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A bottle of spirits for Saint Peter? Grave goods in Finland during the modern period

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Abstract

Several grave goods have been found from inside churches, churchyards, and cemeteries within Finland, most originating from the 18th and 19th centuries. Written folklore also records the custom of leaving goods for the deceased. The different archives recording Finnish folklore contain almost 600 mentions of leaving grave goods, whereas the archaeological record covers only 39 confirmed cases. The sources used in the chapter do not offer a uniform picture; the grave goods mentioned in the written material do not necessarily come up in archaeological contexts and vice versa. The purpose of this chapter is to find out what kind of grave goods have been given to the deceased and what they may have signified. Some thought is also given to the items that have been placed in the graves but are not considered grave goods. The research methods used in this chapter are historical analogy and object biography.

Key words: grave goods, church burials, folklore, historical analogy, object biography

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is based on my master's thesis for the Department of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki (Ritari-Kallio 2016). In the thesis I examined grave goods mainly from the 18th and 19th centuries within the borders of modern Finland, excluding the Åland Islands, Lapland, and the parts of Karelia ceded to the Soviet Union in the Second World War. I did, however, include Kemi and Tornio, because culturally they resemble Northern Ostrobothnia rather than other parts of Lapland. I researched what sorts of grave goods have been found in the graves of the Lutheran population during this era (the vast majority of Finns were and are Lutheran) and what finds are reported in the folklore data. I also compared the folklore data and the archaeological material and examined what kind of information can be gained in that manner. In this chapter, I expand on these themes and also consider what items have been placed in the coffins apart from grave goods.

Grave goods have been given to the deceased since the Stone Age. The custom was gradually abandoned only when Christianity spread to Finland. Consequently, graves from the 14th to 16th centuries usually contain very few finds. (Paavola 1995: 116; Hiekkanen 2006a: 253; Ritari-Kallio

2016.) Although there may have been some regional variety (see e.g. Jylkkä-Karppinen 2011). But after the 1650s, when the practice of using a coffin became more prevalent, it became habitual again to clothe the deceased and sporadically to place grave goods with them (see e.g. Paavola 1995: 116; Jäkärä 1998: 3, see more on the clothing of the dead in Lipkin's chapter in this volume). Burial customs can be considered to have been established by the end of the 17th century, even though the special circumstances at the end of the century (the Great Famine of 1695–1697) may have affected the burial culture (Laasonen 1967: 70–71; Ruohonen 2005: 35). After the Second World War, the traditional Finnish culture of death can be regarded as having changed fundamentally, along with other customs (Laasonen 1967: 236; Vuorela 1975: 5; Pentikäinen 1990: 204; Talve 1990: 412–415).

The deceased have usually been buried in churches, churchyards, or later cemeteries. There were also so-called shameful burials, where the body was interred outside the confines of consecrated ground. (Ruohonen 2005: 35.) The practice of burying people in churches came to an end at the beginning of the 19th century at the latest (Paavola 1998: 118–119), and cemeteries began to be established from the late 18th to early 19th century onwards. Some of the oldest cemeteries in Finland are the cemetery of Oulu (1781), the cemetery of Vaasa (1783), the cemetery of Tampere (1784), the cemetery of Hamina (before 1799), and the cemetery of Kuopio (1811) (Lempiäinen 1990: 30–31; Gardberg 2003: 64–65). In this chapter, the term churchyard refers to a burial ground situated around a church, whereas a cemetery is an established burial site not connected with a church (for terminology, see e.g. Hiekkanen 2013: 514).

4.2. Materials and methods

I use the term folklore data for the data collected from Finnish folklore archives. Some of this data comes from surveys people have completed and some from stories, memories, and so on that people have sent to the archives or that have been collected from them. The folklore data contains almost six hundred mentions of grave goods. In addition to the folklore data, I have also used archaeological material that has been gained from excavations, investigations, and surveys. Almost three hundred archaeological studies of churches and cemeteries have been carried out in Finland (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 9, 71). I have read all the reports from these investigations, unless the description made clear that no grave goods were found. I discovered only twelve different sites situated in churchyards or cemeteries in Lutheran times with confirmed grave goods, and most of them were archaeological watching briefs or small trial excavations. The data obtained from the archaeological investigations has been affected, for example, by how comprehensive the research was, the location, the methods used, the preservation of material, and prior activities at the site that may have changed or destroyed it, such as using it for new burials. I have found 44 confirmed grave goods from 35 different bodies.

There is a temporal disjunction between the archaeological finds and the folklore data. Most of the grave goods dealing with historical archaeology have been dated within a range of two hundred years, usually to the 17th and 18th centuries. Most of the folklore data, however, has been dated to the second half of the 19th century and consists of second-hand knowledge about old customs. I have collected the folklore data mostly from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS KRA) and surveys conducted by the Finnish Heritage Agency.¹ The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society contain a vast amount of folklore data. I have gone through all the material related to burials and burial customs, unless the description made clear that there was no relation to grave goods. The survey material from the Finnish Heritage Agency that has been used in this chapter has been thoroughly studied. I have also used some material on grave goods outlined in Kaarina

1. The sources I have used from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS KRA) include collections of oral history, the general survey of ecclesiastic folklore (SKS KKA1), and the collections of Samuli and Jenny Paulaharju. The sources from the Finnish Heritage Agency consist of Pirjo Varjola's survey no. 20:59 "Mitä vainajalle mukaan?" ("What is given to accompany the deceased?") (Seurasaari magazine 1973) (approximately 200 answers) and the archives of ethnological manuscripts (MV KTKKA). From the latter I have used both individual material and U. T. Sirelius' survey "Syntymään, lapsuuteen ja kuolemaan liittyvät tavat ja uskomukset" ("Customs and beliefs related to birth, childhood, and death") (1915).

Katiskoski's Master's thesis in European ethnology (1976) and ethnologist Pirjo Varjola's article (1980) based on the archive material from the Institute for the Languages of Finland (SS), the Ethnological Collections of the University of Turku (TYKL), and the folk culture archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS).

My research methods are historical analogy and object biography. Ethnographic analogy has been used in archaeology since the 19th century (see e.g. Kaliff 2007; Jonsson 2009). In Finland it has been especially popular in Stone Age studies. This method does not intend to trivialize the temporal changes between centuries but rather to collect data from different occurrences and use them to obtain a fuller picture. The idea of tradition being continuous as well as dynamic is the basis for cultural research. The custom of giving grave goods to deceased people of Lutheran faith has continued at least sporadically from the 17th century (if not earlier) until the beginning of the 20th century, as evidenced by grave finds and folklore data (Ritari-Kallio 2016). By using analogy, we can therefore find out possible explanations for giving certain grave goods even when the written and archaeological material are not contemporaneous. For example, archaeologist and folklorist Riku Kauhanen has combined archaeological material and folklore data in his article about stones deliberately placed in graves (2015).

In addition to historical analogy, I also use the concept of object biography to study the relationships between humans and objects. Even though object biography is often thought to concentrate on barter economy, other customs can also change the meanings of objects and create biographies for them. Ceremonial rites, such as placing grave goods or objects used to prepare the deceased in the coffin, can be considered such customs. (Gosden and Marshall 1999: 174–175; Joy 2009: 544.)

4.3. What are grave goods?

Certain objects have been considered useful for the deceased in the afterlife. These items include foodstuffs, spirits, tobacco, money, and tools, as well as the teeth, hair, nails, and limbs the deceased has lost during their life. Jewellery that is not used for fastening clothing (e.g. earrings and rings), children's playthings, spectacles, books, and parts of books can also be regarded as grave goods. In my thesis I divided grave goods into three categories: 1) objects used to prepare the deceased for the burial; 2) objects that have been considered useful for the deceased, and 3) other grave goods (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 3–4).

I have since found this division unsatisfactory and have therefore changed it for the purposes of this chapter. I do not think that the objects used for preparing the deceased for the burial can be classified as grave goods. Rather, they are merely things with varying functions that have been placed in the graves. It is also questionable whether the goods need to be divided into useful and not useful. Especially after the meaning behind the custom became less clear to people, all grave goods can perhaps be regarded as somewhat useful for the deceased. Archaeologist Heiki Valk has defined grave goods as objects that are given to the deceased because of some underlying belief. There have generally been three complementary reasons for giving goods to the deceased: 1) The deceased was believed to need certain things in the afterlife. These needs were similar to the needs in life. 2) The living tried to prevent the deceased from returning home, for example to fetch missing things. 3) The living hoped to gain help or blessing from the deceased and tried to prevent them from taking luck and health from the living. (Valk 1995: 148–149; see also Glasberg 1998: 124–125.) The perceived significance of certain rituals can, however, vary from person to person, even when they are participating in the same rite (Koski 2011: 158). Hence, even in a single burial there can be different reasons for including a grave good.

Valk's definitions are good and exhaustive, although they do not include grave goods that were given for reasons other than a clear need. A child's toy may have been given to fulfil a need if it was

feared that the child would otherwise come back to fetch it. But I never encountered this explanation in the folklore data. Rather, the reason for placing a toy in the grave seemed to be comfort or love (SKS KKA 1. Lempäälä 1 115; MV K20/501. Kokkola). The jewellery that was left for the deceased only because it had been there at the hour of death can also be considered similarly unrelated to a clear need. At the same time, the fear felt towards the deceased was far stronger and more concrete in pre-modern Finland than it is nowadays (Koski 2011: 331). The custom of leaving grave goods was certainly affected by this fear. In the end, it can be difficult to determine the definitive reason for placing a certain good in the coffin.

