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A STUDY OF THE PREHISTORIC FINNS, BASED ON THE KALEVALA.

A Thesis

submitted to the Faculty

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

of the University of Minnesota,

by

Ammy Brynhild Lemstrom,

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of Master of Arts.

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A STUDY OF THE CULTURE OF THE PREHISTORIC FINNS, BASED  
ON THE KALEVALA.

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THE undersigned, acting as a committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Ammy Brynhild Lemstrom for the degree of Master of Arts.

They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

A. N. Gilbertson  
Chairman

A. G. Stenberg  
F. Klæber  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

May 28 1914

## CHAPTER I.

## THE COUNTRY.

The country of the Finns is a peninsula, corresponding in size to England, Scotland, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Belgium, or 373,600 km., of which 58,500 km. are forest and 41,659 km. are covered with water. The peninsula is embraced by the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. Two hundred and fifty rivers, most of them outlets of some system of lakes, flow into the Baltic, the waters of which are easily agitated and freeze easily, and must have constituted an effective barrier in times past. Its tide is hardly noticeable and it is filled with constant currents. A wide archipelago, exceedingly difficult to navigate, follows the coastline, beginning at the eastern boundary. From marks cut into rocks on the shore of the Baltic, it has been calculated that the northern coast of the gulf of Bothnia rises from 1.20 to 1.70 meters, while the coast of the gulf of Finland rises only .60 meters in a hundred years. This elevation constantly reshapes the land, making morasses where formerly were lakes. The larger lakes were originally gulfs of the sea, and their inlets were sounds,

turning into rapid rivers as the time went on. At the breaking up of the ice the stones were carried to the shallow parts of the channels, originating rapids. Very few rivers are navigable.

It has been said that the mountains of Finland contain the first and last chapters of the history of the globe, but that the intermediate chapters are missing. There is no trace whatever of vegetable or animal life in the rocks. The present mountains are only the shattered bases of mountain ridges that existed before the ice age. They traverse the country, intercepted by glens, moors, and morasses, and are everywhere covered with forests. The highest point is only 858 meters. The mountains contain almost no metals. A few mines in the eastern part of the country yield a little copper, tin, and silver. Two mines in southern Finland, which formerly contained tin, are no longer worked. A little gold is washed in Lapland. A great deal of earth and many springs, lakes and morasses contain ferric acid, which also covers the bottom of the lakes of eastern Finland. Granite is found in all forms, also a few varieties of slate and marble, but there is no coal.

The lakes have the peculiarity of

"wandering", that is, they filter through and pour into the valley below. In eighteen hundred fifty-nine the lake Höytiäinen suddenly cut through to Pyhäselkä very much below, destroying much on its way. Its water sank nine meters at one time.

The vegetation is much like that of the Scandinavian peninsula. There are seven hundred and nine species of flowering plants in the south, but only three hundred twenty-nine in the north. The forests consist of pine, fir, birch, and alder. The juniper bush grows over the whole country. Less common are the aspen, mountain ash, choke cherry, and willow. The lime grows as far as sixty-three degrees, the maple to sixty-two degrees, the ash and elm to sixty-one degrees, but they can grow further north, if planted. The oak is becoming scarce and is seldom seen further north than sixty-one degrees. Hazel is found in the southern part of the country. Heaths and woodlands are covered with heather. There are many varieties of wild berries and edible mushrooms.

Acclimatized plants are the larch, willow, elder, spirea, and many kinds of vegetables and flowers. Flax is grown as far north as sixty-four degrees, and generally in the interior. Hemp grows to

sixty-six degrees, and the peasants grow tobacco for their own use. The most common cereals are rye, which grows to sixty-four degrees, barley to sixty-eight degrees, and oats to sixty-four degrees. Wheat can be grown only to sixty-two degrees and is chiefly imported. Before the introduction of the potato, the turnip was the most important vegetable.

The animal life is on the whole similar to that of Scandinavia. Fishing is very good. The elk, which is protected by law, is the most important wild animal. Bears are now and then found in the interior, but the larger wild animals, including the wolf and the lynx, have moved north, where the population is not so dense.

#### THE PEOPLE.

Finland is the home of the Finnish people. Their history as a people dates from about the year 1157 A.D. when the first crusade of the Swedes began the Swedish rule in Finland, which lasted until 1809, when the country was ceded to the Russians, who since 1721 had held almost all eastern Finland.

It is not as easy as it seems to classify the Finns. Linguistically there is no doubt about their affinity: they belong to the Finnish-Ugrian family of languages. The following table will

show the relationship between the Finns and the peoples related to them:

- A. Ugrian: Ostiak.  
Vogul.  
Magyar.
- B. Finnish:
  - I. Permian: Syrjenians.  
Permians.  
Votiaks.
  - II. Volga Baltic:
    - a. Volga group: Cheremisses.  
Mordvins.
    - b. West Finnish: Lapps.  
Esthonians.  
Livonians.  
Votes.  
Vepses.  
Finns.

The Ostiaks live in Western Siberia, the Voguls in the northern part of Ural, while the Magyars, as is well known, inhabit part of the country named for them: Hungary. The Permians are found in the basin of the Kama, the Votiaks on the Viatka, and the Syrjenians on the Dvina and the Petchora. The Volga group lives around the Volga, the Cheremiss on its left bank in the government of Kazan, and the Mordvins between the Volga and the Oka. This branch consists of nearly a million people. The West Finnish, or Baltic group inhabits the region about the Baltic, the Lapps being pushed the farthest north, while the Esthonians, Livonians, Vepses, and Votes live on the



southern shores of the Baltic, and the Finns occupy Finland on its northern shore. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, in the "Empire of the Tsars and the Russians" adds to the family the Samoyeds in Siberia, the Tschuvash scattered along the banks of the Volga, and the Bashkirs on the slopes of the Ural.

It may be seen at a glance that all these peoples, except the Magyars, live within the boundaries of the Russian empire. All writers agree on the point that what is now Russia was for centuries occupied by Finnic tribes, that is, by peoples speaking languages related to that of the Finns. There is also considerable agreement concerning their early home, that being the plateau between the Ural and the Altai mountains,\* whence is derived another name for the group, the Ural-Altai. But when these peoples left their Asiatic home is impossible to say with any degree of security. The "Finnic theory" propounded by Retzius, that the Finns and Basques were the sole survivors of the brachycephalic Turanian race which was supposed to have inhabited Europe before the arrival of the dolicocephalic peoples, is exploded long ago, and it has been shown that the brachycephalic peoples were

\* Leroy-Beaulieu, A "Empire of the Tsars and the Russians", p.70.

the last ones to arrive; and that they, instead of being driven north, themselves drove the dolicocephalic peoples northward.

'That Finland was a settled country before the coming of the Finns has been proved long ago. Judging by the discoveries made, the first colonization came from two sides, from the S.W. from Uppland in Sweden, and from the S.E. between the Ladoga and the Onega, or perhaps from the countries south of Ladoga, as far as the mouth of the river Vouksen.\* This is shown by the discoveries of the oldest types of axes, which have been found in these regions, but not elsewhere. The earliest date set for this colonization is during the third century B.C. At the end of the stone age the country became more densely populated, and the settlements covered more ground, as may be seen from the remains of such settlements that have been found. The implements indicate a fairly lively intercourse between the different settlements. Regular trade routes have been determined upon in eastern Finland. The great number of lakes no doubt aided in the communication between the tribes, as did the rivers. Travellers to Lapland went the same way then as travellers do now, along the rivers of Kemi, Kittinen, and

\* Atlas de Finlandes, text to maps 49,50,51, pp.19-21.

Luirojoki, and then along the Sotajoki and the Ivalo-  
joki to the lake of Inari.

The end of the stone age in Finland did not fall until far along in the Christian era, according to some students. But there are no arguments to support this view, and on the contrary, according to the discoveries, the progress was parallel to the progress of the neighboring countries. The stone age seems to have begun at different times in the south and the north, but the end does not appear to have taken place at different periods. The difference would be a few hundred years at the most. In the south, the stone age ended with the introduction of bronze, which was introduced much at the same time that it became common in Sweden, in the first half of the second millennium before Christ. \*

The Finns must have arrived in Finland after or during the bronze age of that country. The prehistoric discoveries, to which reference has been made before, point to the fact that the inhabitants of the western part of the country were of Scandinavian origin, probably immigrants since the stone age.\*\* There are indications that the eastern part

\* Atlas de F. pp 19-21, cartes 49, 50.

\*\* Atlas de Finlande, Carte 49, p.42.

was inhabited by a non-Germanic (non-Nordic), people, but the boundaries between the two different sets of civilization have not yet been determined.\* I can see no reason to disbelieve that this early Nordic (Germanic) population once inhabited the entire country, and then, as the Finns began to come in, moved westward and there maintained themselves longer, but finally amalgamated with the new arrivals, considerably modifying their type. According to Emil Setälä, in his article on "Die Finnische Literatur",\*\* a considerable number of scattered tribes of Lapps lived in Finland side by side with the original Scandinavian or Gothic aborigines. These Lapps are supposed to have either amalgamated with the invaders, or to have been driven north. The Lapps are usually considered related to the Finns, but W.Z.Ripley states that the Lapps are related to the prehistoric Mediterranean dolicocephalic stock, while the Finns, Letts, Lithuanians and Teutons (Nordic) are all offshoots of the same trunk.\*\*\* This would separate the Finns from their brethren of the Ugrian tribes and give them new relations in the Scandinavians and Germans. But unfortunately proofs seem

\* Atlas de Finlande, Carte 49, p.42.

\*\* Die Osteuropaischen Literaturen, Vol.IV, p.309.

\*\*\* Ripley, W.Z. Races of Europe, p.366.

to show that the Finns originally were very closely related to the Finnic tribes now living on the Volga, this relationship being, not only linguistic, but also ethnological. Granted, as is indeed proved, that the predecessors of the Finns in Finland were a people of the Nordic race, the Finns cannot have moved into the country until their Iron Age had begun. "J.R. Aspelin, "founder of the Finno-Ugrian archeology", points out that the Finno-Ugrian peoples originally occupied a geographical position between the Indo-Germanic and the Mongolic races, and that their first Iron Age probably was a development between the Yenisei and the Kama, of the so-called Ural-Altai Bronze Age, the last echoes of which may be traced westwards to Finland and north Scandinavia. In the upper Yenisei districts, iron objects had still the forms of the Bronze Age, when that ancient civilization, associated with the name of the "Chudes", was interrupted by an invasion which introduced the still persisting Turki Iron Age, expelled the aboriginal inhabitants, and thus gave rise to the great migrations first of the Finno-Ugrians, and then of the Turki peoples, (Bashkirs, Volga "Tartars", and others) to and across the Urals. It was here, in the Permian territory between the Irtish and the Kama, that the West Siberian (Chudish) Iron Age continued its normal

and unbroken evolution. The objects recovered from the old graves and kurgans in the present governments of Tver and Jaroslav, and especially at Anannino on the Kama, centre of this culture, show that here took place the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age some three hundred years before the new era, and here was developed a later Iron Age, whose forms are characteristic of the northern Finno-Ugrian lands. The whole region would thus appear to have been first occupied by these immigrants from Asia after the irruption of the Turki hordes into western Siberia during the first Iron Age, at the most some five or six hundred years before the Christian era. The Finno-Ugrian migrations are thus limited to a period of not more than two thousand six hundred years from the present time, and this conclusion, based on archeological grounds, agrees fairly well with the historical, linguistic and ethnological data.\*\*

. "We learn from Jordanes, to whom is due the first authentic account of these populations, that the various Finnish tribes were subject to the Gothic King Hermanrich, and Thomsen now shows that all the western Finns (Esthonians, Livonians, Votes, Vep-

\* Keane, A.H. Man past and present, p.335-336.

ses, Carelians, Tavastians, and others of Finland) must in the first centuries of the new era have lived practically as one people in the closest social union, speaking one language, and following the same religious, tribal, and political institutions. Earlier than the Gothic, was the Lett-Lithuanian contact, as shown by the fact that its traces are perceptible in the language of the Volga Finns, in which German loan words are absent. From these investigations it becomes clear that the Finnish domain must at that time have stretched from the present Esthonia, Livonia, and lake Ladoga, south to the western Dvina."\* When the Slavs south of the Letts moved west, other Slav tribes began to push north, and it was then that the Finns were driven to the Baltic provinces and Finland, where they amalgamated with their Teutonic (Nordic) predecessors, and drove the Lapps to the least hospitable parts of the new country. The Finns took possession of the country in a peaceful manner, tribe after tribe moving in and settling where game and fish were found to be most plentiful.

It is natural to suppose that considerable influence was brought to bear on the Finns,

\* Keane, A.H. Man past and present, p.336.

living near the Baltic, by the Goths that inhabited the Baltic provinces, and the dominion of the Gothic king, Hermanrich, must have left tangible traces. We have, in the present Finnish language, abundant proof that such was the case. The Finns, being a nomadic people, naturally knew very little, or nothing of agriculture, and therefore, since they learned this pursuit from the Goths, it is but natural that nearly all words in the Finnish language, connected with agriculture are derived from some Germanic tongue. To take example, by comparing the Finnish "pelto"-field, with the German "Feld", we find a close resemblance. Of course, a resemblance of this kind might be accidental, but when one reflects on the fact that the Finnish word for church-"kirke" comes from the Swedish, while "pappi"- priest, and "Risti"-cross without a doubt come from the Russian, it becomes quite easy to see that there can be no mere coincidence. It was natural for the Finns, when they learned something new from their neighbors, to appropriate the name as well as the thing itself, the name being, in most cases, a mispronunciation of the original word.

If the Finns were linguistically influenced by their neighbors there is no reason to deny that they must have taken on some of their physical



characteristics as well. During historic times the Finns have amalgamated quite freely with the Swedes, on one side, and the Russians on the other, to say nothing of the Lapps on the north, therefore I consider it equally sure that there was intermarriage between the Finns and their Gothic neighbors before their migration into Finland. The fact that the ethnic unity of the Finnic peoples is very loose to-day, is probably due to the mixture with neighboring peoples which has taken, and is continually taking place. This mixture, as well as the inter-action of languages is also the reason, it seems to me, of there being such a diversity between some of the Finnic languages. The civilization brought by the Scandinavians also contributed to differentiating the Finns from their relatives in Russia and Siberia, and the environment in general must have had a good deal to do with the furthering of the same end.

It is true that the Finns have no longer, in a marked degree, the characteristics of the Mongolian race to which they undoubtedly belong. Their cheekbones and complexion have undergone considerable modification in the course of centuries, but the high cheekbone is still considered a Finnish characteristic. Their hair is more often flax colored than black, and

their eyes are seldom very much slanted or any color but blue or gray, except among the Carelians, who commonly have brown eyes. They are usually tall, the size decreasing toward the north, where there has been an intermixture with the Lapps, resulting in the Quenes. The tallest individuals are found in the provinces where the Swedes have settled in greater numbers, but even in Savolaks, Tavastland and Carelia a tall man is more the rule than the exception.\* This fact is attributed by Finnish writers to an intermixture with the Germanic (Nordic) aborigines as well as with the Swedish invaders. Almost identical results are obtained when the cranial index for different parts of the country is compared. It is found that the southern and western parts are decidedly dolicocephalic, while the mesocephalic in the central parts shades off into brachycephalic toward the north and the east, thus again demonstrating the influence of the Scandinavian blood, which has been poured into Finnish veins for centuries.

But I do not think it justifiable to call the Finns a Teutonic people, in spite of the amalgamation which has been in process for ages. It is true that their Mongolian characteristics are not as

\* Atlas de Finlande, Vol. I, Carte 24, p. 59.

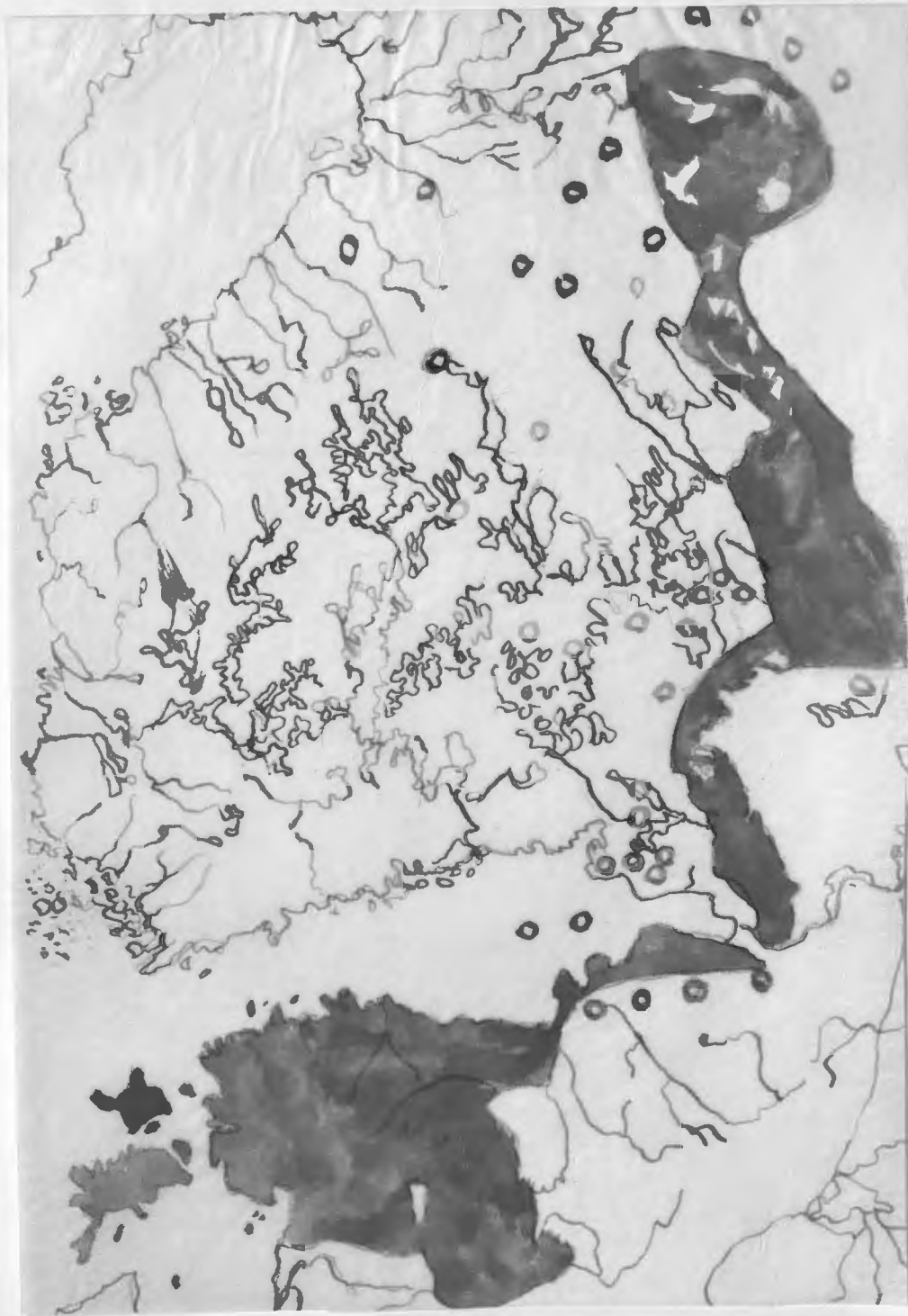
clearly seen in them as in other Finnic peoples, but the cheekbones of the Finns are higher than those of the Scandinavians or the Germans and their eyes often have a slight slant. Their mental makeup is not like that of the lively volatile Swedes, for they are slow, plodding and deliberate. And lastly, their language will always separate them from the Scandinavians, and remind the student that they are an originally nomadic people of Asiatic descent, who have given up every vestige of their nomadic life, except their language. (Max Müller has shown that the agglutinative languages are characteristic of nomadic peoples, compelled by their roaming life to guard against the alteration of words.)\* Philologically they are members of the Uralo-Altaic, or Finnish-Ugrian family of languages, ethnologically they are in a class by themselves, having the physical characteristics of both their Ugrian and their Nordic relatives and neighbors.

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\* Leroy-Beaulieu, A. "Empire of the Tsars and Russians", p.70.

## CHAPTER II.

It seems almost impossible to make any guesses as to where the Kalevala songs originated, for being composed in fragments as they were, there is no doubt that they arose in as many places as there were fragments. For the most part the songs which now form the epic were collected in Russian Carelia where they may still be heard in a few places. The entire, so-called "song territory" is, however very much larger. It comprises the territory which, beginning south of the Gulf of Finland, runs from the western coast of Esthonia along the gulf and then turns northward, on both sides of the border between Finland and Russia, as far as Vuokkiniemi. This territory may be divided into several parts: the district of Esthonia and Ingria, the district of the Carelian isthmus, (between the Gulf of Finland and the Ladoga), the Finnish-Carelian district, and the Russian-Carelian district. Formerly northern Carelia and eastern Ostrobothnia may have been included in this territory, and many songs have also been found in western Finland. Kaarle Krohn is of the opinion, based on careful research, that some of these songs have spread separately from Esthonia, over Ingria to Finnish and Russian Carelia.



## SKETCH MAP,

Showing where most of the Kalevala songs  
have been collected. After the map in  
QMA MAA, Vol. I.p. 238.

The songs which were composed in Western Finland and Savolaks spread east and south in the same manner. He thinks that the spreading of the songs was assisted by the migration of a group of people from one place to another, as for instance the migration of the so-called Savakot and Äyrämöiset from Finland to Esthonia.\* But it seems less far fetched to suggest the exchanges of songs between the singers of different places at weddings or other feasts, or perhaps through marriage between families of singers.

Although the songs were collected in Carelia there is no doubt that western Finland once was much richer in songs than it is now. About three hundred and fifty years ago a number of Finns moved to Vermland in Sweden. Many lyrics, entirely forgotten in Finland have been found among them. Judging by songs discovered, and by resemblances, the scholars have decided that the "song stream" runs from west to east and from south to north.\*\* Names of places in western Finland have been found in songs which can be heard only in north eastern Carelia, and customs, en-

\* Aimä, Franz, Professor Krohns undersökningar om Sampo sångerna, p.2.

\*\* Krohn, Julius, Finska Literaturens Historia, Vol. I, pp.131-150.

tirely foreign to Carelia are often described, for instance the plowing with oxen and the brewing of beer. The latter art is said to have been brought over by the Swedish nobles and spread through western Finland where most of them owned their land, but was, and is, unknown to the Carelians, and not very well known even in Savolaks. This seems pretty conclusive evidence that the songs in which these things are mentioned were composed in western Finland, although they then moved east and were partly, or entirely transformed on the way.

Esthonia is often mentioned in the Kalevala songs. Some of Kyllikki's suitors came from Viro (Esthonia) and Inkeri (Ingria). The bear is asked if he travels in Esthonia, if he wanders in Finland. The name of Sweden appears a couple of times, and that of Russia even more frequently. A butcher who could kill the great ox for the Pohyola wedding was sought:

"From Carelia's lovely country,  
From the vast expanse of Suomi,  
From the hardy land of Sweden,  
From the regions wide of Lapland,  
From the mighty land of Turja."

Russia is not regarded with any admiration. The advisers of the bride tell her that:

"A son's wife's fate is dismal,

"With her husband she is living,  
As a prisoner lives in Russia,  
Only that the jailer's missing."\*

On the other hand, German things, like boots, soap, and timber are mentioned with a great deal of emphasis and pride.

