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Entangled beliefs and rituals

Religion in Finland and Sápmi from Stone Age to contemporary times

Tiina Äikäs & Sanna Lipkin (editors)

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Introduction: Entangled rituals and beliefs from contemporary times to prehistory

Tiina Äikäs, Sanna Lipkin & Marja Ahola

When the grandmother of one of the authors passed away, her children placed a certain brooch into her coffin. This brooch had been of special importance and pride for the grandmother: it was made from the golden lyre-shaped pins that she had received from her children when they graduated from upper secondary school, as is a common habit in Finland. In addition, woollen socks knit by her sister were put on her feet. These objects were important not only to the deceased but also to her relatives, and they felt that the rightful place of these items was in the coffin with the deceased.

Although the grandmother was buried in accordance with a Christian funerary practice, the items placed in her grave do not encode Christian tradition. Indeed, if the burial should ever be investigated by future archaeologists, they would be in trouble if they blindly followed the idea that grave goods (with the exception of some adornments) indicate non-Christian burials (e.g. Purhonen 1998). This is, however, often the case with archaeological research that studies material remains instead of living tradition. Indeed, Timothy Insoll (2011: 3, cf. 2009) has stated that because archaeologists often study static material residues, "in turn, perhaps albeit subconsciously, this static image is transferred onto the beliefs and ritual practices of both individuals and communities that generated the archaeological material. Instead it can be posited that some of this material is perhaps structured by much more fluid, dynamic, and active behaviours." Indeed, as the example mentioned above shows, even in contemporary Lutheran Christian society, there is a need to give something to the deceased. This does not indicate that people today believe the deceased needs these objects in the afterlife but is rather an indication of their own needs and wishes. In other words, of the fluid and dynamic behaviour of the community.

In this book, we use 11 case studies from Finland and Sápmi[1] to challenge the static image of the archaeology of religion. Since in a wider European perspective, this area was Christianized relatively late (Purhonen 1998; Kylli 2012), placing the geographical spectrum of the articles in Finland and Sápmi enables the study of dynamic processes related to rituals and beliefs. Indeed, as the articles in this volume demonstrate, even after Christianization, old traditions of both the Saami religion and Finnish folk beliefs lived side by side with Christianity for centuries. By examining the changes and entangled relations in belief systems from contemporary times to prehistory, we aim to demonstrate the dynamic, fluid, and entangled nature of both past and contemporary rituals and beliefs. At the same time, we show that the archaeology of religion is a current topic within Finnish archaeology. Indeed, even though the field of archaeology of religion is relatively small in Finland, within the last two decades or so, a growing interest towards the study of religion and religious rituals has nevertheless risen and topics like shamanism, memory, and ritual landscape have been studied in a Finnish context (e.g. Lahelma 2008; Wessman 2010; Äikäs 2015; Lipkin and Kallio-Seppä 2020).

1 The cultural region traditionally inhabited by the indigenous Saami people in Northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula.

To bring together Finnish archaeologists working with ritual and religion, Tiina Äikäs, Sanna Lipkin, and Sonja Hukantaival arranged a workshop entitled "New research on Archaeology of Religion in Finland" in Tvärminne, Finland in March 2017. The articles in this book are mainly based on papers given at this workshop. Even though the cases come from Finland and Sápmi, they reflect themes that are of importance to researchers in other areas too, such as the heritagization of ritual places, changes and continuity in funerary practices, the fluid border between mundane and ritual, and the long roots of contemporary ritual practices. In this sense, the chapters relate to wider international debates on these topics (e.g. Bradley 2005; Insoll 2007; Williams 2011a, 2013; Mytum 2013; Coleman 2019). In the future, transnational studies in the north could shed even more light onto the entangled processes of religious change and ritual practices.

Past (death) rituals in contemporary society

Death is constantly around us, even though in contemporary society it is often hidden and left as the responsibility of hospitals, hospices, and funeral homes. Since burials are an important source of information for archaeology, archaeologists often mediate narratives of the dead for the living. For contemporary people, the narrative of past death offered by archaeologists can be used as a safe, distant place to deal with the current discomfort surrounding death, dying, and mourning. (Williams and Atkin 2015; Williams 2018; Büster et al. 2018.) Indeed, as Howard Williams and Alison Atkin (2015) state: "[funerary archaeology] connects stories of past lives and past deaths with experiences and anxieties surrounding mortality and commemoration today. Engaging with the archaeology of death and burial is in part about exploring one's own mortality, and beliefs and perceptions about death and the dead." As Williams (2011b: 93) describes it, archaeologists can also act as "a form of modern-day mortuary ritual specialist mediating remembrance of the distant past." In this book, Herva and Seitsonen (Ch. 10) demonstrate how archaeologists can help individuals to reconcile with a past burden. Similarly, during the fieldwork Äikäs and Ikäheimo carried out at the hanging tree of Taavetti Lukkarinen in Oulu, Finland, the archaeological excavations and the documentation of the hanging tree memorial provided an opportunity for the relatives of the late Lukkarinen (hanged in 1916) to visit the site. One of them described the work of the archaeologists as "purifying work that eases the tragedies of generations" (Ikäheimo and Äikäs 2018: 178).

As the example in the beginning of the chapter showed, death might also raise a need to return to old rituals. Reasons for placing objects into graves may vary. It can be seen as a respectful way of disposing of the possessions of the deceased (Ucko 1969) or it may relate to emotional ideas about the dead loved one (Lipkin et al. in press). For example, even though the rational mind may tell a different story, the deceased could have been provided with woollen socks because it was thought that the dead person might otherwise feel cold. Interestingly, providing the deceased with woollen socks echoes some past funerary traditions. In Finnish funerary tradition between the 17th and 19th centuries, the deceased wore often stockings on their feet (Lipkin and Kuokkanen 2014), although to prevent haunting, the left sock was sometimes placed on the right foot and vice versa (Waronen 1898: 56–58). In relation to this, in this book Sanna Lipkin (Ch. 3) examines post-medieval funerary attire, beliefs, and folklore in relation to the dressing of the body and the ways in which a clothed dead body was perceived by contemporary people. It was important that the deceased were comfortable in their coffins, and for this reason they were given items they were thought to need while waiting for the Resurrection. During the 18th and 19th centuries in Finland, grave goods were also left in burials inside churches, churchyards, and cemeteries, as Sanna Ritari-Kallio (Ch. 4) describes in this book. These items are evident both in folklore records and less prominently in archaeological material.

As the woollen sock example shows, sometimes the ritual practice has stayed the same even though the meaning of the action has changed. The idea behind this statement lies in Catherine Bell's (1992) definition of a ritual. According to Bell (1992: 7), a ritual is not a set of practices that rise from theory or thought but a strategic way of acting that differentiates certain acts from others, an act of *ritualization*. Indeed, it is ritualization, not the dogmas of faith, that separates the sacred from the profane. When the focus is moved from theory to practice, it is easier to understand why ritualization can include both the repetition of a centuries-old tradition and intentional improvisation: the focus of these acts lies in differentiation, not in rewriting dogma (Bell 1992: 90–91). From this perspective, the act of dressing the dead in woollen socks can be seen both as a repetition of an old tradition and as an act of ritualization in which the dead body is set apart from the living. Despite the historical continuity, transformation, and flux of belief systems and related rituals, it is evident that they also preserve elements of social memory (Silva 2015: 169–170).

If we return once more to the example of the woollen socks, we see how the meanings of ritual traditions can change during the course of time and might not even be the same for everybody to begin with (Barad 2007: 335; Keesing 2012). Indeed, in relation to prehistory, Liv Nilsson Stutz (2003) has suggested that people may repeat ritual practices as they had been done before – even if the original meaning of the action has already been forgotten. At the same time, new practices also emerge. In the Netherlands today, for example, people are allowed to scatter and divide cremation ashes (Mathisjssen 2017). This has resulted in the birth of new post-cremation ritualization of the ashes that includes tattoos, art, and jewellery made from the cremains (Heessels 2012). Rather than being in line with Christian funerary traditions, these practices echo past funerary practices in which human remains have been treated in various ways. For example, on Neolithic Gotland, new burials were placed vertically in relation to old burials and the skulls of the old burials were removed (Andersson 2004). Through prehistory and history, pendants or amulets have also been made from human bones and human remains have been used for magical purposes (e.g., Fuglesang 1989; Pettitt 2010; Lee and Johnston 2015). In the Finnish historical context, they were often related to the power of death and haunting (Moilanen 2015; Tittonen 2008; Koski 2010: 242).

People can have different reasons for wanting to interact with the departed in this material way. In a contemporary context, Heessels (2012) suggests that cremated human remains have the potential to evoke physical and intense relationships with the dead, thus providing a way to commemorate – and even converse with – the dead. Although there are no written records, this could well have been the case in the deep past too (e.g., Nilsson Stutz et al. 2013; Larsson 2017; Ahola 2019). Indeed, the funerary traditions recorded from Neolithic Gotland are no exception in the archaeological record. On the contrary, burial reuse is known worldwide and is commonly accepted as intentional behaviour relating to how people comprehend the material remains of past generations (Bradley 2002; van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Borić 2010; Williams 2013). Another way in which the departed are still among us is demonstrated in the photo essay by Vesa-Pekka Herva and Oula Seitsonen (Ch. 10). While excavating German sites from the Second World War in Finnish Lapland, they came across a prisoner-of-war camp where the past deaths had caused a haunting effect on the site that needed reconciling. Even though many people in contemporary society deny the existence of ghosts, the popularity of different theme walks related to ghosts and horror stories in different parts of the world demonstrate a constant fascination with these things (see Holloway 2010; Bucior 2019). Some of the ghosts also need to be brought to peace in different ways, as was shown by the deposition at the hanging tree memorial in Oulu (Ikäheimo et al. 2016).

A continuing relationship with the deceased is not limited to humans but also involves non-human animals and can be seen in the wish to rebury one's companion animals. In his photo essay, Janne Ikäheimo (Ch. 11) makes an autoethnographic study of the excavation and reburial of his dead gerbils, an event that seemed to evoke strong feelings as well as offer an opportunity to reflect on the memorialization of companion animals. Removing deceased companion animals from an endangered resting place demonstrates that death does not break the bond between humans and their companion animals. This is also witnessed by the maintenance of and visits to animal graves (Äikäs et al. in press).

In contemporary society, which is often described as secularized and rootless, neo-spirituality, heritagization, and a connection to past traditions are ways to create meaningful relations to the past (see also Papastephanou 2018; Ribberink et al. 2018; Possamai 2019). In Sweden, Howard Williams (2011a, 2012; see also Back Danielsson 2011) has noted that contemporary memory groves make references to prehistory and to historical times both in their use of material culture and their location in the landscape. Some references take their form from an archaeological relic whereas others reuse old monuments, such as 19th-century stone and iron memorials. Some of the references seem to have been made by design, such as pseudo-runic inscriptions, whereas others are more subtle and may be involuntary. This has also been shown to be the case at the cemetery in Kirkkonummi, Southern Finland, where the planning of the memorial structure makes several references to archaeological remains such as Stonehenge (Ikäheimo 2011; Ikäheimo & Äikäs 2017). In addition to Kirkkonummi, the same phenomenon is present also at the cemetery of Hietaniemi, Southern Finland, where 19th-century tombstones resemble Bronze Age cairns or Viking Age rune stones, and even at some contemporary pet cemeteries (Figure 0.1).

Figure 0.1. a–b) 19th-century tombstones resembling prehistoric monuments (Photographs: M. Ahola, 2019) and c) a pet memorial in Turku resembling a Troy Town (Fi jatulintarha, Sw jungfrudans). (Photographs: T. Äikäs, 2019.)

At the same time, old sites can gain new meanings. The cases presented by Tiina Äikäs and Marja Ahola (Ch. 7) in this book show how sacred places and rituals can be reborn in contemporary society either as part of modern spiritual practices or of a heritagization process. Interestingly, the Stone Age burial site in Jönsas has not regained a new spiritual meaning but has become a part of modern urban planning. On the other hand, the Iron Age and historical Saami offering place in Taatsi has also in recent years been visited by tourists, as well as those seemingly seeking a spiritual connection. Another aspect of the heritagization of sacredness is its museumification by means of presenting sacred places and objects in museums. This might change the status of religious objects from something that is interacted with to something that is looked at, although some museums encourage their visitors to interact ritually with the objects in exhibitions. (Paine 2013.) Also Saami sacred places are presented in museums, but they are often described as something belonging to the past without references to their contemporary spiritual meanings (Äikäs 2019).

Changes and continuity in churches and burials

Just like contemporary cemeteries reusing old memorials and utilizing references to the past in the form of memorials, also prehistoric burials have sometimes been made in connection to the past. For example, at the Stone Age cemetery of Jönsas, presented as a case study in the chapter by Äikäs and Ahola (Ch. 7), new burials were likely dug among older ones to connect with the past generation (Ahola 2017). Like the meaning of other ritual practices, the meaning of the burial sites might also have changed during the course of time. Indeed, Sarah Semple (1998) has shown how the Anglo-Saxon people reused Bronze Age burial mounds and Neolithic long barrows for burials that she interprets to be those of criminals whose crime demanded a punishment after death in a burial place inhabited by scary creatures, such as dragons. During the course of time, the initial function of the site could also have been lost, and while the location of the site might still have been remembered, it could have been reinterpreted within a framework that is nowadays considered mythological. For example, the Finnish name for a Bronze Age cairn (Fi *hiidenkiuas*, which could be translated as '(sauna) stove of the hiisi') refers to a mythical creature, *hiisi*[2], that is often considered malevolent. Similarly, Kevin Grant (2016: 162–163) describes how in 19th-century Scotland burial mounds were described as *'cnocan shìthichean'*, fairy mounds, as they had gained this interpretation in folk belief. According to Grant: *"sìthichean* [fairies] could at once be real characters in the landscape, the subject of tales about the past, explanations for ancient landscape features, and allegories for the land of the dead".

However, as stated above, rituals can also be performed in a certain way – or a certain place – because this is how the ritual is supposed to be done. For example, many non-religious people in Finland are buried in a Lutheran cemetery because there are very few secular cemeteries. Many of these are owned and maintained by local freethinkers' associations and do not allow burials of non-members. The first secular cemetery in Finland was established in 1929 in Kotka. Nevertheless, even for atheists, the sense of belonging and burial rituals are important. (Pajari in press). At the same time, personal death rituals – such as dressing the dead in woollen socks – also exist. Accordingly, the ritual practices people engage in during and after the primary burial can be evoked by a mixture of personal, communal, rational, and emotional reasons and hence may not be entirely connected to changes in the world view shared by society.

In this book, Hanna Puolakka (Ch. 1) discusses the meaning of different burial customs, especially the presence of cremations and additional bones within inhumation burials in cemeteries from AD 1000–1400. She interprets these as signs of a slow process of Christianization where hybrid ritual practices were in use. This case demonstrates how changes in religion do not necessarily reflect direct-

2. Interestingly, the original meaning of the word referred to a pre-Christian sacred place, but during Christianization the word changed its meaning first to refer to this often malevolent creature and then to Hell (Anttonen 2008).

ly on ritual practices, but the elements of old and new ritual traditions can remain entangled. Not only do traditions change but they are also endowed with different meanings and perceptions by the performers of rituals. This becomes evident in Lipkin's chapter (Ch. 3), which discusses the flux of traditions and open-ended material practices related to an intra-active clothed dead body during the post-medieval period and beyond.

The slow and entangled process of Christianization is also evident in the studies of Saami offering places. Even though there was a decrease in offerings in the 17th century in accordance with missionary activities in Lapland, offerings did not cease altogether but lived side by side with Christian rituals (Äikäs 2015; Äikäs and Ahola Ch. 7). People visited both offering places and churches and also gave offerings to churches. Especially in relation to livelihood, the old sacred places were considered to have provided better protection than churches. In Enontekiö, Northern Finland, offerings were given as late as the end of the 19th century in spite of the long Christian influence, and the idea of offerings had not yet disappeared by the 20th century. The offerings that shifted from old offering places to churches may be considered as one example of how Christianity was perceived more as a continuation of the old world view than as a turning point. Christian views were filtered through old beliefs. (Miettinen 1943: 102; Lehtola 1997: 28; Kylli 2005: 119, 140; Äikäs 2015: 156–157.)