4.4. Grave goods placed in coffins

Apparently, there used to be a custom of giving goods to the deceased when they were buried, since our old gravedigger had found bottles of spirits between the planks of coffins when he was digging new graves at the old cemetery. But he had drunk the spirits himself because the dead had not needed them.²

All the hair, teeth, any accidentally severed fingers, and all such things had to be placed in the coffin if the deceased had kept them. There was a grandmother who was buried without the teeth she had lost, and she constantly appeared to her daughter to ask for them. Only when the teeth were recovered and placed in the grave was the deceased able to rest in peace.³

Throughout Finland, there is evidence of spirits and tobacco, foodstuffs, money, tools, severed limbs of the deceased, playthings, books, spectacles, and jewellery not connected with clothing being placed with the deceased. Other items, such as objects used in preparing the body and the coffin (like combs, soaps, razors, sewing needles or pins, and measuring sticks or shavings from the making of the coffin) may also have been placed in the coffin. Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1 present the confirmed archaeological grave goods and Figure 4.2 shows the amounts of grave goods placed in coffins mentioned in folklore data.

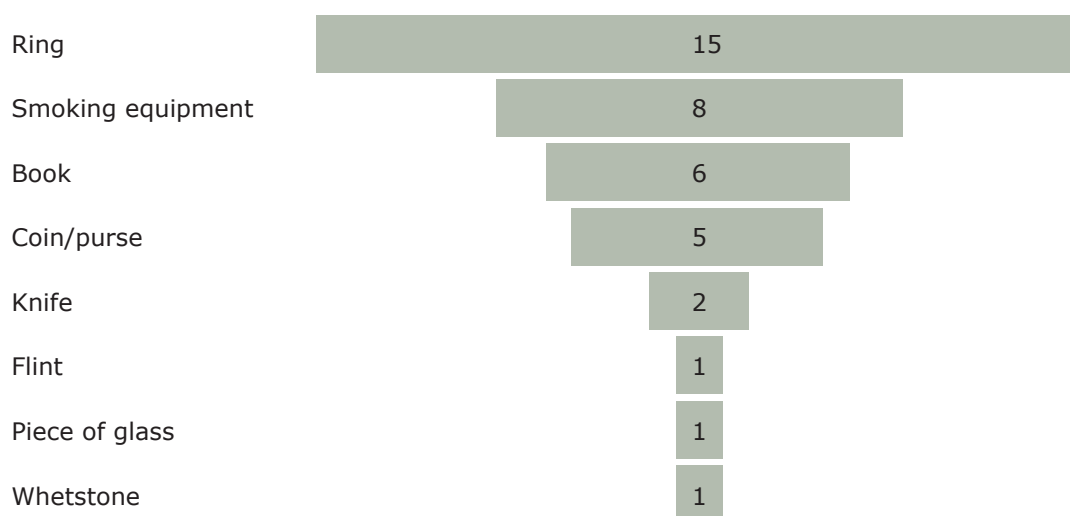


Figure 4.1. Confirmed number of pieces of grave goods in the field of archaeology.

2. SKS KKA. Pöyry, Taavi b)15. 1891. Hirvensalmi. Translation by author. [Lieneepä meillä ennen ollut tapana evästää vainajia hautaan, koska vanha haudan kaivajamme oli löytänyt viina pulloja ruumis kirstun lautojen välistä kuin hän kaivoi uudestaan hautoja vanhaan hautausmaahan. Mutta hän oli pistänyt viinat oman suuhunsa, koska nuo vainajat eivät olleet niitä tarvinneet.]

3. MV KTKKA 631 Ikaalinen, Anna-Kaarina Salava 1931. Translation by author. [Arkkun piti panna kaikki vainajalle kuuluvat hiukset, hampaat, mahdollisesti tapaturmaisesti katkenneet sormet yms. mikäli vainaja oli niitä säilyttänyt. Eräs mummo, joka haudattiin ilman irti lähteneitä hampaitaan kävi yhtenä näitä tyttärelleen vaikuttamassa. Vasta kun hampaat löydettiin ja vietiin hautaan sai vainaja levon.]

Table 4.1. Confirmed Lutheran-era grave goods from archaeological sites. Each row in the table represents items given to one individual.

Place	Grave find	Dating	Year
Askola	Iron knife	17th century	2010
Hailuoto	Ring	17th–18th century	1985–1987
	Piece of glass	Undated	1985–1987
	Coin (1/6 öre)	1700–1756	1985–1987
	Silver coin (1/2 öre), silver coin (2 öre)	1700–1756	1985–1987
	Silver coin (öre)	1700–1756	1985–1987
	Copper coin (öre)	1700–1756	1985–1987
	Coin (1/2 öre)	1700–1756	1985–1987
Helsinki, Senaatintori	Coin (1/6 öre)	1667	2012
	Whetstone	1600–1700	2012
Oulu	Ring (bronze)	1600–1770	2002
	Leather purse	1600–1770	2002
	Ring x 2	1600–1770	1996
	Ring	1600–1770	1996
	Ring	1600–1770	1996
	Pipe	1600–1770	1996
	Pipe	1600–1770	1996
	Clay pipe, tobacco box, knife, tinderbox	Early 18th century	1996
	4 copper coins	1691–1700	1996
Padasjoki	Book	17th–18th century	1924
	Book	Printed 1724	1924
	Book	Undated	1924
Pernaja	Ring (gold)	18th (19th?) century	1938
	Book	Printed 1683	1938
	Book	Printed 1773	1938
	Book	Undated	1938
Pälkäne	Ring	18th (19th?) century	1998
Renko	Ring x 2	1650–1779	1984
	Ring	1650–1779	1984
	Clay pipe, firesteel, flint	19th century	2008
	Coin (penny)	19th century	2008
Turku, Tallimäen kenttä	Coin	1831– c. 1900	2016
	Ring	1831– c. 1900	2016
Turku, Tuomiokirkko	Ring (bronze)	Undated	1976
Vaala, Manamansalo	Flint	16th–17th century	1989
Vehmaa	Ring (silver?)	18th (19th?) century	1995

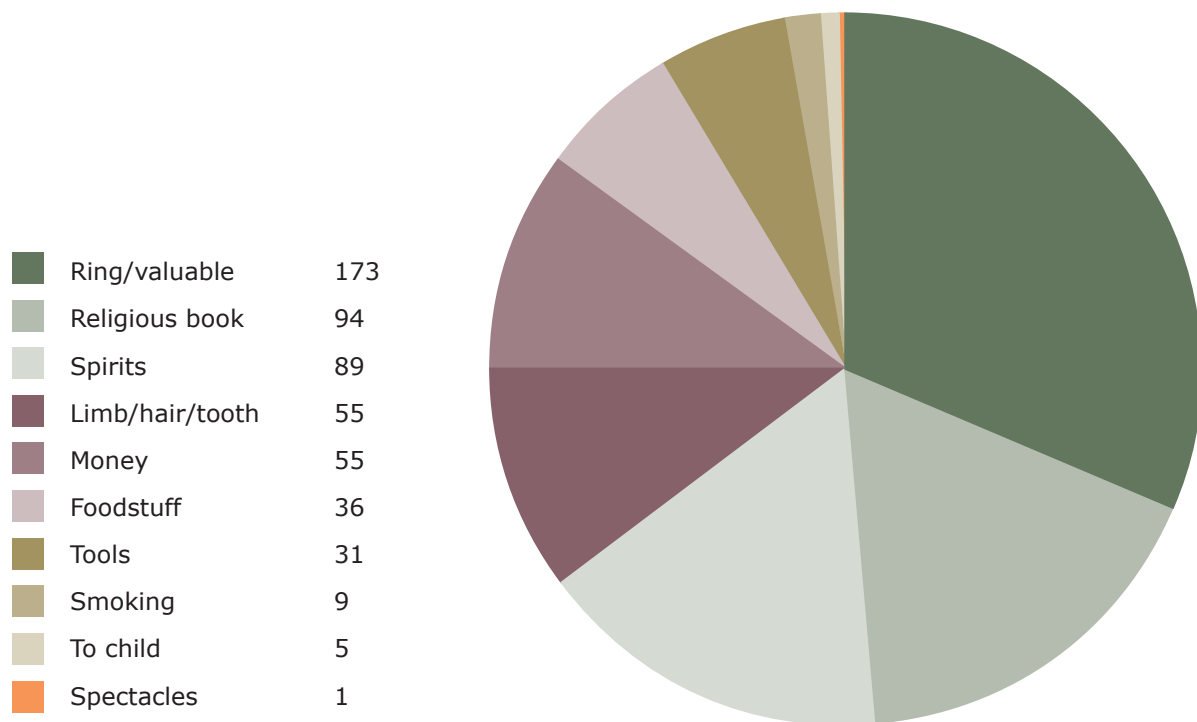


Figure 4.2. Mentions of leaving grave goods in the folklore data.

Spirits, drinking glasses, and glass bottles were expensive and valued, although at least from the 17th century onwards, they were accessible also to the less wealthy (Varjola 1980: 123; Vilkuna 2015: 95–97). Varjola emphasizes that spirits were expensive and therefore giving them to the deceased was a mark of respect. For example, a bottle of spirits has been regarded as a gift to Saint Peter, either given in exchange for opening the door to heaven or as an arrival drink; as a welcome drink or a gift given to previously deceased relatives; or as a drink for the road. (Varjola 1980: 123–124; Ritari-Kallio 2016: 36, see also 76.) The folklore data I have used mentions placing spirits with the deceased in different circumstances 89 times⁴ (Katiskoski 1976: 71; Ritari-Kallio 2016: 35–37). Even though several fragments of bottles have been regarded as possible grave goods and some bottle glass has been found in the graves, none of them can definitely be connected with bodies. Only a piece of glass found during the archaeological investigation of the church of Hailuoto is a confirmed grave find, but it may originate from an hourglass rather than from a goblet, and even a goblet would not necessarily be connected to alcoholic beverages (Paavola 1995: 170).

