). Helsinki.

The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS), Archives of Folk Culture. Helsinki.

TUOKKO, Collection of judicial documents in the National Archives of Finland. Helsinki.

*When conducting supplementary collections, additional information was obtained from the following institutions:*

University of Jyväskylä, Department of Ethnology. Jyväskylä.

University of Tampere, Department of Folk Tradition. Tampere

University of Turku, School of Cultural Research. Turku.

Abo Akademi University, Institute of Folkloristics. Turku.

Karelian Research Center of the Russian Academy of Science (formerly the Institute of Language, Literature and History of the USSR Academy of Science, Karelian Branch). Petrozavodsk.

*The material, thematic archives, reference details and draft maps of the Atlas are kept in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society.*

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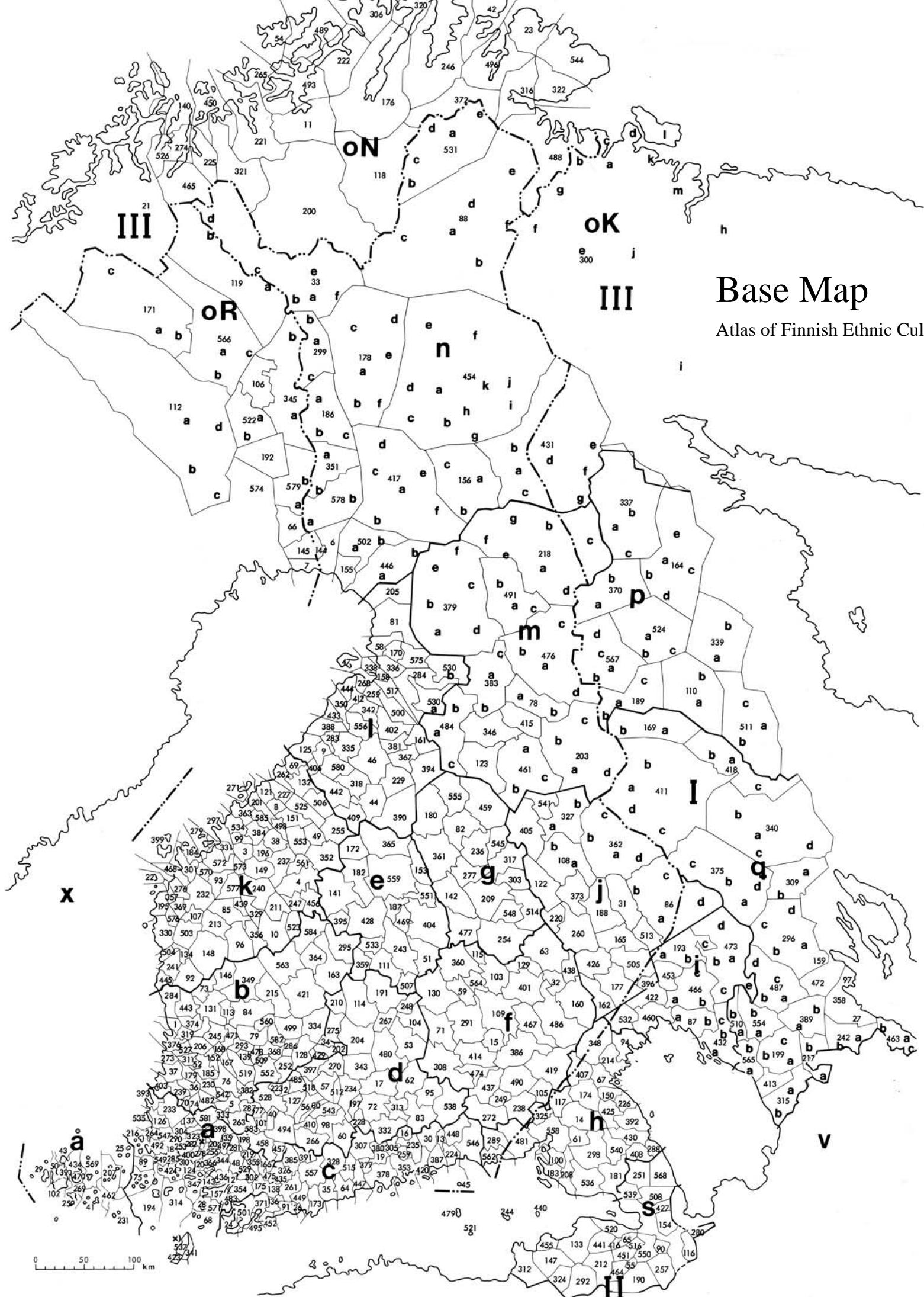
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## LIST OF THE LOCALITIES

### **Base Map**

1. The Finnish map shows the rural municipalities in 1910.
2. The administrative division enforced in 1925 is observed in Dvina (Archangel Karelia) and Olonets.
3. The geographic units used in Ingria are the Lutheran congregations before the First World War.
4. The municipal division in Västerbotten in Sweden and in northern Norway corresponds to the situation in 1930-1950.