It has been supposed that the Kalevala songs were composed before the Finns ever saw Finland, but that hypothesis is entirely untenable, for several reasons. Some great scientists have held that view, however, and it is only lately that other opinions have been expressed. Castrén believed that the songs came with the Finns from their first home in Asia, or at least were brought from eastern Russia, because he recognized a certain resemblance between the customs, songs, and religions of the Ostyaks, the Tartars, and other peoples living in northern Asia, with the customs and religion described in the Kalevala. He thinks that the Kalevala runes are part of the great poetic property of all the Finnish-Ugrian peoples, but he does not say what has become of the rest of that poetic heritage, or explain why the Syrjanians, Permians, and Votiaks know nothing at all of songs parallel to the Kalevala songs, not even as much as other

\* Kalevala, XXII..L.319-322, Kirby's transl.



related peoples. He thinks that certain songs, like the rune of the Creation, the wooing journeys, and most of the incantations were brought from Asia, and he may be right, for they undoubtedly describe customs common to the Finnish-Ugrian race. But in the course of centuries they have been changed until they may hardly be recognized, indeed the greater part of the songs contain matters of which the Asiatic people could have known nothing, that is, the parts due to Germanic influence. Therefore the songs must have been composed in a place where the people could have had communication with Germanic peoples. According to Lönnrot, the original home of the songs was either the south western coast of the White Ocean, or the territory around the great lakes, Ladoga, Onega, and Voikojärvi, among the Byarms. He says that the Carelians, among whom these songs have lived for centuries, possess many characteristics, reminiscent of the Byarms. They have polished manners, and peculiar social customs; they are born merchants, and they are physically and mentally lively. The women wear peculiar jewelry, and the language contains numerous words, derived from the Swedish. Lönnrot goes even farther when he says that the Sampo stories are founded on actual fact and represent some historic event which he supposes to have

taken place in Carelia, the kingdom of the Byarms being represented by Pohyola.\*

The internal evidence of the poem seems to show that it was composed somewhere around the Gulf of Finland. If any of the songs had been brought by the Finns, either from their original home in Asia, or from their later home near the mouth of the Dvina river, there would be, in the descriptions, some traces of memories of the great tundras of northern Asia, or of the larch and cedar tree forests on the other side of the Dvina. It is true that great uninhabited and uncultivated deserts are described in the Kalevala, but these are not the flat tundras of northern Asia, for great mountains rise in their midst. The general description of the nature in the Kalevala does somewhat coincide with that west of the Dvina, stretching as far as the White Sea. The country of the poem is full of morasses, lakes, mountains, and heights, covered with pines, firs, birches and aspens, just like the territory around the Dvina. But trees which never could grow as far north as Archangel, like lindens, maples, sallow, and oak, are mentioned as if they were common. If they were curiosities they would be emphasized, like the "German boots", and the German timber"

\* Krohn, Julius, "Finska Literaturens Historia", Vol.I, p.123.

which appear in the wedding songs. The frequent mention of the "holy oak tree" is especially significant, because the oak does not grow at all in the government of Archangel, and only to the sixty-first degree in Finland. It may be, that it is because of this scarcity that it is sacred. There are no apples north east of the Ladoga, and yet they appear very often in the poem. As far as the flora is concerned, therefore, the songs must have been composed either in Finland, or in Esthonia, for no flower or tree is mentioned that does not grow in these countries. Wheat is not very much cultivated in Finland, on account of the early frosts, and the reason why this cereal is found in the songs is probably its rarity.

The following is a list of the flora mentioned in the Kalevala:

TREES:

Pine, fir, birch, alder, choke cherry, willow, rowan tree or mountain ash, willow, oak, aspen, maple, and linden.

BUSHES:

Juniper.

BERRIES:

Wild strawberry, raspberry, cranberry, (not the American variety), and blueberry.

## OTHER PLANTS:

Heather, rushes, reeds, waterlilies, lichens, and moss.

## CULTIVATED:

Apples, cabbages, barley, oats, flax, hemp, wheat, rye, hops, peas, beans, and turnips.

As far as the fauna is concerned, the following are the animals mentioned:

## BIRDS:

Duck, (teal), thrush, cuckoo, titmouse, eagle, dove, swallow, sparrow, swan, fieldfare, wild goose, nightingale, plover, raven, lark, bluebird, grouse, goldfinch, seagull, water hen, merganser.

## FISH:

Trout, salmon, powan, pike, perch, ruffe, cod, bream, chub(carp?), smelt.

## MAMMALS:

Marten, squirrel, ermine, seal, bear, wolf, fox, hare, elk, reindeer, otter, badger, hedgehog, lynx, whale, walrus, and, curiously enough, camel.

## SNAKES:

Viper, other snakes of various sorts, described but not named.

## INSECTS:

Butterfly, bee, hornet.

## WORMS:

Earthworm, (Tuoni's worm").

## DOMESTIC ANIMALS:

Swine, cows, horses, dogs, sheep, geese, chickens, ducks, goats, and cats.

No mention is made of cats, until far along in the poem, and rats and mice are entirely unrepresented. Judging by the animals enumerated above, the place of the Kalevala songs may be anywhere between the Gulf of Bothnia and the river Dvina, with the following exceptions which considerably narrow the field: the whale, the walrus and the camel do not inhabit any part of Finland, but neither do the camel, the hedgehog, and the swine live on the White Sea. The Carelians of that region do not to this day keep pigs, any more than they keep camels. Then how did the camel get into the Finnish folk poetry? The word is used as a synonym for Hiisi's elk, caught by Lemminkäinen, and may confidently be regarded as a late insertion, by some singer who may have seen the picture of a camel and received a strong impression. The fact that the camel lives far south, farther than the Finnish tribes probably ever went, excludes any theorizing about race memories, although a few of the Finns sold into Persian slavery by the Russians in the seven-

teenth century, may have returned and told of what they saw, but this seems doubtful. Both flora and fauna, therefore fix the place for the composition of the songs as somewhere west of the Dvina, in the southern part of the country inhabited by the Finns.

Now we come to the question as to where the Germanic influence was brought to bear on the Finns with such force as to leave easily recognizable traces. I mentioned above (Page 21) Lönnrot's belief that the Finns were closely connected with the Byarms, if they were not indeed this famous nation. If his theory were true, it would at once dispose of the matter, for the Byarms later became ruled by the Scandinavian Ruric. Ahlquist, another Finnish scholar, agrees with Lönnrot, and goes further, when he says that the alliteration, one of the ornaments of Finnish poetry was borrowed from the Scandinavians.\* But the Scandinavian influence on the Byarms cannot have reached further than the mouth of the Dvina river, for it would have been the height of folly for the Vikings to venture any further south, and as far as history knows, they never did. And we have just seen that the flora and fauna described in the songs places them, if

\* Krohn, J. "Finska Literaturens Historia", p.124.

not on the Finnish peninsula, at least somewhere around the Gulf of Finland. Therefore this Germanic influence must have come either from the German and Gothic tribes which lived east and south of Esthonia, or across the Gulf of Bothnia, from Scandinavia. In my opinion that is just where it came from. It is reasonable to believe that there was some intercourse between the Finns in Esthonia and their Germanic neighbors, who taught the less civilized Finns many things. Would not this circumstance partly explain the frequent mention of "German boots, timber", etc? As for the Finns that had moved into Finland itself, they were the objects of at least two crusades and probably a good many trading voyages on the part of the Swedes. In bringing in a new religion and various articles of commerce, the Swedes undoubtedly contributed new words to the Finnish language, which could not have words for things of which the people never had heard. The Swedish influence on the great mass of the Finns was far from being as great as one might suppose, for it was only the people on the coast at first accepted Christianity in a half hearted manner. Not until after the Protestant Reformation did the inhabitants of the inner country become Christianized. This process was not accomplished in a hurry, for as the Christian

churches grew up, the heathen Finns retired into the fastnesses of their impenetrable forests, and successfully resisted the missionaries for generations. When the heathen singers and "tietäjät" retreated, they took their ancient songs and their magic lore with them.

How far north did the "song territory" extend? It could not have been very far, because in the year 1500 A.D., according to Russian census reports, northern Carelia was still uninhabited.\* In 1581 Herman Claesson Fleming went on a raid to Russia. He travelled east from Nyslett to the rich church village of Tulemajärvi, on the northeastern corner of Ladoga, and intended to march north to Jyskyjärvi, to destroy a Russian fortress. But before his arrival, he received word that the fortress was abandoned and decided to change his route and go to the lake of Uleå on his way back home. But when he was told that there was not a single cottage or house in this territory he changed his mind. If he had gone on, he would have passed through the district where, in a later time, most of the Kalevala songs were found. This is conclusive evidence that they were not originally composed in this place.\*\* In Vuokkiniemi parish Castrén was

\*Krohn, Julius. "Finska Literaturens Historia", p.129.  
 \*\* " " " " " " " "





throbothnia), its head is in Häme, (Tāvastland), while its tail is in Torneå, (northern Osthrobothnia). Suomi, (Finland) is frequently mentioned. It is true that Viena (Dvina) is found occasionally, but it is seldom in comparison with the others.

The final answer to the inquiry: where did the songs arise, is then as follows. Those that were found in Russian Carelia came there in two ways. Some came from the south, from Esthonia. Others came from Finland after the introduction of Christianity into that country. How early or how late is impossible to say. There was considerable interchange between the singers of Finland and those of Esthonia, as may readily be seen from the songs. To take an example, there is great resemblance between the Finnish Kullervo and the Esthonian Kalevipoeg. As I have said before, Esthonia is often mentioned in the Finnish runes. As these songs travelled east or north they naturally underwent great changes, which accounts for the numerous variants which have been collected. Among the songs found in Western Finland are:\*

The sowing of barley.

The song contest.

\*Krohn, Kaarle, "Kalevalan Runojen Historia," VII, pp. 819-820.

The fishing for Wellamo's maiden.

The shooting of Wäinämöinen.

The song of Lemminkäinen and Kyllikki.

Wäinämöinen's journey to Tuonela.

The Kullervo songs.

Songs with Esthonian elements:

The great oak.

The rape of the sun and the moon.

The search for the boat timber.

The great ox.

The forging of the golden maiden.

The making of the kantele.

The Carelians have not only preserved the songs that they received from western Finland and from Esthonia and Ingria, but they have done much more. They have added new songs to the heritage of their people and they have elaborated the songs already in existence. They have combined many songs that came to them in short fragments. For instance, they combined the story of the son of Marjatta<sup>a</sup> with the departure of Wäinämöinen, making one the cause of the other. The Kullervo songs were here woven about one man and new incidents were added. The Aino songs were connected with Wäinämöinen, and the invention of the Kantele was made to happen on the way to Pohyola. This shows that

Lönnrot after all only combined the separate songs in the same manner that the peasant singers had already begun. Professor Julius Krohn says that only three of the songs may be considered remnants from the time when the whole country was heathen, namely:

The contest between Wäinämöinen and Youkahainen.

The shooting of Wäinämöinen.

The fishing for Wellamo's maiden.\*

But not even these are purely heathen. In the Scandinavian ballads from the Catholic time we often find examples of both men and women being changed into water spirits. J.Krohn believes the following songs to have been composed to commemorate some historic event:

The hunt for the magic elk.

The song of Ahti Saarelainen. (Lemminkäinen).

Lemminkäinen's journey to Luotola.

The song of Untamo and the song of Kalervo. (Kulervo).

It is more likely that they represent some trading voyages to Esthonia or perhaps further. Professor Kaarle Krohn, son of Julius Krohn, suggests that Gotland may have been the goal of Finnish expeditions. It is not impossible that the Finns imitated the Vikings and made voyages for the sake of loot over the entire Baltic sea.

\* Krohn, K. "Kalevalan Runojen Historia", p.852.

That they knew the Sound between Denmark and Sweden, leading out into Cattegat, is proved by its mention as "Suolasalmi" in the bear song. It is also called the "deep German sound". On the ground that in the songs mention is made of money, beer, and churches, Professor J. Krohn says that they date later than the introduction of Christianity.\* I do not consider that sufficient proof because these things may just as well have been added later, while the songs may have been composed hundreds of years before. It would have been quite natural for the Finns to add these details as they became acquainted with them. The songs that have been picked up in Ingria and Esthonia are so full of Christian influence that it is difficult to pick out the few traces of original paganism that remain. All their characters have Christian, as well as surnames, and the city of Riga is made the home of several. (Krohn, Julius). The Christian influence is thus a good deal stronger on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland than on its northern shores, as is natural because Esthonia was the object of several crusades on the part of the Danes and the Germans, long before the Swedes had thought of conquering Finland.

It is interesting to note that Pro-

\* Krohn, J. "Finska Literaturens Historia", p.137.

fessor. J. Krohn admits the possibility of the myth of the music of the kantele to have been brought from Greece, and having been modelled after the Orpheus myth. He states that it is known that several Finns (Tchuds) were on board the ships, commanded by the friends of Rurik, Askold and Oleg, that appeared before the walls of Byzantium in 865 A.D., and thinks that some of them may have taken an account of the myth with them to Finland.\*

#### RESEARCHES IN FINNISH FOLKLORE.

We know very little about the past of the Finns. At what time they left their home in eastern Russia, around the Ural and Volga rivers, for their new habitations around the Baltic sea, and what their culture at that time was, may be partly answered by painstaking investigations, although the answers given, too often can be nothing but surmises. Nothing is, or can be known about them and their life at the time when they lived in their first home from which they spread, first over Russia, and then, greatly decreased in numbers, moved to their present home. Not until after the introduction of Christianity in the middle of the twelfth century, do the Finns emerge from the obscurity of ages, in the writings of Bishop

\* Krohn, J. "Finska Literaturens Historia", p.278.

Michael Agricola. In the preface to his translation of the New Testament he writes that the Finns on the islands between Sweden and Finland must have been Christianized once before, because they constituted a barrier between the heathen rovers of the mainland and Sweden. This barrier was not, however, entirely effectual, for it is known that Finnish pirates more than once made voyages to the Scandinavian peninsula and burnt and plundered whole settlements. But not even the mainland can have been wholly untouched by the influence of Christianity. "A couple of rune stones show that as early as 1030 A.D. Christian Vikings travelled as far as Tavastland. The trade route from Visby and Sigtuna ran along the Finnish coast and then across the isthmus, to Novgorod. By this route the crosses that have been found in graves, entered the country."\* The owners of these objects need not necessarily have been Christian, although it is probable that they had some idea of the teachings of that religion.

The first crusade to Finland was in the middle of the twelfth century. Scholars cannot agree on the exact date, but it is usually supposed to

\* Gummerus, Jaakko, "Conversion to Christianity", Oma Maa, Vol. I, pp. 250-25.

have been 1157 A.D. No reliable records of this enterprise exist, although numerous legends have been woven about St. Eric and St. Henry, the English bishop who accompanied him. The latter was murdered by a pagan Finn, in less than a year, and became the patron saint of Roman Catholic Finland. How much history these legends record is impossible to say, but at any rate, after this crusade, the Swedes regarded Finland as a conquered country and came over to settle as well as to organize some kind of a government. This government was in a very precarious condition for considerable time. The heathen Finns were desperately opposed to the new religion, and it made very little progress. Moreover, those that had been made to profess it, at the point of the sword, fell away as soon as the sword was removed. Two more crusades were necessary to introduce Christianity, and not until about the middle of the fourteenth century did Sweden obtain a footing of any authority on the Finnish peninsula, except on the western coast.

From the east Christianity entered in the Greek Catholic form through the intercourse between the eastern Finns and Russian traders from Novgorod. Important words, like "Raamattu" (Bible), "risti", (cross), and "pappi", (priest), have been bor-



rowed from the Russian. These words may have come from the monastery of Walamo, on an island in the Ladoga near the Finnish shore. This monastery, which still exists, is reputed to have been founded as early as 900 A.D. The Greek church did not, however, seem to suit the Finnish temperament, for it made no very great impression, at least not in the parts of Carelia which belonged to Sweden. There was constant warring between the Swedes and the dukes of Novgorod. In 1323 a permanent boundary line was agreed upon, and since then the Greek Catholic church has reigned supreme on the eastern side, while the western side followed the fortunes of established religion in Sweden.

It must not be supposed that anything like a speedy conversion was effected. The Finns made desperate resistance, and it is a good guess to say that the country was not thoroughly Christianized until after the Reformation. As Christianity, with the accompanying machine of government, found its way from the south western coast to the inland, some heathens became really converted, others only apparently so, and others, who could not bear to abandon the religion of their forefathers, moved deeper into the impenetrable forests, taking with them their faith and their ancient customs. It is very probable that they took also with

them the beginnings of their songs. To the powers of the various amulets and "words" another had been added: the baptism. The Finns saw and realized the strength of the church, even if they did not conform to its teachings, and the sign of the cross over the forehead became to mean powerful protection against the powers of evil. Although the spread of Christianity was not as rapid as the conquerors desired, it finally became dominant. Its teachings became in a curious manner interwoven with the old beliefs, and it is from this time of the struggle between the old and the new that most scholars date the beginnings of folk poetry. In a personal letter Professor Kaarle Krohn gives the above as his opinion, and as he is the most eminent scholar of Finnish folklore, now living, I quote his view, although I do not wholly agree with him.

Bishop Agricola published in 1551 a translation of the Psalms, to which he added a preface of singular interest. In this preface he gives a list of the ancient heathen gods, among whom Wäinämöinen, the god of song, and Ilmarinen appear. These gods have in the songs, as they were collected in the nineteenth century, been degraded to mere "heroes".\* The first collector of Finnish folklore is Bishop Peter

\* Niemi, A.R. "Kalevalan selityksia", preface, p.11.

(Pietari) Bång, who added to an, in 1675 published ecclesiastical history, a "bear song". The sixteenth century was not particularly interested in the runes. We know, however, that they existed, and that the ancient heathenism with its attendant "lurut"\* was not dead: in 1564 an ordinance is found in the books of the castle of Korsholm, forbidding a certain "tietäjä"\*\*\* to perform his rites. During the seventeenth century several persons were punished for magic, as may be seen in the records of the law courts.\*\*\* It is well known that the Finns still are considered to be at home in magic, and I know of one ship, sailing from San Francisco, the crew of which refused to sail, until one of them, a Finn, had been discharged.

Researches in folklore began in earnest during the eighteenth century. Gabriel Maxenius published in 1733 five runes, and G.A. Hallenius found, in 1733, the ballad of St. Henry. The work of Daniel Juslenius called the attention of Henrik Gabriel Porthan, one of Finland's greatest scholars, to this branch. Porthan began to collect folklore at the same time that Macpherson in Scotland, Percy in England,

\* Exercisms.

\*\* Magician.

\*\*\* Niemi, A.R. "Kalevalan selityksiä", preface, p.11.

and Herder in Germany, did similar work each in his own country. In 1766 he published "De Poesi Fennica", in five parts. He was followed by K.E. Lencquist (1782), and K. Ganander (1789), both writing on the Finnish mythology. It was the reading of these books that inspired the work of Lönnrot, for in reading of Wäinämöinen, Lemminkäinen, and Ilmarinen, he wondered if it were not possible to find connected tales about them, so that a work like Homer might be the result. Porthan died in 1804, two years before Elias Lönnrot was born. Before Lönnrot was ready to begin his great work, others were laboring in the same field, the most important of them being Carl Axel Gottlund and Adolf Ivar Arvidsson. The former also visited the Finnish settlement in Vermland, Sweden, and brought home with him about two hundred songs. The students of the university became enthusiastic about the work, and many of them spent months, walking through the deep forests, seeking the men who knew the ancient songs. The work attracted the attention of foreign scholars, and in 1819 Dr. H.R. von Schröter, arrived from Upsala, to study Finnish folklore. The following year he published "Finnische Runen". His interest was the final impetus to the great enthusiasm, and collector after collector went in search of material. The weekly pa-

pers published the results. Among the most diligent and loving of these workers were R. von Becker, Zacharias Topelius, and Daniel Europaeus. The work of the first named gave Lönnrot the inspiration for the putting together of the Kalevala, as he says in the preface to the new Kalevala. Von Becker published in 1820 in the Åbo Weekly News (Åbo Nyheter) a paper on Wäinämöinen. As some of it seems to point towards a vague memory of the former home of the Finns, I quote the synopsis of the paper in A.R. Niemi's Notes to the Kalevala.\* "The old runes, which speak of Wäinämöinen, say that his father was Kavé Ukko, or the Creator Ukko, or the Lord of the North, the ancient Väki-Turilas (Strong Thor?), who lived hid in a mountain at the same time that others, also called Turilaisia lived in caves and holes in the ground, in the north of Europe and Asia." The rest is concerned with the miraculous powers of Wäinämöinen. On the ground of the above, Becker concludes that Wäinämöinen was a man, because his father evidently belonged to the family of Turilas, which, according to him is parallel to the Scandinavian Troll people, who have been identified as the original inhabitants of Sweden. The runes of the present Kalevala have no information to offer about the father of

\* Niemi, A.R. "Kalevalan selityksiä", p.X.

Wäinämöinen, and there seems to be no way of finding those that are quoted by von Becker. The greatest value of the work of Topelius is in the fact that he showed how it was well worth to collect the poems for their own sake, and not because of any scientific value.\* In 1827 Lönnrot's first work, *De Wäinämöine Priscorum Fennorum Numine*, appeared, and in the spring of 1828 he started on his first wandering through Carrelia. In the summer of 1833 he planned several small epics about the various heroes of the present Kalevala, and in the fall he conceived the idea of one long epic which would contain the most important narrative songs that had been found, when he heard two old singers sing their store of songs in logical order. One of these, the old Vassili, was of especially great help in the making of a plan for a great national epic. Before putting the poem in its final form, Lönnrot collected all the material available on each separate hero. The part first finished, Wäinämöinen, is a Kalevala in miniature, and contains its most important parts, the songs of the creation, the wooing of the Pohyola maiden, the wedding, the fight of Lemminkäinen with the Pohyola host, and his flight to the island, the rape of the Sampo after the murder of Ilmarinen's

\* Niemi, A.R. "Kalevalan selityksiä", p.XII.

wife, the hiding of the sun and moon in a mountain and their rescue, the making of the kantele of birchwood, the song contest between Väinämöinen and Youkahainen, and the changing of the latter's sister into a fish, and Marjatta and her son. The later Kalevala is arranged on much the same lines, for Lönnrot called himself a runo singer, and as such he was of the opinion that he could change the order of the runes as he chose, just as did the singer of the people. In 1834, Lönnrot met the famous singer Arhippa Perttunen, who gave him an immense number of runes, and in March 1835 appeared "Kalevala, or the songs of old Carelia". Lönnrot did not consider his work done, and started at once on new wanderings. He collected not only the songs of the people, but also their riddles and proverbs, of which he found a great number, and published in 1840, Kanteletar, a collection of lesser poems, ballads, and newer songs; Proverbs, in 1842, and Riddles in 1844. The completed work, the new Kalevala appeared in 1849. It contains fifty runes, and its length is about 23,800 lines, or almost twice as long as the old Kalevala. Lönnrot took certain liberties with a few of the poems, as I have explained above\*, because he considered himself having a perfect right to do so. As a proof of

\* Page 43.

his wonderful ability to read the trend of the folk poetry, Julius Krohn says: "And the best proof of Lönnrot's fine instinct, is that the people after he made his collections, in some places continued the combination of the songs in exactly the same direction as the Kalevala. The appearance of Youkahainen as the one who shoots Wäinämöinen, which at that time appeared very seldom, is now (1891) more common, and the suicide of Kullervo, which stood in a very loose relation to the marriage with his sister, has since become, in Ingria, a natural result of the crime." \*\* Lönnrot has created a close union of the several songs, filling in from one song what was lacking in another, and showing clearly the relation which certainly exists between the songs. He defends his work in the following words:

"Finally, when there was no one singer who could compare himself to me as far as the number of songs that I had collected, was concerned, I believe myself have the same right, which, I am assured, most of the singers believe themselves as having, the right to arrange the runes according to their relation to one another, or with the words from the rune: itse loime litsijaksi, läikähtime laulajaksi. That is,

\*\* Krohn, J. "Finska Literaturens Historia", p.454.