4. Kallio 1930, 420, Halikko; MV KTKKA 550 F. Leivo, Nousiainen; SKS KRA. Juvas, Maija E 108. 1928. Pyhämaa; SS K. Kaukovalta, Paattinen; TYKL K. Aitamäki, Kisko: MV K20/6. Kiikala; Ollila 1934, 87, Nurmijärvi; Ollila 1932, 90, Sammatti; SLS 203 G. Nikander, 1911, Helsingin pitäjä; SLS 208 H. Kullberg, 1912, Ruotsinpyhtää; SLS 217 G. Nikander, 1912, Sipoo; Rapola 1917. Vesilahti; SS J. Mäkelä, Kankaanpää; SS I. Arho. Lempäälä; SS K. Mäkelä, Orivesi; SS H. Turunen, P-Pirkkala; SS H. Männistö, Ruovesi; SS J. Rakola, Tyrvää; SS H. Hanhijoki, Viljakkala; TYKL M. Viitaniemi, Parkano; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 310. 1952 (r. 1939). Honkajoki; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 311. 1952 (r. 1939). Honkajoki; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 313. 1952 (r. 1939). Honkajoki; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 832. 1940. Kuhmalahti; SKS KRA. Kärki, Frans 6941. 1957. Vesilahti; SKS KRA. Saariluoma, Vilho VIII F. 5V. 3484. Ruovesi; MV KTKKA 631 Salava, Anna-Kaarina. 1931. Ikaalinen; SKS KRA. Lindgrén, Fredrik 206. 1892. Noormarkku; MV K20/886. Kiikoinen; MV K20/425. Orivesi; SS K. Rintala, Alavus; SS V. Luomala, Kaustinen; SS M. Tolkkinen, Muhos; SS H. Ylitälo, Piippola; SS E. Fränttilä, Töysä; SS M. Mustakangas, Vihanti; TYKL 476 P. Pekkanen, Oulu, Oulujoki; TYKL I. Sorola, Reisjärvi; SKS KRA. Oulasmaa, Siiri 3317. 1955. Pyhäjärvi Ol.; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16670. 1932 (r. 1915); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16817. 1932 (r. 1914); SKS KKA 1. Reisjärvi 6 81; SKS KKA 1. Reisjärvi 11 b 124; SKS KKA 1. Saloinen 2 129; MV K20/317. Alavus; Vanhaa Hauhoa 1934, 281; Helminen 1949, 584, Längelmäveden seutu; Vihervaara 1910, 320, Somerniemi, Tammela; Jutikkala 1934, 508, Sääksmäki; MV KTKKA 564 A. Reponen, Konginkangas, Viitasaari, Sumiainen; MV KTKKA 553 V. Nieminen, Jämsä; SS T. Pietilä, Asikkala; SS M. Juvas, Konginkangas; SS M. Juvas, Konginkangas; SS E. Ahvanainen, Pertunmaa; SS A. Salonen, Pagasjoki; SS L. Koivuniemi, Sääksmäki; SS L. Koivusaari, Sääksmäki; TYKL 334 P. Laakso, Tammela; SKS KRA. Heino, Arvo 1832. 1937. Hartola; Similä 1938, 79, Somerniemi; SKS KRA. Karila, Tytti KT 252:1. 1949. Hauho; SKS KRA. Nieminen, Kalle E 184:261. 1949. Jämsä; SKS KRA. Hankala, Helena 130. Kuhmo; MV KTKKA 618. Similä, Sirkka. Asikkala. 1934; MV K20/108. Korpilahti; MV K20/119. Kuru; SKS KRA. Alopaeus, Aulis KRK 235:1281. 1935. Suomussalmi; SKS KRA 17018 J. S. Paulaharju, Kajaani; SS V. Tolonen, Puolanka; MV KTKKA 627. Mikkonen, Adam. Kajaanin mlk. 1916 & 1917; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16827. 1932 (r. 1915); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17018. 1932 (r. 1915). Kajaani; MV K20/44. Kuhmo; SS U. Kivinen, Kuusaja; MV KTKKA 552 I. Manninen, Liperi; SS V. Sonni, Parikkala; SKS KRA. Manninen, Ilmari 1527. 1977 (r. 1916) Liperi. 1527; SKS KKA 1. Polvijärvi 3 42; MV K20/85. Kontiolahti; SS H. Maaniemi, Enonkoski; SS I. Pellinen, Ruokolahti; SS K. Tuulio, Sonkajärvi; TYKL E. Styrman, Peilavesi; SKS KRA. Oksman, Juho 1394. 1937. Karttula; SKS KKA 1. Kiuruvesi 1 43. XII 1; SKS KKA 1. Rantasalmi 8 140; MV K20/654. Kiuruvesi; MV K20/86. Suonenjoki.

Smoking clay pipes spread from mainland Sweden to Finland at the beginning of the 17th century. The most common material for pipes was originally clay, but towards the end of the 18th century, there was a gradual change to more durable faïence, meerschaum, and wooden pipes. (Mellanen 1994: 258–259, 262.) However, smoking equipment is rarely mentioned in the folklore data; there are only nine instances⁵ (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 39). But there have been eight archaeological finds of smoking equipment from at least four different bodies: according to osteological analysis, three male and one female. Two of the deceased had only pipes, one had a pipe and a tinderbox, and the fourth had a pipe, a tinderbox, and a tobacco pouch (Fig. 4.3). (Kehusmaa 1996; Salo 2008; Lipkin and Kuokkanen 2014: 45.)



Figure 4.3. Decorated clay pipe from the early 19th century from grave 15 at the church of Renko. (Photograph: K. Salo 2008: 51, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

Foodstuffs are mentioned in the folklore data 36 times.⁶ Most commonly they consist of bread, although cheese, grain, and meat are mentioned a few times (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 41–42). Varjola presumes that the custom had the same double function as all grave goods: on one hand to ensure the welfare of the deceased and on the other to protect the property of those left behind, so that the deceased would not take it with them to the afterlife (Varjola 1980: 122). There are no archaeologically proven instances of food given as a grave good. The closest are the bone of a roach found in Porvoo in the coffinless grave of a foetus of about 26 weeks (Salo 2007) and different pieces of dishes from several separate cemetery and church excavations, although the latter finds cannot be connected to burials or grave goods. There is, however, no evidence from the Lutheran area of memorial meals, which the Russian Orthodox population often arranged by the graveside (Salo 2008: 144).

5. SKS KRA. Alopaeus, Aulis KRK 235:1281. 1935. Suomussalmi; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16885. 1932 (r. 1917). Pudasjärvi; MV K20/19. Vilppula (box, matches); MV K20/360. Rääkkylä; MV K20/905. Kontiolahti; MV K20/391. Tohmajärvi; MV K20/97. Ylivieska; Vihervaaara 1910, 320, Tammela; MV K20/456. Pielavesi.

6. Kallio 1930, 420, Halikko; MV KTKKA 564 A. Reponen, Konginkangas, Viitasaari, Sumiainen; SS A. Peltola, Orimattila; SS A. Kirjavainen, Loppi; SKS KRA. Heino, Arvo 1832. 1937. Hartola; SKS KRA. Vuorinen, Eino KT 60:173. 1938. Kuhmoinen; SKS KKA 1. Sysmä 5– 6 254; SKS KKA 1. Padasjoki 14 b–15 235; MV K20/112. Hartola; MV K20/777. Jämsä; MV K20/671. Hartola; MV K20/476. Hauho; MV K20/108. Korpilahti; SKS KRA. Alopaeus, Aulis KRK 235:1281. 1935. Suomussalmi; MV KTKKA 552 I. Manninen, Liperi; SKS KRK. Kokkonen, H. III B. 11.1:168. 1911. Juuka; SKS KRA. Manninen, Ilmari 1527. 1977 (r. 1916) Liperi. 1527; SKS KRA. Hiiri, Hilka KT 378:45. 1962. Ylämaa; MV K20/78. Ilomantsi; SS A. Murto, Lappee; SKS KRA. Korhonen, Pertti 324. 1937. Muuruvesi; MV K20/114. Mäntyharju; MV K20/769. Hirvensalmi; MV K20/456. Pielavesi; Helminen 1949, 584, Längelmäveden seutu; SKS KRA. Isohanni, Eino 373. 1954. Veteli; MV K20/501. Kokkola; MV KTKKA 549 E. Juusela, Lempäälä; SS H. Männistö, Ruovesi; TYKL F. Nummi, Eurajoki; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 313. 1952 (r. 1939). Honkajoki; MV KTKKA 631 Salava, Anna-Kaarina. 1931. Ikaalinen.; MV K20/886. Kiikoinen; MV K20/420. Luopioinen; MV K20/425. Orivesi; Ollila 1934, 87, Nurmijärvi.