### **Index numbers**

1. The number before the name of the parish refers to the above base map.
2. The letter after the name of the parish indicates the historical province in which the parish is located.
3. In eastern and northern Finland, the Swedish-speaking areas of Västerbotten, and Ladoga Karelia, Olonets and Dvina (Archangel Karelia), large municipalities are divided into groups of villages marked with letters on the index map. Only 1-2 villages of a neighborhood are mentioned in the list of the localities.
4. The Swedish names of bilingual parishes in Finland are marked with a star.
5. In the areas of ancient Finnish settlement in Sweden, Norway and the Murmansk area, the Finnish name for the municipality is given in italics.

### **Historical provinces**

The regional division and the letters denoting the historical provinces are:

I. Karelia – II. Ingria – III. Västerbotten, Finnmark and the Kola Peninsula.

a = Varsinais-Suomi (Finland Proper)  
 b = Satakunta  
 c = Uusimaa  
 d = Häme (Sw. Tavastland)  
 e = Central Finland  
 f = South Savo  
 g = North Savo  
 h = South Karelia (Karelian Isthmus)  
 i = Ladoga (Border) Karelia  
 j = North Karelia  
 k = South Ostrobothnia  
 l = North Ostrobothnia

m = Kainuu  
 n = South Lapland (Far Bothnia)  
 o = Finnish settlements in  
     Sweden (oR = Västerbotten),  
     Norway (oN = Finnmark) and  
     Murmansk (oK = Kola Peninsula)  
 p = Dvina (Archangel Karelia)  
 q = Olonets  
 s = Ingria  
 v = Veps areas  
 x = Värmland (Sweden)  
 å = Åland

## Tradition maps

1. Only one symbol is marked on the map for each basic regional unit, regardless of the number of cases.
2. In the large municipalities of eastern and northern Finland, Lapland, and Karelia, the map symbols are placed beside the letters if the village is known. If the village is not known or the village division is not observed, the map symbol is given beside the number of the parish.
3. The sign on the western periphery of the map at the narrowest point in the Gulf of Bothnia denotes the Värmland Finns.

## Map types

1. **Distribution maps.** The available material indicates the spread of a phenomenon at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.
2. **Archive maps.** These indicate the last known recording of a tradition now lost or the spread of phenomena recorded in the archives, not the actual spread of the phenomenon. All the maps of e.g. poetry in the ancient meter and incantations are archive maps.
3. **Statistical maps.** These give diagrams representing the regional frequencies of items. The comparison areas are based on the old provinces combined to form larger units. The frequencies were calculated in one of two ways and indicate 1) the frequency of data concerning a variable as a percentage of all the data for the area (n) or (2) the percentage of all data on this particular feature (n). The special statistical sample, covering extensive and varied accounts only, is separated from such entities as wedding customs or legends of supernatural guardians.
4. **Reconstruction maps.** The following basic rule was observed in compiling the maps: The oldest, most authentic or most functional form of a phenomenon is marked for each parish. Data on more recent manifestations are thus excluded if older information is available. In practice the map indicates the most widely-known spread of the oldest features.