I regard myself as a singer, as good as themselves."\*

THE NARRATIVE of the Kalevala is as follows:

The virgin of the air descends into the sea, where she is tossed about by the waves for a long time. A duck lays six eggs on her knee and she moves it, letting the eggs fall into the water. From their fragments, the world is formed by Ilmatar. When she has finished the work, her son Wäinämöinen is born. With the help of the god of the fields Wäinämöinen plants the country, makes the earth habitable, and sows barley. The Lapp, Youkahainen hears of Wäinämöinen's fame as a singer, and devoured by jealousy, travels to Wäinöla to contend with him. He is easily defeated, Wäinämöinen plunging him into a magic swamp, from which he is not freed until he pledges to Wäinämöinen his sister Aino. He is freed and returns home disconsolate. Aino is very much distressed at the idea of having to marry an old man. She goes to the forest to gather leaves for bathing brooms, and meets Wäinämöinen who makes love to her. She returns home in grief, finds no sympathy, and wanders away again. She is drowned while trying to swim out to some mermaids in the lake. Her mother weeps for her incessantly, her tears forming three great rivers. Wäinämöinen hears of Aino's death,

\* Krohn, J. "Finska Literaturens Historia", p.454.

and, believing her to have been changed to a fish, fishes for her in all lakes. He catches her, but, not knowing that the fish he wants to eat for supper is his lost bride, he tries to kill it, whereupon it escapes, and he finds, when it reaches the water that it is Aino. He then seeks the advice of his dead mother, who advises him to go to Pohyola to seek a bride. Youkahainen is desirous of revenge on Wainamöinen, both on his own account and that of his sister, and prepares a magic crossbow, with which he shoots Wainamöinen's horse, as the seer is travelling over the water on his magic steed. Wainamöinen falls into the water and is driven north by a tempest. Finally he is picked up by an eagle that he has befriended, and carried to the shore of the country of Pohyola. He is found by the "hostess" of this place, Louhi, who receives him hospitably, but will not let him go away until he has promised to send his brother Ilmarinen, the master smith who forged the cover of the sky, to forge for her a talisman, called the Sampo. He is given a sleigh and starts for home, but on the way he meets a young woman sitting on the rainbow, and makes love to her. She sets him to do a number of tasks, and while trying to accomplish one of them, he is wounded in the knee. He is obliged to drive away to find help. Fin-

ally he finds an old man, who heals the wound, by the repetition of the origin of iron and by the application of a magic salve. When Wainämöinen returns home, he finds that Ilmarinen will not go to Pohyola and sends him there by means of a magic whirlwind. When Ilmarinen sees Louhi's daughter, who is promised to the one who forges the Sampo, he agrees to make it. But the maiden declines to follow him, when the wonder-thing is ready, and the smith returns home disconsolate. He carries off and marries the beautiful Kylvikki, but quarrels with her, and decides to put her away and go to Pohyola for a new bride. As soon as he enters the hall at Pohyola he makes a bitter enemy of a blind cow herd, Markahattu. Louhi sets him to various tasks, so that he may show if he is worthy of her daughter. He must catch the magic wild elk of Hiisi, he must bridle the fire breathing stallion, and he must catch the sacred swan of Tuonela. He performs two of the tests successfully, but while trying to shoot the swan, he is slain by the blind cowherd, who shoots him with a serpent. His body is cast into the black river of Tuonela, and cut to pieces by the son of the death-god. His mother hears, of his death and hastens to Pohyola where finds out where he has gone. With the help of the sun and the bee she resuscitates

him.

The narrative now returns to Wainämöinen, who regrets not having wooed the daughter of Louhi when he had the chance. He begins to build a magic boat, but cannot finish it, because he does not know the three necessary magic words. He seeks them in vain in Tuonela, where he narrowly escapes remaining, and then jumps down the throat of a dead giant, Vipunen, whom he compels to sing all his wisdom, including the three words. The boat finished, Wainämöinen starts for Pohyola. He is seen by Ilmarinen's sister Annikki, who warns her brother that his rival is on his way to Pohyola. Ilmarinen then starts by land, and the two agree that the maiden is to have free choice between them. Contrary to the advice of her mother, the girl prefers Ilmarinen, and aids him to perform the necessary tasks to which he is set by Louhi. The wedding is celebrated at Pohyola, great preparations being made. An immense ox is slaughtered, and ale is brewed. Every one is invited, except Lemminkäinen, who is considered too quarrelsome and ill-mannered. The bride and bridegroom are compelled to listen to long lectures about their future conduct and much playful teasing, before they are allowed to depart.

Lemminkäinen is enraged at not being invited to the wedding. He travels again to the country of magic, and kills its lord in a duel. He flies home, and is sent by his mother to a distant island, where he lives with the women until the men return and he is obliged to leave. He finds his home burned and the country laid waste, and his mother in hiding. Against her advice he persuades his comrade Tiera to join him in an expedition against Pohyola, but they are driven back by the Frost.

The story here takes up another thread. A man by the name of Untamo burns the home of his brother Kalervo, and carries off his wife, who in slavery gives birth to a son, Kullervo, who in his cradle vows revenge. Three attempts to kill the child having proved unavailing, he is brought up as a slave. Because he spoils everything he touches, he is sold to the smith Ilmarinen, whose wife illtreats him. He revenges himself by giving her over to be devoured by wolves and bears, escapes to the forests where he finds his family. One of his sisters has been lost. One day Kullervo meets her accidentally, and not knowing who she is, he carries her off. When they discover their real relationship, she throws herself into a torrent and he returns home. He makes war on Untamo and

destroys him and his house, and then returns home where he finds all his people dead, and everything desolate. He wanders off into the forest and falls on his sword.

Ilmarinen misses his wife and forges himself a new one of gold and silver. He cannot give her life or warmth, so he carries off another of Louhi's daughters. The girl does not want him, and is unfaithful to him, and he changes her into a seagull. Ilmarinen and Wainämöinen, afterwards joined by Lemminkäinen, undertake an expedition to Pohyola to carry off the Sampo. On the way Wainämöinen constructs a kantele of pike bone, with which he lulls Louhi and her people to sleep. She is awakened by a crane which is frightened by Lemminkäinen, and pursues the robbers. The kantele is thrown overboard in the scuffle, and then the Sampo itself is broken and lost in the sea. The prosperity of Kalevala is secured by the splinters driven there by the sea, but Louhi only carries home the cover, which is useless. Wainämöinen then makes a new kantele of birchwood. Louhi brings pestilence on Kalevala, then sends a great bear against the country, and at last steals the sun and the moon, hiding them behind nine locks in a mountain in Pohyola. Wainämöinen drives away the plagues, kills the bear, and finds

new fire, caused by a spark sent down by the god Ukko. Ilmarinen then pretends to be preparing chains for Louhi and frightens her into returning the sun and moon.

The virgin Marjatta swallows a cranberry, and bears a son, who is proclaimed king of Car-elia. Wainämöinen is called to "baptize" him, but pronounces him unfit to live, whereupon the child reminds him of the many times that he has done wrong to others. Wainämöinen then quits the country in his copper boat, but leaves his kantele and his songs behind, for the joy of the people.

## CHAPTER III.

We find in the Kalevala two distinct accounts of the creation as the Finns pictured it to themselves, one in the first rune, and the other in the seventeenth. The first represents the air, water and light as the primeval elements; the earth, sky and planets being created from the eggs of the magic duck. Ilmatar, the daughter of the ether and mother of the hero of the poem, Wainämöinen, is the one who shapes the earth's surface, after having given refuge to the duck and later been the cause of the breaking of the eggs. Ilmarinen, Wainämöinen's brother, forges the cover of the sky. Like all primitive peoples, the Finns thus believed the sky to be a covering for the earth. With the aid of Pellerwoinen, "first born of the plains and prairies", a mystic god of all that grows, Wainämöinen makes the earth habitable.

The second account is widely different and sounds much like the first chapter of Genesis. Therefore I judge that it is much younger than the first, and not composed until after the introduction of Christianity. Wainämöinen is told by the dead sage, Wipunen, how

"By command of its creator,



By the will of the omnipotent,  
 Air was of the air created,  
 From the air the water parted,  
 And the earth arose from water,  
 While from earth came vegetation.\*\*

There is no attempt to account for the existence of man.

The Finns found their gods in nature and populated it with a multitude of divinities that stood for each of its multiform aspects. They gave each tree, each spring, each mountain its guiding and protecting spirit, called its "haltia". According to Comparetti this word is of foreign origin, being an importation from some Germanic language. He thinks that it is derived from "holde" a Gothic word meaning to hold, rule, herd flocks, and holds as a proof of his theory that the Esthonian word "halde" must certainly be derived from this root.\*\* He goes on to say that even if the word is borrowed, the idea is original and ancient and was probably in existence before the Finns had any idea of a higher divinity. I do not believe that philological evidence is reliable in this case, because, as certainly is true, the idea of the "haltia" is older than any ideas of higher and more powerful gods. It is, more or less, the same belief

\* Kalevala. XVII-II. L.541-548

\*\* Comparetti, D. Traditional poetry of the Finns, footnote on page 183-184.

which is held by all nature worshiping peoples. It does not seem probable that the Finns believed in these spirits for centuries before giving them a name. Each man had his haltia, and sometimes, as in the case of wizards, his spirit was separated from his body for as long a time as he desired. The body would during this time seem to be sleeping. The haltias of nature were subordinate to some higher divinity, for instance the spirit of each tree was ruled by Tapio, the god of the forest, and belonged to his household. When the tree was cut down, the haltia died, which belief shows that these beings were not conceived of as immortal.

Like the Greeks, the Finns made their greatest god the ruler of the thunder, but, contrary to the Greek conception, he had no power over the other gods. He is represented as living among the clouds, and as having special power over the elements. He is often called "the creator" and "maker of the heavens". Sometimes he takes care of trivial things; for instance he is willing to look after the cattle when it is sent out into the forest for the first time in the spring. When Väinämöinen had been driven to Pohyola he invoked Ukko and prayed to be sent home. When Lemminkäinen was unable to catch the elk of Hiisi and the fire-breathing stallion, he asked Ukko to help him, which

the god very obligingly did. In general, Ukko is on the side of the "good" heroes, in contrast to the wicked "wizards" of Poyola, but occasionally his actions are anything but helpful to mankind, as for instance when he sent Tuoni's daughter Loviatar, mother of the nine plagues, to Pohola, instead of exterminating her. This would also indicate that this god of thunder, while living in the sky, had no jurisdiction over his fellow divinities. He is called omniscient, but his power is not absolute, for he cannot hinder Louhi from hindering the sun and the moon. Nor does he always hear the prayers of men, whether this be from impotence or for other reasons. When Wäinämöinen cut his knee, Ukko let it bleed on until the magic balsam was prepared, and then at last he indirectly healed the cut. The old wizard who helped Wäinämöinen thanked Ukko for his help, saying that all wisdom, strength, sweetness, and beauty come from him. This is evidently a reminiscence from the sermon of a Christian missionary. In spite of occasional impotency Ukko commanded considerable respect.

When Lemminkäinen and Kyllikki made their agreement that the one should not go to war and the other should not go to the dance, they

"Then pronounced with oaths eternal,

Publicly they made their promise,  
In the sight of the Almighty,  
Ahti should not go to battle,  
Kyllikki not seek the "village".\*

According to A.R. Niemi's notes to the Finnish edition of the Kalevala this oath was taken before the image of the god, thus constituting a marriage ceremony.\*\* At the Pohyola wedding Wainämöinen calls down the blessing of Ukko on the assembled company. When the sun and moon had disappeared, Ukko struck with his sword of lightning in all directions and a tiny spark was kindled. This he gave to one of the Luonnottaret (maidens of the sky) to nurse, putting it in a golden box. She rocked it gently until the Fire-child, called Panu, slipped through her hands and fell down through nine starry vaults of "ether". After having landed in the world, Panu made much mischievous trouble, singeing the beards of the old men, and burning the babes in their cradles, until he fell into the Alue sea which, as a result of harboring the Fire-child, boiled over, three times during the summer nights and nine times in winter nights. The whiting swallowed the sparks and was swallowed by the trout, which in turn found its fate in the pike. Wainämöinen tried to catch it with

\* Kalevala. XI - ll. L. 310-314

\*\* A. R. Niemi, Kalevalan selikyksiä, pp.36

flaxen nets, but he could not do so, until a pigmy came out of the sea to help him. Having caught the pike, Wäinämöinen carved it, finding the trout, inside the trout he found the whiting, inside the whiting a blue ball, and finally a scarlet ball in which Panu was hid. The flame burned Wäinämöinen's fingers and singed his beard, as it sped away, setting fire to great forests on the way. Wäinämöinen, who was of a persistent nature, like all Finns, continued his search, until he at last found the Fire-child sleeping "in a bed of fungus" in an elmtree. He woke it, and, speaking gently, suggested that the flame might be domesticated, living on the hearth stones of the people. Panu was willing, and Wäinämöinen hid him in a box of tinder, "in a vessel forged of copper". Thus Ukko sent fire to mankind. Castrén thinks that this myth shows that the ancient Finns regarded fire as coming from the sun, but I cannot see his logic. Even if Panu is occasionally called the Son of the Sun, it seems to me that the story clearly tells how the fire child was created by Ukko while he was swinging his sword of lightning. A more plausible explanation than Castrén's would be that the Finns found and used fire which had originated from lightning.

Ukko had his home in Jumala, a name

which has survived in the present name for God. He had seven heavens which were the homes of the best things the Finns could think of. When Lemminkäinen's mother wanted the balsam that would restore her son to life, she sent the bee, "Ukon koirra", (the dog of Ukko), to the seventh heaven, to fetch the balsam from the breath of Ukko. This balm is given to men when

"They feel the pangs of sorrow.

When they meet the powers of evil"

The meaning of the word "Ukko" is, as it is used in modern Finnish, an old man. It is peculiar that there is not a single instance in the Kalevala of a passage attempting to describe him, except that he now and then is said to wear blue stockings, but, judging from the name, the Finns pictured him to themselves as an old man.

In general the gods of the Finnish mythology appear in pairs, but I have not been able to find a mate for Ukko, unless it were Maanemä, that is Mother of the earth, or Maa-emä-mother earth, a name which now stands for the earth. As Wainämöinen sows the six seeds of barley, he prays:

"Mother of lowland country,  
Old one of the plains, earth-Mother,  
Let the tender blades spring upward,

\*Kalevala XV L.541-42, Crawford's transl.

From the ground, the strength producing,  
 Might of earth will never fail us,  
 Nor thy might while earth existeth,  
 When the giver of good is gracious,  
 And Creation's daughters aid us.\*\*

Then he immediately prays to Ukko, "father of the heavens" to let a mild rain fall and help the seed to sprout. A. R. Niemi, in the above mentioned notes, quotes Lönnrot on this passage \*\* as follows. "It is customary to pray to nearer, less powerful haltias first, and then, if their power was doubted, or if help for them was desired, turn to the Yli-Jumala (head god) or over god, Ukko himself, whom they did not dare to invoke at first."

The Finns derived the greater part of their sustenance from the forest, therefore the god of the forest, Tapio, and his family were very often invoked. Sometimes the name Tapio occurs, used as a synonym for the forest, as for instance in Rune XIII. Usually the name Tapiola stands for the god's residence. It was usual to greet the "sablebearded god of forests" on entering his domain, and to ask permission to proceed. The latter was especially necessary if one intended to hunt. I find in rune XIV, that Lemminkäinen sacrifices "gold and silver" to the gods of the forest

\* Kalevala II-II L. 300 -309.

\*\* A. R. Niemi, Kalevalan selityksia, p. 7.

after they had helped him to capture his quarry.\*

Tapio is called "Kuippana" long neck, king of the forests, Red-beard of the woodlands; his dress gives him the names of "Navahattu"-hat of pine needles, and "Naava turkki" coat of moss. He carries a sacred horn, probably made of birch bark like the horns of the herdsmen. This attribute reminds one of another god of the forest, Pan. Tapio's dwelling, Tapiola, was on any high mountain, especially on those where game abounded. The Kalevala speaks of Tapio's mountains, therefore, all mountains must have been sacred to him. His dwelling could sometimes be seen by fortunate hunters, and consisted of three houses, one of horn, one of ivory(?), and one of wood. They had each six golden windows. As windows were unknown until quite recently, this detail must have been added lately. The beasts of the forest were called Tapio's cattle. The bear especially belonged to his household. The cattle of the forest kind are watched by hundreds of maidens in the train of Tapio's consort, Mielikki, the "hostess" of the domain, which is called Metsola or Tapiola. She carries a bunch of clanking keys at her girdle. With them she unlocks the storehouses of her lord. When the hunt is to be successful, Mielikki appears to the hunters beautifully

\* Kalevala XIII L. 257



dressed in skyblue and scarlet, wearing many golden ornaments and blue stockings with scarlet ribbons in her shoes, but when the hunter is unlucky she appears in rage and tatters, wearing straw shoes. From this grew the superstition that no women were allowed to appear on the morning of a hunt; the men got their own breakfast, and even to see an old woman brought the worst of luck.

Tapio has also a son, Nyyrikki, the "hero with the scarlet headgear," or "enrobed in purple", purple meaning a deep red. His business is to make paths in the forest, and put trees across swamps, and to notch trees for trails. His sister Tellervo plays the flute (*sima pilli*). Tapio's second daughter, Tuulikki drives the game to or away from the hunter with a birch rod. Tellervo with "silken raiment, golden ringlets" does not only play the flute, but also strokes the cattle so that their hide becomes soft and shining.

When the cattle is sent out to pasture for the first time in the spring, the following gods, besides the immediate family of Tapio were invoked: Ukko, as a representative of the highest ruling power; Etelätär, Pihlajatar, the haltia of the sacred mountain ash; and Otso, the bear. The love of the Finns for the

bear almost to bear worship, and they gave him a supernatural origin. The story of his birth is this: One of the Luonnottaret (spirits of nature) sat on a cloud far beyond the moon and the great bear and combed her hair. She dropped her combings and a tuft of wool from her spindle and they fell down to the earth, the wool on the ocean and the hair on a river. By and by they met near a forest covered island, and there they were found by Mielikki, who sewed them together and put them in a basket of birchbark, which she hung with golden chains to the topmost branches of the pinetree. Here the bear grew up and flourished. But he had no teeth or claws, and demanded them. Mielikki promised to give them to him, if he promised never to harm the worthy or do an evil deed. The bear promised and Mielikki made him teeth and claws from fir cones and set him free. Since then he is called Tapio's dog. When the cattle was taken to pasture, Otso, the "forest apple" was warned not to come near the herds, for if he forgot himself and made a kill, he could be hunted with impunity in winter when he could not escape.

Next in importance to the forest people are the spirits inhabiting the lakes and rivers. This is natural in a country, the greater part of which consists of water. The rulers of this domain are Ahto,

"king of all the waters and his wife, Wellamo "ancient hostess of the waters". This couple are usually represented as rather coldhearted, although there are instances of their having feelings. When Wainämöinen plays on his kantele, the water people rise up from the waves and weep. There is a legend of Ahto, exactly similar to the well-known story of Mercury and the woodman, a story which the German also has appropriated. This is not, however found in the Kalevala, and is probably borrowed. Ahto, "with a beard of sea grass" carries the kantele that Wainämöinen made from the head of a pike, and which was dropped into the sea on the return of the Kalevala heroes from Pohyola. He plays this kantele on summer evenings. I do not know whether his musical abilities were borrowed from the Scandinavian water god, Necken, but I do not see why a similar myth should not arise in two places, especially when one of the places is the country of Finland, which possesses so many lakes, rivers and waterfalls. Wainämöinen prays Ahto to "lay his hand upon the rudder" and to direct the ship homeward. "Wellamo's maidens" are the mermaids. They often take the shape of fishes; for instance when Aino was drowned, Wainämöinen con-

cluded that she had become a fish and angled for her. But he did not recognize her when he saw her, and she remained a fish, after having appeared in her human form to show him what he lost through unthinking cruelty. Mermaids are often mentioned in the Kalevala. In the second rune they rake hay on a "peninsula wreathed in mist" that Wainämöinen saw at a distance. Aino sees mermaids on a rock and swims toward it when she is drowned. Then there are Satko's daughters, sea goddesses that sit on the rocks and comb their sea green hair with combs of silver. Kosken neito (maiden of the water fall) is a young girl who lives in each water fall. Kammo is the god of the rocks. Ilmatar, Wainämöinen's mother, who created the world, never leaves the ocean and at last becomes synonymous with it. Weteinen is an evil and unkind god that lives in the sea; to him all bad luck in fishing is attributed. Aallotar is the goddess of the waves, and Melatar, goddess of the helm, sees that the rudder is pointed away from unseen rocks. All the sea goddesses, but especially Wellamo, are decked with pearls, that came into existence when Wainämöinen, moved by the music of the kantele, let his tears drop into the sea.

There are many pigmies living in the water, always kind and helpful to mankind. They are

called Pikku Mies, an indistinctive name meaning a little man. The pigmy is "long as a man's fore finger" and can stand erect beneath a flour sieve. One of them, who is described in detail, is dressed entirely in copper, the other had a flint helmet, sandstone sandals, and a golden cleaver. In each case the pigmy suddenly grows to a terrific size in order to be able to accomplish his task, one having to fell the magic oak, and the other to kill the giant ox.

In contrast to the pigmies there are also giants in the water, one of them assisting in the planting of the great oak in rune II, and the other, Iku-Turso (son of old age), making a nuisance of himself by rising from his couch at the bottom of the ocean and hanging to the rudder of the ship in which the Kalevala heroes are escaping from Pohyola with the mystic Sampo. It is at this occasion that Wainämöinen's kantele falls into the ocean and is caught by Ahto.

Agriculture was not much developed until rather late, and consequently there is no god or goddess to take care of it. Still, Maa-emä to whom Wainämöinen prays when he is sowing his barley, might be considered the Finnish Demeter. Then there is Sampsa Pellermainen "first born of the plains and prairies" that scattered the seed all over the Earth. He is the

only one of the gods to be given two names. That is proof that he is not of ancient origin. Comparetti, who is constantly searching for connections between the Germans and the Finns, thinks that his name is a Finnish version of the biblical Samson, and that the second half of it comes from the German word "Feld." \* I do not wish to even try to seem doubtful of the decision of such an eminent scholar, but I think that I might be allowed to suggest that, at least the first part of his assertion is somewhat far fetched. Why should the Finns pick out Samson, who as far as I know, had no especial connection with any phase of agriculture, and name their god of the fields after him?

There is a multitude of lesser gods and goddesses and mystical fairy-like creatures. The daughters of the sun (Päivättäret) and moon (Kuutar) sit on the clouds and in the tree tops. They are skilled in spinning and weaving, a pretty fancy, possibly suggested by the weblike appearance of the rays of the sun and moon, shining through the trees. The planets themselves are defied, the sun being a god, Päiva, and the moon a goddess, Kuutar. A son of each is also mentioned as being the suitors of the beautiful Kyllikki. Related to these goddesses are the Kankahattaret goddess-

\* Comparetti, D. Traditional poetry of the Finns, p.188.

es of weaving. Uni is the god of sleep and Untamo, his son, the personification of indolence, rules over the realm of dreams.