More than 13 500 coins have been found in the churches in Finland (Ehrnsten 2015: 142). However, only relatively few coin finds can be considered confirmed grave goods because it is often difficult to establish their connection to a burial. In Eastern Finland, the Russian Orthodox habit of placing a coin in the bottom of the grave to redeem the land from any previously buried deceased has influenced the custom. In Western Finland, money has been first and foremost a personal effect of the deceased, which was, according to the folklore data, meant to be used as money for the journey (MV K20/114. Mäntyharju), as payment upon entry to Saint Peter (SKS KRA. Harju, Otto 3028. 1946 Rautalampi) (it has also been compared with Charon's obol, see e.g. Hagberg 1937: 215), or as money given to redeem the land, as in the east (MV K20/449. Ikaalinen; SS Tolkkinen, M. Muhos). The money placed in the grave may also have been a symbolic share of the family's wealth given to the deceased (SKS KRA. Ylimäki, Seidi 1170. 1965. Töysä; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17008. 1932 recorded in 1921. Pello; MV KTKKA 618. Similä, Sirkka. 1934. Asikkala). Especially in more recent times, money may have been placed with the deceased only because of the old custom and the tradition behind the ritual has been forgotten (Varjola 1980: 121). Some mentions in the folklore data also support the possibility that occasionally coins have been placed on the eyes only to serve as weights, so that the eyes of the deceased stayed closed (SKS KRA. Juvas, Maija E 108. 1928. Pyhämaa; SKS KRA. Koponen, Anna KT 315:3. 1962. Pielisjärvi; Mattila 1960: 658). The folklore data mentions giving money to the deceased 55 times.⁷ Instead of loose coins, a coin purse may also have been placed in the grave as in Oulu (Sarkkinen and Kehusmaa 2002: 43). Oral history records that coin purses have been found in the sand at the cemetery of Pihtipudas (SKS KRA. Krohn, Kaarle 120. 1884. Pihtipudas). Coins may also have been left on top of the coffin, in which case the connection with the deceased is difficult to establish. At least ten deceased individuals were given coins (Fig. 4.4) (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 46–47). It is difficult to give clear statistics on coin finds, because even if a coin is found in or near a grave, it might not be a grave good. For example, the Hailuoto church graves have lots of coin finds, but only twelve of them (3%) are somehow connected to the graves. Out of these finds, I have only considered six coins (from five different burials) to be confirmed grave goods. They consist of coins that had been placed directly on the lids of the coffins or on the level of the deceased. The coins found underneath the coffins might have ended up there by accident or for other reasons. (Paavola 1995: 168, 186–187, 194; Ritari-Kallio 2016: 46; see also Lipkin's chapter in this volume.)



Figure 4.4. Coin from the excavations of Helsinki, Senaatintori 2012. It was found next to the head of the deceased on top of a piece of fabric. (Photograph: H. Hämäläinen 2012, Helsingin kaupunginmuseo.)

7. SKS KRA. Juvas, Maija E 108. 1928. Pyhämaa; Ollila 1932, 90, Sammatti; MV K20/353. Helsinki + ymp; SS T. Ulvas, Kankaanpää; SS A. Järvinen, Keuruu; SS I. Arho, Lempäälä; SS H. Turunen, P-Pirkkala; TYKL M. Viitanieniemi, Parkano; MV KTKKA 631 Salava, Anna-Kaarina. 1931. Ikaalinen; SKS KRA. Lindgrén, Fredrik 131. 1892. Noormarkku; MV K20/449. Ikaalinen; SS V. Kolehmainen, Karttula; SS B. Takinen, Nilsä; SS I. Pellinen, Ruokolahti; SS K. Tuulio, Sonkajärvi; SKS KKA 1. Rantasalmi 8 140; Waronen 1898: 69. Pohjois-Savo; MV K20/114. Mäntyharju; MV K20/769. Hirvensalmi; SKS KA 17008 J. S. Paulaharju, Ylihärmä; SKS KRA. Lassila, Hilma KRK 211: 91. 1935. Kalajoki; SLS 524 E. Lund, 1931, Ylimarkku; SS K. Rintala, Alavus; SS J. Sorvari, Kalajoki; SS E. Kantokoski, Kuortane; TYKL V. Lindgren, Halsua; TYKL H. Karppinen, Piippola; TYKL A. Alkula, Soini; SKS KRA. Oulasmaa, Siiri 5029. 1960. Pyhäjärvi Ol.; SKS KRA. Tuohinto, Hanna KT 334:30. 1963. Pattijoki (Kalajoki); SKS KRA. Ylimäki, Seidi 1170. 1965. Töysä; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16817. 1932 (r. 1914); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16998. 1932 (r. 1929). Ylihärmä; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17000. 1932 (r. 1928). Perho; Paulaharju 1993: 107. Hailuoto; MV K20/701. Alajärvi; MV K20/216. Piippola; SS A. Peltola, Orimattila; Similä 1938, 79, Somerniemi; Helminen 1949, 584, Längelmäveden seutu; SKS KRA. Nieminen, Kalle E 184:261. 1949. Jämsä; SKS KRA. Harju, Otto 3082. 1946. Rautalampi; MV K20/219. Jyväskylä mlk.; Similä 1939, 180, Asikkala; Helminen 1963, 173, Jämsä; Vihervaara 1910, 320, Kärkölä; KM KTKKA 564 A. Reponen, Konginkangas, Viitasaari, Sumiainen; SKS KRA. Koponen, Anna KT 315:3. 1962. Pielisjärvi; SKS KRA. Hiiri, Hilikka KT 378:45. 1962. Ylämaa; SKS KKA 1. Polvijärvi 3 42; SS V. Tolonen, Puolanka; SS S. Hahl, Vuolijoki; SKS KRA. Alopaeus, Aulis KRK 235:1281. 1935. Suomussalmi; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16883. 1932 (r. 1917). Pudasjärvi; MV K20/44. Kuhmo.

Tools have been mentioned as grave goods 31 times in folklore data.⁸ Men are usually given working tools and women sewing equipment, reflecting the gender roles in life. In archaeological material, one deceased has been found with a knife (Fig. 4.5), one an iron knife (Fig. 4.6), and one a whetstone (Heikkinen 2005; Köngäs 2010: 18; Lipkin and Kuokkanen 2014: 45; Ritari-Kallio 2016: 49–50). Flint has been found, for example, in the excavation of the Hailuoto church (11 finds). The triangular flint pieces used to ignite fire would have been difficult to drop between the floorboards of the church, so it is unlikely that they were there by accident. However, any connection to the graves cannot be established. Flint as a grave good need not be connected to smoking, since it can also be considered as a tool. For example, in the churchyard of Manamansalo in Vaala, a flint piece was found in connection with the deceased, although smoking was not prevalent at the time of the burial. (Suominen 1990: 9; Paavola 1995: 175.)



Figure 4.5. A knife from grave 10 at the cathedral of Oulu. The knife was found on the right side of the deceased below the waist. The burial is dated to the early 18th century. (Photograph: S. Lipkin.)



Figure 4.6. An iron knife from grave 1 (KM 2010037:11) at the old cemetery of Monninkylä, Askola. (Photograph: U. Köngäs 2010, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

8. MV KTKKA 550 F. Leivo, Nousiainen; MV K20/468. Raisio; SKS KRK. Saariluoma, Vilho VIII F. 5V. 3484. Ruovesi; SS H. Vuoriniemi, Keuruu; TYKL E. Hukila, Ikaalinen; MV KTKKA 631 Salava, Anna-Kaarina. 1931. Ikaalinen.; MV K20/449. Ikaalinen; SKS KRA. Alopaeus, Aulis KRK 235:1281. 1935. Suomussalmi; SKS KRA 16826 J. S. Paulaharju, Vuolijoki; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17013. 1932 (r. 1916). Puolanka; SKS KRA. Kokkonen, H. III B. 11.1:168. 1911. Juuka; SKS KRA. Krohn, Kaarle 10040; MV K20/360. Rääkkylä; SS I. Pellinen, Ruokolahti; SS K. Tuulio, Sonkajärvi; SKS KRA. Korhonen, Pertti 324. 1937. Muuruvesi; MV K20/638. Kangasniemi; MV K20/380. Säyneinen; MV K20/883. Varkaus; MV K20/437. Varpaisjärvi; Halila 1931, 837, Iitti; MV KTKKA 553 V. Nieminen, Jämsä; SS M. Juvas, Konginkangas; Vihervaara 1910, 320, Somerniemi; SKS KRA. Nurmio, Matti 766. Jyväskylä; MV K20/205. Huittinen; SLS 208 H. Kullberg, 1912, Ruotsinpyhtää; SS M. Tolkkinen, Muhos; SS H. Ylitalo, Piippola; MV K20/666. Alavus; MV K20/892. Vimpeli.

Hair, teeth, nails, and other body parts that the deceased had lost in life may have been placed in the coffin with them. “If someone lost their hair during illness or had lost a finger or a limb, it was kept safe, and when they died it was placed in the coffin, so that everything that was theirs was there”⁹.

The reason behind the custom may have been a desire to make sure that all the parts of the body were in the same place at the moment of resurrection (SS Mustakangas, M. Vihanti) or that all the parts ended up in consecrated ground (SKS KRA. Juvas, Maija E 108. 1928. Pyhämaa). There are stories where the deceased came to ask the living where their missing parts were (for example Jauhiainen 1999: C434, C 435, C 1631, C 1641). There is also folklore data about the traditional belief that the devil could make a ship or a ferry from nails clipped on Sundays and use it to carry the person who had clipped their nails across the water, possibly to hell (Krohn 1912: 52–53). The folklore data mentions parts of the body placed with the deceased 55 times.¹⁰ Usually this means the hair that a female deceased had gathered from her hairbrush. The hair was sometimes used to stuff a pillow that was then placed under the body's head in the coffin. More information could be gained by the study of the pillows of the naturally mummified bodies from church burials in Northern Ostrobothnia. Pillows found at the excavation of the Köyliö church were filled with plant material, which proves that these sorts of finds are possible. There are also mentions of severed limbs being buried with the deceased. (Helamaa 2016: 24; Ritari-Kallio 2016: 51–52.) An amputated bottom part of a left femur was found in grave 6B of the cholera cemetery in Kakolanrinne in Turku. The limb either comes from the coffin above this grave or it has been placed in the grave separately. In the same cemetery, a body was found in grave 8 with the left leg amputated from the shin, but the foot was not found in the coffin. However, the graves are most likely connected with the Russian garrison and military hospital and are therefore not related with Lutheran tradition, although there are also Lutheran burials in the area (the cholera cemetery of Tallimäen kenttä). (Hukantaival 2012:12; Helamaa and Uotila 2016; Hukantaival et al. 2019.)