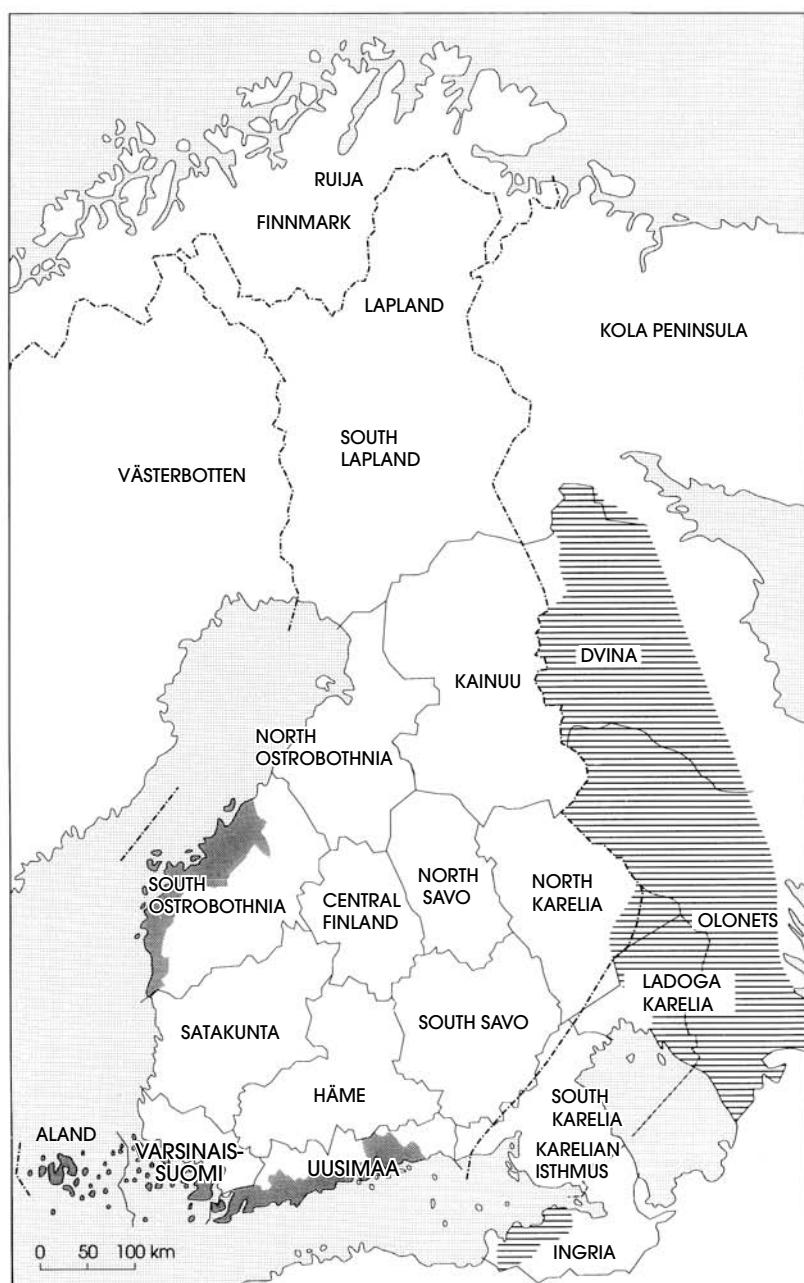
## Localities

1 Ahlainen = *Vittisbofjärd b	16 Artjärvi c	33 Enontekiö n a) Enontekiö Hetta b) Palojoensuu c) Kaaresuvanto d) Kilpisjärvi e) Palojärvi f) Peltovuoma	43 Geta å 44 Haapajärvi l 45 Haapasaari c 46 Haapavesi l 47 Hailuoto l 48 Halikko a 49 Halsua k 50 Hammarland å 51 Hankasalmi e 52 Harjavala b 53 Hartola d 54 Hasvik oN 55 Hatsina s 56 Hattula d 57 Hauho d 58 Haukipudas l 59 Haukivuori f
2 Akaa d	17 Asikkala d	34 Eräjärvi b	
3 Alahärmä k	18 Askainen a	35 Espoo = *Esbo c	
4 Alajärvi k	19 Askola c	36 Eura b	
5 Alastaro b	20 Aura a	37 Eurajoki b	
6 Alatornio n	21 Balsfjord = Paatsivuono oN	38 Evijärvi k	
7 Alatornio = Nedertorneå oR	22 Bergö k	39 Finström å	
8 Alaveteli = *Nedervetil k	23 Berlevåg oN	40 Forssa d	
9 Alavieska 1	24 Bromarv c	41 Föglö å	
10 Alavus k	25 Brändö å	42 Gamvik oN	
11 Alta = Alattio oN	26 Degerby c		
12 Angelniemi a	27 Derevjannaja q		
13 Anjala c	28 Dragsfjärd a		
14 Antrea h	29 Eckerö å		
15 Anttola f	30 Elimäki c		
	31 Eno j		
	32 Enonkoski f		