Similarly, the slow and entangled process of Christianization can be seen in the elements of folk belief side by side with Christianity. Folklorist Kaarina Koski (2018: 59) has mentioned bringing offerings to churches also as an example of Finnish folk belief. She states that "[a]mong the Finnish folk, old interpretations such as the necessity of sacrifice as implementation of a reciprocal relationship with God still permeated religious life in the 18th century. For example, the believers found it important to bring offerings, such as wool and squirrel skins to the communion table." In accordance with this, in this book Mirette Modarress (Ch. 5) describes how the offering tradition remained in use especially in churches with a reputation as a sacrificial church (Fi *uhrikirkko*). Ethnologist Laura Stark (2002: 30) has stated that "[...] folk religion represents neither Christianity's 'contamination' of ethnic folk belief nor the 'misinterpretation' of Christianity by the non-literate rural populace, but a functional system in which the most useful elements of each belief system are adopted and fashioned into a syncretic whole." In a world view with no strict border between the natural and supernatural, things that we might describe in the sphere of belief represent just the world the way it was. Beliefs may concern invisible and supernatural powers, but they may also represent knowledge and actions that have commonly been agreed on. Believing is giving value to a conception, idea, or action as though it were the truth, and when most of the community values certain norms or understandings, they may collectively be trusted. (Koski 2010: 15.)

One peculiar example of the ritual use of churches are the tens of miniature wooden coffins with the remains of a frog inside that were found in seven churches, one in Turku and the others in Eastern Finland. Sonja Hukantaival (2015a) has described these finds in connection to folk beliefs for multiple purposes, the most common purpose being to punish a witch who was held responsible for misfortunate incident. But here, too, the belief was complex and dynamic and there were variations in both the buried animal and the reasons for the burial. Hukantaival states that the power of the frog burial came from the church but "in the case of the church and churchyard this power was not divine, but rather that of the deceased buried there." This example shows how the meaning of the church as a powerful place also had multiple manifestations. If folk belief was flexible, dynamic, and entangled with Christian tradition, burial traditions that could be considered to follow traditional Christian rituals were not static either. We have already discussed the use of grave goods in Christian burials. In addition to these, the placement of the deceased did not always follow Christian practices either. In this book, Ulla Moilanen and Markus Hiekkanen (Ch. 2) discuss how 'atypical' features should be interpreted in the context of fairly late post-medieval church burials. Harold Mytum (2017) has noted that after the Reformation, there was wider variety in burial forms in Europe due to increased literacy, the expansion of the middle classes, increasing consumerism, and changing ethical and scientific attitudes to the body. The 'atypical' burial forms of different ages might derive from both individual and practical reasons.

Above we discussed the continuous use of old burial places and the changed meanings given to them. Also Christian burial places, the function of which remains known to people, have been reused for various purposes. Because of the strong symbolic value of graves as places of memory (Zerubavel 2003), gravestones have been used for erasing memories and taking control of areas. For example, on the Karelian Isthmus, an area that Finland lost to the Soviet Union in the Second World War, Finnish gravestones have been removed or used for building bridges. Taking objects with a sacred function into mundane use is a powerful sign of control over land, memory, and heritage.

An interesting example of the altered meaning of gravestones can be found at Greyfriars Kirkyard in Edinburgh, where people have started to commemorate fictional characters from Harry Potter books by J. K. Rowling (Fig. 0.2.). The name Tom Riddell, on the grave of a man who passed away in 1806, has been said to have inspired Rowling to name her villain Lord Voldemort, a sobriquet for Thomas "Tom" Marvolo Riddle. Hence the late Tom Riddell, who might otherwise have been forgotten, receives visitors and flowers on his grave. This unrelated attention could be seen as a new meaning in the site biography of the grave, but as one of the visitors mused: would Riddell have appreciated the flowers he received as the villain Riddle? Riddell's is not the only grave at Greyfriars Kirkyard that has gained a new meaning following the Harry Potter books. Other headstones are said to have played into the names of characters – there is a Moody (Alastor Moody) and William McGonagall, who was known as one of the worst poets in Scotland in his time, but who is now remembered as a Head of Gryffindor. And as testimony to the audience's need to have a physical place for remembering fictional characters, also Harry's godfather Sirius Black, whose name cannot be found at the cemetery, has gained a place for remembering: a gravestone where the original names have vanished but have been replaced by the name Sirius Black written in ink, perhaps not elegantly but serving the purpose. These graves are an example of literary or film tourism which encourages "a re-imagining of the landscape where (f)actual and imaginary geographies exist side by side" (Lee 2012: 52).

Figure 0.2. a) A burial stone at the Greyfriars Kirkyard, Edinburgh with the name Sirius Black written on it to commemorate a character from the Harry Potter books and b) another one with the name of Thomas Riddell, who is commemorated as Thomas Riddle aka Lord Voldemort from the same book series. (Photographs: T. Äikäs, 2019.)

Rituals and beliefs entangled in everyday life

Rituals and beliefs are not entangled only within the spheres of religion and fiction but also with everyday life. Indeed, as Tim Insoll (2004) has proposed with regard to archaeological contexts, religion should not be viewed as separate from daily life. In the past, people could have seen different daily activities, such as livelihood, death, social organization, and technology, through the lens of religion. In other words, ritual and rational or mundane aspects were not separated, as ritual was tightly interwoven into daily activities and matters of livelihood and health (e.g. Brück 1999; Bradley 2005; Hukantaival 2015b). As Äikäs et al. (2009) have shown, in Saami ethnic religion, livelihood and rituals were also closely intertwined and, for example, offerings were given in relation to livelihood and in places connected to subsistence.

In this book, Minerva Piha (Ch. 6) demonstrates how language and religion are also connected in Saami history. She studies the correlations between archaeological and lexical data, which can be seen in offering tradition, burial traditions, and matters relating to death. Later, Saami gathered in their winter villages not only to take part in church services but also to trade and strengthen their social relationships. The interconnectedness of ritual and mundane can also be seen in other cultures. For example, in this book Mirette Modarress (Ch. 5) describes the connections between religious and socio-economic practices on the island of Turkansaari, where excavations were conducted near a chapel that was built in 1694. Turkansaari served simultaneously as a marketplace and a church site, and people could carry out both ritual and mundane activities while visiting the island.

As stated above, in the Saami world view, offering places retained their importance especially in connection to livelihood. The connection between livelihood and rituals can be seen also in the contemporary world where, for example, in shipbuilding the idea of a foundation deposit is still alive and new ships are supplied with a deposit under their mast to bring good luck (Hukantaival 2017). There are also a lot of beliefs related to fishing. For example, on the Finnish fishing discussion forum kalastus.com (kalastus.com 2003), people listed their ‘superstitions’ related to fishing, such as wearing a certain cap, giving some alcohol to Ahti (the old Finnish god of water) after each caught fish, and not having a hand net along when you are trolling from a rowing boat. Fishing-related items are also common among contemporary deposits at Saami offering places, for which examples can be found in both Finland and Alta, Norway (Äikäs 2015; Spangen and Äikäs in press). People seem to feel a need to seek help from rituals and offerings especially in connection to livelihood.

Also new professions can be seen in a superstitious light. In this book, Noora Hemminki (Ch. 9) describes how beliefs in the Devil changed in relation with changes in a smith’s work from educator to labour movement agitator. In the early industrial context, the work of smiths was seen in relation to the Devil because of their ability to use fire, and even in contemporary times some smiths sustain this connection, for example, by the naming of their smitheries.

One example of the interrelation of ritual and mundane is presented in the chapter by Sonja Hukantaival (Ch. 8), in which she combines folklore and archaeological material to demonstrate how, in the area of present-day Finland, objects and materials were seen as potentially alive up to the early 20th century. In folk belief, agency was manifested also in everyday objects that might be considered rubbish today. This draws us to reconsider the distinction between mundane and ritual, as well as animate and inanimate. The latter can also be perceived in the way that even today, we give agency to things that we know to be lifeless; we talk to our cars, computers, and televisions, sometimes cursing them, thanking them, or begging them to do what we wish them to do. The problem of distinguishing ritual objects from rubbish arises when contemporary ways of reasoning affect interpretations. Sometimes one person’s rubbish might be another one’s offerings, and the interpretations can be heavily laden with value. The term ‘ritual rubbish’ has been used in this context. (Blain and Wallis 2007; Paine 2013: 58; Houlbrook 2015.)

As is shown, for example, in the chapter by Äikäs and Ahola (Ch. 7), places can also have both mundane and ritual meanings during their life cycle or even at a specific point in time. Even totally mundane places can gain a spiritual meaning through daily actions, as described by folklorist Reet Hiiemäe (2019: 16): "A person who has the habit to listen to his favourite meditation music through headphones during a subway trip or a flight may be in some sense even 'double-placed': in the terms of his subjective spiritual geography, he may be in a transcendental place, yet physically he remains in a non-place." In this sense, also shopping centres, railway stations, and roadsides can have sacred functions when they are used as venues of rituals. Simultaneously, the spiritual meanings of sacred places have gained an additional venue in the electronic public sphere, when people share their spiritual experiences and photos of old sacred sites on, for example, Facebook and Instagram (Huang 2016; Ruml 2020). However, aside from activities in the electronic sphere, there has also been a substantial increase in visitors to actual religious sites due to the democratization of travel and globalization (e.g. Gilchrist 2020). This goes hand in hand with the creation of new and invented religious and spiritual landscapes and the commodification and hybridization of religion and spirituality (Olsen 2019; Äikäs and Ahola Ch. 7).

Conclusions

As we have seen in the past paragraphs, a connection to archaeological sites – and possibly to archaeology – is important for people's spirituality today. We can see how rituals and sacred places have transformed into heritage but also how ritual practices have changed and ritual creativity incorporates old traditions with individual beliefs and habits (Leskovar and Karl 2018; Äikäs et al. 2018). At the same time, churches revise old traditions by introducing elements of old traditions into their services and pre-Christian sacred places are visited for spiritual inspiration (Wallis 2003; Rountree 2006; Jonuks and Äikäs 2019). The importance of old sacred places in contemporary society can also be seen in their touristic use, their inclusion in town planning (Äikäs and Ahola ch. 7), and their maintenance by local groups (Lesell 2015). Indeed, as the articles in this book demonstrate, old rituals and sacred places can act as inspiration, comfort, and entertainment for contemporary people, and archaeologists can act as mediators between past and present.

However, even though the ritual and practical aspects of daily life are intertwined, this does not mean that everything is ritualized or that people constantly behave in a particularly spiritual manner. Instead, beliefs and world views give meaning to the surrounding world and human activity in it. The symbolic and functional aspects of this activity do not have to be mutually exclusive. (Brück 1999; Insoll 2004; Hukantaival 2015b.) This entanglement of ritual and mundane also explains the longevity of rituals and beliefs expressed in the chapters of this book. Even in contemporary society, we live surrounded by beliefs and ritual practices that we have inherited from the far and near past in their varied, intertwined forms.

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1
Ancestors and additional bones: Mixing of burial traditions in Late Iron Age Finland

Hanna-Leena Puolakka

Abstract

In this chapter, I review variations in burial traditions within eight cemeteries in the area of modern-day Finland and the Karelian Isthmus. These cemeteries date to the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Period (AD 1000–1400), a time of change in this area, which fell between two rising power centres, the kingdoms of Sweden and Novgorod. These power centres had a major influence on the borderlands examined in this review, and one of the most visible forms of influence was the spread of Christianity. The presence of different burial types reveals a slow process of Christianization in this area, but this religious transformation was more complex than has previously been thought. I argue that the variety of different burial customs within these cemeteries attests to a period of hybridization and third-space encounters. Specifically, the presence of cremation burials and additional bones within inhumation burials is a sign of combined ritual. This is a strong indication of hybridization, a process by which old customs are combined with new ones, creating something new in the process. The presence of this process shows that changes in belief systems in this area were negotiated independently and continuously within these borderland societies during the use period of these cemeteries.

Key words: Christianization, hybridity, cremation, Iron Age, medieval, burial customs

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss eight cemeteries with mixed burial traditions in the area of Finland and the Karelian Isthmus. These cemeteries feature both inhumations and individual cremation burials contained within the inhumations. Some of the cemeteries include inhumations containing additional bones belonging to individuals other than the primarily inhumed. All of the cemeteries date to the period between the 11th and 15th centuries AD, from the Late Iron Age to the beginning of the Middle Ages.[1] (Puolakka 2019a.)

During this period, this area saw a change in burial customs, which transitioned mostly from cremation burials to inhumations. A similar transformation was also seen elsewhere in Fennoscandia during the Late Iron Age (Gräslund 2010; Therus 2019). These cemeteries form an exception, as both

1. In Finland, chronology is classified differently from the neighbouring countries. The Iron Age lasts until the crusades from Sweden, which give their name to the Crusade Period around AD 1050–1300. The crusades and the arrival of Christianity mark the beginning of the Middle Ages in southern Finland. Although the exact nature of the crusades has been questioned, the chronology remains in use. The chronology is not unproblematic and does not depict the situation throughout the whole of Finland. (Haggrén 2015: 369–375.)

cremation burials and inhumations are present within the same cemetery and even within the same graves. The presence of these different combinations of burials shows that conversion and adopting Christian faith and ritual practices was not a fast or straightforward process. I have examined these cemeteries through the postcolonial theory of hybridity and the concept of third space (Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996, 2014; Thomas et al. 2017).

Christianity arrived in the kingdoms of Sweden and Novgorod during the Late Iron Age and the beginning of the Middle Ages (Berend 2010; Gräslund 2010; Therus 2019). In the early medieval period, these power centres started to actively convert their citizens, as well as to send missionaries to nearby territories (Berend 2010; Ylimaunu et al. 2014).

The area that fell between these kingdoms, namely modern-day Finland and Karelia, has been called a *borderland* due to its geopolitical placement between Sweden and Novgorod. Borderlands are defined as places between colonial domains or cultural and social landscapes between emerging states, such as Sweden and Novgorod. (Ylimaunu et al. 2014: 245, citing Adelman and Aron, 1999: 816.) Both kingdoms were expanding during the Late Iron Age and early medieval period, and the area between them, the borderland, came under increasing pressure from both east and west. The areas where these cemeteries were located did not immediately fall under any rule, religious or otherwise, but they did receive and convey influences from these centres. (Ylimaunu et al. 2014.) The spread of Christianity was a very visible form of influence from these power centres.

The nature of borderlands creates third spaces. Borderlands are not stagnant places, but places where people, cultures, languages, and religions meet. This makes borderlands constantly changing and interlacing social landscapes. (Ylimaunu et al. 2014.) Such is the case with the area of modern-day Finland, where influences and people from the east, west, north, and south met. The third space is not a literal geographical area, but rather the abstract space of hybridity in which encounters and interactions happen and new ideas are formed. We cannot see the third space, but we might be able to see the results of third-space encounters in the archaeological record (Fahlander 2007: 25).

The nature of borderlands as areas, bridges, and meeting places in between can create an ambiguous space, a third space, where interactions between cultures, as well as religious transformations, are dynamically and continuously negotiated within the heterogenous populations of the borderland. This heterogenous group was not of a single ethnicity or culture. (Bhabha 1994; Fahlander 2007; Ylimaunu et al. 2014.)

This constant renegotiation and transformation define hybridity. Hybridity shows an active view of actions between cultures via the concept of third space, in contrast to (and in critique of) the earlier theories of passive colonial encounters. (Bhabha 1994, Thomas et al. 2017: 305.) The residents of these 'third spaces' were not simply passive receivers of influences, but active builders of realities and new religious systems. In these systems we can see hybridity, that is, the result of a constant transformation of different elements from different origins. At its core, hybridity is a process, a continuous state of mixing influences and change. (Thomas et al. 2017.) Hybridity is always more than the simple sum of old and new traditions and influences, and it creates something new and different in itself (Bhabha 1994: 162; Fahlander 2007: 22; Naum 2010).

I will argue that during this era within the cemeteries in this study, we can see a slow transformation and change of religion negotiated via third space. While the form is unique to these cemeteries (individual cremation burials within inhumations, additional bones and grave goods), the phenomenon itself, namely hybridity and the transformation of religion and slow change of beliefs, is universal (Thomas et al. 2017). I believe that by taking a closer look at this one era and area of change, we can learn more about these transformations and hybridity within such borderlands.