The Luonnottaret, three mystic maidens of magic powers were created by Ukko, when he rubbed his hands together. They are the mothers of the iron. Walking on the clouds, the oldest sprinkled black milk over the rivers of the earth, while the second sprinkled white milk on the hills and mountains, and the youngest sprinkled red milk into the seas and oceans. The black milk, became "dark and ductile iron", the white milk, became "lighter colored iron", and the red milk turned into "red and brittle iron". Iron went to visit his elder brother Fire, and was driven by him into the seas, swamps and marshes.

Suonetar is the goddess of the veins of the body. She is a "skilful spinner of vessels" and works with a silver spindle on a "spinning wheel of copper, set in a frame of molten silver." When Lemminkäinen's mother has found the parts of her son's dismembered body, she prays to Suonetar for help. Then she continues:

"And if this is not sufficient,  
In the air, there is a maiden,  
Sitting in a boat of copper,  
In a boat with stern of scarlet.

Come, O maiden down from heaven,  
 From the very midst of heaven,  
 Row thy boats through out the veinlets,  
 Thru the limbs, both forth and backwards,  
 steer thy boat through broken joints,  
 And along the broken bones." \*

This mystic, unnamed being is requested to sew the wounds together with a silver needle.

Terhenatar, the "ether maiden" is the goddess of the fog. She sifts the mists through a silver sieve, sitting high in the sky, beyond the clouds. Pakkanen is the frost, and Kertolainen the god of metals. The Määhiset were dwarfs who lived under ground. One of them is called out by Lemminkäinen, by striking his whip against the ground.

The gods thus far mentioned were almost always friendly toward men. There was also a god, Hiisi, who was almost incredibly wicked. Whenever anything had happened, Hiisi had been meddling. For instance, when Väinämöinen is making the magic boat for the maiden of the rainbow, "evil Hiisi grasps the hatchet. Lempo takes the crooked handle, "and guides "the sharpened hatchet, and the veins, fell Hiisi severs". Hiisi sharpens all weapons, and he assisted when the first steel was tempered. Ilmarinen sent the bee off for some necessary ingredients, but his order was overheard by Hiisi, who instantly sent his "bird", the hornet,

\*Kalevala XII L. 330-338.



with ingredients of his own choosing.

"Evil Hiisi's bird, the hornet,  
Scattered all the Hiisi horrors," \*

into the water in which the steel was tempered. He put in the hissing of the serpent, the venom of the adder, the poison of the spider, and the stings of all the insects. That made iron cruel and merciless. Hiisi's bird, the hornet, is a contrast to "Ukon koira," the butterfly, and the bee, "lord of all the forest flowers", who belonged to Tapio.

The birch tree healed by the magic balsam which was to heal Wainämöinen's wound, had been broken by Hiisi, who thus is made to represent the destructive force in nature. Hiisi is especially fond of wizards and particularly of the people of Pohyola, whose patron god he seems to be, but he is perfectly willing to help others, if their magic is sufficiently powerful, and if there is any chance of trouble, in which he delights. For instance, he helps Lemminkäinen when he is making his first journey to Pohyola, by silencing the watch dogs, thus making it possible for the enemy to creep up without the knowledge of the Pohyola wizards. His favorite animals are the wild elk, which he fashioned from a tree trunk, willow branches, reeds, withered

\* Kalevala IX L. 238.

grasses, water lilies, and the bark of the fir tree, and the fire-breathing stallion, which Lemminkäinen catches with the help of Ukko. Hiisi appears under many names, the most common being Lempo, Juutas and Biru, latest of these being one of the modern appellations of the devil.

The female counterpart of Hiisi, is Suojatar, who created the serpent from the marrow of the gray duck, the brain of swallows, and her own saliva. This was thrown down on the ocean where it was formed into shape by the waves. The creator refused to give it life, saying that it had sprung from an evil origin and therefore could be nothing but evil. To spite him, Hiisi breathed life into the writhing mass. Like the modern devil, he thus had creative powers. Hiisi lived everywhere, but places like cross ways, water falls, and whirlpools were especially dangerous.

Besides the actual gods and goddesses, and the mystic air maidens, the Finns held sacred a multitude of plants and animals. The holy oak tree is mentioned in runo II for the first time. It may have been held sacred on account of its scarcity. The birch tree and the mountain ash were also holy. As for the animals, I have already spoken of the bear worship. The cuckoo is still called a sacred bird, while the

lizard has now lost his sanctity. The Finns personified all animals, calling them by descriptive names, such as Big-eye, and Longlegs for the hare. The eagle conversed with Wäinämöinen without difficulty, showing that some birds at least were capable of human speech. The seagull was once a beautiful maiden, the second daughter of the evil Louhi. She was forcibly made to marry her sister's widower, the smith Ilmarinen, and when she was unfaithful to him, he changed her into a bird. Too late she repented, and now she is continuously calling for her husband.

The Finns had a fairly well defined idea of the country of the dead, and of the god that rules there. It was called Tuonela, or the islands of Manala, and the conception of it is clearly influenced by the Scandinavian Niflheim. The meaning of the name has been debated. Castrén thinks that it comes from the German word "Tod", but Comparetti, \* thinks that it is derived from the word "tuonne" - there; meaning the place where the dead go - the other side. The phrase "Mene tuonne kun kâsken", Go where I order you to go, is often used in magic incantations, especially when illness is exorcised. Manala means simply "mann alla",

\* Traditional Poetry of the Finns, pp.191

under ground. I think that there is something to be said for Comparetti's opinion in this case. It has all the elements of possibility which many of his other deductions lack, and I think that I agree with him on this point. The ancient Finns buried their dead, whether they cremated them or not, as is shown in discoveries that have been made, therefore underground naturally came to be regarded as the country of the dead. The two words are used interchangeably in about equal proportion. A third designation is Kalma, which is used, like the others, to mean the ruler of the kingdom also. The name of the deity may have been formed from the name of the locality, assuming Comparetti to be right. In Finnish the suffix - la denotes the dwelling. For instance the home of Tapio is Tapiola, while Ahto lives in Ahtola. Tuonela would then have given the name of its god - Tuoni.

The location of the country is not always underground, which seems peculiar in view of the meaning of the name Manala. Lemminkäinen's enemy, the blind shepherd Märkähattu of Pohyola

"Greatly vexed and very angry,  
Thought the open door went quickly,  
Through the yard out on the corn fields,  
Ran to Tuonela's deep river,  
To the sacred river's whirlpool," \*

\* Kalevala XII L. 496-500

because he thinks Lemminkäinen will have to pass the black river on his way home. When Ilmarinen comes to woo Louhi's second daughter, she asks him what has become of the first one, He answers:

"Do thou not, O mother ask me,  
Do not question me in this wise,  
How your daughter may be living,  
How your dear one now is dwelling,  
Death hath borne her off already,  
Grisly death hath seized upon her,  
In the ground is now my berry,  
On the heath is now my fair one,  
And her dark locks 'neath the stubble,  
'Neath the grass my silver fair one." \*

This undoubtedly shows that the dead were supposed to live underground. According to the story of this young woman's death, she was torn by wolves and bears, and could therefore not have been buried.

It is not impossible that Manala represents a stage preparatory to Tuonela: the grave, where the spirits of the dead became purified. The name of Tuoni as ruler of this realm becomes, Kalma, which may represent the decomposition which takes place in the grave. When a man died, he heard Manalainen's trumpet, and one of the spirits of the realm cut off his life thread. These two points seem borrowed from the Scandinavian mythology, or at least one of them is. The cutting of the life thread reminds one forcibly of the Nornes,

\* Kalevala. Kirby's Transl. XXXVIII.L. 29-38.

and the blowing of the trumpet sounds much like the trumpet of the resurrection, blown by the angel Gabriel. Manalainen means the man from Manala, or the inhabitant of Manala, and need not necessarily have been the god himself. After the spirit was purified, it was led to Tuonela by Tuoni. At this occasion it was dressed in the god's gloves and wide brimmed hat. The way was far from easy, for nine seas had to be crossed and nine rams, nine stallions, and nine bulls guarded the gates. When these obstacles had been successfully met, the spirit was taken across the black river of Tuoni by the god's daughter in a ferry. This proceeding is similar to the parallell in Greek mythology. The story may have come to the Finns in a round about way, but I can see no reason why this idea should not be as original to them, as their story of the creation of the world from an egg, which no one claims to be borrowed. Tuoni's daughter, who rowed the ferry is a nameless dwarf, who at least once in her career showed some human kindness, in refusing to ferry Wainämöinen across the river, when he arrived to Tuonela in search of the three lost words that he needed to complete his boat building. When she is not busy ferrying spirits across the river, she washes the family linen in the "black and fatal river."

The ruler of this region is Tuoni, or

Mana. He grinds all weapons that are to be used in war, thus usurping some of the functions of the evil Hiisi. He also personally brings all the dead to the river. His wife, Tuonetar is sarcastically called "Hyvä "emäntä", the good hostess, She offers a golden goblet, filled with foaming beer to the arriving spirits, and all who drink, must remain forever in her realm. She also possesses a magic wand, which puts to sleep whoever she touches. When Wäinämöinen refused the drink, in which he found serpents, frogs, lizards, pollywogs, and other appetizing ingredients, Tuonetar put him to sleep with the wand. Tuoni has a son who is called "Punaposki", Red cheeks, or "Koukkusormi", Crooked fingers. He has three fingers on each hand. One of Tuoni's daughters has already been mentioned. There are two others, One, called "the blind daughter of Tuoni" receives this engaging characterization:

"Blind was Tuoni's eldest daughter,  
Loviatar, an aged woman,  
She was worst of Tuoni's daughters,  
Evil was she more than others,  
Origin of all our woes,  
Source of thousand plagues tormenting,  
And her face was black and evil,  
Covered with hair, and hideous." \*

She is the mother of the nine most dreaded diseases:  
Pleurisy, Colic, Gout, Scrofula, Boils, Itch, Cancer,

\* Kalevala XLV. L. 23-30.

and Plague, their father being the East wind. The third daughter is nameless like the first. She sits on the Kipukivi or Kipuvuori (Mountain of illness), where the three arms of the firver Tuoni meet, whirling it around like a millstone. Under this rock the spirits of all diseases are imprisoned, and as it is whirled around they escape through the hole in the millstone and go out to trouble mankind.

It is evident that Tuonela was conceived of as something very much like the world of the living. Game abounded and wolves and bears roamed over the plains. The river was filled with fish, the pike, the whiting, the whale, and the porpoise being mentioned. Walrus, seal, and swan swim the waves, among the floating bodies of the dead. The sun and moon visit the awful place. When Lemminkäinen's mother seeks her son, she asks the sun to help her, and it puts to sleep the entire population, so that she may rake the river undisturbed. With the sun's assistance she finds her son and restores him to life. Evidently the Finns believed that the dead might be restored to life through the life giving rays of the sun. The whole story of Lemminkäinen's death and resurrection is very similar to the Balder myth of Scandinavian mythology. But I think that Comparetti's comparison is a little far fetched. He says that Balder was killed by Höder, who was blind



and personified the darkness. From this (darkness-mörker) he would get the name of the blind cowherd, Märkähattu, whose name however signifies "the wet hat" and has nothing to do with darkness, except a likeness in the sound. The he says that Balder was killed by the mistletoe which had not promised not to hurt him, while Lemminkäinen was killed by the serpent, because he did not know its origin. \* I admit that there is a parallel, but I do not think that the story is borrowed.

The Finns believed that there was no life after death according to the words of Lemminkäinen after his resurrection:

"Woe's me, long have I been sleeping,  
 Long have I in pain been lying,  
 And in peaceful sleep reposing,  
 In the deepest slumber sunken," \*\*

But this statement is contradicted in several places. In rune XVI a prison underneath the kingdom of Tuoni is described, where the wicked and the unworthy, those who have harmed the weak or the feeble minded, or cheated a trusting friend, or lied or disobeyed their parents, must do penance on flaming couches having hissing serpents for pillows and covers woven of writhing green

\* Comparetti, Traditional poetry of the Finns. pp. 243-44, note.

\*\* Kalevala. XV. 1. 559-562, Kirby's transl.

adders, receiving no other refreshment than the blood of adders. These who have ill-treated their mother must suffer yet worse. This very nearly describes the Christian idea of hell, and can therefore not be a thought of the early Finns. But in other places communication with the dead is described, and we have, in the buried weapons, hatchets, bows and arrows, kettles, food, clothing, sledges and snowshoes found in their graves tangible evidence that they believed that there must be something more than sleep to death.

\*The dead were believed to be able to send illness and bad luck to the living, but on occasion, they could also furnish valuable counsel. When Wainämöinen wailed over the death of Aino, his mother spoke to him from the ground, giving him advice to go a-wooing some one else. There are other evidences of communication between the dead and the living, showing that the Finns believed their dead to have the power of helping in any emergency. This points toward ancestor worship, at least in a modified form. This is common among the Finn's related peoples, and it is possible that this was his original religion, nature worship not beginning until after his arrival in Finland, as it has been shown that ancestor worship is the older form among the Finnish-Ugrian peoples.\*

The Finns were great believers in magic, and it is indissolubly connected with their religion. The magician is the wise man, the tietäjä. He knows the spirits that rule the various aspects of nature and their origin, and his power is the greater the more he knows of these things. Through his magic songs, the "loitsurunot," he rules the forces of nature. The songs, were no mere unintelligible formulas, or gibberish, loosely strung together, but well connected songs, fully as poetic as the rest of the Finnish folkloristic songs. They are usually lyrical in form, excepting the ones which describe origin which are narrative. It is easy to imagine the Finnish tietäjä reciting his incantation, working himself into a complete frenzy, sometimes being so carried away by his excitement that he falls down in a swoon. It is probable that Väinämöinen's journeys, which are described in detail, are representations of such moments of extacy and that he, or some other tietäjä, really did journey to the land of the dead in his imagination, and described what he saw. The tietäjä prays, commands, threatens and exhorts the object of the spell. He speaks to the inanimate things as if they were human beings, or he turns to the gods that rule them, and that are nothing but a personification of the things themselves. If he knows

the origin "synty", of a thing or things, he has unlimited power over them. And that is the fundamental idea of shamanism from which the Finns as yet had not separated themselves: the rule of man over nature, or as in this case, over the personifications of nature.

The wound of Wainämöinen cannot be healed until the song of the origin of iron has been chanted. Wainämöinen could not build his magic ship until he had found the missing three words. The last instance especially illustrates the power of the spoken word. If the incantation is not absolutely complete it is valueless. No stretch of the imagination is needed in order to conclude that the various "sanat", words, or "luvut", incantations were held a profound secret by the magicians, and probably handed down from father to son. If any tietäjä for some reason was compelled to teach his wisdom to some one else, a rival for instance, it is rather probable that he left out a word or so on purpose to make it valueless. Wainämöinen had to resort to extraordinary measures to extract the three lost words from the dead Wipunen, therefore I judge that whatever a wizard knew, he usually kept sacred to his own use.

Lemminkäinen's mother upbraids her son for daring to go to Pohyola without a knowledge of the origin of the serpent, that having been the in-

strument of his death. Had he known it, she avers, he could not have been killed by the blind shepherd. When Lemminkäinen goes to Pohyola for the second time, he makes use of his knowledge to pass the giant snakes that are guarding the way. In the third rune we have a duel between two magicians, one being Youkahainen, "the greatest of all Lapland's wizards", and the other Wainämöinen, the famed Kalevala tietäjä. There is a delightful description of the boastful Laplander, who came south, fully assured of success, only to be thoroughly defeated and humiliated by his older and wiser opponent. Youkahainen's mother warns him, saying that Wainämöinen would bewitch him in some frightful manner. It seems that the Finnish wizards were not satisfied to simply kill an enemy, they preferred to get rid of him in a more picturesque manner, such as turning him loose in a snowdrift and turning him to ice, or changing his feet to flint and his heart to stone. Of course, the tietäjä could not really do these things, but the fact remains, that he was believed to be able to do them, which amounts to much the same thing. The belief of Youkahainen's mother that her son would be in danger of the above enumerated things, shows the awe and fear in which the tietäjä was held.

Youkahainen gives us some valuable

hints about magic. We learn, for instance, "that water is the oldest medicine, Cataract's foam a magic potion." The wizard regarded his office as a trust from the highest god, for Youkahainen declares that Jumala is the first sorcerer and magician. When Youkahainen finds that Wainämöinen's song makes him sink deeper and deeper into the magic swamp of a moment's creation, he implores the conqueror to save him, saying:

"Reverse thy holy incantations,  
Backwards speak thy words of magic" \*

Showing that in order to undo a spell it was necessary to repeat it backwards. Just as the students of the black arts in medieval times used to repeat the Lord's prayer, beginning with the last word, in order to call out the devil. In this case Wainämöinen repeated his song three times, once to break the spell, once to lessen the enchantment, and the third time to banish the charm. This persistence proves that the magician took himself seriously.

We have an interesting description of a magician healing a wound in Rune IX. Wainämöinen has been wounded in the knee and is powerless to still the flow of blood. The nameless old man first asks him to recite the origin of iron, after which he stills the flow of blood and applies the magic lotion, rubbing it

\* Kalevala III. L. 347-348

in very carefully, all the while praying to Ukko. The use of the names Luoja (creator), and Jumala (modern name for God) indicate that either the song is of late composition, or the names have been inserted by Christian singers. As soon as the lotion is applied, Wainämöinen suffers dreadfully, whereupon the physician in a long chant banishes the pain to Kipuvuori in Tuonela.

In cases of illness the treatment was given in the bath house. When Luohi sent the plagues, (reminiscent of the plagues of Egypt), to the people of Kalevala, Wainämöinen as the principal tietäjä undertook to heal the sufferers. The bath house was heated with wood gathered from the waterfall, or trees struck by lightning and threw water from a whirlpool on the great stone blocks of the hearth. He then cleaned the bath house carefully and prepared the brooms of birch leaves. While the room became filled with hot vapor, he chanted his supplication to Ukko, praying that the god would aid him to banish the disease and heal the sufferers. He then ordered the disease to attack the rocks and stones of the mountains, and prayed to Wan-nutar, or Kivutar, daughter of the pain, a beneficent goddess, to help him to relieve the sick. When the bath house was ready he rubbed the sufferers with healing balsams made by enchanted herbs, and sprinkled

them (possibly this comes from the holy water of the Roman Catholic religion) with the hot water, again praying that Ukko would remove the pain. It is not impossible that the rubbing had much to do with the recovery of the patients. It was practised for hundreds of years in the Finnish bath houses, before it came out to benefit the rest of the world as massage. He prays:

"Where my hands avail to reach not,  
Let the hands of God be resting,  
Where I cannot reach my fingers,  
There let God extend his fingers;  
Far more skilful are his fingers,  
The Creator's hands more active." \*

When Lemminkäinen went to Pohyola he asked his mother to wash his linen in the black "venom of the adder". This would make him invincible in battle. Before leaving home he chanted the incantations that would protect him from the evil forces that hide at the cross roads, on the "quaking marshes", or near the waterfalls, whirlpools, or running water.

To judge from the frequency of certain numbers, they were supposed to be of great sanctity. Very often numbers are repeated for the sake of repetition only, in other cases a few are markedly emphasized. The numbers are seven, three, and nine.

Seven is used five times, Ilmatar is driven on the ocean for seven hundred years before the

\* Kalevala III. L. 338-342



birth of Wainämöinen wanders on the seashore, and "six grains of corn he found there, seven grains of finest corn." "Youkahainen asserts".

"There I stood with six great heroes,  
I myself was seventh among them." \*

The bee that brought the life giving balsam to Lemminkäinen's mother, carried seven cups of it on his back.

Three is by far the most frequent number, for it found thrity-four times, not counting the times when it appears in repetition, connected with some other number. The duck brooded for three days on the mundane eggs. Wainämöinen waited three days before the oak sprouted. The distance between Wainöla and Pohyola was traversed in three days, this statement being repeated five times in different connections. Iron hid for three days under three birch roots. The balsam for Wainämöinen's wound was first boiled three days and three nights. When the Sampo was made the thralls worked three days and three nights. This happened every time one of the three resulting objects were destroyed and thrown back. Then the winds worked for three days more. Louhi causes three roots to grow to hold the Sampo to the ground. Lemminkäinen's mother bathed him three times in summer nights and nine times in autumn nights, to make him a magician. The bee flew

\* Kalevala III L. 225-226

three times when it went in search of the balsam for her. It had to fly away three times before finding the right kind. Wainämöinen travelled three days when he went to Manala. Tuoni's son had three fingers. Lemminkäinen was warned for three dangers on his way to Pohyola for the second time. When he went to the place of refuge he was to return in the third year, and he arrived there when the third moon was near its ending. On his island of refuge there were three rooms in each house and three heroes in each room. Kullervo remained in the water alive for three days, and after the pyre had burned for three days, he sat and played in the ashes. He was alive three days after having been hung. At three months of age he swore vengeance on his father's murderer. When he was seeking his father, he was told to go northwest, walk straight on for three days, then turn to the northeast, and he was to know the right way by three waterfalls. The mother of the diseases rested near three Waterfalls. Lemminkäinen found his mother hidden in the forest, living in a three cornered hut. The Kipuvuori is situated "in the rush of three great rivers". After the fire had fallen into the lake, the waters rose three times during the summernights. Wainämöinen split in three pieces the rock that hid the bolts behind which the sun and the moon were hidden.

Nine is used twenty times. Of these three are connected with some other number in repetition. Ilmatar waited for nine lifetimes before Wainämöinen was born. Nine years after the breaking of the eggs, Ilmatar began to create the world. Aino appeared to Wainämöinen from the crest of the ninth wave. When Wainämöinen's horse had been shot and he fell in the ocean, he swam around for nine days. The herbs of the balsam made to heal his wound, were gathered by nine magicians, (and eight seers). Then it was boiled during nine nights. The Sampo was hidden behind nine locks, and the roots that secured it were nine fathoms long. Lemminkäinen was washed three times in summer nights, and nine times in winter nights, in order to become a magician. The bee flew over nine lakes in quest of balsam, and brought back nine kinds of ointments, (repeated as ten kinds). When these did not work, he flew over nine heavens in search of other kinds. Vipunen, hurt by Wainämöinen, tried to get rid of the pain, by offering it nine bullocks, nine sheep, and nine horses as a ransom. Lemminkäinen was to traverse nine lakes in succession, before arriving at his place of refuge after the murder of the Pohyola "host". Nine locks fastened the Sampo to the mountain in Pohyola. The diseases were nine in number. Wainämöinen rubbed the sick with

nine different kinds of ointments, ( eight magic drugs in repetition). Louhi herself could not release the sun and moon, unless she brought with her nine stallions born from a single mare. The lake into which the fire had fallen, rose three times in summer nights, and nine times in the nights of autumn. The flame had fallen from the ninth aerial region. The sun and the moon were hidden behind nine locks.

The prominence of these numbers may be due to varied causes. As far as seven is concerned, that probably comes from the constellation of the Great Bear, which is constantly mentioned in the poem. Three is the number of the Sun, the Moon and the Great Bear, and nine is three times that number, if the Finns had gone as far as multiplication in their arithmetic, which is highly doubtful.