As for playthings, even defining them may be challenging. An object found in the grave of a child can, however, be more easily identified as a toy than, for example, a miniature object found in the grave of an adult. Still, the definition may depend on our own conceptions. (See Ritari-Kallio 2016: 56.) A toy may have been placed in the grave because it was thought to be needed by the child in the afterlife or to comfort the adult and to relieve their sorrow. Toys are, however, often made of organic matter, and thus they decompose easily. There is no confirmed archaeological evidence of a plaything given as a grave good, although the rear legs of a wooden horse found at the Lohja church and a tin soldier found at the Nousiainen church have been suspected to be grave goods (Tapio 1966–1967; Tapio and Knapas 1967–1968). The folklore data only records five mentions of the custom.¹¹ In four cases, the item placed with a child was a toy or a doll, and in one case, a trinket. (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 54.) Artificial flowers and decorative sticks have been documented particularly in child burials in Northern Ostrobothnian church graves (see e.g. Paavola 1995: 151–155).

9. SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16448. 1932 (r. 1916 or 1917). Oulu region. Translation by author. [Sairastaessa jos tuli tukka otetuksi pois, taikka jos oli joskus sormensa menettänyt taikka muun jäsenen, niin se pantiin talteen ja sitten kuoltua arkkkuun, jotta niin on kaikki hänen omansa siellä.]

10. MV KTKKA 554 V. Saariluoma, Muurla; SKS KRA. Juvas, Maija E 108. Pyhämaa; SS R. Salo, Raisio; SS K. Valo, Uusikirkko TI (Kalanti); MV K20/470. Kemiö; SS E. Junkkari, Paltamo; SS L. Tegelborg, Vuolijoki; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16826. 1932 (r. 1915). Vuolijoki; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16831. 1932 (r. 1915). Vuolijoki; SS H. Salmela, Kemi; SS E. Takala, Kitee; SS W. Karhumäki, Multia; SS A. Aaltonen, Lappi TI.; SS I. Arho, Lempäälä; SS J. Rakola, Tyrvää; SS A. Halonen, Kerimäki; SS A. Wäätänen, Juva; SS V. Tynkkynen, Sääminki; MV K20/519. Kiuruvesi; MV K20/570. Sääminki; SKS KA 17001 J. S. Paulaharju, Perho; SS A. Karsikas, Haapavesi; SS H. Salo, Kaustinen; SS M. Tolkkinen, Muhos; SS S. Korkiakoski, Seinäjoki; SS H. Rapakko, Saloinen; SS A. Haapala, Veteli; SS M. Mustakangas, Vihanti; SKS KRA. Oulasmaa, Siiri 5031. 1960. Pyhäjärvi OI; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16312. 1932 (r. 1915) parta; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16448. 1932 (r. 1916 or 1917). Oulu region; SKS KRA. Oulasmaa, Siiri 3318. 1955. Pyhäjärvi OI; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16669. 1932 (r. 1915); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16940. 1932 (r. 1928). Perho; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17001. 1932 (r. 1928). Perho; SS A. Oikari, Ähtäri; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 427. 1952 (r. 1939). Sahalahti; MV KTKKA 631 Salava, Anna-Kaarina. 1931. Ikaalinen; MV K20/508. Karvia; MV K20/643. Kiukainen; MV K20/420. Luopioinen; MV K20/847. Teisko; Helminen 1949, 584, Längelmäveden seutu; SS H. Nyqvist, Asikkala; SS J. Walkeajärvi, Koskenpää; SS P. Tuomenoja, Nastola; SS A. Peltola, Orimattila; Similä 1938, 78, Somerniemi; SKS KRA. Heino, Arvo 1832. 1937. Hartola.; SKS KRA. Nieminen, Kalle E 184: 261. 1949. Jämsä; SKS KRA. Tuovila, Kerttu 196–197. 1970 (r. 1969). Orivesi; SKS KKA 1. Pihtipudas 13 121; Vanhaa Hauhoa 1934, 281; MV KTKKA 564 A. Reponen, Konginkangas, Viitasari, Sumiainen; Helminen 1963, 171, Jämsä.

11. SKS KKA 1. Lempäälä 1 114, 115; SKS KKA 1. Luvia 1 3; SKS KRA. Oulasmaa, Siiri 5030. 1960. Pyhäjärvi OI.; MV K20/501. Kokkola; MV K20/374. Polvijärvi (v. 1927).

There has been specific research on books and parts of them that have been found in churches. Archaeologist Janne Harjula (2015) has examined the archaeological finds of books and book parts at Finnish churches. Out of thirty churches in Finland, excluding the Åland Islands, at least 561 pieces of books have been found, 27 of them in graves (Harjula 2015: 165). However, the finds from graves cannot be connected to bodies, except for the book finds from Padasjoki (Fig. 4.7) and Pernaja, because the items may have ended up in the graves later due to construction works or the burial might have been a built grave, so an item found in a grave has not necessarily been in a coffin. (Kronqvist 1931; Paavola 1995: 176; Harjula 2015: 163–165.) The folklore data mentions the custom of placing a book (usually a hymnal or the Bible) or a part of it in the coffin 94 times¹² (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 56–58). “In ancient times they used to put a half-pint bottle of spirits in the coffin, and sheets from a hymnal, and sometimes the whole hymnal”¹³. Harjula claims, based on the folklore data and other researchers, that a book containing the Word of God was considered an object that banished evil, and thus it may have prevented the dead from haunting the living (Hagberg 1937: 208; Varjola 1980: 120; Koski 2011: 236; Harjula 2015: 173). Alternatively, it may have been regarded as a sort of Christian ticket to cross the border to the afterlife (Valk 1995: 148; Harjula 2015: 173). There have been some attempts to explain the large number of book part finds. They may have been sacrifices (Hiekkanen 1988: 65) or *pars pro toto* replacements for whole books (Riska 1990: 219). A book may also have had the practical function of keeping the body's lower jaw closed when laid on the chest and propped against the chin (SKS KRA. Juvas, Maija E 108. 1928. Pyhämaa; MV K20/241. Kalajoki; MV K20/774. Hausjärvi; MV K20/501. Kokkola; MV K20/696. Närpiö; MV K20/19. Vilppula; MV K20/166. Vöyri).

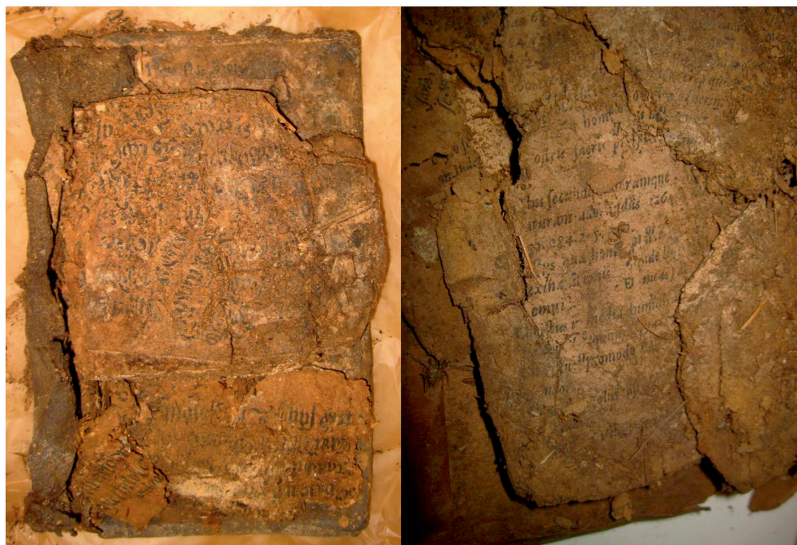


Figure 4.7. Book in Swedish (NM Hist. 8287:28) next to coffin number 3 and, on the right, a book in Latin (NM Hist. 8287:29) from a coffin at the Padasjoki church. (Photographs: J. Harjula, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