1.1.1. The burial data

The material of this study consists of eight cemeteries: Valmarinniemi (Keminmaa), Illinsaari (Ii), Tuukkala (Mikkeli), Visulahti (Mikkeli), Kirkailanmäki[2] (Hollola), Toppolanmäki (Valkeakoski), Suotniemi (Käkisalmi), and Tontinmäki (Räisälä, Hovinsaari) (Fig. 1.1). All of these cemeteries date to the Late Iron Age and early medieval period, around AD 1000–1400. The burial customs in these cemeteries vary: there are individual cremation graves, individual inhumations, cremation burials and additional bones within inhumations, and inhumations with more than one inhumed individual. Some burials have a rich array of grave goods, such as weapons, jewellery, or tools, others contain only small items, such as simple brooches or knives, and some have no grave goods at all. (Lehtosalo-Hilander 1988; Uino 1997; Saksa 1998; Mikkola 2009; Taavitsainen et al. 2009; Kuusela 2015a; Ikäheimo et al. 2017; Koponen and Pelttari 2017.) While the exact combinations vary, all these cemeteries have at least two features in common: all of them had cremation burials laid into inhumations and all of them had similar objects of so-called Karelian type, such as oval brooches and belt fittings, which show their connections with each other (Puolakka 2019b; Taavitsainen et al. 2009).

Figure 1.1. The cemeteries on map. 1. Valmarinniemi (Keminmaa) 2. Suutarinniemi (Ii) 3. Toppolanmäki (Valkeakoski) 4. Kirkailanmäki (Hollola) 5. Tuukkala (Mikkeli) 6. Visulahti (Mikkeli) 7. Suotniemi (Käkisalmi) (Приозерск, Яаркое) 8. Hovinsaari Tontinmäki (Räisälä) (Мельниково, Большой Полуостров). (Map: H. Puolakka.)

2. Also known as Kirkkailanmäki, Kirk’ailanmäki, Kirkk’ailanmäki, see e.g. Hirviluoto 1985 and Kivikoski 1955. In this chapter, the name used in the National Register of Antiquities is used.

The cremation burials within the inhumations, as well as the additional bones, have raised questions among researchers. These questions include whether cremation burials were an older custom or concurrent with the tradition of inhumation and whether cremation burials and additional bones were put inside the inhumation openly or secretly. Further questions are raised about the meaning of this custom. In this chapter, I present some possible explanations for these shared graves.

1.2. Background

The Late Iron Age and early medieval period (AD 900–1400) was a time of great changes in the society and belief systems of Finland and Karelia. The Christianization of the area was one of the biggest changes during this time. Christianity was introduced first to Finland Proper around AD 1000–1100. The Christianization of Finland was formerly thought to have been a rather straightforward process centring around three Swedish crusades first to Finland Proper around AD 1050–1200 and then to Eastern Finland and the Karelian Isthmus around AD 1200–1300. The nature and effect of these crusades was questioned already in the late 1990s. (Purhonen 1998: 13–14; Haggrén 2015: 369–375.) The first known church in Finland was found at Ristimäki, Ravattula, near the city of Turku, and it dates to the late 12th to early 13th centuries AD (Ruohonen 2017: 46).

The Christianization of Eastern Finland and especially Northern Finland happened later than that of Southern Finland and Finland Proper. Christianization within the areas of the cemeteries discussed can be dated on an administrative level to the 14th century. Historical records show that several small parishes were established in and near the areas covered by this study during the 14th century. (Luukko 1954: 78–83, 256–261; Korpela 2005: 58.) However, the administrative level cannot describe the beliefs held by individuals or even the beliefs still held and rituals still practised by society at large, as the mixed burial traditions within these cemeteries further prove. The administrative level also comes into play only with the introduction of a parish system and therefore cannot provide information on the first Christian influences or the initial process of Christianization. For this reason, the archaeological material can be an important source on the matter of the process of Christianization, especially from the viewpoint of the societies and individuals making the burials. (Korpela 2008: 321–322; Puolakka 2019a: 7.)

Contacts with the Christian world are evident in the archaeological material of the cemeteries in this study. For example, some cross pendants have been found in these cemeteries, as well as rings and brooches with biblical themes, such as pictures of Jesus or Virgin Mary. Sometimes these items have been taken as proof of their wearer's Christianity, but this view has been critiqued. (Nordman 1945: 233–237; Erä-Esko 1965: 107–112; Purhonen 1998: 47–51; Hiekkanen 2001: 55–56; Salo 2005: 278–291; Puolakka 2019a: 28–32.) These items are indeed examples of contacts with the Christian world, but they do not necessarily mark the faith of their owner (Kivikoski 1955: 30–41; Puolakka 2019a: 29–32). The change from cremation burials to inhumation burials has been thought to demonstrate the effect of contacts with Christianity. However, these burials should be studied as a whole, including the position of the buried person, the nature of the possible grave goods, and any additional elements within these graves. Just one feature cannot and should not be held as a marker of the faith of the buried person or the society carrying out the burials. (Puolakka 2019a: 40.)

As seen through burials, the process of Christianization in Finland has earlier been divided into three phases. The first phase includes burials aligned from east to west and containing rich grave goods: these graves are not considered Christian. In the second phase, the graves contain only jewellery or other objects considered as parts of the dress, and these are viewed as Christian burials. The third phase includes graves with no grave goods at all, which are designated as clearly Christian. The third and last phase has been dated to the 11th century. (Purhonen 1998: 373; Wickholm 2008: 92.)

I have already criticized this division for considering only the categories of Christian and non-Christian without recognizing any era of change and possible hybridization of beliefs. Such a division reduces a period of hundreds of years of slow change and multiple different forms of burial into just one category, the middle category. It also ignores the graves of those individuals who did not receive rich grave goods: for example, simple knives and brooches remained in use for a long time. The dating also does not take into account the whole of Finland. (Puolakka 2019a: 61–63.) In the cemeteries discussed in this article, we can see the overlapping traditions and hybridity which continue to the very last phases of use of the cemeteries.

1.3. The norm and the deviation?

The most common burial types in Iron Age Finland and Karelia are cremation fields under level ground and later inhumation cemeteries, with an earlier type of earth-mixed cairns without structure still in use in the Late Iron Age (Wessman 2010: 31). While inhumation cemeteries with individual cremation burials are more unusual, this is not simply a local phenomenon. These eight cemeteries span an area from North-Western Finland to the Karelian Isthmus. Similar individual cremation burials that are not part of a burial ground have also been found near these cemeteries on the Karelian Isthmus, as well as in Suomussalmi in Eastern Finland, for example (Hakamäki 2018: 43–45).

The individual cremation burials differ from the cremation fields under level ground that are more common in Southern Finland and Karelia. In cremation fields, the cremated bones have been scattered, usually upon a stone setting, and mixed with all the other cremated bones with some individual burials among them. The stone settings are low and usually not very clearly visible under the moss. (Wessman 2010: 19–25.) The cremation burials found at the sites discussed in this chapter usually contain only one individual, and they have been buried in the ground and usually placed within an inhumation. The cremation burials are often quite even in shape, indicating that the cremated remains were buried in some kind of vessel. (Leppäaho 1937; Puolakka 2019a: 25.) The remains of a box made out of bark or wood shingles were found only in two cases (Schwindt 2012 [1893]: 52; Leppäaho 1938: 2).

Earlier research has considered cremation burials in inhumation cemeteries as a deviation from the norm, an anomaly in a “clearly Christian burial ground” (Taavitsainen et al. 2009: 210), but nothing more. The researchers have given several quick explanations for this phenomenon, mostly in the context of one burial ground, but none of them have considered the phenomenon as a whole. Cremation burials have mostly been thought simply to represent the older tradition, which gave way to (early Christian) inhumations. Ella Kivikoski (1955: 66; 1961: 231–233) suggested that it was the opposite, a pagan reaction to Christianization, but later proposed that the cremated individuals were people who died far away and were cremated for easier transport to the home cemetery. Many researchers have agreed with this idea (Purhonen 1998: 129–131; Taavitsainen et al. 2009: 210; Ikäheimo et al. 2017: 103). Even a panic reaction has been suggested: Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander (1988: 198) argues that the cremated remains and additional bones might be a sign of the local people moving the bones of their ancestors hastily from old graves into a new burial ground as a ’panic reaction‘ to Christianity. This was done to ensure that their ancestors had access to the eternal Christian afterlife, as well as to secure the good graces of the Christian authorities.

Calling these cemeteries simply inhumation cemeteries or Christian cemeteries is an oversimplification of a diverse set of burials within a shared burial ground. The cremation burials are not simply a deviation, since they can form up to 20% of all burials within these cemeteries (Puolakka 2019b: 57). Most of the cremation burials have been found inside and usually on top of the inhumations

(Fig. 1.2). This means that the cremation burials were not simply an older burial custom in these cemeteries, as stratigraphically they would have been buried at the same time or later than the inhumed bodies underneath them.

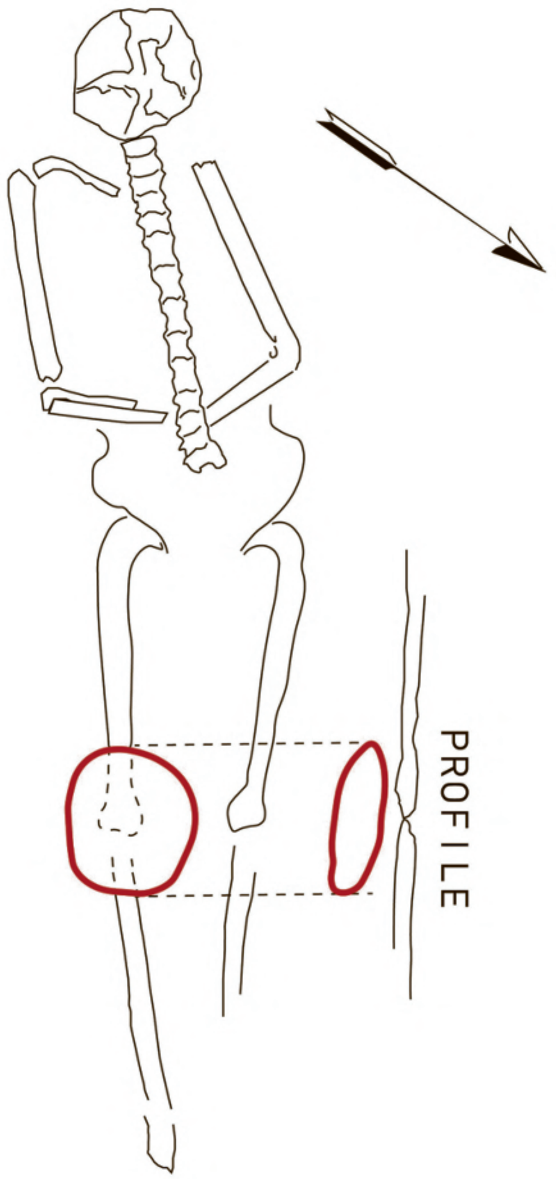

Figure 1.2. Grave IV/2/1935 in Kirkailanmäki, illustrating the usual position of the inhumation and the cremated bones (red). Although the details are not documented, the relationship (cremation on top of the knee of the inhumation) is made very clear. (Drawn by H. Puolakka after the sketch (original made without scale) made by J. Leppäaho 1935.)

In connection with many of these shared graves, it is specifically mentioned that there were no signs of the disturbance of an older grave. The same applies to both cremation burials and additional bones, which means that the additional bones were not simply parts of earlier, disturbed graves either. (Leppäaho 1937; Kuusela 2015b.) There are also examples of disturbed graves within some of the studied burial grounds. In those examples, most of the graves were disturbed by recent land use, such as ploughing or road building. When the disturbance seemed more contemporary to the burial, the newer grave usually did not disturb or destroy the older as a whole, but the older grave was left under the newer one. There are no signs that these older, disturbed graves would have been emptied: they seem to have been left as they were. Whatever bones were disturbed were put back into the older grave. (Leppäaho 1937.) This would further indicate that there was no 'practical' reason to move older remains into new graves in the case of such a disturbance.

1.4. The materiality of bodies

1.4.1. The cremated individuals

Most of the cremation burials were found from within inhumations, but some were found as their own, individual graves within the cemeteries. Such individual cremation graves have been found at Kirkailanmäki, Suotniemi, and Valmarinniemi. (For the minimum amount of burials at each site, see Table 1.1.)

Table 1.1. Amounts of inhumations and cremations by site.
The table includes the minimum amount of cremations on each site.

Site	Inhumations	Cremations	Cremations % of all burials
Suotniemi	4	1	20,0 %
Hovinsaari	31	2	6,1 %
Kirkailanmäki	122	29	19,2 %
Tuukkala	58	9	13,4 %
Visulahti	30	4	11,8 %
Toppolanmäki	12	1	7,7 %
Valmarinniemi	88	12	12,0 %
Illinsaari	7	2	22,2 %

An interesting feature is the variation in the amount of bone material within these individual cremation burials: the amount of bone ranges from just a few dozen grams to 1 500 grams, which is not enough to cover all of the bone material left from the body after cremation (Ubelaker 2009: 4). While taphonomic factors will count for some of the loss of bone material, they do not explain the greatly varying amounts of cremated bone within the same cemeteries. It seems that the cremated bone material was divided and part of it was either left at the burning site, scattered, or deposited in different places. This seems to be the case in other forms of cremation burials in Finland during the Iron Age, as well as in many other cremation burial traditions (McKinley 1989: 71-73; Williams 2004; Wickholm and Raninen 2006). The example of the cremation burial in grave 3 at Illinsaari provides a hint of how carefully the cremated bones might have been collected from the pyre. The cremation burial within this grave included over 180 tiny droplets of molten metal. If all of these were collected from the pyre, it would seem that collecting accuracy is not the reason for the missing bones. The bone material in these cremation burials is usually quite clean and does not include much pyre material, such as coal. Occasionally, pieces of burnt jewellery or other molten objects can be found within the cremation burials. (Kuusela 2013; Puolakka 2019a: 21–23.) (Fig. 1.3)

Unfortunately, a lot of information about the cremation burials has been lost due to a lack of accuracy in the excavation reports and the earlier, less meticulous excavation methods. The sites of Tontinmäki, Suotniemi, and partly Tuukkala were excavated already in the 19th century, and the Tuukkala cemetery was partly excavated by soldiers with no professional archaeologist present (Schwindt 2012 [1893]; Mikkola 2009). Tuukkala was also excavated multiple times during a period of more than a century (Mikkola 2009). Toppolanmäki was excavated mostly in the 1930s[3] and Visulahti in the 1950s, and these reports are naturally not up to modern standards (Puolakka 2019a). Two big cemeteries, Kirkailanmäki and Valmarinniemi, were excavated in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but their excavation reports were written in the 21st century, over 30 years after the excavation,

3. Two graves in Toppolanmäki were re-examined with modern methods in the 21st century. Neither of them included any cremated remains or additional bones. See: Moilanen, U. 2019. Alustavia tuloksia kalmistokaivauksista Valkeakoskella 2017–2018 [Preliminary results from an excavation at a burial ground in Valkeakoski 2017–2018]. Pirkan maan alta 16, 30–37.

Figure 1.3. Cremation (PH2) within the grave 3, Illinsaari. Some of the cremations had considerably big pieces of burnt bone, such as the half of the mandibula in this cremation. (Photograph: H.-L. Puolakka.)

which is why they are not as accurate as they could be (Hirviluoto and Vuoristo 2010; Koponen and Pelttari 2016). Illinsaari is the only site that has been researched with fully modern methods (Kuusela 2013, 2015a; Puolakka 2019a). Especially in the case of the older excavations, the meticulousness of the reports varies greatly. For this reason, the exact number of cremation burials is unclear. In many cases, the cremation burials within the inhumations were not recognized as burials, and the cremated bones were reported only as findings from within the inhumation or the cemetery. Due to this, it is hard to reconstruct the exact positions or amounts of the cremated bones and burials within some of the cemeteries. The greatest number of cremation burials has been found at the Kirkailanmäki site in Hollola. In the excavation report from Kirkailanmäki, Leppäaho states that most of the cremation burials were placed on top of the inhumations (Leppäaho 1937.)