The Finns, like most primitive peoples, believed that illness was sent, either by Tuoni's blind daughter on the mount of Ills ( Kipu-vuori), by an enemy, or by the dead. In runo XVII, we find an incantation, the purpose of which is to sing away pain. The exorcist orders the pain to leave the body, and wonders why it has come. Then he says, that if it were sent by Jumala, he would be resigned, but if it were sent by others, it must leave his body. He

proceeds to name all places from whence it could possibly have come and orders it to depart, calling on various gods and goddesses for assistance. If the pain was sent by an enemy, it is ordered to go to him who sent it and to afflict his own household. The sufferer or the exorcist then names several regions where it could have come from, and tells it to go back, offering Hiisi's horses and snow shoes as means of travel. The song is extremely long- three hundred thirty-seven lines. It seems as if almost any pain would have time to depart during the recitation, if any tietäjä ever was patient enough to sing it all.

When people in a boat were pursued by an enemy, there was an efficient method of getting rid of the pursuers. As the boat with the Pohyola warriors approached that of the Kaleva heroes, Wainämöinen took out his tinder box, from which he cut a small piece of tinder. Together with a bit of pitch, he threw it over his left shoulder, and said:

"Let a reef of this be fashioned,  
 Let an unseen rock grow from it,  
 Where may run the ship of Pohya,  
 With a hundred rowlocks fitted,  
 May it strike the lake like tempest,  
 And upon the waves be scattered."\*

When the Finns came to Finland, they did not leave behind the ancient modes of divination, which had been in use among them and their relatives

\*Kalevala, XLIII, 1. 115-130.

for centuries. In the *Kalevala* this method is only mentioned once. When the sun and moon have been stolen, *Wainämöinen* makes use of this method to find out where they are. He cuts sticks of alder, puts them in a certain order, turning them with his fingers, into different figures.

While doing this, he pronounces an incantation. The sticks then tell him where the planets are hidden. The passage, literally translated runs as follows: "The old *Wainämöinen* himself, the eternal *tietäjä*, cut shavings from an alder, cunningly arranged them, turned them over, changed their positions, and moved them with his fingers." There is no mention of a drum, but it seems to me that such an implement may have been used. The Lapps use it to this day. It is not very surprising that the process is not described more in detail, for this method of divination must naturally have fallen in discredit during Christian times, and it is not to be wondered at that the singers, who no longer used it, forgot the description of an act, with which they were unacquainted. It may also be that the method was so common when the passage was composed, that the poet did not think it worth his while to go into details.

It is interesting to note that the hearth was left standing when, for some reason a house was destroyed. *Kalervo* burnt the home of his brother,

\**Kalevala*, XLIX, L. 81, etc.

Untamo, but left the hearth standing. When Lemminkäinen returned from his sojourn abroad, he found his home destroyed and nothing but the hearth stones standing. This peculiarity may be connected with the sacredness of the hearth in the bath house, which is supposed to be a relic of the very first kinds of houses built by the Finns.

Although the tietäjät were men, there are indications that they did not keep their knowledge of magic away from the women. Louhi was a magician that more than once got the better of Väinämöinen, although the latter had been present at the creation, and therefore ought to have been pretty wise. And in runo XXXIII we discover that the women knew how to drive away the bear, should he happen to come around while the men were away. Ilmarinen's wife sent her cattle into the forest after having pronounced an incantation of considerable length, asking the gods to protect them. It is also probable that the women were acquainted with spells against illness, for in later times it was the exclusive business of women to "read away" all illness. This may have come to pass after all magic had fallen into disrepute.

The position of Tietäjä was hereditary. Lemminkäinen's father taught him magic, and his mother, who must have been a wise woman of no mean standing, bathed him

a certain number of times at certain specified times, in order that his powers would be so much the greater.



## CHAPTER IV.

The Finns got their principal sustenance from the forest and the numerous lakes. Unfortunately the Kalevala contains comparatively little about their chase and fishing customs, there being only one detailed account, that of the bear hunt. This is a most dramatic description, and is indeed, according to Julius Krohn\*, an old Finnish dramatic game, which was acted for centuries at bear feasts, and often also for no apparent reason. It is quite clear from the Kalevala that the bear occupied a special place in the minds of the Finns. He was the biggest and most useful wild beast that lived in Finland, and therefore he was called the dog of the forest god, Tapio, and was supposed to have had a supernatural origin. The possession of a bear skin was a mark of distinction. When Ilmarinen goes awooing to Pohyola, the fact that he has bearskins in his sleigh is specially emphasized. There was a great deal of meat to be had from the bear, which may in part have accounted for his popularity.

The bear was hunted in early winter, just as the snow had begun to fall. The weapon used,

\* Krohn, J. "Finska litteraturens historia", p.39.

was a short, three edged spear. When Acerbi travelled through Finland in 1789- 1799, he saw spears used at bear hunts that had a crossbar about a foot from the point, so that the bear, when hurt, would fall backwards.\* The animal was tracked to his lair by dogs, and smoked out of it. Blinded by the smoke, the bear came out, was attacked with spears and arrows and killed. The chief hunter then politely apologized to his quarry for having disturbed him, and told the bear that no one had killed him, but that he fell down from a tree and tore his coat among the branches. The hunter then advises the bear to come home with him, for in his house there will be great feasting. The hunters then wander towards home, playing on their birch-bark horns, and making a great deal of joyful noise. The people in the village hear them and come to greet them, attired in their best clothes, and adorned with their choicest ornaments. Having reached the returning hunters, the villagers ask: "Have you brought the bright gold and silver with you or did the forest give you the honey eater, that you come back singing and rejoicing?"

The chief hunter answers for the others: "I bring neither money, nor an otter, nor a lynx, but something far more famous. The pride of the

\*Acerbi, Joseph. Travels through Sweden. p. 188, vol. II

forest comes hither. An old man clad in his overcoat comes to you. Let the doors be widely opened, or if you dislike the stranger, close them firmly."

The villagers shout in welcome: "Welcome, Otso, to thy new dwelling. All our lives we have waited for your coming. Morning, noon, and night we sat at the window, looking for your approach. Daily we wondered where our Otso was wandering, and what delayed his arrival. Was he wandering in Esthonia, far away from the land of Suomi?"

"Where shall I lead our guest?" asks the chief hunter. "Shall I take him to the barn and put him on a bed of straw?"

All the people shout in answer: "Lead our illustrious guest into our best chamber, where we have prepared a meal in his honor. All the floors have been dusted and all the women have donned their finest head dresses. Food is ready to be eaten, and there is drink ready for the thirsty."

The chief hunter then requests the bear to be pleased to enter the house. The women and children stand aside, and the men carry the bear inside.

Having entered the house, the chief hunter asks: "Where shall I lay my darling? Where is the

shaggy apple to rest?"

"You shall bring him here, on this bench of iron and pine wood, so that we may all behold his shaggy coat."

While the hunter skins the bear, he apologizes for so doing, saying that the hide will not be injured, but always held in honor. The bear is then cut to pieces and cooked in copper kettles with salt to season. When the meat is cooked, the entire village shares the meal, sitting around the long fir-wood table, eating, and drinking home brewed beer.

When everyone has had their fill, someone asks: "Where was our Otso born and brought up? Was he born in a straw bed, or behind the oven in the bath house?"

The singer of the village then tells the story of the origin of the bear. The people ask: "How did Tapio give up his honey eater? Did you attack him with a spear, or with your sharp arrows?"

"Tapio was very gracious," answers the hunter. "All his household helped me to find our Otso. But I did not smite him with a spear, neither did I shoot him with arrows. When he came down from his house, he stumbled, and fell from the top of the pine tree, and the branches ripped his hide open."

The chief hunter, who also seems to be the "tietäjä" of the village, then takes the skull of the bear, his eyes, his ears, his nose, his mouth, and his tongue, and carries them to the hill beyond the village, where they are hung on the largest branch of the tallest pine tree. The eyes are turned to the north and the skull is put facing the east. When he returns, the villagers ask where he has been and what he has done with the sacrifice. He tells them in detail just what he did, and the singer again begins to entertain the company. When it is time to go home, the bard makes a prayer to Jumala, asking him to soon again send a bear to the village.

The above is a considerably shortened account of the bear hunt and the following celebration as given in the Kalevala, where it occupies six-hundred and forty-four lines. The "king of the forest" is given many pet names, which I have left out, in order to get the story in at all. The most frequent of them are "honey paw", and "little bird", the latter undeniably somewhat incongruous.

The hunt was a festival to the Finn, and he dressed in his finest raiment when he went to subdue the dwellers of the forest. When Lemminkäinen

in anger decides to go to Pohyola for the second time, he asks his mother to bring out his finest clothing, whereupon she demands:

"Where, O son, will you be going?  
Chase the running elk on snow shoes,  
Or the tracks of lynx to follow,  
Or, perchance to shoot the squirrel?" \*

When the hunter saw the "hostess of the woods", the goddess Mielikki, in her best raiment, he was to have good luck, but if she was dressed in rags, he would see no game that day.

The elk was, to judge by the poem, always chased on skis. It seems quite probable that this animal could not be caught any other way. It was shot with arrows, which may have been tipped either with bone or mica, or possibly with copper, and later with iron. After it had fallen, it was killed with a spear. The elk may have been caught with some kind of lasso, for a lasso is the instrument used by Lemminkäinen when he catches the magic elk. It seems most improbable to me that the ancient Finns knew how to make ropes long enough for a lasso. They may, of course have been made of skins, but in order to throw a lasso successfully, one needs plenty of room. The Finnish forests are still very dense, and must have been much more so at the time of the Kalevala heroes, when forestry schools were unknown. I believe that a

trap of some sort is what is meant, and not a lasso, and that the latter meaning has come in later. The word used means both a snare and a lasso, and it directly stated that Lemminkäinen threw it around the neck of the "camel".

The account of the chase of the magic elk, is, in short, like this: Lemminkäinen fixed the point of his javelin, put a new sinew on his bow, and tipped his arrows with bone. He took a pair of slender, flexible skis, well greased on the bottoms. (The "grease" was probably tar.) His feet were stuck into straps, lined with otterskins, and the rings at the end of the ski staffs were covered with ruddy fox skin. He put his quiver on his back and his bow over his shoulder, took his ski staff in his hand, and started off. Before going on the hunt, he boasted that he would very easily catch his quarry. When he found this more difficult than he had supposed, he prayed to the gods of the forest, asking Tapio to lead him to the place where the elk was hid; wyyrikki to guide him on the right path way; Mielikki to open her storehouses and send her maids to help him; Tellervo to play on her pipe so that Mielikki should wake from her slumbers and hear his prayers. When his petitions remain unheard, he offers to sacrifice gold and silver to the

forest divinities, and having caught the elk, he sacrificed on the ground.

Larger animals, like wolf, fox, and lynx, were either shot with arrows, or caught in baited traps. Ermine was also trapped, but squirrel was shot with blunt arrows. Birds seem to have been shot with arrows, at least there are no traps mentioned in connection with them, but it is very likely that snares were common. The Finns made use of dogs, at least when they hunted water fowl, for Annikki tells Wäinämöinen that she remembers how her father used to go hunting wild geese.

"And his bow was great and tight-strung,  
When he drew it, it was splendid,  
And a black dog, leashed securely,  
In the stern was tightly tethered,  
On the shore the pack was yelping,  
Running over stones and boulders." \*

Lännrot thinks that only one dog was taken to the hunt and that the others ran along the shore, and followed the boat as long as it could be seen.\*\* The weapons used in the chase were arrows, javeline, bows, and knives. The arrows were feathered, bonetipped, and may sometimes have been poisoned\*\*\*. This is, however, entirely foreign to the Finnish character. Acerbi tells us that he found the peasants using old-fashioned cross bows, rather than guns. This is very like the Finns,

\* Kalavala, XVIII.1. 146-151.  
\*\* Niemi, A.R. Kalevalan selityksiä, pp.35-56.  
\*\*\* Kalevala, VI.L.58.



for they are slow to abandon the ways of their fathers, and they are very thrifty. The account of seal hunting given by Acerbi (1789-1790), corresponds exactly with the description of seal hunting given in the Atlas de Finlande, as it is supposed to have taken place during the stone age. Seal was hunted in the spring, by men who waited on the ice cakes, until the animal came up from the water to breathe, and then killed it with a blow, either with a club or with a spear.\* Seal and walrus are constantly mentioned in the Kalevala, and must have constituted an important item on the menu of the Finns, probably on account of the fat. Walrus is not found in Finland, and its presence in the songs constitutes a problem.\*\*

Since the larger part of Finland is covered by lakes, it is natural that fishing was an important source of food. We have, in the Kalevala, mention of several manners of fishing. When Väinämöinen seeks Aino in the lakes, he tries to catch her with a net, as well as by means of angling for her. We are told that he prepared barbed hooks and tackle, and that he took his nets with him in the boat. The hooks were probably made of bone. Some bone hooks have been found in graves, and in the possession of old peasants. In Runo XLVII may be found a description of how the first

\*Atlas de Finlande, Texte au cartes 49,50,51,p23.  
\*\*See Chapter II,P.25.

net was made by Wainämöinen when he tried to catch the fish that contained the fire spark, Panu. The net was woven of bast, gathered from the juniper bushes and sallow bark, and steeped in the juice of the willow.\* Acerbi describes the method of fishing pursued by the Finns in winter on the ice, which no doubt was of very ancient origin.\*\* "Their mode of fishing is as follows: a couple of openings are made in the ice, and by means of ropes and long poles they contrive to pass their nets from one opening to another: drawing out the nets with infinite labor. They have another mode of fishing on the ice, which is extremely curious, at least the novelty of it excited my surprise. It is in catching fish by a stroke of a mallet or a club. In autumn, when the frost begins to set in, the fisherman courses along the river, and when he observes a fish under the ice in shallow water, he strikes a violent blow with his wooden mallet perpendicularly over the fish, so as to break the ice. The fish, stupefied by the blow communicated to it by the water, in a few seconds rises quite giddy to the surface, where the man seizes it with an instrument made for the purpose. "Fish was also angled for through holes in the ice.

\*Kalevala, XLVII.1. 314, etc.

\*\*Acerbi, J. Travels in Sweden, etc. p.287.

"Nets must already have been known to the inhabitants during the stone age, long before the Finns arrived, for sinkers of stone, bound together by strips of birch bark, have been found in many places. The Finnish peasant of the present day uses exactly the same kind of sinkers. Dagnet seems to have been the most popular form of fishing, to judge from the account in the Kalevala. One party of men and women dragged the net from one given place to another, while they were met by another party, who either waded or came in boats stirring the water with long poles, so as to drive the fish into the net. It is when Kullervo has destroyed all the nets of the household that his owner decides to sell him.

Salmon was caught in peculiar traps, or gages, built of poles or stakes, and placed in the rapids. There is a narrow opening through which the salmon enters, but he cannot find his way out again, for the cage is constructed much like a mouse trap. It may be lifted up from the water, emptied, and put back again.

One way of fishing, which persisted through centuries, and which probably is still indulged in on the sly, although forbidden by law, is that of fishing at night, by torch light. This may be done

either in summer or in winter. In the latter case, holes are made in the ice, and in the former, the torch is fastened to the bow of the boat, and the fish are speared with a trident.

The cross bows used by the Finns were once famous throughout Sweden, and were extremely heavy. They were bent with the assistance of a leather thong, carried tied on the girdle. The bow-string was, according to the Kalevala, made either of the sinews of the elk, or of hempen cord. The bow of Youkahainen, with which he shoots Väinämöinen's horse, is made of iron, overlaid with copper, and engraved with a running horse, a foal, a sleeping woman, and a hare. As long as no such bows have ever been found, I judge that this description, as well as that of Ilmarinen's engraved sword, are due to the imagination of the singer who invented that particular passage. The arrows were made of oak or pine wood, and feathered. If used to shoot squirrels, they were blunt, but in case of war they might be poisoned.\* Their tips were either made of bone, \*\* or of porphyry or mica, for there is no flint in Finland.\*\*\*

\*Kalevala, VI.L. 66.

\*\* " " XII, l. 34.

\*\*\*Atlas de Finlande, vol.II, text to maps 19,50,51,  
p.7.

## CHAPTER V.

When the Finns moved into Finland they had no political organization, aside from the tribe. The family really was the unit, and for hundreds of years they continued the patriarchal mode of life, to which their wanderings had accustomed them. When a son married, he brought his wife to his father's home, and she was assigned certain duties and labors in the household. The oldest member of the family was its head, just as the oldest member of the tribe was the guiding spirit in case of war or trouble. In the wedding songs the bride is given minute instructions as to her behavior in her new home, especially as far as her relations with her mother-in-law are concerned. The mother is exalted in Finnish song. Lemminkäinen's mother is a sublime conception of motherhood, and her love for her worthless son has no parallel, for through it she manages to bring him back to life, after his body has been hacked to pieces by the son of the death god. When Kullervo is told that his mother is dead, he orders the messenger to see that she is bathed with "Saksan" (German) soap, wrapped in linen and carried to her grave with songs of woe. When Lemminkäinen and

Tiera are in danger of being frozen to death, they do not think of their wives, although Tiera has a recent bride awaiting him in his home, but are chiefly concerned about their mothers and their sorrow. Indeed, as among all primitive peoples, motherhood had a great deal to do with the status of women in general, and women did not attain any exalted position until after they had become mothers. Woman was held in honor, but was not considered quite the mental equal of man. Wäinämöinen's song was not for women and children, but for "bearded heroes". At the wedding we are told that "the songs of girls are foolish".\* When the Pohyola maiden refuses to go with Wäinämöinen, because, as she says,

"To a slave comes rarely pleasure,  
Daughter-in-law never feels it."\*\*

Wäinämöinen answers her:

"Like a child is daughter treated,  
Honored is a married woman."\*\*\*

The life of a daughter-in-law is often likened to that of a slave. That is because of the above mentioned patriarchal mode of living. When a young woman married, she often entered a family of from sixty to seventy persons, who all lived and owned property together. The

\* Kalevala XXI.L. 312.  
\*\* " VIII.L. 79-80.  
\*\*\* " VIII.L. 85-86.

new member had to conform to the habits and customs of her husband's relatives, and she, like all the other members of the clan, was under the dominion of the oldest. These customs could not be changed for her sake, any more than the laws of the Medes and Persians admitted any alteration.

Although the young wife must labor in her husband's home, she was very nearly his equal, except for a slight tendency on the part of the men, to consider the intellect of women not quite on par with their own. The love and honor shown the mothers of the Kalevala songs by their children, is the surest proof of the standing of the women in the primitive Finnish community. Louhi, the "hostess" of Pohyola, is regarded by her husband and by her enemies with great respect. Untamo's whole clan, including the women, deliberate on ways and means to get rid of Kullervo. Youkahainen, who, against the counsels of his parents travels to Wäinölä to vie with Wäinämöinen in song, is thoroughly beaten and humiliated.

Only one of the Kalevala heroes, the vicious and volatile Lemminkäinen, fails to show respect toward women. For him married and unmarried are the same and he treats them alike. He is the Don Juan of the Finns. Although there is much in his char-

acter which does not bear close scrutiny, he is made very charming and attractive by the poets, and according to J. Krohn, he is not borrowed from any other people, but is the creation of the Finnish people itself. He is certainly well beloved by the poets, as well as by the innumerable women, with whom he, at one time or another, is in love. He is characterized as a "man among the best of men", although he is possessed of "one small fault": he is too fond of the society of "gay young maids with braided tresses", and a trifle "careless in his morals". But his humor and manliness outweigh these small defects, and he is a true viking, of the kind that made a voyage to Sweden and burned the town of Sigtuna. He is almost the only man in the Kalevala, who is described as being handsome. On the whole, he is a most irresistible rascal. His marriage and subsequent behavior to his bride give us some valuable hints as to how marriage was regarded by the ancient Finns.

#### MARRIAGE.

In the Kalevala I find mentioned two kinds of marriage: by capture and by purchase. Of the first there are four instances, of the second only two. In all cases the wife is sought outside the group of which the man is a member. The first instance is the



marriage of Lemminkäinen and Kyllikki. He has heard from afar of her fame as a beauty, and decides to win her, in spite of the facts that she has refused such great men as the sons of the Sun and Moon, and belongs to a rich clan. He arrives at the village green, where she is dancing with her friends, rushes out of his sleigh, takes her into his arms and carries her off. At first Kyllikki weeps and fights, and threatens that her brothers will soon come to her rescue, but she is soon consoled, when Lemminkäinen, in a humorous way, tells her of his possessions. When she has calmed down, the two exchange vows, Lemminkäinen promising not to go to war, and Kyllikki not to go to dance in the village. This means that she must stay at home and never see other men than her husband. The bridal couple are received with open arms by Lemminkäinen's mother, and for a time all is well. But Kyllikki, being of a lively temperament, is bored by her husband, and one day while he is away, she goes to the village. Lemminkäinen's sister tells him of Kyllikki's broken vow, and he considers himself freed from his promise. The next thing he thinks of is another wife, hence he considers the marriage annulled, because of Kyllikki's inability to keep faith. That he is alone in that opinion is shown by the horror of his wife and his mother when

he announces that he is going to woo another girl. After his departure Kyllikki is mentioned only once, and thus it seems as if he had succeeded in putting her away. At any rate, when he returns from hiding, after having slain the Pohyola "host", he finds no one but his mother hidden in the forest. When he asks Louhi, the "hostess" of Pohyola for her daughter, she protests because he already has a wife, but when the easy-going man says, that he will put her away, she allows him to try to win the maiden. Thus divorce was not burdened with many formalities.

The second allusion to marriage by capture occurs when Wainämöinen and Ilmarinen go wooing to Pohyola. They agree that neither is to force the maiden, but she is to be allowed to choose between them.

The third instance is similar to the marriage of Lemminkäinen and Kyllikki. When Kullervo is returning from his journey with a full treasure chest, he sees three maidens on the way. Two of them refuse to have anything to do with him; the third one gets no chance to refuse, for he rushes out of his sleigh and carries her off. Thus far the proceedings are similar to the methods pursued by Lemminkäinen. The detail that is different, is that Kullervo not only tells his bride of his possessions, but actually gives

her of the contents of the chest. In other words, he buys her. This story ends in tragedy, the two finding too late that they are brother and sister. The girl throws herself into the waterfall, while Kullervo, after avenging his family, falls on his sword.

In W.I. Thomas's Source Book for Social Origins, I find the following sidelight on the marriages of the early Finns. "Speaking of the ancient Finns, the Finnish Philologist and traveller, Castrén, remarks: "There are many reasons for believing that a cap full of silver and gold was one of the best proxies in wooing among our ancestors." Evident traces of marriage by purchase are found in the "Kalevala" and the "Kantele" and in parts of Finland symbols of it are still left in the marriage ceremony. Among the east Finnish peoples, marriage by purchase exists even now, or did so, until quite recently."\*

When Ilmarinen, after the death of his first wife, returns to Pohyola for her sister, he is refused, and carries the girl off. But he loses her on the way home, for she is unfaithful, and he changes her into a seamew.

The other kind of marriage that I find in the Kalevala, is marriage by purchase, or contract. The first example is the agreement between Wäi-

\* Thomas, W.I. Source book for Social Origins, p.493.

nämöinen and Youkahainen that the sister of the latter is to become the wife of the old singer, in order to save her brother's life. The girl is not consulted in this case. She is informed by her mother of the great honor that is about to fall upon her, and protests. But her protests are unheeded, and she can only escape her fate by committing suicide.