- 60 Hausjärvi d  
 61 Heinjoki h  
 62 Heinola d  
 63 Heinävesi f  
 64 Helsinki pit. = \*Helsinge (Vantaa) c  
 65 Hietamäki s  
 66 Hietaniemi = Hedenäset oR  
 67 Hiitola h  
 68 Hiittinen = \*Hitis a  
 69 Himanka k  
 70 Hinnerjoki b  
 71 Hirvensalmi f  
 72 Hollola d  
 73 Honkajoki b  
 74 Honkilahти b  
 75 Houtskari = \*Houtskär a  
 76 Huittinen b  
 77 Humppila d  
 78 Hyrynsalmi m  
   a) Hyrynsalmi  
   b) Moisiovaara  
 79 Hämeenkyrö b  
 80 Hämeenlinna d  
 81 Ii l  
 82 Iisalmi g  
 83 Iitti d  
 84 Ikaalinen b  
 85 Ilmajoki k  
 86 Ilomantsi j  
   a) Ilomantsi  
     Mekrijärvi  
     Melaselkä  
   b) Kivilahti  
   c) Hattuvara  
     Naarva  
   d) Kuolismaa  
     Ontronvaara  
 87 Impilahti i  
   a) Impilahti  
     Kitelä  
     Kokkoselkä  
   b) Pitkäranta  
     Syskjärvi  
     Uomaa  
 88 Inari n  
   a) Inari  
   b) Ivalo  
   c) Angeli  
   d) Kaamanen  
   e) Nääätämö  
     Sevettijärvi  
   f) Nellim  
     Paatsjoki  
 89 Iniö a  
 90 Inkere s  
 91 Inkoo = \*Ingå c  
 92 Isojoki k  
 93 Isokyrö k  
 94 Jaakkima h  
 95 Jaala d  
 96 Jalasjärvi k  
 97 Jalguba q  
 98 Janakkala d  
 99 Jepua = \*Jeppo k  
 100 Johannes h  
 101 Jokioinen d  
 102 Jomala å  
 103 Joroinen f  
 104 Joutsa d  
 105 Joutseno f  
 106 Junosuvanto = Junosuando oR  
 107 Jurva k  
 108 Juuka j  
   a) Juuka  
     Ahmavaara  
     Paalasmaa  
   b) Vuokko  
 109 Juva f  
 110 Jyskjärvi p  
   a) Jyskjärvi  
   b) Suopassalmi  
 111 Jyväskylä e  
 112 Jällivaara = Gällivare oR  
   a) Jällivaara  
   b) Nattavaara  
   c) Polkema  
   d) Ullatti  
 113 Jämijärvi b  
 114 Jämsä d  
 115 Jäppilä f  
 116 Järvisaari s  
 117 Jääski h  
 118 Kaarsjoki = Karasjok oN  
 119 Kaaresuvanto =  
   Karesuando oR  
   a) Kaaresuvanto  
   b) Rounala  
 120 Kaarina a  
 121 Kaarlela = \*Karleby k  
 122 Kaavi j  
 123 Kajaani m  
 124 Kakskerta a  
 125 Kalajoki l  
 126 Kalanti a  
 127 Kalvolä d  
 128 Kangasala b  
 129 Kangaslampi f  
 130 Kangasniemi f  
 131 Kankaanpää b  
 132 Kannus k  
 133 Kaprio s  
 134 Karijoki k  
 135 Karinainen a  
 136 Karjaa = \*Karis c  
 137 Karjala Tl. a  
 138 Karjalohja = \*Karislojo c  
 139 Karkku b  
 140 Karlsöy = Kalsa oN  
 141 Karstula e  
 142 Karttula g  
 143 Karuna a  
 144 Karunki n  
 145 Karunki = Karl Gustav oR  
 146 Karvia b  
 147 Kattila s  
 148 Kauhajoki k  
 149 Kauhava k  
 150 Kaukola h  
 151 Kaustinen k  
 152 Kauvatsa b  
 153 Keitele e  
 154 Keltto s  
 155 Kemi n  
 156 Kemijärvi n  
   a) Kemijärvi  
     Isokylä  
     Joutsijärvi  
   b) Luusua  
   c) Javarus  
     Vuostimo  
 157 Kemiö = \*Kimito a  
 158 Kempele l  
 159 Kenjärvi (Kenttijärvi) q  
 160 Kerimäki f  
 161 Kestilä l  
 162 Kesälähti j  
 163 Keuruu b  
 164 Kiestinki p  
   a) Kiestinki  
   b) Sohjanansuu  
   c) Lohivaara  
   d) Vaarakylä  
   e) Jelettijärvi  
 165 Kihtelysvaara j  
 166 Kiikala a  
 167 Kiikka b  
 168 Kiikoinen b  
 169 Kiimaisjärvi q  
   a) Kiimaisjärvi  
   b) Luvajärvi  
     Miinoa  
 170 Kiiminki l  
 171 Kiiruna = Kiruna oR  
   a) Kiiruna  
   b) Jukkasjärvi  
   c) Abisko  
 172 Kinnula e  
 173 Kirkkonummi =  
   \*Kyrkslätt c  
 174 Kirvu h  
 175 Kisko a  
 176 Kistrand =  
 Russamarkka oN  
 177 Kitee j  
 178 Kittilä n  
   a) Kittilä  
     Sirkka  
   b) Kaukonen  
   c) Tepasto  
   d) Pokka  
   e) Kiistala  
     Kuivasalmi  
   f) Kelontekemä  
     Tepsa  
 179 Kiukainen b  
 180 Kiuruvesi g  
 181 Kivennapa h  
 182 Kivijärvi e  
 183 Koivisto h  
 184 Koivulahti = \*Kvevlax k  
 185 Kokemäki b  
 186 Kolari n  
   a) Kolari  
     Äkäslompolo  
   b) Sieppijärvi  
   c) Pasmajärvi  
 187 Konginkangas e  
 188 Kontiolahti j  
 189 Kontokki p  
   a) Kontokki  
   b) Akonlahti  
   c) Kenttijärvi  
     Kostamus  
 190 Koprina s  
 191 Korpilahti d  
 192 Korpilompolo =  
   Korpilombolo oR  
 193 Korpiselkä i  
   a) Korpiselkä  
     Hoilola  
     Kokkari  
   b) Tolvajärvi  
     Vieksinki  
   c) Ägläjärvi  
 194 Korppoo = \*Korpo a  
 195 Korsnäs k  
 196 Kortesjärvi k  
 197 Koski Hl. d  
 198 Koski Tl. a  
 199 Kotkatjärvi q  
   a) Kotkatjärvi  
     Saarimäki  
   b) Tihveri  
   c) Vähjärvi  
 200 Koutokeino =  
   Kautokeino oN  
 201 Kruunupyy = \*Kronoby k  
 202 Kuhmalahti b  
 203 Kuhmo m  
   a) Kuhmo