The question of when the cremation burials were interred in the graves remains unanswered. The earliest researchers thought that they were older burials that were simply moved aside when the inhumation was made. On the basis of the large number of combined burials, I would argue that not all of these inhumations were placed accidentally on the site of an earlier cremation grave. In many cemeteries, the graves do not overlap much, which indicates that there was enough unused space for new burials (Fig. 1.4). This leaves the question of whether the cremated bones were interred in the grave at the same time as the initial burial or later. While no signs of any disturbance in the soil of the inhumation grave has been recorded, the possibility of disturbance cannot be completely ruled out due to the aforementioned lack of accuracy in the initial reports. However, we can look for clues, one of which consists of possible traces of disturbance within the inhumations themselves.

Two of the cremation burials at Kirkailanmäki had disturbed the inhumation in which they were placed. In one case, the cremation burial was inserted on top of the body in the inhumation, but the head and the hands of the body had been moved on top of the cremation burial. In the other example, the feet of the inhumed individual were missing, and the cremation burial had been placed at the feet of the inhumation. In the first case, the manipulation of the unburnt body within the same grave is

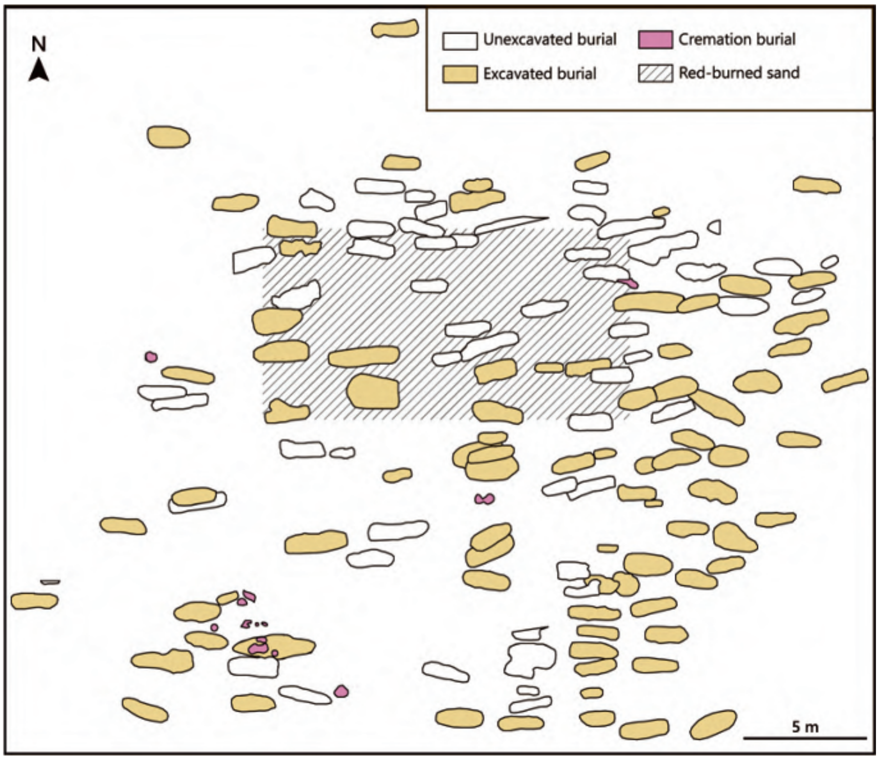

Figure 1.4. Map of Valmarinniemi cemetery, with cremation graves and inhumation graves marked separately. (Map: T. Matila and P. Pelttari.)

clear, but in the second case, it is hard to say whether the feet were lost before death or after, or during the placement of the cremation burial. (Leppäaho 1937.)

There is a possible case of manipulation at the cemetery of Tuukkala as well. One inhumation grave contained a cremation burial, but the foot of the unburnt body was found within the cremation burial. While the foot itself was disarticulated from the body, the bones of the foot were articulated, which indicates that the manipulation of the remains happened when the body was still intact, at the same time as the initial burial was made or not long after this. The report does not mention any disturbance in the topsoil over the grave, which would indicate that the cremation burial was inserted within the inhumation while it was initially made. (Mikkola 2009.) Just like in the Kirkailanmäki cases, it is impossible to say whether the foot was separated from the body before the death of the unburnt individual or during the initial burial, or whether the cremation burial was interred in this inhumation later, disturbing it. The articulation of the bones of these body parts at both Kirkailanmäki and Tuukkala would suggest that if the cremation burial was added to the grave later, it could not have happened long after the initial inhumation was made.

Radiocarbon dating can provide more hints about the relationship of the cremation burials to the inhumations. Unfortunately, not many radiocarbon dates are available from these cremation burials. Cremation burials have been dated only at two sites, Illinsaari and Valmarinniemi. According to the radiocarbon datings, cremation burials were made simultaneously with the inhumations at least at the Valmarinniemi cemetery, where radiocarbon dates from cremation burials range from the 11th century to the 14th century cal. AD (Taavitsainen et al. 2009: 210; Puolakka 2019a: 42–46). These dates prove that cremating was not simply an older burial custom that was neatly replaced by (Christian) inhumations. It is also a clear example of the coexistence of several belief systems within the same area, since some inhumations date to the earlier phase as well (Koponen and Pelttari 2017). Interestingly enough, Valmarinniemi also represents the only actual churchyard within this study since Valmarinniemi is the only one of these eight sites with the remains of a church, which was most likely built in the 14th century (Paavola et al. 2013: 54–55; Koponen and Pelttari 2017). The presence of a church suggests that Christian authorities were present, but these authorities either accepted or did not know about the cremation burials.

Illinsaari provides the only example where both the inhumation and cremation burial within the same grave were dated separately. Grave no. 3 at Illinsaari is the most interesting example, including two different cremation burials, a whole inhumation, and an additional unburnt mandible and cranium. Both cremation burials within the inhumation are at least 100 to 200 years older than the unburnt individuals, as both cremation burials date to cal. AD 1030–1160 and the unburnt bones date to the 14th century cal. AD. (Kuusela 2015a: 10.) This means that there was no direct link between these individuals. It is also good to question whether we can talk about reburial at all in the case of the cremation burials. The cremation burials may not have represented an 'older, disturbed grave', but instead the cremated bones may have been kept elsewhere after the initial cremation ritual and only buried with the inhumation.

Siv Kristofferssen and Terje Oestigaard (2008) present the idea of 'death myths' as the reason for a variety of burial types within the same cemetery. They define death myths as certain ideas that society had about different kinds of death and how to handle the dead. Death myths might explain some of the hybridity seen within the burial grounds and the different ways of handling the remains of the dead. While I do not believe this to be the reason for all the differences between burial types, some of the lingering traditions, such as burning the bodies and burying others with these cremated remains, might be explained by such myths. Maybe the cremated individuals were considered special people who had to be handled in a special way. According to Kristofferssen and Oestigaard, status in life affects rituals in death. Since the cremation burials within this study contain both men and women, both burials with grave goods and without, it seems that the reason for using cremation burial was not connected to the gender or wealth of the deceased. One reason for different burial types within shared burials could be status, but not necessarily economic or social status. Kristofferssen and Oestigaard give the example of religious status holders in Viking-Age Scandinavia (Kristofferssen and Oestigaard 2008: 135). Such status might be one explanation for some of the variation seen in the cemeteries in this study.

Later inhumations have been made in some cremation fields under level ground in Finland. In these cases, a form of collective memory and significance of the place held by the society who used the cemetery throughout the years has been suggested as a reason for continued burial despite the change in burial custom (Wickholm 2008: 91–92). In the case of the cemeteries discussed here, the cremation burials are not simply an older form of burial. The cremation burials are most often made in the same pit with an inhumation. The cremated remains themselves can be contemporaneous with or older than the inhumed remains. As with cremation fields under level ground, this might show a form of collective memory, yet differing in that the memory was not attached to the place, but to the human remains themselves.

1.4.2. Additional bones

A related practice is the presence of 'additional bones': human remains which do not belong the whole individual buried in the inhumation grave. They do not form a second, whole individual. They are unburnt, and thus do not belong to a possibly cremated individual either. These additional bones have been found from at least three cemeteries in my material: Suutarinniemi, Valmarinniemi, and Kirkailanmäki (Leppäaho 1937; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1988; Kuusela 2015b; Koponen and Pelttari 2016). They might be present at some other cemeteries in Finland as well.

One of the explanations given for these additional bones has been that maybe these bones were reburied along with the inhumation as an attempt to give a long-dead relative the possibility of a Christian burial (Lehtosaari-Hilander 1988: 198). This suggestion does not explain why only individual bones were placed in the new grave instead of whole bodies. There are no explanations of where the bones come from, either. For example, in the case of Illinsaari and Valmarinniemi, there are no known older inhumation (or cremation) cemeteries in the vicinity. A disturbed earlier burial might be seen as an explanation, but in these cases, there are no other signs of an earlier burial to be seen within the graves.

The additional bones are harder to study simply because unburnt bone material does not survive well in Finnish soil. Thus, the unburnt bones from the Late Iron Age have often decomposed to a point where they can no longer be analysed fully, or in the case of the most delicate bones, even identified. Some smaller bones might have decomposed altogether or gone unnoticed during the archaeological excavation. The similar decomposition state of the whole individual in these burials might also make it harder to identify the additional bones. However, this does not mean that a whole additional body could go unnoticed within the grave. While the overall preservation is poor, the bones are usually discernible and the outlines of the body are well visible.

I have presented the graves with additional bone elements in Table 1.2. Because of the poor overall state of preservation, long bones and skulls as elements might be overrepresented in the material. Bigger bone elements are more easily recognized at the excavation, even by workers with no osteological background. Especially mandibles are easy to recognize as such due to the presence and better preservation of tooth enamel.

Table 1.2. Additional bones in inhumation graves within each site.

Site	grave no.	skull/s	long bone/s	other	reference
Illinsaari	3	x	x	x	Kuusela 2013
Illinsaari	12	x	x		Kuusela 2015a
Illinsaari	13	x			Kuusela 2015a
Valmarinniemi	11		x		Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	14	x			Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	17		x	x	Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	24		x	x	Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	38	x			Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	44	x			Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	46		x	x	Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	47		x	x	Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	51		x	x	Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Valmarinniemi	54			x	Koponen & Pelttari 2016
Kirkailanmäki	XX-XXI/1935		x	x	Leppäaho 1937
Kirkailanmäki	XXV/1935	x	x	x	Leppäaho 1937
Kirkailanmäki	1/1936		x		Salmo 1936
Kirkailanmäki	3/1936	x	x		Salmo 1936
Kirkailanmäki	4/1936	x			Salmo 1936
Kirkailanmäki	12/1936		x		Salmo 1936
Kirkailanmäki	13/1936	x			Salmo 1936
Kirkailanmäki	17/1936	x			Salmo 1936
Kirkailanmäki	52/1936	x			Salmo 1936

At Illinsaari, there were at least two additional skulls placed on top of the inhumation. In grave 3, a cranium was placed on top of the chest of the whole body. In grave 12, mandible and cranium were placed on top of the knees of the whole body. In grave 13, an additional bone, identified as possibly part of a cranium, was placed at the feet of the whole body. Other additional bones within these inhumations at Illinsaari were more scattered: most of the additional bones were found from underneath the whole individual within grave 3, and an unidentified long bone was found at the feet of the whole individual within grave 12. In addition to the additional human bones, also the cranium of a cervid was found in grave 2, where it was placed on top of the head of the body. (Kuusela 2013; Kuusela 2015b.) This is unusual, since no other animal crania are known from these cemeteries, and usually the animal remains can be traced to funerary meals or furs used in clothing or wrapping of the body.

Sometimes the bones are articulated in a way that reveals that they were probably inserted into the grave while the soft tissue was still attached to the bones. Such is the case at, for example, Illinsaari, Ii, where the skull in grave 12 had the mandible still articulated with the cranium. In grave 3, the additional spine and ribs were interpreted to have been articulated as well (Kuusela 2013).

The excavation report from Valmarinniemi also contains several mentions of additional bones. Unfortunately, the bone material from Valmarinniemi was in a such an advanced state of decomposition that the additional bones could not be further analysed in most cases. The osteological report was written in 2015, 30 years after the initial excavation, and many of the stored bones could no longer be identified or analysed. (Maijanen 2015.) As in the case of Illinsaari, skulls and long bones might be overrepresented in the material from Valmarinniemi due to better preservation and easier identification.

The report from grave 11 at Valmarinniemi mentions additional long bones that were positioned on top of the pelvis and legs of the whole body in the inhumation. Grave 14 contained two adult-sized bodies along with one additional skull placed on top of the pelvises of the whole bodies. It is specifically noted in the excavation report that there is no body attached to this third skull. In grave 17, there were some additional bones on top of the inhumation, and these bones did not belong to the whole body. In grave 24, the report mentions several additional post-cranial bones, that were found disarticulated on top of the whole body within the grave, but there is no mention of a disturbed burial at the site of the grave. In grave 38, an additional child's skull was placed on top of the pelvis of the whole body. The excavation report specifically mentions that the body of the child was missing. In grave 44, the report again mentions that a child's skull was buried on top of the body of an adult, but there is no mention of the rest of the body of the child, and the age could not be estimated. The report also mentions badly decomposed additional bones in the filling of graves 46 and 47. In grave 51, there were several additional bones without a skull buried in a hollowed-out log or a sled on top of another inhumation. These bones were not anatomically positioned and lacked mandible and cranium. In grave 54, some additional but unidentifiable bones are reported as lying on top of the inhumation. Interestingly, there was also a reported inhumation grave of a child on top of cremation burial M at Valmarinniemi. However, the bones were so badly decomposed that it remains unclear whether the body was whole. (Maijanen 2015; Koponen and Pelttari 2016.)

I have excluded clearly disturbed burials from this list. Grave 45 at Valmarinniemi could form an example of such a burial. In grave 45, disarticulated bones were found in the filling of the grave. These bones most likely belonged to grave 45, which was disturbed, while another grave was made adjoining it. (Koponen and Pelttari 2016.)

At least some of the additional bones at Kirkailanmäki might come from older, disturbed burials. In his excavation report of the site, Salmo (1936) had carefully marked the relationships between graves, but the possibility of disturbance cannot be wholly ruled out, as the cemetery was more densely occupied with more overlapping graves than the other two sites. Unfortunately, the quality of the reports from Kirkailanmäki varies greatly, and full certainty cannot be reached. Because it closely resembles the sites of Illinsaari and Valmarinniemi, especially with the placement of skulls on top of the middle region of the whole body, I have decided to include it for reference. As with Valmarinniemi, I have excluded obviously disturbed graves from Kirkailanmäki from the list and only included the inhumations that include probable additional bones (Fig. 1.5). For example, in the 1978–1979 excavations, a few disturbed graves or 'bone pits' were found in which the bones of one or more individuals were completely disarticulated and mixed (Hirviluoto & Vuoristo 2010). As interesting as these features are, they do not fit the description of additional bones in an otherwise whole inhumation and were thus excluded from the list, although they might link to it.