One of the main themes of the poem, the love of Ilmarinen for the beautiful Pohyola maiden, furnishes the second example. In order to escape from Pohyola, where he has been driven by a terrific storm, Wainämöinen promises to send his brother Ilmarinen, the master smith, to the dark country, there to forge the wonderful Sampo. When Ilmarinen arrives, he sees the girl and immediately falls in love with her. Louhi promises that her daughter shall marry him, if he forges the Sampo. But when the mill is ready, she refuses, under various flimsy pretexts, to go with him, and he departs sadly, cap awry, later returning in company with his brother, who also wants to marry the girl. She is allowed to choose between the two suitors, and, against her more mercenary mother's advice, she chooses Ilmarinen, who has the advantage of being young. Before being allowed to marry the girl, Ilmarinen must perform certain labors for her mother. Thomas's Source book

says on this subject: "According to Mr. Spencer the obtaining of wives by services rendered, instead of by property paid, constitutes a higher form of marriage, and is developed along with the industrial type of society."\* Therefore the Finns had at this time made considerable advance on the old type of society, and it seems as if this form of marriage were the prevailing type, judging by the fact that it is described more in detail than the others. In the XXIInd Runo, the preparation for the departure of the bride, mention is made of chains and rings, that evidently were betrothal gifts.

With the exception of the oaths exchanged between Lemminkäinen and Kyllikki, there is no trace of any marriage ceremony. Had there been any, it would seem natural that it would be described as part of the wedding of Ilmarinen, which is described in detail. But there, besides the eating and drinking, the advice to the bride and bridegroom seem to be the main thing. Indeed the bride is not even mentioned until long after the feast has begun. Presumably she sat beside her husband in the seat of honor.

No plural marriage is mentioned anywhere except the story of Lemminkäinen and Kyllikki when he decides to go in search of a second wife. The protests of his mother-in-law elect, as well as of his

\*Thomas, W.I. Source book for Social Origins,  
p. 490.

own mother at the suggestion, are sufficient proofs that polygyny was not the custom among the Finns.

From the Kalevala we find, therefore, that the ancient Finns were exogamous and got their wives either by capture, or by paying their parents a certain amount, either in various objects of value, (there being no money), or consisting of certain labors, set them by the bride's parents.

#### SLAVERY.

The Finns certainly had slaves, but seem to have treated them with great kindness, except in exceptional circumstances. These slaves were either bought, or captured in war, as is clearly seen by the events related in the Kalevala. When Untamo fell upon his brother Kalervo's household, he killed all except one servant girl, who later became the mother of Kullervo. The story is somewhat confused as to whom Kullervo's mother really was. We are told, in no uncertain terms that the girl who bore him was a servant girl who was taken away by Untamo "to sweep the chamber", in other words, to work for him. But in a later story Kullervo meets both his father and his mother, who both have escaped Untamo. Again there is no doubt that this second woman is Kullervo's mother, for the description of her mother love is exquisitely beauti-

ful. This confusion goes to show the composite authorship of the Kalevala.

When Kullervo was born, he was considered a born slave. It seems that there was a difference in the way slaves were treated, favorites having a pretty easy time. Untamo says to Kullervo:

"If you live as it is fitting,  
Always acting as is proper,  
In my house I will retain you,  
And the work of servants give you,  
I will pay you wages for it,  
As I think that you deserve it,  
For your waist a pretty girdle,  
Or upon your ear a buffet."\*

Because of his great strength Kullervo is considered a valuable servant, but when his owner finds that he is useless, he determines to sell him, and wonders whether he should be sold to Russia. Finally he decides to trade with the smith Ilmarinen, who needs a strong thrall to work his bellows. The price consists of several useless pieces of goods, two wornout kettles, three halves of fish hooks, five worn out scythes, and six worn out rakes. This collection is a graphic representation of the contempt in which Kullervo is held, but I believe that the fact that his price is represented in things and not in money shows the antiquity of the tale, and that it comes from a time when no money was known to the Finns.

\* Kalevala, XXX..L.207.

The treatment that Kullervo suffers at the hands of Ilmarinen's wife is probably an exaggeration, but it shows that every slave did not live an easy life. The Pohyola maiden tells Wäinämöinen that "to a slave comes rarely pleasure".\* On the whole I am inclined to think that slaves were kindly treated. A five lashed slave whip is mentioned in the wedding songs, and may be a remnant of former times, but I am not sure that it ought to be taken seriously, because most of the advice to the bride is given for the express purpose of tormenting her. I hardly believe that the Finns had many slaves before settling in Finland, because they were not an agricultural people and thus had no special need for slave labor. The thralls were forbidden to enter the store houses or cellars, and the women were always obliged to work under the eye of the mistress. Sometimes they were trusted with important messages, for instance, Louhi sends her "handmaid, hired for money" to give the invitations to her daughter's wedding. The work of the men thralls consisted in the usual work about the house, or in the fields. Ilmarinen's thralls worked his bellows, and Kullervo was sent out as a handboy. The men servants of the Pohyola hostess had care of

\* Kalevala, VIII..1.79.



the horses of the guests.

It is interesting to note how the idea of slavery seems to have undergone a transformation. There is no doubt that, when the songs were first sung, slavery did exist, but as civilization made inroads, the institution disappeared, hired labor coming to take its place. The songs speak of the bought slave, and the hired slave, so to say in the same breath, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

#### GOVERNMENT.

There are few traces of any kind of government among the Finns. They had no kings, and no stable government, but whenever there was need of a chief, he was found, probably in the oldest man in the group. The old and wise Wäinämöinen is always the leader in the joint exploits of the Kalevala heroes, and from this circumstance I infer that the leader was either the oldest man, or the magician. If it were not the case, the smith, Ilmarinen, who also was a famed man, or the warlike Lemminkäinen would sometimes have assumed the leadership. The tietäjä of the village was naturally its most crafty member, and it is but natural that he should be the chief. He was probably usually an old, or at least middle aged man, and his being the leader in the time of need, is in accord with

the Finn's deference to the aged.

The tribes lived together. So much is clear from the frequent mention of villages. These were probably neither large nor well populated as a rule, although Kyllikki belonged to a "clan of vast possessions", and Lemminkäinen visits a kind of Utopia, where

"All the land is now divided,  
And the fields in plots are measured,  
And allotted are the fallows,  
Grassland managed by the village."\*

If this is an example of existing conditions it indicates a close organization of the people living in villages, the fields being divided by lot.

Pohyola was ruled by a woman. There is a Pohyola "host", as well as "hostess", but he remains well in the background until the duel with Lemminkäinen, when he is killed. When the "host" of Pohyola hears the dogs barking as his daughter's suitors are approaching, he asks first his daughter, then his wife and then his son, to investigate the cause of the disturbance, but they answer that they are too busy, and he is obliged to find out for himself what the matter is. This is not at all in accordance with the usual Finnish deference to paternal authority, and I cannot believe that the idea is original with them.

\* Kalevala, XXIX. 1. 131.

But it shows that it was the lady of the house who was the ruler. It is Louhi who meets her daughter's suitors and gives each his tasks to perform. She is the one who finally tells Ilmarinen that he has won the maiden. The father of the girl offers neither advice, nor opinion. It is the mother who advises the girl to choose the old suitor because he is rich. When the time for the wedding comes, the "hostess" sends out the invitations and receives the bridegroom, the "host" remaining in the background. It is she who sends the diseases and wild beasts to Kalevala and steals the sun and the moon. Always it is the lady who presides at the banquets of wizards in Pohyola, to which the Kalevala heroes come as unbidden guests. The fact of her supremacy is sufficient to prove that Pohyola is not synonymous with Lapland or Russia. It brings to one's mind the ancient stories, found in the writings of Adam of Bremen, and of the Anglo-Saxon writers of the time of Alfred the Great, about the people that lived on the northern shore of the Gulf of Bothnia and were ruled by a woman. These stories have been explained as having the foundation in a misunderstanding of the name of this people, who were called Quaines by the Norwegians. The name is supposed to have come to England as Queenland, or the country of the people ruled

by a queen. Judging by the story of the people of Poh-yola it seems to me that the old Anglo-Saxon writers may not have been so far wrong after all. It shows without the slightest doubt that the Finns regarded their women as their equals, although they sometimes spoke of them slightingly.

It is impossible to say whether the Finns had any social organization when they first entered Finland. It has been proved beyond a doubt that that of their predecessors was fairly well developed, and may have been adopted by the invaders. It is only by supposing the institutions of family and tribe to have been common, that we can understand and explain the growing of the settlements found, to say nothing of the implements and weapons that have been dug up, and that certainly seem to have belonged to connected settlements. Since the tribes lived by fishing and chase, it must have been necessary for them to divide the fishing waters and territories for the chase, just as the land about the villages was divided between the members of that particular tribe or clan.\* The Finns did not drive away the people that they found, but amalgamated with them, and it seems natural that they should have adopted such of their customs as seemed advantageous.

\* Atlas de Finlande, Vol.II, pp.22-23.

## CHAPTER VI.

The social life of the Finns was not complicated, but it contained many customs which were rigidly adhered to. Some of these were undoubtedly relics from a less civilized life, as for instance, those relative to marriage, and the interesting fact that all births must take place in the bath house.

## BIRTH.

The bath house was sacred, and for some reason it was considered necessary for all prospective mothers to go there when birth was expected. In Runo XXIII, the advice to the bride, she is told that if she forgets her mother, her reckoning in Tuonela will be hard. Mana's daughters ask her, reproachfully:

"How couldst thou forget thy mother,  
Sorrow bring to thine own mother?  
She has borne boundless suffering,  
Great her suffering when she bore thee,  
On the bath house floor she suffered,  
On the couch of straw extended,  
When she gave to thee existence,  
To the world brought thee, O base one."\*

Loviatar, the mother of the nine diseases wanders around, in vain search of a place where her children

\* Kalevala, XXIII.I.470-479.

may be born, until she reaches Pohyola, where she finds asylum with the wicked "hostess" Louhi, who takes her to her own bath house and attends her. Marjatta's son is also born in a bath house. I think this makes the statement that all births must take place in the bath house conclusive, for by internal evidence, this runo is very much younger than the others, and contains more Christian elements. A custom which is described at this late date, exactly as it is described earlier, must have been well rooted and of very ancient origin.

The mother was attended by an old woman, who recited runos and incantations for a happy outcome.

If there was any ceremony when the child was named, it is not described in the *Kalevala*. Marjatta's child is taken to the old Virokannas to be "baptized", but he refuses to perform the ceremony until the child has been examined, and "a judgement passed upon him". Wainämöinen then examines the child and decides that it is unfit to live. The baptism, is of course purely Christian, but the whole performance suggests the practice found occasionally among savages, of abandoning the weak and unfit children.

#### MARRIAGE.

Marriage was to the Finns a serious thing, and they celeb-

\**Kalevala*, L.1. 440.

rated all such occasions with great feasts. The Kalevala has preserved the account of one of these feasts, the wedding of Ilmarinen and the beautiful Pohyola maiden. It is the only wedding described, all the other heroes having taken their brides by force.

The preparations are very elaborate. For a long time the Pohyola "hostess" prepares for her guests. She bakes bread in great quantities, and we may be sure that it is not the black sticky need bread, made from arum roots, pine bark, finely chopped straw, or the tiny shoots from the pine trees mixed with rye or barley, that is prepared for the wedding of the famous beauty, but the best unmixed rye bread and the finest "pirogues" made of Eussian wheat, stuffed with fresh salmon. Butter is churned, peas and beans ground and made into "talkkuna" and mixed with dry rye flour. The mixture is then put on the long banquet tables in birch bark vessels, ready to be put into sour milk. This course is still popular with the Finns. For a long time the thralls of the house hold were kept busy fishing, and salmon was prepared in many ways, cooked or raw, or perhaps smoked. Great platefuls of salt or smoked pork were set on the board, together with cooked turnips and cabbage. Fresh eggs were boiled and the maids who set the tables did not forget the salt, raw fish. An immense ox was killed and the meat prepared for the wedding. Not even the dessert was missing, for it

consisted of fresh honey.

In order that the wedding guests might have something to drink, a woman came to help the Pohyola "hostess" prepare the foaming beer of barley. Before beginning the work, the songs of the origin of the art of brewing were sung, and then the brewers went to work in the bath house, building great fires, on which they put immense kettles. When the beer was ready, it was put into oaken casks. If any of the guests did not like beer, there was "a spicy drink of wheat concocted", and the sap drawn from birch trees.

Then the hostess sent out her invitations inviting every one who lived near and many that lived far away. She took particular pains to see that a minstrel would be present.

Next she and her maids swept the floors, and scoured the benches around the walls. The ceiling was decorated with scales of thin pine wood, and many shining ornaments were hung on the walls. The great stove was carefully cleaned. The walls were covered with soft fabrics, colored blue, and brought from far away countries. The tables were covered with red cloths.

The bridegroom comes with a great noise, followed by a company of youths. He is received by the young men of the village, and by the thralls, who take care of



their horses. Then he is led into the house, but stops on the threshold to call down the blessing of Jumala, underneath "this noble rooftree underneath this roof so splendid!" The bride's mother thanks him for not disdaining "this lowly cottage, this wretched house," and calls for a torch, that she may see what color the eyes of her new son-in-law may be. The torch is brought, but, being of tar and fir wood, it smokes, and another, of wax, is called for. At last she can see that the bridegroom's eyes are "brown like the lake reed". This ceremony concluded, the bridegroom is conducted to the seat of honor,

\* To a place the most distinguished,  
 With his back towards the blue wall,  
 With his face toward the red board,  
 There among all the guests invited,  
 Facing all the shouting people.\*\*

The feast begins, and the thralls serve the guests, the bridegroom first of all, from the "dishes filled to overflowing", and "laden to the very utmost". A great tankard of ale is sent around the table, and when it reaches the minstrel he begins to sing, after having been asked to do so several times. Both men and women, (it is the first time that women are mentioned in the account of the guests) enjoy the singing and the ale, the tankard circulating all the time. When the minstrel is through, he calls down the blessing of Jumala on the host and his family. The singing was performed in the following manner: Two men hooked

\*Kalevala, XXI.1. 223-226.

their hands together, and one of them sang one line. The other repeated the last words and added another line, and so on, both swaying back and forth as they sang, while a third person played the accompaniment on the kantele.

When the singing is ended, the turn comes to the bride's mother. She speaks to the bridegroom, reminding him of the hard time he had in winning his bride, and tells him that she is, at last, ready to follow him away from her father's house. Then she turns to the bride and asks her if she has carefully thought over what she is doing. Her life in her father's house has been merry and happy, but now she will be under the dominion of a mother-in-law. She will belong to her husband, and she will go to a strange house. She may never come back home, even although she may not be able to please her husband. As the threshold was levelled when her husband arrived, so it will be raised against her, if she ever tries to return home. The bride expresses her feelings at the separation from her home, and an old woman, who has had a most unfortunate matrimonial experience, tells her of the troubles that await her in her husband's house, drawing a most dismal picture of slavery. The purpose of all this is to bring the bride to tears, for it is not fitting that she should leave her home without expressions of sorrow. The design is successful, for she at once begins a wail of

grief, telling her mother that it would have been far better, had she been allowed to die in infancy. Friends immediately console her, and she is told to look at her young husband, who will guard her against any such fate as had been depicted to her. Osmotar, the professional bride adviser, then tells her how she should conduct herself in her new home.

The bride must leave three things behind in her old home: sleep in the day time, mother's counsels, and fresh butter. She must no longer sing, while working, for that is too frivolous for a married woman. She must leave all laziness at home for her bridesmaid. Her husband's family will henceforth be hers, and she must learn to love them as her own. She must bow deeply before them. She must arise at the first cock crow, and if there is no cock in the place, she is to be guided by the moon and the Great Bear. She must take a torch of pine wood and go into the cowshed to feed the cattle. On her way back to the house, she must bring in fresh water and carry a broom with her, holding the torch in her mouth. Then she must sweep the floor wash the tables and benches and dust the windows with a wet duster. Above all, she must not forget to take good care of the sacred mountain ash in the yard, for from its leaves and berries, she may learn how to please

her husband.

The young wife must always be ready to give any of the men in the family a towel and a wash basin when they return from their work, bowing with respect. If she meets her mother-in-law, carrying a basket, she must at once take it, and carry it for her. She must always ask her mother-in-law's advice concerning her work, no matter how well she knows how to do it. The advice continues telling the bride that she, as it seems, will be expected to do all the work in the new home, while the others sit by with folded hands.

When there is nothing more to say to the bride, it is the bride groom's turn. He is told to stand between his wife and his family. If she should need correction, he must speak gently to her in private during a few years. If words are of no avail, he is advised to take a reed from the lake and administer chastisement, and if this does not have the desired effect, he must threaten her with a birch rod, and if that has no effect, finally strike her on the shoulders. He must not strike her face, for her father or her brothers might demand explanation, if they saw any mark. An old man tells him that a woman always will love a man who can master her.

By this time the bride is in tears, and sobbing, she bids farewell to her home and family,

thanking them for past kindnesses. The bridegroom lifts her into his sleigh, and they depart, while the guests sing a song, expressive of their grief over the parting.

When they arrive at the home of the bridegroom, they are met by another celebration. The entire village meets them, dressed like "the forest in hoar frost." The mother-in-law receives them with songs of welcome, and the bride is told that the house has long waited for her coming. The bridegroom is teased by some of his friends, who ask where he has found this woman who can do nothing, and who brings nothing to his house. This gives the others a chance to praise the bride, and she distributes the gifts that she has brought with her. She is now given some more advice about her future conduct. A great feast, similar to the wedding feast, is served, and after a song by the ever present minstrel, the festivities are at an end.

The mention of a match maker and a bridesmaid are not without interest. It is the first time that either appears in the narrative. To me, this shows, that a go-between was not a custom of the early Finns. If they had had anything of the kind, he would surely have been mentioned in connection with Ilmarinen's wedding. Certainly there was no match maker there, and as the other marriages were run-away ones, they did not need one.

## DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Very little is said about burial customs. Most of the time death is mentioned, the dead are simply spoken of as being laid under ground. The only time a burial is suggested, is when Kullervo is told that his mother is dead. He tells the messengers that he wishes her body to be washed with "Saksan", (German) soap, carefully wrapped in linen and carried to the grave with songs of woe and expressions of grief. This points to the fact that the Finns had professional weepers. Nothing is said about putting any objects in her grave, therefore this passage is not very old, for quantities of utensils have been found in graves, showing that the ancient Finns buried the property of the dead with the corpse. During the stone age people were buried in a crouching position, lying on one side, with the knees drawn up to the breast. At Jettböle on Åland, traces of probable cannibalism have been found, a phenomenon which has been proved also in Sweden, in Uppland and Gottland.\* This fact may be the explanation of the clear references to cannibalism found in the Kalevala. When Väinämöinen suggests that his brother go to Pohyola to win the beautiful maiden, the latter refuses, saying that he does not wish to go to a country

"Where men are eaten,

\*Atlas de Finlande, Text to maps 49, 50, 51, p. 23.

Where they even drown their heroes."\*

It is not impossible that some memories of an earlier race which practised the custom of cannibalism suggested the above passage. Or it may be that they mean nothing but the natural hostile feeling on the part of the Finns toward the people in the far north, which they do not know. Professor K. Krohn states in a personal letter as his opinion that the passages have no particular meaning, except to show that men were apt to disappear in the dark and unknown regions of Lapland, with which Pohyola came to be identified.

#### GENERAL.

The Finns of historic times were not a warlike people, but in the Kalevala may be found more than one allusion to expeditions of war. Family feuds seem to have been common, for the slayer of the household of Kullervo's father was his uncle, and Kullervo did not rest until he had avenged the deed. Lemminkäinen made several more or less unfriendly expeditions to Pohyola, Youkahainen came to Wainola to vie with Wainämöinen in song. When Annikki, washing clothes on the shore, sees Wainämöinen's boat coming, she thinks that it might be an enemy, showing that she was in fear of possible raiders. The Kalevala heroes make expeditions to Pohyola, once to steal

\* Kalevala, XVIII.1. 199-200.

the magic Sampo; and when the sun and the moon have been hidden there, Wäinämöinen tries to recover it. During these expeditions, signals with smoke and fire were used.\*

That the viking spirit was not foreign to reign to the Finnish temperament is shown in the story of the boat, which complains because it was built for a warship, but never yet had carried any warriors, or seen a battle. Wäinämöinen and Ilmarinen are about to start for Pohyola, when they hear great wailing from the sea-shore, and discover that a boat is bewailing its unhappy lot. Moved by its sorrow, they proceed to Pohyola in it, and Wäinämöinen creates by means of magic a great number of people to man the boat.

"Sang on one side of the vessel,  
 Youths whose coarse hair was brushed smoothly,  
 Hair was smooth, and hands were hardened,  
 Noble youths, whose feet were booted,  
 On the vessel; other side,  
 He sang girls with tan on head dress,  
 Tin on head dress, copper belted,  
 Golden rings upon their fingers.  
 And again sang Wäinämöinen  
 Filling all the seats with people,  
 Some were very aged people,  
 Incapable to work at home,  
 But of these there were not many,  
 And they came before the young men."\*\*

The old men evidently went as advisors. It seems strange that women were taken on a journey which was for the express purpose of war. They may however have gone to do the cooking, for when the great pike is caught, it is

\*Kalevala.XLIX.1. 131.

\*\* " " XXXIX.1. 277-290.



the women who cook it.

Thus it is probable that the Finns made various journeys of varying length, sometimes for the sake of plunder, and some times for commercial purposes, and sometimes frankly for the sake of plunder.

I am not sure that the original Finnish society was democratic, for judging by the Kalevala, some families seem to have been richer and of higher station than others. This would indicate a change from a more warlike society to the industrial variety, for the clans did not persist into historic times. Of course, it may not be clans, in our sense of the word that is meant, but the expression may stand for group. In that case the change is explainable by the growth in population and agricultural pursuits, which put an end to the marauding expeditions. It is, however, well known, that far into the eighteenth century, the Carelians on both sides of the frontier, made raids into each other's territory.

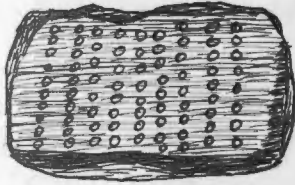
#### HOSPITALITY.

The Finn has always been hospitable, and he shows it well in the Kalevala. When a guest or a stranger arrived it was customary to offer him a drink. The Pohyola maiden brings mead(?) to Ilmarinen, when he arrives on his wooing journey, and when Väinö -

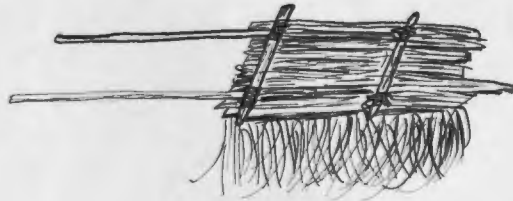
möinen arrives to Tuonela, its mistress meets him with a tankard of beer, Lemminkäinen is received very hospitably indeed, by the women of Saari. The fact that his offering to pay for refreshments, when he comes to Pohyöä for the last time, as an unbidden guest, is considered a great insult, is very significant.

#### EVERYDAY LIFE AND AMUSEMENTS.

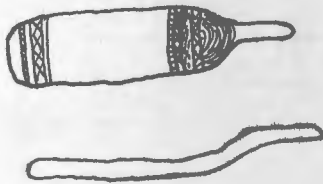
The life of the Finn has always been more or less arduous, for it was not easy for him to win his sustenance from the poor soil of his country. And at a time when agriculture was undeveloped, it must have been harder still. In order to be provided with the necessaries of life, he was obliged to labor constantly. This busy life did not give him much time for recreation, and it is significant that so little is said on the subject in the Kalevala. We find dancing mentioned, but the wording of the passage indicates that this was a pastime for women only. The prominence of the bard shows that the amusements of the Finns were of a more intellectual character than might be supposed. The people possesses a multitude of riddles and proverbs, and it is very likely that they were part of the entertainment on winter evenings. The song duel in the third runo shows that it was not uncommon for two songers to meet and exchange songs.