12. MV K20/887. (Hämeenlinna) Turku; SS H. Salmela, Kemi; Ollila 1932, 90, Sammatti; SLS 217 G. Nikander, 1912, Sipoo; MV K20/417. Ruotsinpyhtää; MV K20/40. Ruotsinpyhtää; MV K20/837. Sipoo; MV K20/629. Siuntio; SS J. Hopeakoski, Sulkava; TYKL A. Mykrä, Iisalmi; TYKL E. Oinonen, Jäppilä; TYKL E. Styrman, Pielavesi; SKS KRA. Suomen Nuoris-Opiisto E 154. 1939. Mikkelin mlk.; SKS KRA. Styrman, Eino KT 455:30. 1971. Kiuruvesi; SKS KKA 1. Kangasniemi 2 12. XII 1; MV K20/445. Kangasniemi; MV K20/226. Mikkelin mlk.; SS V. Rouhiainen, Värtsilä; TYKL S. Riikonen, Kontiolahti; TYKL E. Karjalainen, Nurmes mlk.; TYKL P. Heikkinen, Rautavaara; SKS KRA. Hirvonen, Iida KRK 156: 208. 1935. Rääkkylä; SKS KRA. Utraiainen, Ida KT 162:108. 1938. Juuka; MV K20/399. Ilomantsi; MV K20/85. Kontiolahti; MV K20/169. Kitee; SKS KRA 17014 J. S. Paulaharju, Suomussalmi; SKS KRA. Railonsalo, Artturi 6535. 1957. Vuolijoki; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17014. 1932 (r. 1915). Suomussalmi; MV KTKKA 627. Mikkonen, Adam. Kajaanin mlk. 1916 & 1917; SS P. Tapio, Hämeenkyrö; TYKL F. Nummi, Eurajoki; TYKL E. Raittila, Honkajoki; TYKL B. Koskinen, Lempäälä; TYKL M. Viitaniemi, Parkano; TYKL J. Ristinen, Virrat; SKS KKA 1. Kuorevesi 1 b 187. XII 1; SKS KKA 1. Lempäälä 1 114, 115; SKS KRA. Lindgrén, Fredrik 206. 1892. Noormarkku; MV KTKKA 887. Enne, Taavi. Suur-Ikaalinen. 1914; MV K20/449. Ikaalinen; MV K20/508. Karvia; MV K20/618. Merikarvia; MV K20/425. Orivesi; MV K20/525. Parkano; MV K20/724. Suoniemi; MV K20/537. Virrat; Alanen 1947, 80, Vaasa; SKS KRA 17005 J. S. Paulaharju, Raahe; TYKL A. Hanhisalo, Alajärvi; TYKL T. Holma, Haukipudas; TYKL T. Sillanpää, Kurikka; TYKL E. Rintala, Laihia; TYKL E. Linna, Rantsila; SKS KRA. Inkinen, Kaisa KJ 3: 1158. 1957. Pyhäjärvi VI.; SKS KRA. Aalto, Tuija KT 513:20. 1981. Ähtäri; SKS KRA Paulaharju, Samuli 16998. 1932 (r. 1929). Ylihärmä; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 17005. 1932 (r. 1923). Raahe; SKS KKA 1. Pyhäjärvi OI. 12 89; MV K20/701. Alajärvi; MV K20/443. Ilmajoki; MV K20/241. Kalajoki; MV K20/501. Kokkola; MV K20/124. Nivala; MV K20/749. Mustasaari; MV K20/696. Närpiö; MV K20/864. Närpiö; MV K20/166. Vöyri; SKS KRA. Karila, Tytti KT 252:1. 1949. Hauho.; SS T. Pietilä, Asikkala; SS A. Kanninen, Rautalampi; TYKL J. Maunula, Asikkala; TYKL M. Vekki, Hankasalmi; TYKL A. Rautiainen, Karstula; TYKL V. Pälämä, Kuhmoinen; TYKL V. Pälämä, Kuhmoinen; TYKL T. Kilpi, Padasjoki; TYKL M. Haippo, Tammela; SKS KRA. Karila, Tytti KT 252:1. 1949. Hauho; SKS KRA. Tenni, Saima KT 423. 1968. Hartola; SKS KRA. Rautiainen, Albert 4072. 1961. Karstula; SKS KRA. Salo, Aulikki KT 373:40. 1966. Hollola; SKS KRA. Tiainen, Kyllikki 759. 1964. Sysmä; SKS KRA. Tiainen, Kyllikki 4135. 1971. Sysmä; Helminen 1963, 171, Jämsä; Vihervaara 1910, 320, Kärkölä; SKS KRA. Salo, Aulikki KT 373:40. 1966. Hollola; SKS KRA. Rautiainen, Albert 4072. 1961. Karstula; MV K20/774. Hausjärvi; MV K20/140. Hollola; MV K20/278. Luhanka; MV K20/159. Nastola; MV K20/410. Sysmä; MV K20/361. Vesanto.

13. MV KTKKA 627. Mikkonen, Adam. Kajaanin mlk. 1917.

Spectacles are an interesting find in the sense that they, like tobacco, are widely regarded in archaeological research to be possible grave goods, although the evidence is scant (Varjola 1980: 120; Hiekkänen 1988: 75; Paavola 1995: 182–183). Archaeologists consider spectacles to have been so needful and personal for their owner that they were placed with the deceased, even though their optical properties might have been suitable for someone else (Varjola 1980: 120; Hiekkänen 1988: 75; Paavola 1995: 182–183). The church of Pernaja is the only site at which the rims of pince-nez have been found in a grave, but it is unclear whether there was even a body in there (Nordman 1938). The folklore data makes only one mention of placing spectacles with a (female) deceased [SKS KRA. Tuohinto, Hanna KT 334:30. 1963. Pattijoki (Kalajoki)].

From the larger group of jewellery, I have separated the items that do not function as fasteners for clothing. The material I have used suggests that these are grave goods. Jewellery like this includes earrings, rings, and watches. (On beads and bead jewellery, see Hiekkänen 2006a, 2006b, Väänänen 2006).

Engagement rings became common in Finland in the 18th century, and wedding rings also started to feature at this time, although their use became established only later (Pylkkänen 1956: 295, 306; Heikinmäki 1981: 103; Talve 1990: 170). In addition to engagement and wedding rings, signet rings and decorative rings were used, although only among the wealthier classes (Pylkkänen 1956: 307). In higher circles of society, earrings were relatively common at the beginning of the 19th century (Talve 1990: 170). The luxury decrees from the 17th and 18th centuries forbade placing rings and jewellery with the deceased, but the decrees were not always obeyed (for more details, see Ritari-Kallio 2016: 32–33). Watches became relatively common engagement gifts at the beginning of the 19th century (Heikinmäki 1981: 101, 107).

Earrings are only mentioned in the folklore data from the 20th century, and there is no record of confirmed finds of earrings or watches from the archaeological excavations of graves. There are some confirmed finds of rings from the deceased in the archaeological material. What makes these finds confirmed is the fact that the finger bone is still inside the ring, apart from a few exceptions. There have been confirmed finds from nine excavations: one from the excavation of the Hailuoto church (Paavola 1995: 164–165); two rings from one deceased and two stray finds, each consisting of a ring with the finger bone, from the excavation of the cathedral of Oulu (Kehusmaa 1996); a bronze ring from a deceased person's hand from the rescue excavation in the churchyard of the cathedral of Oulu (Sarkkinen and Kehusmaa 2002); and three ring finds from graves 17 and 56 inside the Renko church, from two separate bodies (Hiekkänen 1993: 77, 83, 89). A ring from Pälkäne has been found in a cluster of finger bones, in Vehmaa one deceased had a ring, and in the Pernaja church one body had a gold ring (Adel 1998; Nordman 1938; Poutiainen 1995). In the excavation of the cathedral of Turku, one deceased was found with a ring, although there is no further information about the circumstances of the find (Airola et al. 1976). In the excavation of Tallimäen kenttä in Turku, a ring was found on top of the left hip of a body where the right hand had most likely rested. Fragments, possibly from a ring, were also found among the bones of another body's midsection in the same excavation. Only the first find has been counted as a grave good; the latter was considered too uncertain. (Helamaa and Uotila 2016: 25.) Earrings, rings, and watches are mentioned in the folklore data 173 times¹⁴ (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 60–63).

14. SKS E 108 M. Juvas, Pyhämaa; TYKL V. Tuominen, Kiikala; TYKL K. Mäki, Koski TL.; TYKL K. Aitamäki, Pertteli, Halikko, Somero; TYKL H. Nurmela, Pöytyä; TYKL P. Salminen, Pyhämaa; TYKL S. Laurila, Rauma mlk, Pyhäranta, Laitila; SKS KKA 1. Lokalahti 1 b 11; MV K20/744. Alastaro; MV K20/913. Halikko; MV K20/470. Kemiö; MV K20/6. Kiikala; MV K20/464. Koski TL.; MV K20/352. Koski TL.; MV K20/686. Laitila; MV K20/316. Oripää; MV K20/674. Pertteli; SS K. Tarkka, Karkku; SS I. Arho, Lempäälä; SS M. Juvas, Merikarvia, Siikainen; SS K. Mäkelä, Orivesi; TYKL E. Raittila, Honkajoki; TYKL E. Hukila, Ikaalinen; TYKL B. Koskinen, Lempäälä; TYKL O. Suvanto, Punkalaidun; TYKL S. Laurila, Rauma mlk, Pyhäranta, Laitila; TYKL 314? S. Laitinen, Teisko; TYKL J. Ristinen, Virrat; SKS KRA. Virtaranta, Pertti 833. 1940. Kuhmalahti; SKS KRA. Kärki, Frans 6942. 1957. Vesilahti; SKS KKA 1. Kuru 10 113. XII 1; SKS KKA 1. Lempäälä 1 114, 115; Rapola 1917. Vesilahti; SS M. Puutula, Kuorevesi; SKS KKA 1. Luvia 1 3; SKS KKA 1. Ruovesi 3 36; SKS KRA. Lindgrén, Fredrik 131. 1892. Noormarkku; MV K20/449. Ikaalinen; MV K20/687. Honkilahti; MV K20/508. Karvia; MV K20/420. Luopioinen; MV K20/425. Orivesi; MV K20/260. Ruovesi; MV K20/177. Säskylä; MV K20/130. Ulvila ym.; MV K20/27. Mäntsälä; MV K20/790. Pusula; MV K20/837. Sipoo; MV K20/149. Vehkalahti; SKS KRA 16944 J. S. Paulaharju, Perho; SS A. Karsikas, Haapavesi; SS E. Kivari, Haukipudas; SS J. Ollila, Lappajärvi; SS M. Tolkkinen, Muhos; SS E. Keskinen, Nurmo; SS H. Ylitalo, Piippola; SS H. Rapakko, Saloinen; SS S. Korkiakoski, Seinäjoki; SS F. Kallio, Toholampi; SS J. A. Kärnä, Vihanti; SS V. Rantakorpi, Ylistaro; TYKL J. Vehkajärvi, Alavus; TYKL V. Lindgren, Halsua; TYKL O. Airola, Karijoki; TYKL S. Vesajoki, Pyhäjärvi Ol.; TYKL E. Punkeri, Rantsila; SKS KRA. Lassila, Hilma KRK 211: 91. 1935. Kalajoki; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16688. 1932 (r. 1928); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16692. 1932 (r. 1928); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16944. 1932 (r. 1928). Perho; SKS KKA 1. Lumijoki 4 79. XII 1; SKS KKA 1. Oulainen 1 8; SKS KKA 1. Pyhäjoki 10 97; SKS KKA 1. Raahel 1 6; SKS KKA 1. Tyrvävä 10 267; MV K20/701. Alajärvi; MV K20/666. Alavus; MV K20/616. Haapavesi; MV K20/443. Ilmajoki; MV K20/218. Isojoki;

Finland was a part of Sweden until 1809, although during the modern era it was its own cultural entity (Ritari-Kallio: 6). The written sources on grave goods in Sweden are far richer than they are in Finland. There are mentions of money, foodstuffs, water, coffee, tobacco, spirits, earrings, engagement rings, sewing equipment, severed limbs, and glass bottles that may have contained water, medicine, or perfume. A mother who died in childbirth could have been given items to care for her baby. (Hagberg 1937: 207–218, 508.)