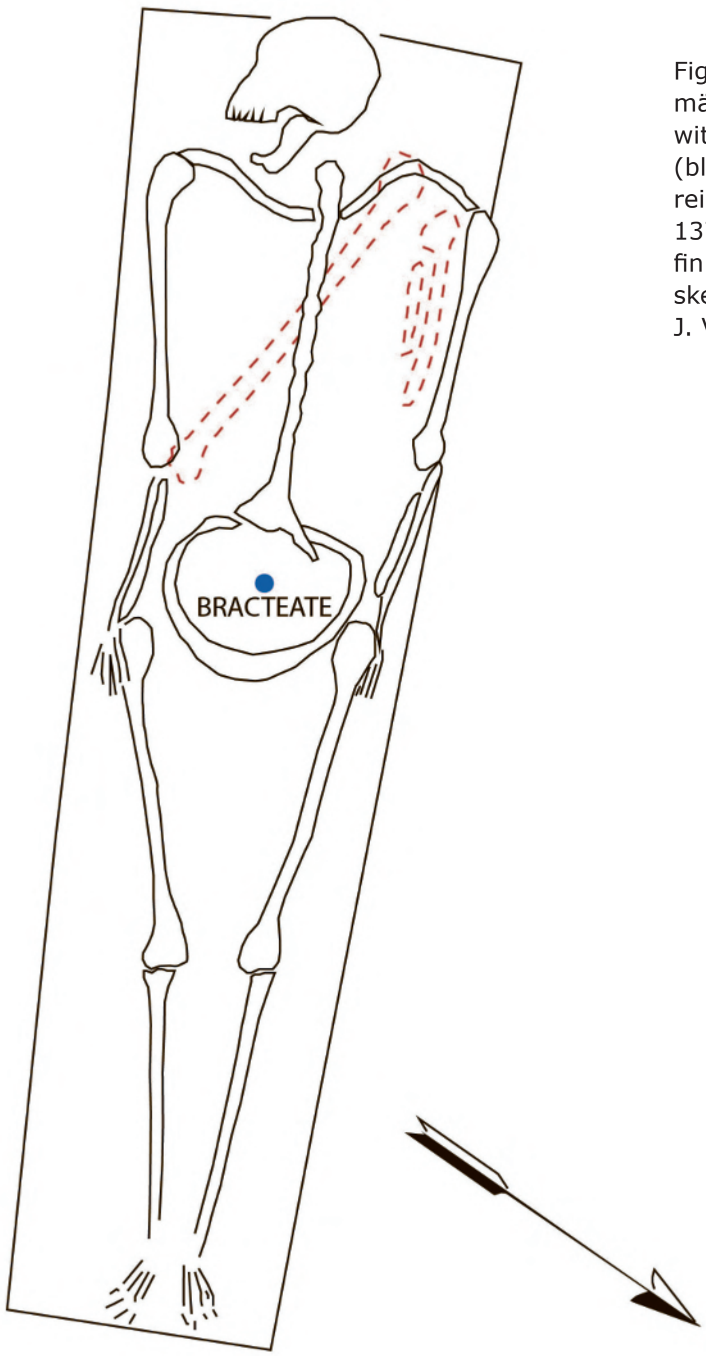

Figure 1.5. Grave I/1936 in Kirkailanmäki, illustrating the additional bones within the grave (red). The bracteate (blue) was probably made during the reign of Albert of Mecklenburg, circa 1370-1380. Note the outlines of a coffin. (Drawn by H.-L. Puolakka after the sketch (original made without scale) of J. Voionmaa 1936.)

Most often the additional skulls seem to be placed on top of the middle part of the primary body. In comparison to the Illinsaari material, it seems that some of the skulls from Valmarinniemi that are interpreted as belonging to children and found on top of adult inhumations might actually be additional skulls without a body. Children buried as whole bodies at Valmarinniemi were either buried alone, or in the case of double graves, placed next to, not on top of, the adult body. (Maijanen 2015; Koponen and Pelttari 2016; Puolakka 2019a: 36.)

As additional bones are present in many graves both at Illinsaari and Valmarinniemi, and possibly also at Kirkailanmäki, it is likely that this practice held a particular meaning. The handling of the skulls seems as ritualistic and careful as the handling of the whole bodies in inhumations. It is worth noting that in many societies, the head has been regarded as the seat of personhood (Pardo 1989; Williams 2004). While the positioning of the post-cranial additional bones seems more random, it might still form a ritual that we cannot identify. These bones might have been considered as having less value and might thus have been treated indifferently, or their exact position in the grave might not have been considered important. Maybe the way they were handled did not carry any special meaning at all. This is hard to believe, however, when we look at the handling of other material in the grave. If these additional bones were handled in an indifferent manner, this was done intentionally.

The positioning of these additional bones raises another question: Why were they treated differently from the cremated and inhumed whole individuals? Perhaps the owner of the additional bones was not buried at the cemetery for a certain reason. The reason might be a punishment or a previously unrecognized disposal method involving either burial and then exhumation, or the above-ground storage of the body. The question still remains of whether the additional bones were put in the inhumations as a sort of 'grave good' for the whole individual or whether the intention was to benefit the individual represented by the additional bones, or perhaps both.

The radiocarbon dates from grave 3 at Illinsaari provide an interesting perspective on these additional bones. Unfortunately, Illinsaari is the only site where the additional bones have been dated separately from the other elements within the grave. In grave 3, the additional skull was dated to be contemporary with the whole body within the grave (cal. AD 1300–1410) (Kuusela 2015a: 10). This rules out the theory that older bones would have been reburied here. It also rules out the possibility that the skull came from an older, disturbed grave. If a contemporary or only slightly older grave had existed in the same place, it would most likely have been known or even visible to the people making the inhumation. Again, the possible presence of an older grave also does not explain why only some of the bones would have been kept with the new grave.

While this radiocarbon dating answers an interesting question, it also raises a lot of new questions: who was this individual and why did only their head end up within this burial? Was the individual who was represented only by the additional bones specifically sacrificed and killed for this burial or did they simply happen to die at the same time as the inhumed person? Why would they get such a different treatment from the primary inhumation? And how does such a complicated burial relate to the arrival of Christianity and the local parish, which was formed in the 1370s? The age difference between the different elements within grave 3 further underlines the complexity of this burial, in which the cremated remains were as much as 200 years older than the unburnt remains.

1.5. Agency in death

These areas, the borderlands, had their own agency. In these borderlands, influences, beliefs, people, and thoughts from the surrounding areas met and, through third-space encounters, were then formed into new ideas and beliefs. The societies of the borderlands were not fully submissive to the forming states of Sweden and Novgorod, but they were not isolated either.

The material at hand raises the question of the agency of the dead in these past societies. The dead could have had a lot of agency, like in the suggested explanation of the cremated individuals representing special people. People could have been seen as having a lot of agency even after passing from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead. Or the material bodies could also have been considered as only a type of grave good, an object without much agency, included in the grave only to profit the whole individual and perhaps their society. One explanation might be that the cremated bones were not put into the inhumation to ensure a better afterlife for the cremated individual; they might have been an offering of sorts to the inhumed individual. The same might apply to the additional bones, although the mechanism would not be the same, since the form is different. It is important to remember that the dead could have held meanings associated with both objects and people at the same time (Williams 2004). I find this to be the most likely explanation for the handling of the dead within these cemeteries.

I believe the dead also had their own agency within these societies. This can be seen in the mixed burial customs where old customs met new ones. The agency of an individual did not end with death, although it might have transformed into something new, such as the position of an ancestor, through possible cremation and burial rites. The personhood of the dead did not necessarily disappear when death occurred (Williams 2004). The old, cremated remains did not seem to lose their agency when new beliefs reached these areas. In the cases where the cremated remains are as much as 200 years older than the inhumed individual, there is no straightforward connection between the buried people. However, there might have been an indirect connection formed by memories or recognized ancestry passed down through the generations. The old remains were treated with the same respect as the new ones. The burial of the cremated bones does not necessarily mean that old customs or the memory of the ancestors were abandoned. Perhaps only the place of memory and way of remembrance changed.

In the case of inhumations made in cremation fields under level ground, it has been suggested that the individuals making the inhumations belonged to the same society as the cremated individuals. Despite adopting new a burial custom, these inhumed individuals, as well as the society that buried them, still wanted to connect with their former dead, their ancestors. (Wickholm 2008: 92.) It is likely that in the cemeteries discussed in this chapter we can see a similar idea, though applied in a different manner in practice. People's desire or need to be close to their ancestors did not change, only the way of accomplishing this changed.

Inserting the cremated remains could have been a means of creating ancestry. There are examples of other cases in which there are long intervals between the deaths of the buried or burials made in the same place. In some cases, the newer burials made long after the previous ones have been explained as a means of securing and claiming land ownership or claiming status through ancestry, a way of kinship building (Satalecki 2016: 50–51). Perhaps the inhumed individual or the relatives who buried them claimed a connection to a mythical past by burying the recently dead with the cremated ancestor. Perhaps the ancestors did not have to be from times long past. Maybe ownership could be transferred also from recently cremated special individuals to a recently inhumed one. Cremation as a form of transforming an individual from the realm of the living to the realm of ancestors has been suggested before (Williams 2004; Wickholm and Raninen 2006).

In the shared burials, we can see the hybridity of old and new ideas. Maybe some of the old beliefs placed more significance on the handling of the dead and the material body, especially the cremation and subsequently the cremated remains of an individual. The old beliefs could also have held different meanings for different parts of the dead body, which is why they were included in other burials. Christian influences suggest that bodies should be buried whole, with no grave goods, and in a shared burial ground. It seems like the societies using these cemeteries neither abandoned their old beliefs nor continued them as they were, but kept some customs and combined them with new ones: they buried the cremated remains and additional bones with modern bodies in a respectful way as a part of the same ritual. One example of a such careful ritual might be seen at Illinsaari, where the cremated bones were probably intentionally scattered very evenly in the filling of the inhumation grave (Kuusela 2013). Maybe the custom of creating ancestry with a shared burial was born only of this hybridity.

In the material, we can see a slow process with multiple different rituals performed over time. Most show careful placing of the cremated remains and additional bones inside the graves. The cremated remains and additional bones were not buried to get them 'out of sight, out of mind'. On the contrary, they were buried in a new location of collective memory, a location for remembering the dead. They were taken where the new customs had moved, and there is no reason to believe that they were not respected and remembered in the same way that the inhumed individuals were.

These shared burials show that the society making the burials did not completely give up their old beliefs but negotiated a system of their own, combining old ideas with new influences to create something distinctly different. This is typical of the hybridity of the third space. In such religious transformations, new ideas are not just accepted as a given or forced from the top down but made to work by the society and for the society itself (Fahlander 2007, Ylimaunu et al. 2014; Puolakka 2019a).

1.6. Conclusions

The long timespan during which burials with cremation burials, additional bones, and grave goods were made contradicts the earlier suggested quick conversion to Christianity. There is nothing in the studied material that suggests an abrupt change or a panic reaction from one burial type or belief system to another. The material resembles a more traditional slow religious transformation where hybridity has played a great role in the creation of new traditions and forms of burial. This begs for a closer look at the process of Christianization. I would suggest abandoning the simple dualistic classification of Christian and non-Christian, which ignores this slow process and hybridity.

While the burnt and unburnt remains seem to have been handled and treated in different ways and thus probably held different meanings to the society who made the burials, they are connected within the context of these burials, sometimes being a part of the same ritual. The agency of the dead was not lost by a sudden conversion to Christianity. On the contrary, the sites show respect towards and careful handling of the remains, both old and new, cremated and unburnt. This paints a picture of a practice where manipulating the bodies played an important role, and the ways of handling these bodies, burnt or unburnt, whole or in pieces, were not insignificant. The custom shows that while the form of handling the dead was changing during this time, it did not mean that ancestors and old beliefs were completely abandoned. The careful burial within the same graves shows a continuing remembrance and a hybridization of beliefs.

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Hanna-Leena Puolakka is a doctoral student at the University of Oulu, Finland. Puolakka completed her master's thesis on the Late Iron Age burials, in particular the phenomena of cremations within inhumations. She is currently writing her PhD on burial cultures within Northern Fennoscandia during Late Iron age and Early Medieval Period.

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2
Atypical burials and variations in burial customs in the church of Renko, Finland

Ulla Moilanen & Markus Hiekkanen

Abstract

The stone church of Renko was built in the 16th century, abandoned and ruined in the mid-17th century, dismantled, and finally rebuilt in 1783. It was preceded by one or perhaps two consecutive wooden churches built at the same location since the beginning of the 15th century. Extensive archaeological excavations were conducted inside the church in 1984 when the wooden floor was replaced with a stone floor. Seventy-one graves dating from the 15th to the 18th century were found during the excavations. Grave sites under the church floor were expensive and usually reserved for individuals of high social status, such as priests, officials, and wealthy landowners. There is usually little variation in church burial customs, as they follow Christian traditions and contemporary legislation. However, the graves in the Renko church include a few distinctive burials in terms of burial position and treatment of the corpse. This chapter analyses these burials and explains them in the wider contexts of church burials and non-normative graves.

Keywords: Historical period, church burial, atypical burial, infant burial, autopsies, artefacts in graves

2.1. Introduction

The early 1980s can be described as a time of transition in church archaeology, which was officially acknowledged as a specific branch of archaeology in 1981 (Crabtree 2001: 336). Until then, excavations at churches in Finland were almost exclusively carried out by art historians and architects, while scholars with an archaeological background and experience in fieldwork techniques were absent. This was part of a wider European phenomenon, but in Finland, the situation had its roots also in the complex structure of antiquarian work and the indifferent attitude towards medieval and historical archaeology – apart from building archaeology in the strictest sense – since the early 20th century.[1]

In the summer and early autumn of 1984, an archaeological excavation was carried out in the stone church of Renko in south-western Häme (Tavastia) (Fig. 2.1) in connection with plans to replace the wooden floor with a stone floor. It was one of the first church excavations carried out by professional archaeologists in Finland, and because of the exceptional history of the church, it was also one of the first excavations to focus on the careful excavation of historical graves located inside a church.

1. In 1981, a professional archaeologist was appointed for the first time to carry out comprehensive field archaeological investigations in a medieval church in Finland. This was instigated by Antero Sinisalo, head of the Department of Building History and Architecture (Rakennushistorian osasto) of the National Board of Antiquities (today Finnish Heritage Agency). The site was the parish church of Espoo (Swedish Esbo; since 2004, the cathedral of the diocese of Espoo) (see Hiekkanen 1988, 1989, 2007).

This chapter reviews the excavation in the context of church archaeology in general and reanalyses the burial practices and the most distinctive graves observed in the church. How well do the early modern church burials follow the Christian traditions and legislation? How can the variations in the burial customs be interpreted?

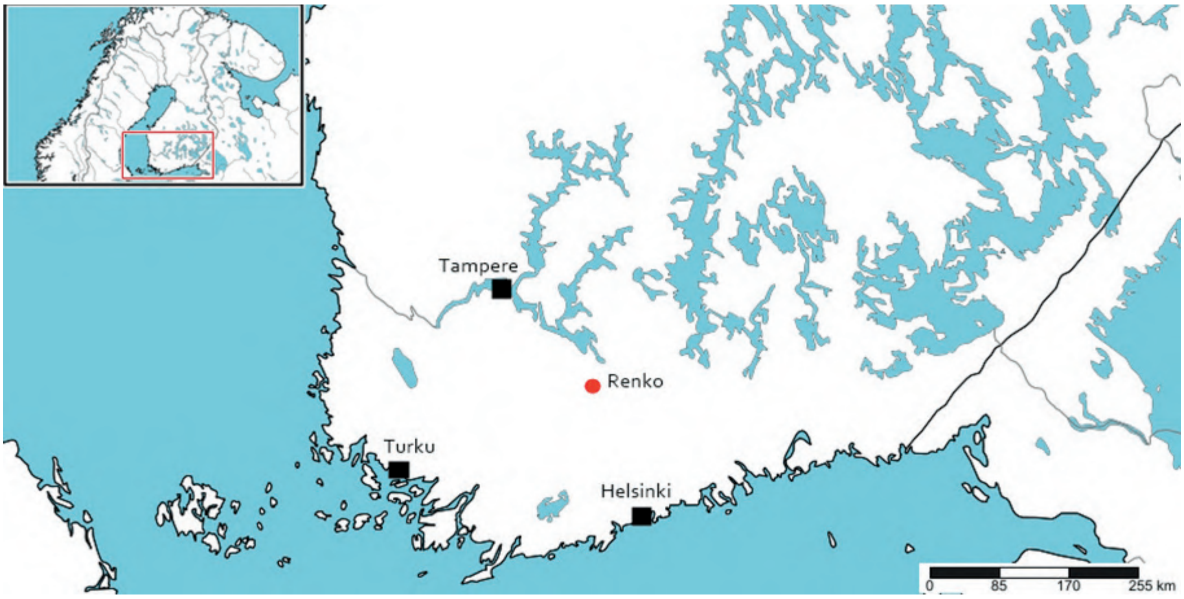

Figure 2.1. The location of Renko and large modern cities. (Map: U. Moilanen.)

Only a few publications on the Renko church are available before the 1980s, most likely because of a lack of interest in the church due to its architectural history (see e.g. Aulanko 1913; Elovaara 1933). Even though a medieval stone church had stood on the site of the present church, it had fallen out of use in the middle of the 17th century apparently because of structural problems. After that, the locals had taken stones and other building materials from the church, accelerating its fall into ruin. According to historical documents, the walls of the ruined church were only a couple of metres high after that. In 1775, a decision was made to rebuild the stone church, but it was not until 1783 when a new stone church was erected on the foundations of the old stone church (Fig. 2.2). The construction of the new church followed the same octagonal nave, which was built between 1510/1520 and 1550/1560 (Hiekkanen 1990: 247–254, 1993: 66, 2007: 323, 2020: 414–418). It is not clear where church services were held immediately after the abandonment of the stone church, but according to a tradition from the 1770s, an abandoned farmhouse near the churchyard was used as a temporary church between the mid-17th century and 1730. Between 1730 and 1731, a wooden church was built in the churchyard (Fig. 2.3). The original 15th-century churchyard around the old stone church was used for burials continuously during all this time, but after the abandonment of the first stone church, relatively few graves had been dug inside its walls.