1. Sieve.



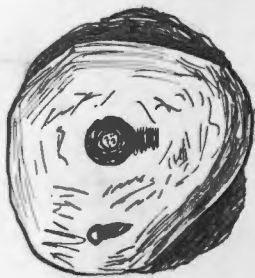
2. Harrow.



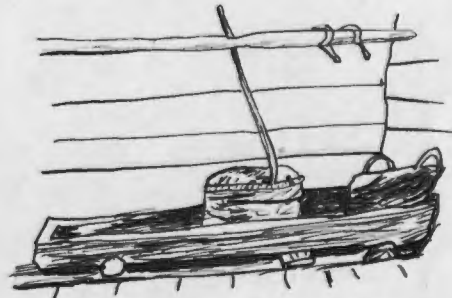
3. Mallet.



4. Handmill.



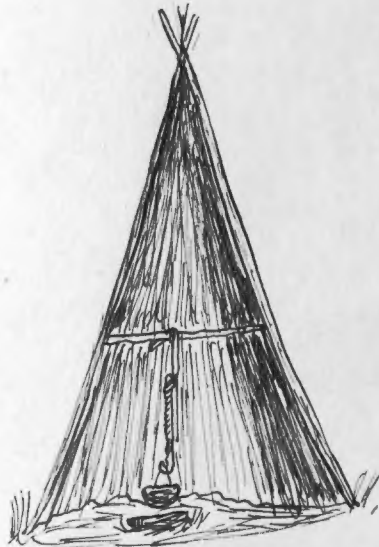
4. Handmill.



5. Hand mill.



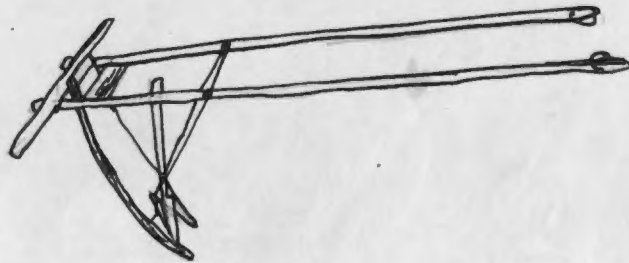
6. Dishes.



7. Kota.



8. Torch holder.



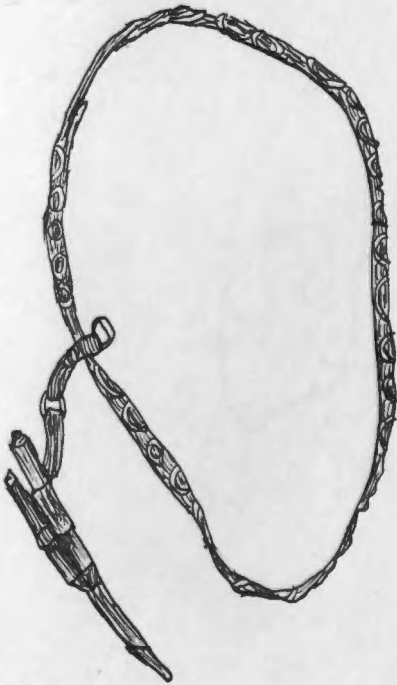
9. Plough.



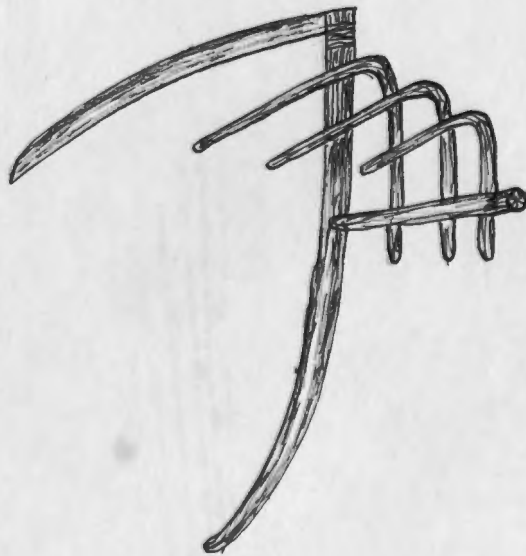
I5. Knife in bark holder.



I6. Bone hook.



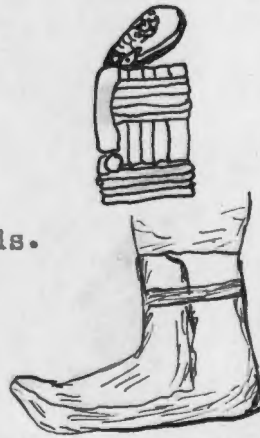
I7. Knife and knife belt.



I8. Scythe.



10. Tankards.



12. Skin moccasins.



11. Drinking cup.



13. Birchbark shoe.



14. Kantele.

Explanation of Figures.

1. Flour sieve of birch bark.

Retzius, G. Finland i Nordiska  
Museet. p. 36.

2. Harrow of stems with the branches  
left on.

Same as above, p.37.

3. Flat mallet for washing clothes.

Niemi, Kalevalan Selityksia, p.80.

4. Handmill. First figure, from the side,  
second from above.

Retzius, p.72.

5. Handmill of a different type.

Niemi, p. 65.

6. Dishes.

Niemi, pp.67, 84.

7. Kota , showing position of fire place.

Retzius, p.21.

8. Torch holder of iron.

Retzius, p.74.

9. Plough.

Retzius, p. 37.

10. Tankarde, II. Drinking cup of bark.

Niemi, pp. 20, 49, 137.

12. Moccasins of soft skin.

Retzius, p. 94.

13. Birch bark shoe.

Retzius, p. 27.

14. Kantele with five strings.

Retzius, p. 120.

15. Knife in bark holder.

Retzius, p. 31.

16. Bone hook.

Retzius, p. 49.

17. Knife and knife belt.

Retzius, p. 94.

18. Scythe.

Retzius, p. 41.



## CHAPTER VII.

## AGRICULTURE.

The manner of agriculture described in the Kalevala is another proof that the Finns were still a semi-nomadic people when they came into Finland. The method was to burn the forest and sow the seeds in ashes. We are told that Wäinämöinen felled the forest, leaving one lonely birch tree standing, for the birds to rest in. To show gratitude for this, the eagle brought down a spark of fire from the heavens and burned the fallen forest. Wäinämöinen sowed the seven seeds in the ashes, and after three nights, when he came to inspect the results, he found the barley growing. Ploughing is mentioned in this connection, after the process of sowing is described, in the following manner:

"Old and steadfast Wäinämöinen,  
Wandered forth to see the progress,  
How his sowing, how his ploughing,  
How his labors had resulted."\*

In the next Rune, Youkahainen is telling Wäinämöinen that

"In the north they plough with reindeer,  
In the south the mare is used,  
And the elk in furthest Lapland."\*\*

The word "elk" in the last line is doubtful, but its meaning seems to come nearest. The word in the original

\* Kalavala II. 1. 352-354 (Kirby's trans.)

\*\* Kalavala III. 1. 168-170.

is "Tarvahalla", which is, by common consent, translated as "hirvella", - with elk. No one can, however, say with any degree of exactness just what it does mean, for it is archaic and its true meaning is entirely lost. The word "aura"-plough, appears frequently, but no description is given of the implement. It is probable that it consisted of the forked stem of a tree, or perhaps a large root of some kind. In Rune XXI line 349 etc. a harrow is mentioned. It was very probably made of a pine stem with the branches left on, for such harrows were used by the Finns until quite lately. Scythes, rakes and hoes are also mentioned. \*

Women took part in the agricultural labors as among all primitive peoples, but the work in the fields was not considered beneath the dignity of the men. We are told in Runo II. 1. 60-65, that Wäinämöinen saw some mermaids mowing and gathering hay on a "misty peninsula" far away. Hay was evidently stored for the long winter, for in Rune XXI, 1. 239, we find the word hay left. Of course, this does not necessarily prove that the ancient Finns, stored their hay, but as they brought both horse and cattle with them to Finland it is only reasonable to suppose that these domestic animals must have been fed with something during the winter, and therefore, why not with hay?

\*Kalavala XLII. 1. 149-150.

The cereals mentioned are barley, oats, rye and wheat, still the only ones grown in Finland. The frequent mention of wheat seems to point to the fact that the Finns, before coming to Finland, lived in a country where wheat was not such a rarity as it is in their present home, where it can be grown only in the most southern part. Barley is spoken of as being the oldest cereal, for that was the kind sowed by Wäinämöinen. In Runo XLVIII.1. 20, etc., we get a description of the sowing of flax, in loose earth, mixed with ashes, followed by an account of the working of the flax and the making of the net. Turnips, a vegetable which the Finns are supposed to have brought with them\*, and peas and beans which they learned to know from their neighbors, gave variety to their food, agricultural implements were the flail, used in threshing, and the pitchfork.

#### COMMERCE.

The Finns were not a commercial people like the Russians and the Byarms, but they knew the value of trade. Some of them, like the present Carelians, had the trading instinct fairly well developed. The wonderful mill, the Sampe, ground for food, barter and storage. The trading of Kullervo for some old worn-out scythes, etc. is one example of barter. The skins of squirrels were one of the most important articles of

\* Retzius, A. Finland i Nordiska museet. p. 3

commerce of the Finns and it is probable that they received in exchange corn and metals. Could not the fact that Wäinämöinen finds the grains of corn on the sea shore, be interpreted as one way of telling that they were brought in ships? It is not impossible that the pygmies, coming to help in times of extreme need, symbolize the helpful suggestions, new customs, and things of value, that were brought from across the sea. That commerce existed, is proved by the finds of things that cannot have been made in Finland, among them amber.

#### INDUSTRY.

The industry of the Finns did not exist for the sake of commerce, but consisted wholly of household labor. Each family manufactured to fill its own needs, and each member of the household had his part in the work. The men sowed, ploughed, and did the heaviest work in the culture of the soil. The chase and most of the fishing also fell to their lot. Beside the outdoor labor, the men made various implements: they made the sleighs, all the weapons that could be made from wood, all ploughs, harrows, hoes and rakes needed for the work in the fields; they carved handles for axes, and made the flat mallets used by the women in washing the clothes. They pleated shoes and wallets (kontti)

of narrow strips of birchbark, and made plates, spoons, pails, tankards and thin pine wood torches, the only illumination in winter evenings, besides the light from the fire. Although the women did the weaving and spinning, the men were the ones to make new nets and repair the old ones.

The only man who worked not for himself only was the smith. He was of great importance in the Finnish community. We are told in detail how the first smith (Ilmarinen) found the iron ore in the footprints of the bear and wolf in the marsh; how he took it home and heated it in the furnace until it was soft, when he hammered it on the anvil. The iron, when it had received its shape, was tempered with a mixture of ashes and lye. Iron was not the only metal known, in fact it really holds a position subordinate to copper, at least if the frequency of mention is to be the norm of their relative importance. In Rune III.1. 205-206, we read that

"From the ore we get the iron,  
In the hills we find the copper."

Some writers argue that the Finns were still in the copper stage of culture when they came to Finland, but that seems disproved.\* To me the predominance of copper over all other metals in the songs, is due to memories of a

\* See pp. 8.

time when copper was the only metal they knew. The Kalevala speaks of gold, silver, and tin as well as of iron and copper. Gold and silver are not found in Finland in any great quantities, indeed there is no silver at all, and very little gold, which is found in northern Lapland. These two metals were therefore either imported or brought from Asia. Charcoal is spoken of twice, therefore it must have been known and was probably used by the smiths.

The smiths were also the manufacturers of ornaments, for Ilmarinen makes his sister golden girles, hair ornaments, rings, and necklaces in return for her information that his rival is proceeding to Pohyola. If the songs are to be believed, the smiths must have been real artists, for the sword of Wainämöinen is represented as being engraved with pictures of the moon and the sun, running and resting horses, and mewing cats. As no such ornamented swords have ever been found, it seems as if the poets had imagined them.

#### DOMESTIC LABORS.

Slavery as an institution cannot have lasted very long with the Finns, for if it had, it is likely that the Finns would not have developed into such an industrious people as they were. Every member of the household was obliged to work. In the summer the work

was mostly out of doors, for both men and women, who both worked in the fields. Besides this work, the women also had the housekeeping allotted as their share. The portion most emphasized is the washing which is mentioned four different times in the narrative. The daughter of rich Pohyola washed and rinsed her clothes on the beach; when Youkahinen offers his sister to Wäinämöinen, he says that she will wash her husband's garments; when Wäinämöinen arrives to the dark and dismal river of Tuoni, he finds the god's daughter, the ferry woman, doing the family washing in the intervals of ferrying the dead across the river; and while Annikki is washing and rinsing the clothes on the bridge near her home, she sees Wäinämöinen going by on his second wooing journey to Pohyola. The washing was chiefly done by beating the wet clothes with flat wooden mallets, rinsing them and then beating them again. This method is still used in the interior.

A primitive kind of soap was known, and used. We are told how Annikki makes soap by gathering wood that came from trees struck down by lightning, and mixing the ashes with sour milk and marrow (fat?) kneading them to a lather. This was primarily made for use in the bath, but was probably also used in washing clothes.

The women gathered birch branches in the early summer for the purpose of storing the bath whisks for the winter months. The same kind of brooms were used to sweep the houses. The Pohyola maiden rose early, washed the tables, swept the floor twice, first with a leafless broom, and then with a "broom of leafy branches", collected the dust in a "dustpan of cepper", and carried it out to the field beyond the farm yard. Youkahainen tells Wainämöinen that his sister will dust his chamber and sweep the floor. The ancient Finns must therefore have been extremely cleanly in all their habits.

Weaving and spinning were known by the Finns very early. Most authorities state that the Finns probably knew only the making of felt, but I think that the Kalevala songs may be believed when they so much speak of both weaving and spinning as the work of the women. The Finns had goddesses of these arts, the Kankahattaret, which word comes from "kangas"-cloth, and they must therefore have been acquainted with them. It is probable that they brought sheep with them to Finland, along with the other common domestic animals. Both sheep shearing and the carding of wool are mentioned in the Kalevala. In Runo XXX mention is made of mittens made of lichens.



The women helped with the threshing as well as with the harvest and the haying, and had besides the grinding of flour and the baking of the bread as their share of the domestic labor. In the advice to the bride we find that this labor usually fell to the lot of the young and strong. The mill was of a very primitive type, two stones that were ground one against the other, or a species of mortar and pestle. Water mills were known, or else the following is of comparatively late date:

"Need is none to work the stone mill,  
 Need to none to work the mortar,  
 Here the wheat is ground by water,  
 And the rye with foaming torrents,  
 And the stream cleans all utensils.  
 Holy lake foam cleanses all things.\*"

The men did not pay any attention to the cattle. The "hostess" sent them out with the herd-boy, and received them again at night. They were put into a pen, and fires were lighted, probably as much to keep away midgets as evil spirits. She also milked her cows with her own hands, and took care of the milk.

The work of the men consisted mainly in the work in the fields, hunting and fishing. During the winter months they did a great deal of carving and net knitting but it is likely that a good deal of their time was spent in sleeping. The Finn has long been

\* Rune XXV.1. 368-374.

famous for his powers in that line. They were, however, far from lazy. We get a picture of a busy household when Lemminkäinen came to visit his brother in arms, Tiera.

"At the window sat the father,  
And a spear shaft he was carving,  
On the threshold of the store house,  
Churned the mother cream to butter;  
At the gate the brothers worked,  
Making runners for their sledges;  
On the bridge-end stood the sisters,  
Beating clothes with wooden mallets."\*

#### UTENSILS.

Many of the utensils mentioned in the Kalevala were not likely to have been used by the Finns until comparatively late. In the following classified list, I have indicated which ones I believe to have been in use by the Finns about the time when they first come in contact with their Swedish conquerors, the utensils that they may have known before that time, and those that have been added since civilization was imposed upon them.

#### Household utensils:

Flour sieve. \*\* Probably in use at the time of the conquest. It is one of the attributes of the goddess of the fog.

Grindstones.\*\*\* Grindstones may already have been used by the aborigines in the making of stone axes. According to Keane, the Finns were acquainted with iron

\* Kalevala XXX.1. 73- 80.  
\*\* " II 1. 116  
\*\*\* " II 1. 116.

before their arrival in Finland and naturally sharpened their utensils on grindstones.\*

Axes; \*\* One of the axes is described as being of copper, the other of iron. They must have been known before the migration into Finland.

Pots; \*\*\*; "The earliest pots were stone ones", and "earthen kettles". There can be no doubt that these were originally Finnish, and are probably a remnant of their very earliest culture.

Carved hatchet handle.\*\*\*\*; It is doubtful whether the Finns had much artistic sense until after their conquest. They did not even make images of their gods, or if they did, these images were all destroyed.

Dustpan of copper. \*\*\*\*\*; This seems as if it could not have been brought from Asia. It is pretty certain that it has come into the poem at a late date. The fact that it is of "copper" does not signify anything.

Comb and shuttle. \*\*\*\*\*; Weaving was not known by the Finns when they left their Asiatic homes, but it is probable that they picked it up, along with their knowledge of agriculture, from the Goths, under the dominion of whom they were for considerable time.\*\*\*\*\*

\* Keane, A. H. Man past and present, pp.335-336.

\*\* Kalevala, II.1.122, IX.1.199.

\*\*\* " III.1.210.XV.1.451.

\*\*\*\* " IV.L.40.

\*\*\*\*\* " VII.1.154.

\*\*\*\*\* " VIII.9-10.

\* \*\*\*\*\* " Page 8.

Barrels.\*; These were probably brought into use when the brewing of beer was introduced by the Swedes.

Rake.\*\*; Rake and harrow both mean "harava" in Finnish. This implement was probably brought into Finland by the Finns, for they must have learned its use from the Goths who taught them agriculture. The Finnish word is very similar to the Swedish "harf", meaning the same thing. It is made of pine stems with the branches left on.

Mallet.\*\*\*; Flat wooden mallets which were used to pound the wet clothes with, when they were being washed. This procedure seems so simple and primitive that the honor of its invention may surely be awarded to the Finns. But if it is true, as has been asserted, that the Finns dressed in skins and felt when they migrated into their present homes, they probably did not feel the need of washing their clothes, and the method would then, after all, have been introduced by the Swedes. I believe, however, that they, at that time, were acquainted with both spinning and weaving.

Hand Mill.\*\*\*\*; No one can object if this implement is classified as one of the few objects that the Finns began to use as soon as they came into contact with peo-

\* Kalevala. XII. 1. 69-70. XX. 1. 433.  
 \*\* " XV. 1. 201, XXI. 1. 349.  
 \*\*\* " XXII. 1. 382.  
 \*\*\*\* " XXIII. 1. 589.

ples that were acquainted with agriculture in any form. It is probable that they brought it with them from Asia, and used it long before they themselves were an agricultural people.

Pitchfork.\*; Not of very ancient origin.

Flail.\*\*; I believe this instrument to be about as ancient as the hand mill, because it was necessary to get the kernels of barley separated from the chaff.

Dishes.\*\*\*; According to an illustration in Niemi's Kalevalan Selityksiä,\*\*\*\* these dishes were peculiarly shaped and had one handle, and were probably originally Finnish.

Knives.\*\*\*\*\*; The knife, called "puukko" in Finnish has always been peculiar to the Finn. It has a short blade and rather thick, often carved handle, and is kept in an ornamented sheath, which hangs on the metal (usually brass) knife belt. The Kalevala speaks of gold and silver knives, and knives inlaid with precious metals. This probably refers to the ornamentation of the sheath. I have never heard of any other people using the same kind of knives, and believe them therefore to be original with the Finns.

\* Kalevala, XXIII. 1.614.

\*\* " " 1.619.

\*\*\* " XXV. 1.391.

\*\*\*\* Niemi, A, R/Kalevalan, Selityksiä, p.84.

\*\*\*\*\* Kalevala, V.1.73, XXV.1.397-398, XXVII.1.178, XXIX.1.217.

Cow Horn.\*; Made of birch bark, probably an original invention with the Finns, even if it has been duplicated elsewhere. Kullerve made a "pipe of cow bone" and a whistle of ox horn, and judging by the surprise of his mistress he accomplished an unusual feat.

Scythes and hoes.\*\*; The Finns probably used hoes of some sort before the coming of the Swedes. Their scythes have a peculiar handle. It is rather long and had four or five crossbars between the blade and the place which is held in the hands.

Tankard.\*\*\*; "Five heaped tankards". They were wooden vessels bound around with hoops of willow twigs, that formed a handle on each side.

Milk pails.\*\*\*\*; These vessels were made much like the tankards, only larger in size. The passage specifies that they were made of juniper wood. I do not see how that could be possible, because the juniper is a bush.

Needle.\*\*\*\*\*. "Tin made needle". This kind of needle was certainly not in use among the Finns. They used fine bone needles with a hole pierced through one end. It is quite possible that the original version of this passage contained a reference to bone needles, but

*	Kalevala	XXXII.	1.117.	XXXIII.	1.153-154.
**	"	XLIII.	1.149-150.		
***	"	XXI.	1.248.	VI.	1.289.
****	"	XXXII.	1.206.		
*****	"	XV.	1.348.		

this was probably changed by some singer who had never seen one.

Beaker and goblet.\*. These are spoken of as being of silver and gold. I doubt very much whether the Finns possessed drinking cups of precious metals, even if they had ornaments of gold and silver.

Tubs.\*\*. It does not seem possible that a nomadic or even semi-nomadic people had any use for "tubs" of any kind. Their property was necessarily easily portable.

Hammer and tongs.\*\*\*; The smiths must have used some kind of tongs and hammer in their work, therefore I believe that the use of these implements was not imported by the Swedes. They are mentioned together with the other implements of the smith.

Bellows and Anvil.\*\*\*\*; No description of any kind is given of the bellows and anvil, but it is clear that they must have been in use.

Plough.\*\*\*\*\*; The plough used by the Finns when they came to Finland, and for centuries after that, was the forked root of a tree.

*	Kalevala IX.	1.78.
**	" IX,	1.18, XX. 1.434.
***	" VII.	337-338.
****	" IX.	1.111-112.
*****	" X.1.	379-II.1.354, III.1.168.

Gimlet and Berer.\*. The Finns must have known the berer at an early period, because the bone needles that they used were pierced.

Whip.\*\*; The whips described are called "bead decked". This expression is explained by Lönnrot as meaning carved.

Harness.\*\*\*; The Finn is still very fond of ornamenting the harness of his horse. In the description of harness in the Kalevala it is represented as being "copper plated", and "tin decked". It is, however, not likely that there was very much ornamentation in the earliest times.

Curry comb, "of walrus bone".\*\*\*\*. The material mentioned seems to fix the location for this passage on the White sea.

Torch.\*\*\*\*\*. Flat, very thin pieces of pine wood, stuck into iron holders, were the only illumination in the peasant cottages until far into the nineteenth century, and are still used by many conservative peasants, together with candles and coal oil lamps.

- \* KalevalaXVI.1.255-256.
- \*\* " III.1. 77,VIII.1.214.
- \*\*\* " III.1. 95,XXI. 1.72-73
- \*\*\*\* " XXI.1.107.
- \*\*\*\*\* " XXI.1.190.