- Katerma  
b) Vieksi  
c) Lentiira  
d) Lammasperä  
Saunajärvi  
204 Kuhmoinen d
- 205 Kuivaniemi l  
206 Kullaa b  
207 Kumlinge å  
208 Kuolemajärvi h  
209 Kuopio g  
210 Kuorevesi d

### Finnish-Karelian Culture Area (1900)



- 211 Kuortane k  
212 Kupanitsa s  
213 Kurikka k  
214 Kurkijoki h  
215 Kuru b  
216 Kustavi a  
217 Kuujärvi (Lojanitsy) q  
a) Kuujärvi  
Syrjä  
b) Kaškana
- 218 Kuusamo m  
a) Kuusamo  
Kuoliojärvi  
Vasaraperä
- b) Kallunki  
Käylä
- c) Paanajärvi  
Määttälänvaara
- d) Murtovaara
- e) (Posio)  
Posio  
Sirniö
- f) (Posio)  
Pernu
- g) (Posio)  
Jumisko  
Mourujärvi
- 219 Kuusjoki a  
220 Kuusjärvi j  
221 Kvaenangen =  
*Naavuono* oN
- 222 Kvalsund oN
- 223 Kylmäkoski d
- 224 Kymi c
- 225 Kåfjord = *Kaivuono* oN
- 226 Käkisalmi h
- 227 Kälviä k
- 228 Kärkölä d
- 229 Kärsämäki l
- 230 Köyliö b
- 231 Köökari = \*Kökar å
- 232 Laihia k
- 233 Laitila a
- 234 Lammi d
- 235 Lapinjärvi = \*Lappträsk c
- 236 Lapinlahti g
- 237 Lappajärvi k
- 238 Lappee f
- 239 Lappi Tl. b
- 240 Lapua k
- 241 Lapväärtti = \*Lappfjärd k
- 242 Ladva q  
a) Ladva  
b) Taržala
- 243 Laukaa e
- 244 Lavasaari h
- 245 Lavia b
- 246 Lebesby oN
- 247 Lehtimäki k  
248 Leivonmäki d
- 249 Lemi f
- 250 Lemland å
- 251 Lempaala s
- 252 Lempäälä b
- 253 Lemua a
- 254 Leppävirta g
- 255 Lestijärvi k
- 256 Lieto a
- 257 Liissilä s
- 258 Liljendal c
- 259 Liminka l
- 260 Liperi j
- 261 Lohja = \*Lojo c
- 262 Lohtaja k
- 263 Loimaa b
- 264 Lokalahti a
- 265 Loppa = *Lappea* oN
- 266 Loppi d
- 267 Luhanka d
- 268 Lumijoki l
- 269 Lumparland å
- 270 Luopioinen d
- 271 Luoto = \*Larsmo k
- 272 Luumäki f
- 273 Luvia b
- 274 Lyngen = *Muotka*  
(*Jyykeä*) oN
- 275 Längelmäki d
- 276 Maalahti = \*Malax k
- 277 Maaninka g
- 278 Maaria a
- 279 Maksamaa = \*Maxmo k
- 280 Markkova s
- 281 Marttila a
- 282 Masku a
- 283 Merijärvi l
- 284 Merikarvia = \*Sastmola b
- 285 Merimasku a
- 286 Messukylä b
- 287 Metsämaa b
- 288 Metsäpirtti h
- 289 Miehikkälä h
- 290 Mietoinen a
- 291 Mikkeli f
- 292 Moloskovitsa s
- 293 Mouhijärvi b
- 294 Muhos l
- 295 Multia b
- 296 Munjärvi q  
a) Munjärvi  
Päljärvi  
b) Vuohijärvi  
c) Lintujärvi  
d) Pyhäniemi
- 297 Munsala k
- 298 Muolaa h