Figure 2.2. The stone church of Renko, built in the 1780s on the foundation of a medieval stone church. View from southwest. (Photograph: M. Hiekkanen.)

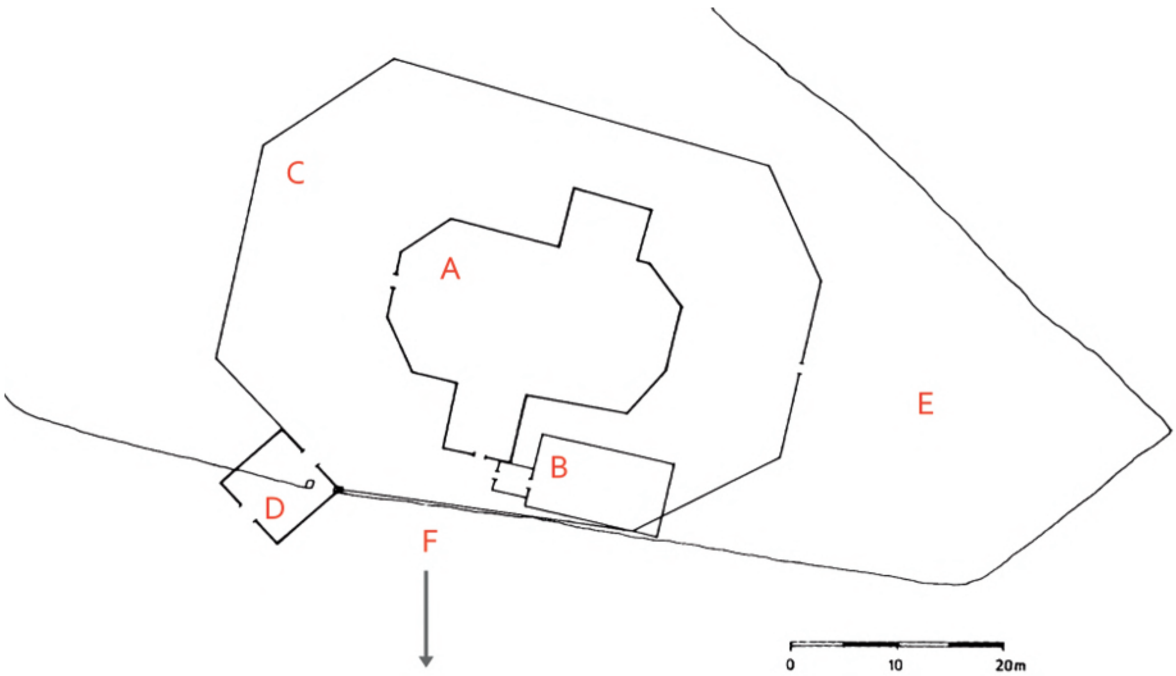

Figure 3.3. The plan of the church and churchyard of Renko in the 1730s. A = Ruin of the medieval octagonal stone church. B = The wooden church built in 1730–1731 and in use until the ruin of the stone church was rebuilt in 1783. C = Plan of the octagonal graveyard of Renko, in use from the beginning of the 15th century to the 19th century. D = Belfry in the south-western part of the octagonal graveyard, demolished probably in the beginning of the 19th century. E = Boundary of the present graveyard. F = The arrow shows the approximate location where the first wooden church building might have stood immediately after the stone church was abandoned in the middle of the 17th century. [Original reconstruction by M. Hiekkanen and drawing by A. Valo, Finnish Heritage Agency in 1992 (after Hiekkanen 1993: 83) with additions by U. Moilanen 2019.]

The architectural history of the stone church turned out to be archaeologically fortunate. Because only a few graves were dug inside the ruined church after the 1650s, older graves dating prior to this were partly intact. The proper excavation of older graves in Finnish medieval churches is usually difficult because of the enormous amount of graves from the late 17th and 18th centuries, as digging these later graves has mostly destroyed the older graves from the medieval and early modern periods (in Finland ca AD 1225–1560/1600).

The excavations took place in July–September 1984, during which time an area of 215.5 m^2 was excavated in the nave. A total of 71 graves (Fig. 2.4) were carefully excavated, although not comprehensively documented due to the lack of time allocated for the excavation (Hiekkanen 1985b). In addition, 36 skulls and a large number of disarticulated bones from destroyed graves were found. The painstakingly slow excavation process was not expected by the parish of Renko or the National Board of Antiquities. Traditionally church excavations consisted merely of sieving the soil for objects, and excavating individual graves was not seen as productive.

The architectural history of the church provided the opportunity to establish a relative chronology for the graves. It was noted at an early phase of the work that the filling material in certain graves varied from that in the others. In many cases, the grave fill consisted of the same material as the natural layers around the grave pit, namely clay or very fine sand, depending on the part of the church floor where the burial was made. In some cases, the fill also contained large quantities of broken mortar, fragments of brick, and gravel. According to the model formulated, the graves with pure natural clay or sand were dug before the mid-17th century. Mortar and brick rubbish cannot have contaminated the grave fill at the time when the chapel congregation used wooden churches. Even during the use of the stone church, it is highly unlikely that there would have been mortar and brick gravel on the church floor from which it could have ended up in the grave fillings. It is more plausible that rubbish and gravel gathered on the floor of the nave when the building was in a state of decay and used as a quarry by the members of the chapel congregation between the mid-17th century and 1783. Therefore, the graves containing rubbish in the grave fill were likely dug after the mid-17th century but before 1783.

Figure 2.4. Plan of excavated graves in the Renko church in 1984. The two parallel rows of stones in the east-west direction in the nave are part of the founding structure of the church floor and the gallery built in 1895. The stones along the inner walls of the nave and the porch are part of the foundation of the stone church. [Drawing by R. Peltonen and P. Savolainen, Finnish Heritage Agency in 1984 (after Hiekkanen 1993: 84).]

2.2. Aims and methods

The primary purpose of examining graves at the Renko church was to find artefacts. During the 1970s and 1980s, the very few Finnish archaeologists who were interested in the medieval period were keen to establish an object chronology similar to that already formulated decades ago by Iron Age scholars. They hoped that the study of graves in medieval churches would open up possibilities in this area. The church of Renko was the first to present such an opportunity, and it was enthusiastically grasped by Markus Hiekkanen, one of the authors.

The skeletons and traces of coffin structures were documented by means of description, measurement, and photography but left *in situ,* which meant that more detailed osteological analysis and further study of the buried individuals could not be carried out.[2] However, in addition to the skeletal remains, also the presence of coffins and grave goods, the orientation of the graves, and the positioning of the skeletons and their limbs and skulls were fairly well documented, enabling the reanalysis of burial customs.

Burials were made inside churches from very early on since the introduction of the territorial parish system in Finland between approximately AD 1225 and 1250. The tradition gradually became more common after the 13th century, at first among the clergy and later among other wealthy and high-status members of society (Valk 1994: 62; Paavola 1998: 36; Mytum 2003: 801). The practice of burying the dead under the church floor lost its appeal already in the late 18th century when a royal statute against it was proclaimed in the 1770s. However, the tradition was completely abandoned only at the beginning of the 1820s (Gardberg et al. 2003: 63; Viitaniemi 2018: 53). Until the 17th century, church burials were regulated not only religiously and legally but also socially, as they were mainly practised by socially distinct groups of people. Gradually the regulations became less strict as parishes tried to cope with the dire economies of the 17th and 18th centuries. This was the time when economic status, rather than formal status, allowed families to bury their members inside churches. As a consequence, the number of graves under church floors increased significantly. This increase intrinsically carried the seeds of the eventual prohibition to bury inside churches. The smell of putrefaction from graves that were often left too shallow, as well as insects and their larvae spreading diseases, became increasingly poorly tolerated over time, and this development reached its peak in the 18th century.

Burial customs in churches have usually been perceived as rather uniform, following long-established Christian traditions. Graves were usually aligned in the east-west direction or at least following the axis of the side walls of the churches[3], and the corpses were placed in the graves in an extended supine position with their heads to the west, facing the rising sun (O'Sullivan 2013: 261).

Rare features in graves, such as anomalous orientations or unusual body positions, have often been called 'deviant' or 'atypical' (Murphy 2010; Gardeła 2017). These atypical burials have traditionally been interpreted as signs of apotropaic practices or ways of punishment for immoral life and crimes committed (Purhonen 1998: 163; Riisøy 2015), or as reactions towards a 'bad death' (Mytum 2017). However, current studies emphasize individual – and not only negative – interpretations, for example, the varied circumstances at the time of death and burial and the qualities of the deceased (Gardeła 2017; Harjula and Moilanen 2018: 164; Moilanen 2018a: 21, 29–30; Toplak 2018; Koski and Moilanen 2019: 84–85). In this chapter, we discuss how these kinds of 'atypical' features should be interpreted in the context of late and post-medieval church burials. We do not pay attention to arm positions, as previous studies have shown there to be considerable variation in arm positions in

2. The prevailing direction of the stone or wooden churches is from east to west, but in practice, there is variation from church to church. When a grave pit was dug in a church or churchyard, it can be assumed that the orientation of the pit was based on the alignment of the side walls of the church. It would seem unpractical for a grave digger to have to calculate the correct east-west axis independently.

3. Two reasons for this were evident. First, the National Board of Antiquities was not interested in accepting skeletons from historical inhumation graves for storage in its collections (this policy is still followed by the Finnish Heritage Agency, but initially it was the view of the higher staff of the office of archaeology, mainly Aarni Erä-Esko and Paula Purhonen), and it was determined that there was no room for them in the storage. There was also a strong sentiment among the population of the parish of Renko that the remains of the community's ancestors should rest where they were once buried. Thus the excavation leader decided to gather only one inconspicuous bone (right clavicle) from all the graves where it was still present. This was carried inconspicuously at night, as the excavation leader had access to the church. These clavicles were catalogued and are now stored in the archaeological collections of the Finnish Heritage Agency (formerly the National Board of Antiquities)

general, making the interpretations difficult and problematic (Kieffer-Olsen 1993: 78; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 15–16, 156). Leg positions is not discussed as often as arm positions, and its significance is somewhat unclear. As there is one significantly different leg positioning in an otherwise ‘normal’ burial in Renko, we have included it in our list of atypical burials in the church.

2.3. Varied body positions and manipulated bodies

Most of the skeletons in the Renko church were found in an extended supine position. In only four cases out of 71, the position seemed to be different from the rest, and two of these can be explained by natural causes. During the excavation, the skeletons in graves 15 and 26 were interpreted to have been positioned partly on their sides (Hiekkanen 1985a: 19, 21). The interpretation was based on the slightly rotated upper bodies and skulls and the positioning of the upper arms. However, the photographs from the excavation show that the pelvic and thoracic areas, as well as the lower limbs of both of the skeletons, are in a horizontal position (Fig. 2.5). This indicates that the corpses were laid in the grave in a ‘normal’, supine position. The initial interpretation may have been a result of uneven bottoms in the grave pits, as both burials had been made without coffins. These two graves should therefore not be considered atypical.

Figure 2.5. Grave 15 on the left and grave 26 on the right. (Photographs: P. O. Welin 1984, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

Four of the 71 graves were located under the floor of the porch and named A–D. None of these four graves contained mortar or brick pieces, indicating that they were likely dug before the abandonment of the first stone church in the mid-17th century. It is possible that the graves were dug inside a wooden porch connected to this first stone church (Hiekkanen 2007: 323–324, 2020: 414–417).

Grave A was apparently made without a coffin, and the grave pit was only slightly larger than the corpse accommodating it. The skeleton was lying in a ‘normal’ supine position, but the lower limbs were crossed at the ankles, the left on top of the right (Hiekkanen 1985a: 27).

Figure 2.6. Grave B under the porch floor was made without a coffin. The flexed position has been supported by the grave fill. (Photograph: P. O. Welin 1984, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

Grave B did not include a coffin either, but the exact size of the grave pit could not be determined. The skeleton was found in an unusual position with knees and elbows flexed (Fig. 2.6). The arms were tightly bent at the elbows, and the hands were on their respective shoulders, apparently palms upwards (Hiekkanen 1985a: 27). Based on the position, the grave was filled immediately after the interment of the corpse. If there had been a void, such as an empty burial chamber, the bones would have been displaced during the decomposition process. For the body position to survive, the grave fill must have provided support for the skeleton (see Duday 2009: 38, 40).

Grave 2 was located between the vault pilasters. It contained the skeleton of an adult who was buried in a seemingly 'normal' position. However, the cranium of the individual had been sawn horizontally in two – a clear sign of post-mortem examination (Fig. 2.7.) It is unclear whether the skeleton had other evidence of autopsy, namely traces of instruments on clavicles, ribs, and vertebrae (see Start 2002; Mitchell et al. 2011). According to the mortar and brick pieces in the grave filling, the burial took place between ca 1650 and 1780. The official instructions on autopsies were taken into use in 1734, and they stated that corpses should be examined in the case of sudden death and suicide, if the corpse had injuries, or if a crime was suspected (Eriksson and Jones 2017: 290). This description and time frame would narrow the grave's dating to a period from the late 1730s to the 1780s, and it may also yield details about the death of the individual.

Figure 2.7. The horizontally sawn skull from grave 2. (Photograph: Hiekkanen 1993: 88.)

2.4. Infant graves and anomalous orientations

Twelve of the excavated graves belonged to infants. The infant graves are a minority, and it seems that no particular place in the church was reserved only for them. This contrasts with evidence for the segregation of graves based on the age of the buried individual noted at the church of Espoo (Hiekkanen 1988, 1989). There are also archival sources from some churches, such as Eurajoki, stating that certain areas in churches should be reserved for the burial of small children and juveniles.

In five cases, infants were buried close to older individuals. Grave 20 belonged to an adult individual, and it was surrounded by three infant graves (34–36) (Fig. 2.8). Infant grave 34 was placed to the left and infant grave 36 to the right of the adult's pelvis. Infant grave 35 was also on the right side, near the foot of the adult. This was the only grave complex with more than one child together with an adult. It was also the only one in the eastern part of the nave, near the altar area. The other children's graves close to older individuals (8 and 47) were located in different, more westerly parts of the nave. Infant grave 8 was found beside an adult (grave 4), close to the adult's left leg.[4] Infant grave 47 was also dug near an adult or a juvenile[5] (grave 46). These graves were located in the south-eastern part of the nave.

Figure 2.8. Grave 20 surrounded by infant graves 34–36. (Photograph: P. O. Welin 1984, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

It might be interesting to note that according to the relative dating of the graves, all the adults buried approximately during the same time with children beside them can be dated to the period when the first stone church was not in use anymore, that is, after the mid-17th century. Five of the seven infant graves (3, 48, 50, 55, and 57) that did not seem to have a connection with an adult's grave were also dug after the mid-17th century. This means that only two individual graves of children (37 and 42) were dug earlier, either during the Middle Ages or soon after that. It is quite possible that some of the graves inside the walls of the stone church date to the earliest period of the chapel congregation and thus predate the first stone church, which was built between 1510/1520 and 1550/1560.

Another interesting feature of the children's graves consists of anomalous orientations. Most graves in the church were dug according to the typical Christian tradition in the west–east (head to the west) direction with only minor deviations. The east–west direction seems to have been defined according to the long axis of the nave[6] of the church. In practice, this means that the graves have been oriented according to the long walls of the church. None of the deceased were found with the head at the eastern end of the grave. In only three cases, the orientation stood out as remarkably different (more

4. The age estimation is based on the field observation of the bones and the coffin size, ca 160 x 55–40 cm.

5. The length of the coffin is ca 150 cm and its width at the height of the chest ca 46 cm. The heels seem to have been ca 10 cm from the end plank of the coffin, but the distance between the top of the head and the end plank of the coffin could not be estimated. Thus, the height of the deceased should have been ca 140 cm or a little less.