4.5. Objects transferred to the sphere of death

The deceased was usually prepared for the grave at home. The body was washed, dressed, and combed. Depending on the era, the deceased was dressed in their own clothes or in a burial dress. The objects that were used for preparing the deceased, such as comb, soap, and the pins used for fastening their clothing, may have been placed with the body because it was considered problematic for the living to use them anymore. Most commonly the items that had been in contact with the body were either destroyed or buried with the deceased. Sometimes they were used for healing. (Vuorela 1975: 622; Talve 1990: 232; Koski 2011: 193, 220, 222.) The folklore data mentions the custom of placing the soap, comb (soap and comb 37 times),¹⁵ and sometimes the razor used for preparing the body in the coffin (SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16854, 16870. 1932 (r. 1915). Hyrynsalmi, Suomussalmi; Katiskoski 1976: 72). A two-sided bone comb was discovered during the church excavation in Perniö, Salo, in 1962, but it cannot be connected with a burial because there is no information about the context of the find (Tapio 1962). In the 2007 excavation of the Lappee church in Lappeenranta, a body was found with its right hand stained with bronze and human hair, including roots and head louse eggs, in the hand (Salo 2007: 31). The hand may have held a bronze comb that has left the stain and the hair, or the person may have ripped out their own or someone else's hair before death and the stain is unrelated (Salo 2007). In Finnish research, pins or needles found in graves are connected with dressing the body, although this is often not the case in other countries, where they might be considered as sewing tools (Beaudry 2006: 22; Lipkin and Kuokkanen 2014: 42–43). The folklore data also highlights the custom of placing the needle used for sewing the clothes of the deceased in the coffin (SKS KRA. Rautiainen, Albert 4072. 1961. Karstula; MV KTKKA Mikkonen, Adam 627. 1917. Kajaanin mlk.). The sewing of a burial costume stops after the 17th century, and in the 18th century, the purpose is usually served by a decoratively folded shroud (Pylkkänen 1955: 15; Varjola 1980: 120).

MV K20/924. Isojoki; MV K20/595. Jalasjärvi; MV K20/164. Jalasjärvi; MV K20/471. Jalasjärvi; MV K20/241. Kalajoki; MV K20/501. Kokkola; MV K20/73. Kuortane; MV K20/174. Kuusamo; MV K20/275. Kälvä; MV K20/382. Pattijoki; MV K20/396. Perho; MV K20/429. Petolahti; MV K20/356. Piippola; MV K20/216. Piippola; MV K20/89. Purmo; MV K20/890. Pyhäntä; MV K20/87. Vöyri; MV K20/74. Ylikiminki; Helminen 1963, 171, Jämsä; SKS KRA. Karila, Tytti KT 252:1. 1949. Hauho; SS O. Louhela, Asikkala; SKS KKA 1. Padasjoki 14 b–15 235; SS E. Juusela, Längelmäki; SS A. Peltola, Orimattila; TYKL M. Vekki, Hankasalmi; TYKL J. Mäkkäräinen, Hollola; TYKL E. Ojala, Janakkala; TYKL M. Salokangas, Joutsa; TYKL A. Anttila, Kinnula; TYKL I. Roivanen, Nastola; TYKL M. Haippo, Tammela; SKS KRA. Karila, Tytti KT 252:1. 1949. Hauho; SKS KRA. Nieminen, Kalle E 184:261. 1949. Jämsä; SKS KRA. Harju, Otto 3082. 1946. Rautalampi; Jutikkala 1934, 508, Sääksmäki; Similä 1938, 79, Somerniemi; MV K20/33. Janakkala; MV K20/777. Jämsä; MV K20/774. Hausjärvi; MV K20/647. Konnevesi; MV K20/278. Luhanka; MV K20/159. Nastola; MV K20/856. Pihtipudas; MV K20/873. Renko; MV K20/333. Sysmä; MV K20/393. Äänekoski; SS H. Maaniemi, Enonkoski; SS A. Halonen, Kerimäki; SS A. Murto, Lappee; SS K. Laine, Leppävirta; SS I. Pellinen, Ruokolahti; SS K. Tuulio, Sonkajärvi; SS O. Reponen, Sulkava; TYKL K. Aromaa, Enonkoski; TYKL I. Wiiliäinen, Heinävesi; TYKL A. Manninen, Hirvensalmi; TYKL A. Reijonen, Nilsä; TYKL 286 A. Ruuskanen, Sääminki; MV K20/769. Hirvensalmi; MV K20/954. Iisalmi; MV K20/756. Iisalmen mlk.; MV K20/445. Kangasniemi; MV K20/638. Kangasniemi; MV K20/100. Mikkeli mlk.; MV K20/226. Mikkeli mlk.; MV K20/22. Sonkajärvi; MV K20/180. Sonkajärvi; MV K20/911. Sulkava; MV K20/32. Tuusniemi; SS O. Hirvonen, Pielisensuu; SS Y. Tikka, Ilomantsi; SS Y. Helynen, Kesälahti; SS V. Sonni, Parikkala; SS E. Karjalainen, Nurmee; SKS KRA. Hiiri, Hilka KT 378:45. 1962. Ylämaa; SKS KRA. Rantanen, Saimi KJ 19:6733. 1957. Vironlahti; SKS KRA. Sinisaari, Meeri KT 321:11. 1962. Rääkkylä; MV K20/399. Ilomantsi; SKS KKA 1. Luumäki 4 104; SKS KKA 1. Parikkala 6 77; SKS KKA 1. Parikkala 19 315; MV K20/902. Kontiolahti; MV K20/60. Kitee; MV K20/113. Lemi; MV K20/574. Lemi; MV K20/28. Liperi; MV K20/53. Nurmee; MV K20/661. Parikkala; MV K20/297. Ruokolahti; MV K20/121. Savitaipale; MV K20/286. Savitaipale; SS E. Junkkari, Paltamo; SS J. Särkelä, Pudasjärvi.

15. SKS KRA 211:91 H. Lassila, Kalajoki; SKS KRA 16312 J. S. Paulaharju, Paavola; SKS KRA. Järvelä, Lyydia E 285:53. 1964. Kaustinen; SKS KKA 1. Nivala 3 34; SKS KRA 16943 J. S. Paulaharju, Perho; SS P. Kialta, Alajärvi; SS V. Rantakorpi, Ylistaro; SKS KKA 1. Haukipudas 14 210. XII 1; TYKL J. Vehkajärvi, Alavus; TYKL M. Mustakangas, Vihanti; SKS KRA. Ylimäki, Seidi 1170. 1965. Töysä; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16384. 1932 (r. 1929); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16312. 1932 (r. 1915); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16389. 1932 (r. 1928); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16424. 1932; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16417. 1932; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16489. 1932 (r. 1917); SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16942. 1932 (r. 1928). Perho; MV K20/817. Alavus; MV K20/616. Haapavesi; MV K20/124. Nivala; MV K20/560. Peräseinäjoki; MV K20/429. Petolahti; MV K20/750. Pyhäjoki; MV K20/133. Töysä; MV K20/70. Töysä; SS K. Mäkelä, Orivesi; MV K20/804. Pihlajavesi-Kuorevesi; Helminen 1949, 584, Längelmäveden seutu; SS I. Kettunen, Iisalmi; SKS KRA. Oksman, Juho 1391. 1937. Karttula; MV K20/399. Ilomantsi; MV K20/782. Liperi; SKS KRA 16339 J. S. Paulaharju, Ristijärvi; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16853. 1932 (r. 1915). Hyrynsalmi; SKS KRA 16501 S. Paulaharju, Säräisniemi; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16870. 1932 (r. 1915). Suomussalmi.

In some regions, the measuring stick used for making the coffin and the shavings from preparing it were also placed in the coffin (SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli 16942. 1932 (r. 1928); Katiskoski 1976: 57; Koski 2011: 222). The shavings could also be burned, as could the straw on which the body rested before it was placed in the coffin. If not, they could be transported to a place where people did not walk, along with other material from preparing the body. Finnish folklore records the idea of a contamination from death, usually called *kalma*. The contamination may follow from being in contact with a dead body, death, or material connected to death. (Koski 2011: 193, 220, 240–241.) This contaminating quality may also extend to grave goods placed with the body (SKS KRA. Itkonen, Vilho 1:118 b. 1907. Uurainen.; SKS KRA. Järvinen, Aino KRK 58:27. Orimattila; SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. b)5859. 1912. Hailuoto; Koski 2011: 222), and possible harmful effects are generally caused by the deceased person (SKS KRA. Itkonen. Vilho b)119. 1907. Petäjävesi.; Koski 2011: 222).