- 299 Muonio n  
 a) Muonio  
   Äkäsjärvi  
 b) Kätkäsuvanto  
   Yli-Muonio  
 c) Kihlanki
- 300 Murmansk =  
 Muurmanni oK  
 a) Petsamo  
 b) Koltaköngäs  
 c) Vuoremi  
 d) Pummanki  
 e) Suonikylä  
 f) Nautsi  
 g) Salmijärvi  
 h) Kildin  
 i) Imandra  
 j) Nuortijärvi  
   Ristikenttä  
 k) Muotkavuono  
 l) Kalastajasaarento  
 m) Uura
- 301 Mustasaari = \*Korsholm k  
 302 Muurla a  
 303 Muuruvesi g  
 304 Mynämäki a  
 305 Myrskylä = \*Mörskom c  
 306 Måsöy = Moseija oN  
 307 Mäntsälä c  
 308 Mäntyharju f  
 309 Mäntyselkä q  
   a) Mäntyselkä  
     Ahvenjärvi  
     b) Juustjärvi  
 310 Naantali a  
 311 Nakkila b  
 312 Narvusi s  
 313 Nastola d  
 314 Nauvo = \*Nagu a  
 315 Nekkula q  
   a) Nekkula  
     Kuittinens  
     Mägriä  
   b) Piži  
 316 Nesseby = Uuniemi oN  
 317 Nilsiä g  
 318 Nivala l  
 319 Noormarkku b  
 320 Nordkapp = Kappa oN  
 321 Nordreisa = Raisi oN  
 322 Nord-Varanger =  
   Pohjois-Varanki oN  
 323 Nousiainen a  
 324 Novasolkka s  
 325 Nuijamaa h  
 326 Nummi c  
 327 Nurmes j  
   a) Nurmes
- Porokylä  
 b) Petäiskylä  
   Saramo  
 328 Nurmijärvi c  
 329 Nurmo k  
 330 Närpiö = \*Närpes k  
 331 Oravainen = \*Oravais k  
 332 Oirimattila d  
 333 Oripää b  
 334 Orivesi b  
 335 Oulainen l  
 336 Oulujoki l  
 337 Oulunka p  
   a) Oulunka  
   b) Niska  
     Ruva  
   c) Sohjanansuu  
 338 Oulunsalo l  
 339 Paanajärvi p  
   a) Paanajärvi  
   b) Kurki  
 340 Paatene q  
   a) Paatene  
   b) Laazari  
     Särkijärvi  
   c) Selgi  
   d) Karjalan Maaselkä  
 341 Paattinen a  
 342 Paavola l  
 343 Padasjoki d  
 344 Paimio a  
 345 Pajala oR  
   a) Pajala  
   b) Muonionalusta  
 346 Paltamo m  
 347 Parainen = \*Pargas a  
 348 Parikkala h  
 349 Parkano b  
 350 Pattijsoki l  
 351 Pello n  
   a) Pello  
   b) Turtola  
 352 Perho k  
 353 Pernaja = \*Pernå c  
 354 Perniö a  
 355 Pertteli a  
 356 Peräseinäjoki k  
 357 Petolahti = \*Petalax k  
 358 Petroskoi q  
 359 Petäjävesi e  
 360 Pieksämäki f  
 361 Pielavesi g  
 362 Pielisjärvi j  
   a) Pielisjärvi  
     Lieksa  
     Vuonislähti  
   b) Vieki  
   c) Nurmijärvi
- Ruunaa  
 d) Hattuvaara  
 363 Pietarsaari = \*Pedersöde k  
 364 Pihlajavesi b  
 365 Pihtipudas e  
 366 Piikkiö a  
 367 Piippola l  
 368 Pirkkala b  
 369 Pirttikylä = \*Pörtom k  
 370 Pistojärvi p  
   a) Pistojärvi  
   b) Suvanto  
 371 Pohja = \*Pojo c  
 372 Polmak = Pulmanki oN  
 373 Polvijärvi j  
 374 Pomarkku b  
 375 Porajärvi q  
   a) Porajärvi  
   b) Klyssinvaara  
   c) Lupasalmi  
   d) Soutjärvi  
 376 Pori b  
 377 Pornainen = \*Borgnäs c  
 378 Porvoo = \*Borgå c  
 379 Pudasjärvi m  
   a) Pudasjärvi  
     Hetejärvi  
   b) Siurua  
   c) Livo  
     Sarajärvi  
   d) Puhos  
   e) (Ranua)  
     Ranua  
   f) (Ranua)  
     Simojärvi  
 380 Pukkila c  
 381 Pulkkila l  
 382 Punkalaidun b  
 383 Puolanka m  
   a) Puolanka  
   b) Puokio  
     Väyrylä  
   c) Joukokylä  
 384 Purmo k  
 385 Pusula c  
 386 Puumala f  
 387 Pyhtää = \*Pyttis c  
 388 Pyhäjoki l  
 389 Pyhäjärvi q  
   a) Pyhäjärvi  
     Kaskesniemi  
     Nuosjärvi  
     Simaništo  
   b) Prääzä  
 390 Pyhäjärvi Ol. 1  
 391 Pyhäjärvi Ul. c  
 392 Pyhäjärvi Vpl. h  
 393 Pyhämaa a
- 394 Pyhäntä l  
 395 Pylkönmäki e  
 396 Pälkjärvi j  
 397 Pälkäne d  
 398 Pöytyä a  
 399 Raippaluoto = \*Replot k  
 400 Raisio a  
 401 Rantasalmi f  
 402 Rantsila l  
 403 Rauma b  
 404 Rautalampi e  
 405 Rautavaara j  
 406 Rautio l  
 407 Rautjärvi h  
 408 Rautu h  
 409 Reisjärvi l  
 410 Renko d  
 411 Repola q  
   a) Repola  
   b) Omelie  
   c) Lentiera  
   d) Tuulivaara  
 412 Revonlahti l  
 413 Riipuškala q  
 414 Ristiina f  
 415 Ristijärvi m  
 416 Ropsu s  
 417 Rovaniemi n  
   a) Rovaniemi  
     Oikarainen  
   b) Muurola  
   c) Sinettä  
   d) Meltaus  
   e) Nampa  
     Vikajärvi  
   f) Vanttauskoski  
 418 Rukajärvi q  
   a) Rukajärvi  
   b) Ondrozenvaara  
   c) Ondajärvi  
 419 Ruokolahti f  
 420 Ruotsinpyhtää =  
   \*Strömfors c  
 421 Ruovesi b  
 422 Ruskeala i  
 423 Rusko a  
 424 Rymättylä a  
 425 Räisälä h  
 426 Rääkkylä j  
 427 Rääppyyvä s  
 428 Saarijärvi e  
 429 Sahalahti b  
 430 Sakkola h  
 431 Salla n  
   a) Salla  
     Kursu  
   b) Kelloselkä  
   c) Hautajärvi