6. Here the word 'nave' is used to mean the actual church building and not the room between the rows of pillars, as in cathedral architecture, for example. This is because the Renko church was vaulted as a one-aisle building, that is, it had no free-standing pillars with aisles between them.

than 70 degrees), and two of these graves belonged to infants. An infant (grave 47) and an adult or a juvenile (grave 46) were placed side by side but not in the same grave pit, as the distance between the deceased does not support such an interpretation (Fig. 2.9). The digging of these graves had destroyed two older graves (39[7] and 45). Grave 39 was destroyed from the chest downwards, and the skeleton in grave 45 was destroyed from above the chest. Both of the older graves seem to date from the period before the abandonment of the church because the filling material of the graves was clean clay. The orientation of the younger graves 46 and 47 is NNE–SSW. Thus, they were not dug exactly following the N–S-axis of the nave, but they did not follow the orientation of the SE wall of the building either.[8] Interestingly, in grave 47, the deceased was buried with the head in the north, while in grave 46, the head was in the south.

Figure 2.9. Infant grave 47 and adult or juvenile grave 46 with the heads to the south and the north. The digging of the grave pits have destroyed two older graves that have been aligned from east to west. The upper part of grave 46 was most likely damaged in 1895 when foundation stones were put to place to support a new floor structure. (Photograph: P. O. Welin 1984, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

The third infant grave with an anomalous orientation (grave 50) was placed along the western side of the foundation structure of the southern vault pilaster. Thus, the grave was situated quite near the main portal of the church but in the 'shade' (as seen from the east) of the massive vault pilaster.[9] The head of the individual was pointing to the south.

2.5. Artefacts in the graves

Artefacts are quite rare in post-medieval burials, and they are often coins or parts of burial garments, clothes, or shrouds, such as buttons or pins (Kuokkanen and Lipkin 2011; Ruohonen 2018: 8). Sometimes more personal items, such as rings, beads, or tobacco pipes, are found (Varjola 1980; Koski and Moilanen 2019: 72). In Renko, the artefacts consist of coins, beads, and rings, and they were only found in adult graves. It is interesting that even though some remains of fabric were observed in some of the graves, no buttons or pins were found in contact with the skeletons. All the pins (11 in total) and buttons (12 in total) found in the church were stray finds and could not be associated with any specific graves.

A total of 48 medieval coins (mostly bracteates) were found during the excavations (NM Rahakammio 85003). The number is comparatively high compared to many other Finnish medieval churches, especially taking into consideration the relatively late (beginning of the 15th century at the earliest)

7. In the plan of the graves (Hiekkanen 1993: 84) erroneously marked as number 38.

8. The orientations of the graves were measured during the excavations following the assumption that that the nave was built strictly along the E–W axis. This was only to facilitate the measurements: there was no need to use more complex definitions. The actual orientation of the nave is WNW–ESE (See Hiekkanen 1993: 55, 57–58).

9. In the churches of the medieval diocese of Turku, the main portal was in the southern wall, whereas churches in mainland Europe mostly seem to have had the main portal in the western wall (Hiekkanen 1994: 47–48, 361–364).

founding of the first church at the site. The number of post-medieval coins is 38. Twelve or thirteen coins were found in grave fillings (graves 9, 17, 18, 19, 23, 30, 33, 15, 49, 51, and 58, as well as grave A in the porch). The number is partly ambiguous because the original list contains two references to grave 49.[10] Still, the find contexts show that none of the coins can be used to date the graves, and none of the coins was deliberately placed in a grave with the deceased.

Beads (NM 86041) were found in graves 4, 17, and 23, all from the area of the cervical vertebrae and mandible of the deceased (Hiekkanen 1985a, 2006a, 2006b). No remnants or traces of a thread linking the beads were found, indicating that it must have been made of organic material. Grave 4 contained 39 white transparent beads, while 30 black faceted beads were found in grave 17. A total of 54 beads were found in grave 23 (Fig. 2.10). Most of them are black and faceted, but there are also four red faceted beads, as well as one blue and one light blue bead. One of the beads was made of bone or horn. The three graves with beads were located in the south-western part of the nave, but they did not form a group. In grave 4, also fragile textile remnants were found in the skull area. Grave 4 also had an infant buried (grave 8) next to the adult's left leg.

Figure 2.10. Beads found in grave 23. Most of the beads are faceted and made of glass. One round bead is made of bone or horn. (After Hiekkanen 1985b: 304.)

10. This might have been a mistake made during the excavations in 1984, if the wrong grave number was written on one of the find bags.

In addition to the beads, a ring was found in grave 17. According to the stratigraphy, it must have been around the ring finger of the deceased, but it could not be determined whether it had initially been worn on the right or left hand. The finger bones were intermingled after the soft tissues had decayed, and the hand bones had fallen into the abdominal area. Two rings were also found in grave 56, presumably originally worn on the same ring finger of the deceased. Here, too, no distinction can be made between the left and right hands. All the graves with beads and rings date from between 1650 and 1783, according to the chronology based on the material in the grave filling (Hiekkanen 1993: 77, 83, 89).

2.6. Discussion

The most distinct graves in the Renko church are the ones with anomalous body positions (two out of 71), a skeleton with signs of post-mortem examination (one out of 71), the infant burials (twelve out of 71 – two of which also had an anomalous orientation), and the graves with artefacts (four out of 71). Statistically, all these graves are a minority, and in that sense, they may be considered atypical. Another question is whether these graves and features convey other kinds of ideas, messages, symbolism, and meanings than the seemingly 'normal' burials in the church. In previous research, it has been suggested that the variations in burial customs after the Reformation can be explained by the decreasing influence of ecclesiastical authority and the increasingly varied attitudes to human bodies and the afterlife among families and individuals, as well as the fact that it became more acceptable to show emotions in public during the 17th to 19th centuries (Mytum 2017). In this context, we argue that all the different features in the burials should be approached individually. Because of the distinct history of the Renko church, it is also essential to know how the abandoned stone church was perceived as a burial place.

A few burials in the old church in the first half of the 18th century are mentioned in the historical records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko.[11] According to these archived sources, the price for digging graves in the old church was almost thrice as much as the price of a grave site in the churchyard. This proves that the old stone church was still considered a respected place and was used by wealthier families. In 1745, the mistress of the Pietilä house was buried inside the old church, where Pietilä's young son had already been buried a year earlier and the house's old master four years earlier. This indicates that at least some of the families who had already been burying their dead inside the stone church continued doing so after the church was abandoned.

Two skeletons that were initially interpreted as bodies buried in an atypical position were upon later examination concluded to be 'normal' supine burials in a grave-pit with an uneven bottom. Distinctive body positions were observed in graves A and B, both of which were dug under the porch floor before the stone church was abandoned in the mid-17th century. Grave A belonged to an adult individual whose legs had been crossed at the ankles. Different arm positions have been an object of interest in archaeological research, although nothing conclusive has been found in studies related to them. Arm positions do not seem to correlate with the chronology of the graves or the age or sex of the buried individual (e.g. Kieffer-Olsen 1993: 78; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 15–16, 156; Holbrook and Thomas 2005; Atzbach 2016). Leg positions have been given less attention, although crossed ankles, for example, seem to be a rare feature everywhere. However, crossed ankles have been observed in different areas and periods from Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries (Reynolds 2009: 209) to medieval monastic cemeteries (Holbrook and Thomas 2005: 16; Gilchrist 2012: 206). A similar way of crossing the ankles has been noted occasionally also in Late Iron Age Finland. In the Crusade-period

11. National Archives of Finland, Records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko from 1730 to 1750.

(ca AD 1025–1200) Toppolanmäki cemetery, grave 3/1937 contained an individual whose legs had been crossed at the ankles, the right leg on top of the left (Moilanen 2018b: 18–19).

Crossing the ankles has sometimes been viewed as exceptional treatment of the corpse and perhaps an indication of the exceptional status of the buried individual. In the medieval Lichfield cathedral in England, crossed ankles were found in a grave that was interpreted to belong to a priest, as the grave was equipped with a chalice and linen cloths (Gilchrist 2012: 206).[12] Sometimes crossed ankles have even been suggested to indicate that the legs were tied together (Nilsson 2013: 11).

Grave A in Renko did not contain artefacts or any other features that could provide more clues about the buried individual, and nothing in the grave or its location points to the clergy. The location of the burial in the porch does not support negative interpretations either. As crossed ankles occur at different times in a wide geographical area, the feature may not carry consistent meanings, and in general, the interpretation is not likely to be very dramatic. According to Mui (2018: 178), crossing the ankles may simply indicate a desire to maintain consistency in body positioning. The position is still a deliberate arrangement, and therefore should not be entirely overlooked, as it provides information about the preparation of the deceased for a funeral in a wider context.

The most distinctive body position was observed in grave B in the porch area, with flexed knees and extremely flexed elbows. However, it is not clear whether the corpse was deliberately placed in this position or whether it represents the actual position in which the individual died. It is still possible to conclude that the position has been preserved in the grave because the internment had been made without a coffin and the pit was filled immediately after burial. The grave fill has provided support for the bones, and therefore the anatomical connections have survived.

The flexed position of the skeleton in grave B slightly resembles the so-called pugilistic pose, which is often found in bodies exposed to flames and high temperature, for example in house fires. The position is caused by shrinking and contracting muscles (Ubelaker 2015: 215), and it is characterized by the flexion of elbows, wrists, hands, knees, hip, and neck (Symes et al. 2012: 379). From the records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko, one mention of an adult fire victim in the 18th century can be found. According to the record, the 52-year old Matts Christersson from Oinaala Hakkola had burnt to death in January 1789.[13] However, as mentioned earlier, grave B should be older than that. The pugilistic pose also includes the abduction of the shoulders and arching of the back, which cannot be observed in the buried individual. The flexed elbows and the hands over the shoulders have sometimes been interpreted as a symbol of prayer or supplication, especially in Catholic contexts (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 156; Atzbach 2016), although they could also be a sign of either death occurring in a constricted space or the presence of a medical condition. Severe elbow flexion, which can be observed in the skeleton of grave B, could indicate a spastic position caused by paralysis (Gharbaoui et al. 2016: 39). An illness is supported by the fact that other flexed burials have often been found in hospital or monastic cemeteries and mass burial pits connected with epidemics. These burials are usually thought to belong to individuals who had died in the position and who had been buried while *rigor mortis* was present (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 154–155; Jonsson 2009: 97). It is unknown why the individual in grave B was not placed in a 'normal' supine position. If the individual was paralysed, the person might have died in that position and the burial might have been performed quickly before *rigor mortis* had disappeared. The archived records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko in the 18th century reveal that sometimes the deceased was buried on the day after death[14], meaning that *rigor mortis* may well have been present during the burial. Paralysis is usually caused by malfunction and damage in the nervous or circulatory system or brain, and the same conditions that lead to paralysis may also cause convulsions and personality changes. Even as late as the early 20th century, these symptoms were sometimes considered mental illnesses (Kinnunen 2012: 59), which traditionally provoked fear and superstition (Virtanen 1988: 260; 266−267). All individuals react differently to medical conditions, meaning that reactions to the same illnesses have likely varied. The

12. In Finland, chalices have been found in two graves. Both were made for a priest, perhaps even a bishop. Both are from the bishop's church in Koroinen, Turku, and can be dated to the late 13th century. (See Immonen 2009: 125–126, 2018: 169, 171–172).

13. National Archives of Finland, Records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko from 1730 to 1790

14. National Archives of Finland, Records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko from 1730 to 1790.

desire for a quick burial even in the blessed context such as the church porch may well have been a reaction to death after terrifying symptoms, such as paralysis.

Grave 2, which shows signs of a post-mortem examination, is also a compelling case. Autopsies were often performed on a distinct group of people, namely those who had committed suicide or who were murdered. These were usually also socially marginalized people, who were often considered unsuitable for burial in consecrated ground or were interred in less respected places in the cemetery (Rimpiläinen 1971: 275−276; Oravisjärvi 2011; Tarlow 2011). During the 18th century, it had become common for even these individuals to be buried in the churchyard, as their burial place was usually determined by the secular court (Moilanen et al. 2018: 7–8). Burying a dissected corpse inside a church is uncommon, but the historical records from the parish of Renko may provide an explanation. In April 1778, the peasant and churchwarden Christer Laurila had ridden from home alone and was found dead the next morning at Teikari bridge. His corpse was opened and examined by a medic, but nothing pointing to a crime was found, and the cause of death was determined as a lung disease. The corpse of the suspected murder victim could therefore be buried in the usual way.[15] The exact location of Laurila's grave is not mentioned in the records, but it can be speculated that a churchwarden, as someone with a respected position in the community, could have been buried inside the old church. As mentioned earlier, the Renko parish records do show that the grave sites in the abandoned stone church were expensive and therefore comparable to ordinary church burials.

During the excavation, twelve infant graves were also found. Infants and sometimes even prematurely born infants have been buried in churches in Finland and Scandinavia since the Late Middle Ages (Sellevold 2008; Gren 2012: 45; Lipkin et al. 2018: 74–78). Unbaptized children had a distinctively different social status than baptized children, but their burial customs changed after the Reformation. Although unbaptized children were allowed to be buried in remote parts of the cemetery already in the 16th century, they were still sometimes buried in secret even in the 17th century. According to the Church Law of 1686, a remote location was no longer compulsory (Itkonen 2012: 11–14), and nothing in the official regulations prevented their burial inside churches.

As the skeletons in the Renko church were left in situ, it has not been possible to determine the ages of the buried individuals more accurately. It is therefore unknown whether the infant graves also include prematurely born infants. An interesting note in the parish records is from May 1740, when the 30-year-old Agneta Jöransdotter was buried in the old stone church "with a foetus".[16] Perhaps she is the skeleton in grave 4 with the white beads around the neck and a very small child – perhaps a prematurely born infant – buried next to the left leg.

In one case, three infants were found with an adult buried near the altar. A similar placement of infants and prematurely born infants has been noted in other churches in Finland and Scandinavia. The usual and logical interpretation, based on the Church Laws, is that the children were buried close to their relatives and according to the social status of their father (Lipkin et al. 2018: 74, 78). As the members of the clergy were often buried near the altar, the infants in this area may even have belonged to priestly families (Lipkin et al. 2018: 74, 78). On the other hand, burying children close to the most sacred place in the church could also be seen as a symbol of emotion and care (Sellevold 2008: 69). According to the Renko parish records, small children from Mannila, Pietilä, and Iso Palavainen were buried in the old church in 1744, 1745, and 1746.[17] The ages of the children have not been listed, but as digging graves in the old church was expensive, these children likely belonged to wealthier families, who nevertheless used the old church as their burial place. This is already known in the case of the family living in the Pietilä house.

The infant grave (grave 50) seems different from the others in terms of placement. As mentioned earlier, the grave was located in the shade of the southern vault pilaster and was aligned from north to south. If the grave was older than the others, it could have been dug in secret. However, the dating based on the grave fill material does not support this interpretation, as it suggests that the grave dates

15. National Archives of Finland, Records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko in 1778.
16. National Archives of Finland, Records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko in 1740.
17. National Archives of Finland, Records of deaths and burials in the parish of Renko from 1730 to 1750.

after the mid-17th century. The question remains: how should the similarly aligned infant and adult/juvenile graves be interpreted? If the relative chronology holds true, then these two graves were also made after the church fell out of use. Thus, there should not have been any prohibitions to dig the graves against Christian tradition. Although the two graves (46 and 47) with an anomalous orientation seem to be located in the nave of the old church, they may have been dug in the graveyard on the northern side of the wooden church, which stood only a few metres to the south from the 1720s onwards.

Graves aligned from north to south in historical cemeteries have often been interpreted as a form of punishment (Jordan 1982: 30). In Renko, the location on the northern side of the wooden church would, in theory, be suitable for this kind of burial, but it would still be a peculiar choice, as the area of the old stone church was considered an expensive and therefore 'better' place to be buried. In the 17th and 18th centuries in Great Britain, Ireland, and North America, north-south oriented graves are sometimes found in Quaker cemeteries (Tarlow 2011: 56–58). In Quaker cases, the traditional orientation was deliberately rejected in order to exclude the members from the mainstream religion. In Finland, a Lutheran revivalist movement called 'knee-praying' (rukoilevaisuus) spread in the 18th century (Pentikäinen 1975: 92). The followers would have been individuals instead of large congregations. Could the Finnish examples also be deliberate actions to emphasize different beliefs, such as sympathies towards a revivalist movement or a more secular world view? On the other hand, if the north-south orientation was a deliberate choice for an individual with a more secular world view, the same burial custom could have been perceived as a punishment from the church's perspective for the same reason.