Candles.\*. It is quite possible that the ancient Finns were acquainted with wax, for they knew the appreciated the good qualities of honey. The bee was sacred to the god of the forest.

#### WEAPONS:

Sword.\*\*. The Finns could not have needed swords until they were obliged to become a fighting people. If the sword was not adapted from the Swedes, it was most assuredly taken either from Russia, or from neighboring Germanic peoples. It could not have been of any use in the thick forests.

Crossbow.\*\*\*; The Finns were famous for their crossbows for many years, and the best bows were imported to Sweden from Finland. They must have known bows before their arrival in Finland. These bows were probably made of wood, although Yeukahainen's is described as being of iron, and the string was made of twisted sinews of the moose, or, as the Kalevala states in connection with the bow mentioned above, of "hempen cord".

Arrows.\*\*\*\*. The text states clearly that the arrows had wooden shafts, pine and oak being specified.

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| *    | Kalevala XXI. 1. 204.                             |
| **   | " III. 1. 310, XXXIX 1.65-108-XLIX,<br>1.211,etc. |
| ***  | " III. 312, VI. 1.53-40.                          |
| **** | " III. 1. 314, VI. L. 47.66.                      |

The points were of mica, granite or bone, until metal came into common usage. It is probable that all were used together, for the Finn is highly conservative, and not likely to very speedily abandon old customs. These arrows were blunted when squirrels were shot, to preserve the skin whole, and in war they might be poisoned. When Youkahainen prepared to shoot Wainämöinen, he dipped the arrow points in the "black blood of the adder".

Javelin.\*. The javelins had heavy, rather thick handles, and were not made very long, because they were either thrown, or used in a near fight. For centuries the Finns killed with these javelins all big game that they could not shoot with their bows.

#### TRANSPORTATION:

Sled.\*\*. The Finns still use a very primitive kind of sleighs to carry hay in the summer. They are made of two crooked branches bound together. Probably the ancient Finns covered their sleighs with skins, much in the way that the Lapps do today.

Skiis.\*\*\*. The skiis were made of thin and supple wood, probably pine as at present. They were narrow, and pointed at both ends. In the middle was a narrow

\* Kalevala XIII. 1.34.  
 \*\* " IX. 1.199, XIII.1.31.  
 \*\*\* " III. 91-109.72, etc.

leather strip fastened across the skii, for the purpose of holding the foot. The place where the foot would rest was lined with a strip of skin.

Boats.\*. The Finnish boats were, and are shaped like a peaped, and very narrow. Although oars came early into use, it seems probable that the Finns did not row their boats as the custom is now, but that the earliest method of propelling the boat was by means of short, broad paddles, called "mela".\*\* The mela is now used for the purpose of steering the boat and its wielder is called the "perimies". When it developed into oars, they were fastened to rowlocks made of twisted twigs of willow which is very supple. Mention is made of racing boats. I believe that this refers to the late custom of racing to church in the large "church boats". The Finns had a "goddess of the helm", (Kirby's expression) called Melatar, who was supposed to steer the boat through the rapids. The boats were built of planks; "three planks high the boat was builded",\*\*\*. They had a wooden keel, and were six ribbed.\*\*\*\*. We are told that they were made of oak wood.\*\*\*\*\*. The boat built by Wainämöinen had a rudder, but since the boats at the present time

\* Kalevala, III. 1.376, etc.  
 \*\* " X.L. 486. VII.L. 179.  
 \*\*\* " VII. L.179.  
 \*\*\*\* " XVI. L.62.  
 \*\*\*\*\* " XVI.L.80.

very seldom have them, at least in the interior I believe that the usual "mela" is what is meant. But, supposing a real rudder to be meant and since the material is said to be oak wood, the boat building described must have taken place, either on the southern coast of Finland, where oak may be found, and where boats are built with a rudder, or on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland, that is, in Esthonia. Wäinämöinen's boat had sails\*, but as sails are never used in the interior, where they would be dangerous, and indeed almost useless, this fact favors the supposition that the song comes from southern Finland or from Esthonia. The bottom of the boat was tarred on the outside.\*\*. When not in use, the boats were drawn up on the shore and rested on round logs, from which the bark had been removed.\*\*\* The boats of the entire village were kept on the same shore, and there were extra rollers for the use of strangers.

#### DRESS,

The dress of the women is not described in detail, but from snatches here and there, I find the following. They wore an undergarment with sleeves,

- \* Kalevala, XXIX. l. 30.
- \*\* " XXV.L.44.
- \*\*\* " XVIII.l. 17 & 18, XXIX.l.92.

of white linen, and over that a wide woollen robe, Stockings are often mentioned, the prevailing colors being blue and red. Shoes of birchbark are spoken of side by side with "boots and laces", the latter a species of moccasins, made of soft skins with the hairy side outward, and laced with narrow leather straps. The robe was fastened with a girdle, which might be worked in either cloth or metal, and had great clasps. Copper and tin seem to have been the metals most used, but it is likely that silver was not uncommon. Women wore a good many ornaments, the chief one being a chain across the breast, from shoulder to shoulder. On this chain were carried keys, an amulet or two, and steel and flint for lighting a fire. The women also wore rings, bracelets, and ear rings, and fastened their garments with a large breech. This breech was often of silver, and may occasionally have been of gold. At least one gold buckle is mentioned in the poem. The rich girls wore "beaded necklaces". What these were, is hard to say. They may have been glass beads, brought from Russia, or they may have been made of metal. Possibly some were strung with fresh water pearls. Silver and gold crosses seem to have been common. They are in almost all instances Byzantine crosses and have therefore come from Russia. All women

wore an apron, heavily embroidered at the hem with a peculiar kind of bead, made of twisted wire, or with a broad woven pattern. The color of the women's dresses probably varied, but on special occasions they as well as the men, seem to have dressed in white only.\*. Married women braided their hair, and covered it with a linen kerchief. Young girls wore their hair unbraided. Across the fore part of the head they wore an ornament of tin or copper buckles fastened on a ribbon. They had one accomplishment which is somewhat surprising. When Ilmarinen comes to Pehyola, the "hostess" tells her daughter "see thou that thy cheeks are rosy". One would not think that the Finns knew cosmetics, but this is a clear indication that they did know how to use them.

When Ilmarinen starts for Pehyola for the second time, his dressing is described in great detail. He wears a shirt of finest linen, "well fitting trousers", and the finest stockings that his mother wove as a girl. The blue coat has a liver colored lining, and over all this splendor Ilmarinen puts a fur coat, fastened around the waist with an embroidered belt. Embroidered gloves made by "Lapland's children", cover his fingers. On his head is a high crowned hat, which his father bought when he was a bridegroom. This description

\* Kalevala, XXV.1.662.

might fit any man now, and can not be very old. The match maker at the home coming of the bride and groom appears in a coat "from foreign countries", narrow and close fitting. Its hem sweeps the ground and it is made of the very best materials. He wears an embroidered or woven belt around his waist, and silken stockings. His shoes are "saksan", or German, and on his golden curls he wears a high cap. His beard is long and flowing. This looks very much like the description of a Russian priest.

Neither of these descriptions can be of ancient origin, so it is clear that if a picture of the ancient Finn may be had, it must be gathered from short items appearing at intervals in the poem. Putting together all the scattered details, we get the following picture of the Finn, very incomplete it is true, but the best that may be had from his source. The men wore a white home spun blouse outside of the trousers, secured with a girdle in which was fastened the sheath knife. He wore thick, home spun stockings like those of the women either scarlet or blue. Kullerve's blue stockings are especially emphasized. His shoes were in summer of pleated narrow birch bark strips, or, in winter meccasins made of soft skin. His mittens were of yellow leather. Sometimes the outside blouse may have been red.\*

\* Kalevala XXI.1.415.

The cap was a tightfitting skull cap, and when it was worn awry, this was a sign that its wearer's mind was troubled.\*

#### THE HOUSE.

When the Finns moved into Finland, they were a semi-nomadic people, and as such they had no fixed dwellings. They lived in a species of tent, made of poles covered with skins, or birch bark \*\* during the summer, but their winter houses were partly under ground. Youkahainen tells Wäinämöinen that

"Pine roots were the oldest houses,  
And the earliest pots were stone ones."\*\*\*

Later we are told that

"Seven small poles the house supported." \*\*\*\*

Lemminkäinen, returning from hiding after having slain the Pohyola hest, finds his house in ruins and after a long search he discovers his mother in a small hut concealed in the deep forest between two rocks in a recess of three firs, or in other words within their intertwined roots. In th Atlas de Finlande I find the following account of the homes of the Nordic predecessors of the Finns:

- \* Kalevala X. 1.466, XXIX 1.450 & XLIV.1 72
- \*\* " XXV. 1.216.
- \*\*\* " III.209-210.
- \*\*\*\* " XXIII.1.551-552.



"The nature of the houses may be guessed from ruins that have been found in numerous places: hearth stones and outlines of houses. The hearths are generally constructed of small stones built in a circle measuring about one meter in diameter. The outlines of houses are stone foundations, round or oval, about three by four. In some places a great number have been found, for instance at Jäkärää, in the parish of Rantämaki, near Åbo, where twenty or thirty were found together. The shape of these outlines of stones, or where they were missing, the bed of ashes surrounding the hearth, seems to indicate that the whole structure was somewhat similar to the habitations of the Lapps. The roof was probably of birch bark, or interlaced branches, or perhaps of turf. Some habitations, partly dug into the ground have been found; these seem to have been winter houses. Both are mentioned in the Kalevala. Often the fire places are nothing but pits dug in the earth, without any stones."\*

These tentlike habitations were called "keta", which word slightly changed, survives in the Finnish word for home, "koti". It has also a strange resemblance to the Swedish word which stands for the habitations of the Lapps: Kota. For centuries the keta

\* Atlas de Finlande, Vol.II.pp.32.

survived as a cook house, built in the yard, near the main dwelling, and some specimens of it may still be found in the backwoods. These cook houses are spoken of in the Kalevala; when Lemminkäinen is chasing the magic elk it runs into several cook tents and upsets them, to the great anger of their owners. It would seem as if the Finns, being one of the most conservative peoples in the world, maintained their old homes as kitchens, although they no longer lived in them. The hearth was in the middle of the dwelling. It consisted of two or three stones, between which the fire was kindled. The kettle was suspended over it on a wooden hook and above, at the convergence of the poles, the smoke hole facilitated the escape of the smoke.\*

Tacitus, writing about the Finns, about 100 A.D. says "they were extremely wild and live in abject poverty. They have no arms, no horses, no dwellings. They live on herbs, they clothe themselves in skins, and they sleep on the ground. Their only resources are their arrows, which for lack of iron, are tipped with bone."\*\* Almost everything that Tacitus had written must be taken with a grain of salt, and it certainly seems as if he were mistaken about the Finns. We have

\* Kalevala, III.1.151

\*\* Latham R.G. Native races of the Russian Empire. p.63.

seen that they were acquainted with copper and iron when they moved into Finland, and that they had cattle as well as horses. It is not impossible that the Roman historian never saw a Finn and that the above description was taken from others who professed having seen them. It fits the Lapps much better than the Finns, and perhaps the "Fenni" of Tacitus, were Lapps.

The dwellings of the Samoyeds, who are related to the Finns,\* "consist of a circular hut composed of a frame work of long poles, over which are stretched either birchbark mats or reindeer skins, according to the time of the year. A circular opening at the top affords exit to the smoke from the fire in the centre of the hut."\*\* This mode of hut is then common among the Finno-Vgrian peoples.

When the skin tents were abandoned, the Finns built their houses of rough logs. The spaces between them were stuffed with moss and lichens, and the roof was covered with branches and bark. The hearth was no longer in the middle of the house, but became relegated to a corner, which was completely filled by the great unhewn boulders that made up the immense fire place. There was no chimney, and the smoke hole remain-

\* See Page 5.

\*\* Chester Henrietta, Russia Past and Present p.141

ed in the ceiling.\* It is not probable that there was mere than one room, at least in the beginning, for the Finns do not even now very often build their houses with more than two rooms, one of which is seldom used. The windows consisted of holes in the wall, with sliding wooden shutters. The floor was probably nothing but hard earth, which later became converted into rough planks.

The furnishings of these houses were not elaborate. Benches were built around the walls\*\* and around the long pine wood tables. The place of the kettle, which not in use was by the door.\*\*\* The Song of the Wedding feast mentions some strange ornaments of various kinds of bones, hung on the walls.\*\*\*\* At the present time, the Finns make chandeliers of rushes and hang them in the ceilings of their cottages, and I can see no reason why they should not have done so at the time of the composition of the Kalevala. The great stove was the usual lounging place. In most places where an old man is giving his advice, he does so, resting on the warm hearth. This was also the place for beggars.\*\*\*\*\* The room, called "pirtti", was lighted with smoky pine wood torches, called "perttuja".As their light, under

\* Kalevala XX L.124, XXI.L.289-90.

\*\* " XXI.1.396.

\*\*\* " XXVI.1.391-392.

\*\*\*\* " XXI.1. 159-166.

\*\*\*\*\* " XXIV.1.265.

no circumstances could be very bright, the Finns necessarily went to bed early and rose at dawn.

Every household had a storehouse, in which were kept the clothes of the different members of the family, and anything that they desired to treasure, as well as stores of unground barley and rye, cabbages, turnips, and other food products. The barley was here ground into flour as the latter was needed.

There was also a stable for the horses and cattle. I suspect that these domestic animals at one time lived in a much greater proximity to their masters than they do now, for very old cottages used to be built in two sections. In one lived the human members of the family; in the other their cows and horses.

No family went without a bath house. This was built on the same general lines as the main pirtti, but had only one room. Instead of the benches around the walls, the bathhouse had a kind of broad shelves, at varying height from the floor. They were reached by ricketty stairs, and the bathers sat, or reclined on them while bathing in the hot steam, produced by throwing water on the great heated stove.

## CHAPTER VIII.

When one regards the Kalevala as a whole, it is almost impossible not to think that some of it must surely be, either symbolism or distorted history. As far as history goes, there is no way of telling whether the journey to Pohyola, for the purpose of stealing the Sampo, to take one example, really has any foundation, and therefore it is useless to speculate on this point. But we find many examples of symbolism. The magic elk, chased by Lemminkäinen is made up of the following elements by its creator, the evil god Hiisi:

"Head he formed of rotten timber,  
Horns of forked willow branches,  
Feet of reeds that grow on sea shores,  
Legs of sticks picked from the marshes,  
For the back he took a fence stake,  
For the sinews, long dry grass stalks,  
Eyes he made of water lilies,  
Ears of leaves of water lily,  
Smooth brown hide he made of pine bark,  
And the flesh of rotten timber."\*

Anyone who thoughtfully reads through the lines will see at a glance that the things mentioned are the food of the elk.

The prettiest symbolic fancy of all is found in the materials that make up the kantele. Wäinämöinen is wandering through the country in search

\* Kalevala, XIII.I. 109-118.

of his lost kantele, when he hears a birch tree weeping and lamenting its hard fate. The children draw its sap in the spring while the herdsmen make cups and baskets from its white bark in the summer. The girls cut away its branches for bath whisks, and often, the woodmen cut it down. The life of the birch is not any pleasanter in winter, for the wind tears off its green cloak and leaves it unprotected when the snow comes. "Weep no more", said Wäinämöinen, "new joys are waiting thee, and soon thou shalt sing for pleasure and weep with joy." He constructed the framework of the kantele of the stem of the sorrowing tree. The screws were made of five of the cuckoo's golden tones. Wäinämöinen went in search of strings for his kantele. As he wandered along the heath, he saw a maiden

"On the heath there sat a maiden,  
Sat a girl in the valley,  
And the maiden was not weeping,  
Neither was she very joyful,  
To herself she crooned softly,  
Hoping for her lover's coming."\*

She gave Wäinämöinen five locks of hair, and from them he fashioned the strings of the kantele. It is no wonder that all Finnish folksongs are in a minor key, for there is no unmitigated pleasure in any of the component parts of the symbol.

\* Kalevala, XLIV.1. 207-214.

Sampo, the wonderful mill, which is the price that Ilmarinen pays for his bride, might have a symbolic meaning. It is almost impossible to determine what the Sampo really is. It is called a mill that never ceases to grind flour, salt, and coin. Some authors, like Grimm, suppose that it was borrowed from the Edda, and that it is nothing but a second Grotte. Most critics refuse to commit themselves, some of them going to the length of expressing the opinion that it has a symbolic meaning. An anonymous author in the Helsingfors Morgonblad has expressed the hypothesis that the Sampo was a kind of stringed instrument.\* Lönnrot was first of the opinion that the Sampo was the famous idol of the Byarms, this having been kept near the mouth of the Dvina river. This idol is said to have been called "sam bog", meaning God himself. Castrén believed the Sampo to be, not a real thing, but a symbol, later changing his mind, and saying that it was another name for the great temple of the Byarms, the brightly colored roof of which would be the cover of the Sampo, which is mentioned more often than the thing itself, because this temple was called by a name which sounded like Sampo, meaning "secret well". Later he again changed his opinion, and asserted that the name came from the

\* Krohn, J. Finska Literaturens historia, p.216.



Swedish word "stamp", (meaning the same in English), just as Lönnrot later believed the mill to be a symbol of civilization. It is not impossible that the idea of this marvelous thing was brought in from Russia, because there are Russian folktales in which a wonderful mill plays a prominent part. Professor Fries is of the opinion that the Sampo is a magic drum, such as are still used by the Lapps, and by the shamanistic relatives of the Finns. The different variants of the Kalevala songs give varying descriptions of the thing. In the songs from the government of Archangel some variants call it a mill, while others do not tell what it was, except that it blessed agriculture. In the songs about the rape of the Sampo, these songs call it the country conquered by the Finns. The bright cover would then be the starry sky. When it was taken away from Pohyola, its roots had to be loosened by the use of a plough. Some varieties say that it was a ship, while others make it an expression for the loot that Wäinämöinen and Ilmarinen got when they went to Pohyola. Julius Krohn, from whose work on Finnish literature I have freely quoted the above,\* thinks that there is no doubt that the songs about the Sampo are a reflex of the Scandinavian Grotte songs, and that they

\* Krohn, Julius, *Finska Literaturens historia*, Vol. I, pp. 216-226.

undoubtedly had their origin in the western part of Finland where Swedish influence was first brought to bear. He bases his decision on the fact that the name Sampo and its derivatives are common in western Finland. A few fragments of the songs have also been found there. They could not have originated in Archangel, because the part of Russian Carelia where songs have been found, was uninhabited in the sixteenth century when these songs were found in Savolaks. It is hardly possible that the songs originated in Savolaks (situated in about the middle of the Finnish peninsula), because Swedish influence was not at once effective there.

Later researches have shown that the Sampo songs are not likely to have been influenced by the Edda, because they could hardly have been any place where communication between the two song territories could have been possible. Kaarle Krohn is of the opinion that both the Grotte myth and the similar myth, evolved by the Finns, grew up independently as offshoots of a third legend, now lost, and belonging to the earliest inhabitants of Europe. The story of the recovery of the sun, which the Pohyola "hostess" has stolen, is undoubtedly a variation of the Sampo theme, and is attributed, by K. Krohn, to some Chris-

tian legend, which in Scandinavia became the struggle between the Jotuns and Asgard, and, in Finland, the struggle between the peoples of Kalevala and Pohyola. The same legend has been found in Esthland, where it originated independently as a Germanic-Catholic tradition.\*

There is no question but that Christianity made a deep impression on the minds of the Finns. Although Lönnrot, as far as possible eliminated most elements that might be said to be of recent origin, unmistakable tracings of the teachings of the new religion are closely interwoven with the old beliefs. The conception of Ukko was much modified. In the prayers and incantations he is called omniscient and all powerful, but when he appears in the narrative, his powers are no greater than those of the other gods, and he has no authority over them. Therefore it is clear that the attributes of the god of the Christians were transmitted to the heathen Ukko. The story of Marjatta is toomuch like the New Testament story of the birth of Christ, a little mixed with the story of Moses in the bulrushes, to have arisen independently. It is true that the name Marjatta seems to come from the Finnish word for berry-marja-, but it seems to me

\* Krohn, K. Zur Kalevalafrage, Anzeiger ger Finnisch Ugrischen Forschungen, Band I, Heft 3, pp.303.

that very likely the Finns, according to their custom, mispronounced the name of the Virgin Maria, Marja, and that the likeness of the name to the berry, resulted in the pretty story. In much the same manner the story of the death of Christ may have become the death of the hero, Lemminkäinen. The balsam which brings him back to life comes from Ukko, who, after having been the god of thunder, thus receives the additional power of awakening the dead. "Manalainen's trumpet", which calls the dead to Tuonela, can be nothing but the trumpet of resurrection and the day of judgment. When we read the description of the country of the dead, we are at once struck with the resemblance to the Christian hell, as it used to be, and still is, described by so many preachers. These are but a few of the instances of easily recognizable traces of Christian influence, but they suffice to show the powerful impression which was made on the Finnish mind by the missionaries.

The Finns borrowed, not only from the new religion, which was imposed from them, but also from the songs and the stories of their neighbors. But it seems as if the coming of Christianity fanned their poetic activity into being, and that they did not make use of the loans from other peoples until after

they knew the teachings of Christianity. Perhaps the missionaries recognized the fondness of the people for stories, and introduced their teachings in that form, and that these stories were passed around by word of mouth, and finally were put into the same form as the old magic songs and wedding songs, brought from Asia, giving impulse to more stories, founded on race memories, or perhaps on actual happenings. Whatever the Finns borrowed, they made their own, by instilling their own characteristics into the foreign tales, and by making their heroes truly Finnish. Wäinämöinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemminkäinen could be nothing but Finns. Lemminkäinen resembles the gay and careless Carelian, Ilmarinen the more slow and stolid but persevering and dependable Tavastian, while the wise Wäinämöinen, the one who brought song and music into the prosaic lives of his people, who taught them agriculture, net weaving, and boat building, and who gave them the use of fire, may be said to symbolize all men who have worked for the advancement of the Finnish people. The struggle between the invading Finns and their predecessors, the Gothic aboriginals and the Lapps, became the stories of the rivalry between the peoples of Wäinöla and Pohyola. As the communication between the Finns and neighboring peoples became easier and more common, they took some

of their tales and transplanted them on Finnish soil. The great tree, *Yggdrasil*, known from Scandinavian mythology, changed into the great oak which obscured the sun, and which could not be felled without supernatural help. I have already spoken of the myth of the Grotte, which by some scholars is supposed to have appeared in Finland as the Sampo. Many of the adventures of Lemminkäinen are, according to J. Krohn\*, borrowed from Russian folktales, and may have been picked up on the passage through that country. Examples of supposedly borrowed material may be found all through the *Kalevala*, but it seems unnecessary to try to pick them out, and look for what is "purely Finnish", for the foreign loans are no longer foreign, but so imbued with the Finnish character that they may well be considered Finnish.

And that is where the greatest value of the poem may be found- in its true nationality. The country described is Finland; the flora and fauna of the poem, with one or two exceptions, inhabit Finland to this day. The characters are Finns, and they think and act as Finnish peasants think and act today. Although the culture of the people has changed, the people is the same. The Finns can never be suf-

\* Krohn, *J. Finska Litteraturens historia*, pp. 243-245.

ficiently grateful to their ancestors for having preserved this account of their life and all that pertained to them, for no other people, with the exception of the Greeks, possesses a similar picture of their life during the times before their acts were recorded in history.

THE END.

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