- |                          |                             |                             |                              |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| d) Kuolajärvi            | Martti                      | 477 Suonenjoki g            | 511 Tunkua p                 |
| e) Kurtti                | k) (Savukoski)              | 478 Suoniemi b              | a) Tunkua                    |
| f) Vuosnajärvi           | Tanhua                      | 479 Suursaari h             | b) Koivuniemi                |
| g) Tuutijärvi            | 455 Soikkola s              | 480 Sysmä d                 | c) Kevättämäjärvi            |
| 432 Salmi i              | 456 Soini k                 | 481 Säkkijärvi h            | 512 Tuulos d                 |
| a) Salmi (Tulema)        | 457 Somerniemi d            | 482 Säkylä b                | 513 Tuupovaara j             |
| Uuksu                    | 458 Somero d                | 483 Särkisalo = *Finby a    | 514 Tuusniemi g              |
| b) Orusjärvi             | 459 Sonkajärvi g            | 484 Säränsiemi m            | 515 Tuusula = *Tusby c       |
| Varpaselkä               | 460 Sortavalä i             | a) Säränsiemi               | 516 Tuuteri s                |
| Virtelä                  | 461 Sotkamo m               | b) Jaalanka                 | 517 Tyrnävä l                |
| c) Käsänaselkä           | a) Sotkamo                  | c) Vuolijoki                | 518 Tyrväntö d               |
| Hyrssylä ks. Suojärvi    | Nuasjärvi                   | 485 Sääksmäki d             | 519 Tyrvää b                 |
| d) Mantsinsaari          | b) Juurikkalahti            | 486 Sääminki f              | 520 Tyrö s                   |
| Lunkulanssaari           | Laakajärvi                  | 487 Säämäjärvi q            | 521 Tytärsaari h             |
| 433 Saloinen 1           | c) Ontojoki                 | a) Säämäjärvi               | 522 Täräntö = Tärendö oR     |
| 434 Saltvik å            | 462 Sottunga å              | Jessoila                    | a) Täräntö                   |
| 435 Sammatti c           | 463 Šoutjärvi (Šoltjärvi) q | Salmenniska                 | b) Kainulaisjärvi            |
| 436 Sauvo a              | a) Šoutjärvi                | b) Joenkylä                 | 523 Töysä k                  |
| 437 Savitaipale f        | Tihonist                    | Veskelys                    | 524 Uhtua = Kalevala p       |
| 438 Savonranta f         | Matvejanselkä               | c) Lahti                    | a) Uhtua                     |
| 439 Seinäjoki k          | b) Šokšu                    | d) Tšalkki                  | b) Jyvölähti                 |
| 440 Seiskari h           | c) Kalaige                  | 488 Sör-Varanger =          | Alajärvi                     |
| 441 Serepetta s          | 464 Spankkova s             | Etelä-Varanki oN            | c) Luusalmi                  |
| 442 Sievi 1              | 465 Storfjord oN            | 489 Söröysund oN            | 525 Ullava k                 |
| 443 Siikainen b          | 466 Suistamo i              | 490 Taipalsaari f           | 526 Ulsfjord = Moskivuono oN |
| 444 Siikajoki 1          | a) Suistamo                 | 491 Taivalkoski m           | 527 Ulvila b                 |
| 445 Siipyty = *Sideby k  | Alattu                      | a) Taivalkoski              | 528 Urjala d                 |
| 446 Simo n               | Koitonselkä                 | b) Kostonjärvi              | 529 Uskela a                 |
| a) Simo                  | b) Leppäsyrä                | Loukusa                     | 530 Utajärvi l               |
| b) (Ranua)               | Uuksujärvi                  | c) Jokijärvi                | a) Utajärvi                  |
| Hosio                    | c) Loimola                  | Metsäkylä                   | Vaala                        |
| Portimo                  | Muuanto                     | 492 Taivassalo a            | b) Sanginkylä                |
| 447 Sipo = *Sibbo c      | Šemeikka                    | 493 Talvik = Talmulabti oN  | 531 Utsjoki n                |
| 448 Sippola c            | 467 Sulkava f               | 494 Tammela d               | a) Utsjoki                   |
| 449 Siuntio = *Sjundeå c | 468 Sulva = *Solv k         | 495 Tammisaari = *Ekenäs c  | b) Karigasniemi              |
| 450 Skjervöy = Kierua oN | 469 Sumiainen e             | 496 Tana = Teno oN          | c) Outakoski                 |
| 451 Skuoritsa s          | 470 Sund å                  | 497 Tarvasjoki a            | d) Nuvvus                    |
| 452 Snappertuna c        | 471 Suodenniemi b           | 498 Teerijärvi = *Terjärv k | e) Nuorgam                   |
| 453 Soanlahti i          | 472 Suoju q                 | 499 Teisko b                | 532 Uukuniemi i              |
| 454 Sodankylä n          | 473 Suojärvi i              | 500 Temmes l                | 533 Uurainen e               |
| a) Sodankylä             | a) Suojärvi                 | 501 Tenhola = *Tenala c     | 534 Uusikaarlepyy =          |
| Kelujärvi                | Kaitajärvi                  | 502 Tervola n               | *Nykarleby k                 |
| Petkula                  | Varpakylä                   | a) Tervola                  | 535 Uusikaupunki a           |
| b) Raudanjoki            | b) Kivijärvi                | Kätkäväära                  | 536 Uusikirkko Vpl. h        |
| c) Kierinki              | c) Kotajärvi                | b) Koivu                    | 537 Vahto a                  |
| Unari                    | d) Vegarus                  | Runkaus                     | 538 Valkeala d               |
| d) Jeesiö                | e) Hautavaara               | 503 Teuva k                 | 539 Valkeasaari s            |
| e) Madetkoski            | Hyrsylä (432 Salmi)         | 504 Tiukka = *Tjöck k       | 540 Valkjärvi h              |
| f) Lokka                 | 474 Suomenniemi f           | 505 Tohmajärvi j            | 541 Valtimo j                |
| Sompio                   | 475 Suomusjärvi a           | 506 Toholampi k             | 542 Vampula b                |
| Vuotso                   | 476 Suomussalmi m           | 507 Toivakka e              | 543 Vanaja d                 |
| g) (Pelkosenniemi)       | a) Suomussalmi              | 508 Toksova s               | 544 Vardö = Vuoreija oN      |
| Pelkosenniemi            | b) Näljänkä                 | 509 Tottijärvi b            | 545 Varpaisjärvi g           |
| h) (Pelkosenniemi)       | c) Piispajärvi              | 510 Tulemajärvi q           | 546 Vehkalahti c             |
| Kairala                  | Ruhtinansalmi               | a) Tulemajärvi              | 547 Vehmaa a                 |
| i) (Savukoski)           | d) Vuokki                   | Palalahti                   | 548 Vehmersalmi g            |
| Savukoski                | Hietajärvi                  | Pultšoi                     | 549 Velkua a                 |
| j) (Savukoski)           | Kuivajärvi                  | b) Kolatselkä               | 550 Venjoki s                |