In Finnish belief tradition, the term *väki* refers to a power substance. A specific instance of this is churchyard-*väki* (*kirkonväki* in Finnish), which combines the powers of church and death. Kaarina Koski divides the rites that are connected with *kalma* and churchyard-*väki* into three overlapping groups. The first group consists of actions that aim at preventing negative effects, such as the contamination of *kalma* or the return of the deceased person. The goal is to normalize the border between the living and the dead by transferring the things belonging to the sphere of death into death's domain in a way that is pleasing for the deceased. The second group covers the magic that actively uses *kalma* and churchyard-*väki*, so that the person performing it is aware of the forbidden nature and inherent danger of such actions. For example, skulls and fingers from dead bodies may be used for such magic. The third group deals with objects that have been in indirect contact with death and that are used in healing and folk magic rites connected with livelihood. For example, the water that was used for washing the body was sometimes kept for healing purposes. The attitude towards magic of the second group was usually negative, unless it was for a good cause. But the rites of the third group were not necessarily thought of as magic at all, and the healing spells were considered essential and acceptable. (Koski 2008, 2011: 158–159)

Caution was necessary when dealing with objects that had a connection with death because the undesirable powers of a seer, for example, could be caught from objects that had been in touch with the deceased. This usually happened when someone washed their face or wiped their eyes with the water or cloth used for washing the body or used the same soap. The soap used for washing the body was both feared, because it could spread the contamination of *kalma*, and considered useful for healing purposes. Other items that were sometimes used for magical purposes were the board where the body had lain before it was placed in the coffin, the comb used for brushing the hair of the deceased, and the measuring stick used to make the coffin. (Koski 2011: 193; Ritari-Kallio 2016: 33–34.)

4.6. Discussion: explaining grave goods

Grave goods were removed from their previous life, and a new metaphysical meaning was given to them, usually in terms of safeguarding the afterlife. Even if the objects retained their former function, their symbolic life was different. The folklore data gives diverse interpretations for grave goods. The informant may have heard the explanation for the custom from someone else or formed an explanation based on their own knowledge or assumptions, or they may have given no explanation at all. Interpretations may have been formed when different things were found at or near burial sites or when grandparents told children stories of bygone days. Some informants have participated in the custom of giving grave goods, but the meaning may have changed from what it was several generations earlier. Some things are given more emphasis than others, possibly because they are considered

more relevant or interesting. Giving spirits as grave goods is mentioned often and its importance is stressed. But objects related to smoking, which form a very clear group of grave goods in the archaeological evidence, are almost invisible in the folklore data, perhaps because smoking was so common. (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 74, 79–80.)

Giving spirits to the deceased is one of the clearest examples in my research of how the past is interpreted from a modern frame of reference. The closer we come to present times, the more often the informants mention that a bottle was placed in the coffin of a person who consumed more alcohol than average in life (SKS KKA 1. Polvijärvi 3 42; SKS KKA. Saloinen 2 N 129; SS Mustakangas, M. Vihanti; SS Nyqvist, H. Asikkala; SS Kivinen, U. J. Kuusoja). The folklore data records a mention of the idea that when a bottle of spirits was given to an alcoholic person as a grave good, the urge to drink would not plague the family (SS Sonni, V. Parikkala). Closer to the present day, when the custom had lost its presumed previous significance (such as its connection to Saint Peter), the bottle of spirits may indeed have been given to someone who consumed a lot of alcohol in life (SKS KKA 1. Reisjärvi 6 81.; SKS KKA 1. Reisjärvi 11 bN 124.; Ollila 1932: 90. Sammatti; MV K20/85. Kontiolahti; MV K20/6. Kiikala; MV K20/886. Kiikoinen). There is even an instance in which a bottle was given to a person who had drowned while intoxicated (MV K20/247. Janakkala). This fits with the modern idea of the harmful nature of spirits and explains how people create models of interpretation for past customs through their present framework. The older folklore data allows us to reach the former evidence for the custom (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 36, 76).

Rings and partly also earrings are a somewhat different group compared to most grave goods. There can be several reasons why rings have ended up in graves, and therefore they cannot be regarded as grave goods without exception. I have divided the reasons for the deceased having a ring (or rings) as follows: 1) The ring is seen as the share belonging to the deceased, 2) The ring is left for the deceased unwillingly; 3) The ring is left for the deceased because there is no one who should logically inherit it. The first reason, where the ring is seen as the share of the deceased, is clearly connected with the custom of grave goods. If the ring were to be forcibly taken from the deceased (meaning that they had not in life determined who should inherit it), it was feared that the deceased would return to get what belongs to them or that the household would suffer some other damage because the deceased had not been given their rightful share. Leaving the ring unwillingly refers to situations in which there was no specific desire to place the piece of jewellery in the grave. If a person died suddenly, there might have been no chance to remove the ring, and/or the deceased might not have clearly stated to whom it should be passed. In circumstances like these the ring often remained on the finger of the deceased. Sometimes there was no one who had a clear claim on the object. For example, a woman who died giving birth to her firstborn or had no children, or a person who had no one in their immediate circle to whom they could leave the ring or had not stated to whom they wanted it to be given. (Ritari-Kallio 2016: 81–82.) A ring may therefore be transformed from a piece of jewellery into a grave good simply because it cannot be taken away from the deceased. In that case, it does not necessarily fulfil a need or a desire or appease a fear felt towards the deceased. Rather, as it has no place with the living, it is dealt with in the same way as the body. Rings may have been perceived either as parts of the deceased or as possessions of the deceased that they had the right to take with them to the afterlife. This indicates that not every object that is found in a grave can be regarded as a grave good without further analysis.

There may be other erroneous deductions based on our own times and experiences. What do we regard as grave goods? Does our experience of the present influence us so that everything that is put in the coffin is considered as a grave good because nowadays other objects are (usually) not placed there? Especially the items used for preparing the body may be seen as grave goods. As mentioned earlier, Valk has defined grave goods as objects that are given to the deceased because of some underlying belief. The preparation items were not actually given to the deceased; the aim was only to deliver them to the realm of the dead, away from the sphere of the living. There was, however, an underlying belief that affected their removal. In present times, grave goods are still occasionally placed with the

deceased, so the custom still exists, although the motives for it may be different. But past beliefs might still influence the present even if they have changed a lot. (Särkkä 2017.) Since the 1960s, it has become more common to use personal items and burial clothes in Sweden as well. Archaeologist Göran Tagesson links the custom to profound socio-cultural changes in society. (Tagesson 2009: 165.)

A comb or a razor found in connection with a body certainly seems like a grave good, but one must remember that first and foremost it may have had a different function. It has transformed from a utensil into an object used in connection with the dead. It does not belong to the sphere of the living anymore and may cause an illness in its user. Thus, an object in a coffin may have several functions. We can separate grave goods that, according to a certain belief, were useful for the deceased, and objects placed in the coffin that were not considered useful but that needed to be delivered into the sphere of death. Somewhere in between are materials originating from the body: hair, nails, teeth, and limbs. As stated earlier, the reason for the custom of placing these items in the grave may have been a desire to ensure the resurrection of the whole body or to have every part of the person buried in consecrated ground. But folklore also mentions the devil and a ship made of nails, incurring a fear of damnation. In this case, the need to put nail clippings in the grave would be completely different from the need to put hair or limbs there. In addition to underlying beliefs, it may also have been practically challenging to find a suitable place to discard any body parts. Burying them with the deceased was likely the easiest way to get rid of at least most significant amounts of organic matter. In the end, a grave good can be defined as an object that changes its use and meaning when it is placed with the deceased. The items that are placed in the coffin so that they can be removed from the sphere of the living do not change their function; rather their position and essence has changed, so that they no longer belong to the world of the living but to the world of the dead.

4.7. Conclusions

Grave goods during the Lutheran era encompass a vast concept with more aspects than might be expected at first glance. The reasons for placing items in coffins are not simple nor do they all follow the same pattern. But by combining the folklore data and archaeological research, new perspectives can be found. Archaeological literature contains many notions of grave goods that are based on modern ideas but have no actual basis backed up by research. Spectacles can be considered as one such group. They are widely regarded as grave goods, but neither archaeological research nor folklore data support this view. My research has shown that it is possible to obtain more information than we currently have about grave goods and other items placed in coffins. Using folklore data and archaeological research side by side is a key method for accomplishing this. Information about the change in the function and essence of an object can be gathered by observing the life cycle of objects and the changes in this cycle by using object biography. With the help of historical analogy, folklore data can be combined with archaeological finds. More detailed information could be gained by concentrating on specific groups of grave goods.

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Bibliography

Abbreviations

MV = Museovirasto (Finnish Heritage Agency).

MV KTKKA = Museoviraston Kansatieteellinen käsikirjoitusarkisto (Archives of Ethnological Manuscripts of the Finnish Heritage Agency).

SKS KRA = Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran perinteen ja nykykulttuurin kokoelma, formerly kansanrunousarkisto (Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society).

SKS KKA1 = Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Kirkollisen kansanperinteen yleiskysely (General Survey of Ecclesiastic Folklore, the Finnish Literature Society).

SS = Sanakirjasäätiö (currently Kotus, Institute for the Languages of Finland).

SLS = Svenska Litteratursällskapet Folkkultursarkivet (The folk culture archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland).

TYKL = Turun yliopiston Kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos (Unit of Cultural Studies at the University of Turku).

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