- 551 Vesanto e  
 552 Vesilahti b  
 553 Veteli k  
 554 Vieljärvi q  
   a) Vieljärvi  
     Nälmäjärvi  
   b) Savinova  
 555 Vieremä g  
 556 Vihanti l  
 557 Vihti c  
 558 Viipuri h  
 559 Viitasaari e  
 560 Viljakkala b  
 561 Vimpeli k  
 562 Virolahti h  
 563 Virrat b  
 564 Virtasalmi f  
 565 Vitele q  
   a) Vitele  
     Rajakontu  
     Tuulos  
   b) Suurimäki  
     Kinälähti  
 566 Vittanki = Vittangi oR  
   a) Vittanki  
   b) Parakka  
   c) Lainio  
 567 Vuokkiniemi p
- a) Vuokkiniemi  
 b) Kivijärvi  
   Latvajärvi  
 c) Ponkalahti  
   Venehjärvi  
 d) Vuonnen  
 568 Vuole s  
 569 Vårdö å  
 570 Vähäkyrö k  
 571 Västanfjärd a  
 572 Vöyri = \*Vörå k  
 573 Ylihärmä k  
 574 Ylikainuu = Överkalix oR  
 575 Ylikiiminki l  
 576 Ylimarkku = \*Övermark k  
 577 Ylistaro k  
 578 Ylitornio n  
   a) Ylitornio  
   b) Meltosjärvi  
 579 Ylitornio = Övertorneå oR  
   a) Ylitornio  
   b) Juoksenki  
 580 Ylivieska l  
 581 Yläne a  
 582 Ylöjärvi b  
 583 Ypääjä d  
 584 Ähtäri b  
 585 Ähtävä = \*Esse k

Matti Sarmela

# FINNISH FOLKLORE ATLAS

## Ethnic Culture of Finland 2

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*bear rites, sacrificial stones and trees,  
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#### MARRIAGE

*proposal, betrothal;  
kinship and village weddings*

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*local gatherings, festival bonfires,  
swinging and tours, party games*

#### VILLAGE YOUTH

*work parties, village dances,  
name-day parties, village swings,  
night courting by youths*

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animals lost in the forest, trulli-witches,  
witches' helper creatures, funeral of a witch*

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