Beads and rings were found in four graves likely dating after the abandonment of the stone church (after the mid-17th century). This is interesting, as the Church Law of 1686 had forbidden the use of exquisite burial garments and accessories, including beads (Rimpiläinen 1971: 198–199, 207–208). However, similar artefacts have occasionally been found in other contemporary graves (Hiekkanen 2006a, 2006b). The relatively higher status of those buried in churches compared to those buried in the cemetery explains why rings have more often been found in church burials (Ritari-Kallio in this book). The artefacts may have been perceived as an integral part of the deceased individual and a sign of their social status (Kuokkanen and Lipkin 2011: 149−150; Ritari-Kallio in this book). Personal items in graves can also be a way to show respect and remembrance towards the deceased. Still, it is interesting to note that while it can be presumed that most of the adults buried within the walls at greater cost than elsewhere were married, only two of them had a ring or two with them in the grave. This might lead to the conclusion that wedding rings were taken from the deceased before burial.

2.7. Conclusions

The excavation of late medieval and early modern graves in the Renko church in 1984 was one of the first excavations to lay the groundwork for future archaeological investigations in churches and other contemporary burial places in Finland. The excavation was carried out during a time when standards for the excavation and documentation of historical graves had not yet been established. Although more modern osteological analysis and scientific methods, such as stable isotope studies,[18] could yield more information on the buried individuals, it may be viewed as an ethical choice to leave the skeletons *in situ,* especially as the graves are quite recent and some of the buried individuals may be identified by name. The graves were documented meticulously, enabling the reanalysis of the burial practices at the site.

18. As some of the clavicles were catalogued, it might be possible to perform stable isotope and DNA studies on them.

Graves under the church floor were expensive and usually reserved for individuals of high social status, such as priests, officials, and wealthy landowners. Historical records prove that the first stone church in Renko was occasionally used for burials even after its abandonment and that it was still considered a respected and expensive burial place. The graves are therefore comparable to ordinary church burials. A few of the graves were distinctive, with unusual body positions and orientations. Also a number of infant graves, graves with artefacts, and the burial of a dissected corpse were found.

The seemingly atypical graves represent a wide variety of meanings. The different body positions may be explained by the deliberate actions of those who prepared the body for a funeral or by the manner of death or medical conditions. The majority of the infant graves do not represent marginal or secret burials but can instead be explained by the fact that these children were born to wealthier families. The artefacts found in some of the graves are personal accessories, which can perhaps be interpreted as an intention to leave something of the person in the grave. The deviant grave alignments are the most problematic to study, as their interpretation depends on the perspective taken, namely the identity of the buried individual, those responsible for the burial, and also the church and society. In general, the different orientations may represent deliberate choices to convey feelings, ideas, and ideologies. Some of the seemingly atypical features in body positions can be explained by natural causes, such as taphonomy and medical conditions, but the deliberate actions that can be distinguished may be seen as varied symbols of communication, remembrance, and emotions. Altogether, every atypical feature emphasizes the individual, both the buried person and those responsible for the burial, in various ways.

Ulla Moilanen is a PhD candidate in archaeology at the University of Turku. Her thesis deals with atypical burials and variations in burial customs. She is also interested in the application of scientific methods in archaeology, new ways to produce holistic interpretations of the past, Late Iron Age and medieval Finland, and community archaeology.

Markus Hiekkanen, retired, Professor (honorary title), has studied medieval and Early Modern churches since the 1980s with emphasis on their structures, paintings, and interiors. His interests and areas of expertise also include urban archaeology, dating methods, burials, and archaeological objects, as well as Christianization and early ecclesiastical organization.

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3
The clothed dead body in Northern Ostrobothnian Finland between the 17th and mid-19th centuries

Sanna Lipkin

Abstract

This chapter deals with the phenomenon of an intra-active clothed dead body in Northern Ostrobothnian Finland from the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century. Ontologically, body and clothing may be considered inseparable, a phenomenon that is produced in ritual performance. The dead body and its funerary attire are approached through the concept of the abject, which is also contrasted with the rich Finnish and Swedish folkloric and ethnographic evidence concerning the 'living dead' and ghosts. The clothed dead body was subject to a number of emotions and feelings as well as beliefs that affected how it was prepared for burial. Preparation rituals are viewed as creators of meaning and significance in an ongoing and unfixed material performance of designing and dressing the individuality of the clothed dead body.

Keywords: dead body, abject, funerary attire, mummified remains

3.1. Building an approach

This chapter was inspired by a poem written by a person working with the dying in Finland. The poem speaks how death undresses and buries our future dreams. The rhymes of this unknown writer say that death takes our power and frivolity and leaves us completely naked, but also dresses us again as a person who looks like our life. They continue that if you remembered to live, there is no reason to be afraid of being naked. Finally, death dresses you in the threads of your life. (Utriainen 1999, 164; Utriainen 2006, 16, KK 272.)

In the face of death, the identity of the person is endangered, and in this poem a person's individuality is compared to a costume. Clothing, skin, and the relationship between them may be considered as forming an important material, expressive, and functional tissue that is significant for existing as a human being (Utriainen 2006: 16, 43). Ontologically, body and clothing may be considered inseparable, a phenomenon that is produced as an effect of becoming, a product of actions, doings, and practices in the world. Together, as matter and meaning, they form an ontological unity that is fundamentally agential and active (Barad 2007: 145–146). A clothed body is in a causal relationship with discursive practices and words. Material-discursive practice, in this case undressing and redressing the dead body, mediate knowledge and agential engagement with a clothed body. Significant differences, such as gender or age categories, are produced in performative intra-action in phenomena. These practices are open-ended with no intrinsic boundaries. (Barad 2007: 44–45; Marshall and Alberti 2014.) As the wrappers and carriers of fragile and constantly unfinished identities, clothes are inseparable from the person. For this reason, in the face of death, undressing represents an important event in relation to identity. (Utriainen 2006: 19.)

This chapter considers the dead individual and how both public and private conceptions of death directed the funerary ritual of dressing the deceased in the coastal area of Northern Ostrobothnia during the 17th through 19th centuries. A clothed dead body, the cadaver and the funerary attire, is viewed as an intra-active abject from the viewpoint of both private and public mourning and the rituals of families and communities. Sensory experiences during death rituals make them emotive performances (Williams 2007; Nyberg 2010; Lipkin et al. manuscript). The dead body and the act of dressing it were contrasted with a number of emotions and feelings from love and sorrow to fear and disgust. To successfully control these emotions and act according to social rules requires understanding and accepting the reality of death and acting according to cultural and social norms.

A human body is primarily a living body, a subject. It is affective and demonstrates practical attitudes, places, gestures, and postures and has an active hold on the surrounding world. Others' bodies may be considered as moving objects, means to reflect the self in an intersubjective manner. (Utriainen 1999: 47–48.) Death starts the decay of the body, which leads to bad smells and disfiguration. A dead body is neither a subject nor an object, it is in a state of the abject. Facing a dead body limits the individual's ability to give meaning; the abject is and is not something that just a short while ago used to be similar to 'me'. The abject is neither living nor truly dead but something indeterminate in a horrifying liminal state between the living and the dead. (Kristeva 1980: 11–12; see also Nilsson Stutz 2003 for an archaeological development of Kristeva's theory.)

Across cultures, humans have explained death and eased mourning in ways that are fundamentally similar. A recently living individual, now turning into a decaying cadaver, is often transformed through different processes into something stable and permanent, such as a mummy, a lock of hair, a memorial, or an ancestor. They may also start a new life in the afterlife. (Humphreys 1981: 268.) Considering the clothed dead body as an intra-active abject allows us to understand why it has become the focus of the liminal phase of a ritual that helps the mourner to deal with the crisis of death. Control over the dead body involved a ritual that also enabled control over biology, nature, and social death. (Nilsson Stutz 2015: 5.) Death often brings discomfort to communities and families, and to restore order, the memory of the deceased needed to be stabilized and the threatening decay process needed to be ended or completed.

In addition to discussing general conceptions of death among post-medieval Northern Ostrobothnians, the focus is specifically on conceptions related to preparing the dead body for funeral and burial. This chapter discusses how the dead were treated for burial and what beliefs directed these customs. Additionally, it explores how the clothed dead body was understood after burial, when the decay process had already started. In addition to written accounts and ethnographic evidence, ideas concerning the deceased can be observed through the vast funerary material unearthed in a churchyard (Oulu cathedral, 266 burials) and a burned church site (Hailuoto, 87 burials), as well as inventoried in situ under two churches (Keminmaa, 60 burials; Haukipudas, 18 burials). The burials in the churchyard surrounding Oulu cathedral belonged to so-called ordinary people of the town, whereas the individuals buried below the floors of the other churches were priests, officers, soldiers, and wealthy peasants of the rural communities. This introduces a bias into the consideration of the status of these individuals, and local differences in funerary customs (such as coffins, floral accessories, and the use of fabrics to dress the dead) are evident in the preserved materials. Altogether about 430 burials have been recorded in detail at these sites. Of those, about 170 burials included remains of funerary attire or coffin textiles. Unearthed textiles are generally more fragmentary than those found inside the coffins under church floors that have never been in contact with the soil. Despite this preservation bias, the interpretation of the fragmentary fabrics has been relatively easy when their construction methods have been compared to the extremely well-preserved fabrics in the burials under the church floor. In the crypts, the remains inside 17 coffins have been recorded as mummified. (Lipkin et al. 2020b.)

The church burial tradition was common throughout Europe, and in Finland it remained so until the middle of the 18th century, when parishes first became reluctant to bury their parishioners under church floors. Bad smell was a problem, especially in churches that were already full of putrefied bodies. The bodies produced such ill odours that church services had to be held outside during the warm summer months. The presence of the deceased was increasingly considered unhealthy and unsanitary (Kallio-Seppä and Tranberg 2020). Nevertheless, in some churches the tradition persisted until 1822, when the Russian Emperor gave an order to end it (Paavola 1998: 43). To provide space for new burials, in many churches older burials were removed and decayed remains placed into ossuaries. Additionally, older burials were covered with sand at the end of the church burial tradition (Paavola 1998), and only the latest burials are currently visible under the floors. For these reasons, the burials studied *in situ* date predominantly between the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Most of the buried individuals currently under church floors are infants, which is a consequence of both high child mortality and local traditions of giving highly valued resting places to newborns or small children even after most of the adults were already buried in the graveyard outside the church (Lipkin et al. 2020a).

In Sweden, of which Finland was a part until 1809, the social status of people was important from the Middle Ages to the modern era, but the Reformation changed burial customs so that they included more individual features (Jonsson 2009: 195–198). Before the Reformation, the human body was treated more collectively by wrapping it in a shroud and laying it in the grave usually without a coffin, whereas after the Reformation, families selected the styles and materials of coffins as well as the funerary textiles and decorations based on the status of the individual. The burial was then considered as a social medium (Karonen 1999; Tarlow 2002; Cherryson 2013; Tagesson 2015). During the late 17th century and the 18th century, rituals related to death were no longer considered as required only to secure the salvation of the soul and negotiate its passage through Purgatory, but they also became meaningful for mourning the end of a close relationship. Death often occurred at home where family members and friends said goodbye to the deceased. Both faith and grief became more private matters. For example, elite families in Finland often found comfort in their faith and expressed their emotions of sorrow and tenderness through writing letters (Ilmakunnas 2019).

During the Age of Liberty (1718–1772), new movements such as Pietism evolved in Sweden and Finland (Karonen 1999). The Northern Ostrobothnian funerary material from this period onwards exhibits the new ideas of faith as a private individual matter. For example, the names of the deceased were written on the coffin plates, inside the coffin lid, or on pieces of paper placed inside the coffin. Nevertheless, people were buried according to class (nobility, clergy, merchants, and peasants), even though the class system was rather complex in reality. For instance, servants, paupers, soldiers, craftsmen, and seamen did not belong to any of the official classes (Korhonen 2002). The differences between the classes were believed to be ordained by God and were reproduced in life and death. So-called ordinary people were buried outside the church, whereas the members of the higher classes received burial places under the church floor. Inside churches, families were buried according to their fixed seating, which was assigned based on status (Parland-von Essen 2010: 29). Deceased family members were placed just below the feet of the seated churchgoers. Priests and their families were buried closest to the altar, and families with inferior status next to the doors (Paavola 1998: 36).

Sumptuary laws were needed to regulate the excessive consumption of the higher classes, and these laws also regulated funerary attire and coffins (Modée 1774: 7142–7147; Pylkkänen 1953: 35). During the post-medieval period it was important to dress the deceased as befits their social standing even for burial. The deceased were valued and appreciated by funeral guests and relatives, as the coffin was open at funerals (Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 228; Åhrén Snickare 2002: 130) and the deceased could be visited in cold storehouses during the wake period that lasted one week for children and two weeks for adults (Lipkin et al. 2020a). In the Northern Ostrobothnian church burial data, an individual's class can be seen in both burial location and funerary attire.

3.2. Souls define life and death

The death of a person is one of the big mysteries of life, and different cultures have created their own perceptions of death. Understanding death is often closely intertwined with religious thinking and conceptions of the world surrounding us. Religious customs often guide people in perceiving death, mourning the deceased, and coping with the uncertainty brought on by death. Death is often described as a liminal space (Turner 1992) between life and afterlife. Life is something every living person knows, whereas death is beyond the experience of the living.

General European changes in the understanding of death were reflected in Finnish society, but there was great variation between regions as well as between different social classes. Finnish death culture can be divided into eastern and western culture, where eastern Orthodox traditions emphasized kin and village graveyards and western Lutheran traditions focused on family chambers inside village or small-town churches or in graveyards. (Pentikäinen 1990; Koski and Moilanen 2019: 63.) Northern Ostrobothnia is a strongly Lutheran area, even though some individual examples of eastern influence may be noted (Lipkin and Kuokkanen 2014). Even though the public funeral ceremony was controlled first by the Catholic and then the Lutheran Church, funerary practices had regional features that followed long-standing traditions and beliefs regarding good death, death omens, and ways to prevent the dead from returning as ghosts. Christian and traditional beliefs were integrated and reproduced in folklore. The influence of local folk belief was stronger in the hinterlands than in the towns, where the influence of the church was more powerful (Pentikäinen 1990).

Death was noticed by observing bodily functions, but what was believed to happen to a human being after death? Fenno-Ugric people believed that a person had several souls. The *breath* (Fi. *henki* or *löyly* = steam raising from a sauna stove) was the power of life, the spirit that left the cooling body as vapour. Breath was meant for life and bodily functions. Life was constantly dependent on breath and lost when a person drew their last breath. The dead person had lost their breath. The word *henki* is also connected to supernatural beings, ghosts, and spirits of the dead. Breath is the soul that is closely connected to the body. (Pentikäinen 1990: 21–24.)

Itse, selfhood is actively aware of the surrounding world. This shadow of the soul may step out of the body while sleeping, and the person can be *itsetön*, unconscious, or in a soulless state that could also result from getting too drunk, for instance. *Itse, selfhood* lives a life that is not dependent on *henki, breath. Selfhood* was inherited from the ancestors. (Pentikäinen 1990: 21–24.) The ghost spirit followed the deceased to the coffin, but simultaneously with the body's decay, it faded away, and in the end, it was only a sleeping shadow (Harva 1945: 24; Lehikoinen 2011: 20).

On the basis of Fenno-Ugric folklore, a human being had both a physical and a spiritual life. Death was followed by a six-week period during which the dead person lived between the worlds of the living and the dead. This pre-Christian conception was assimilated with the Christian perception of Christ's resurrection six weeks after his death. After six weeks, *itse, selfhood,* moved right next to the body and appeared to the relatives. After one year, the dead person was memorialized privately, after which they became a part of the worshipped community of the dead. The souls that were left outside of this community became 'restless souls' whose *itse* needed rest and peace and appeared as ghosts to those who were responsible for this wicked state. *Henki, breath* lived only once, but *selfhood* lived in cycles and could return amongst the ancestors and the deceased, which means that *selfhood* could roam from one generation to the other. This belief became manifest, for instance, if a child was named after an ancestor. It was believed that a part of the soul of the ancestor returned to life with the child. (Pentikäinen 1990: 24–27.) Because the general opinion was that ghosts existed, the Lutheran church was somewhat flexible in this regard and acknowledged that the dead could return to the living. Folklore indicates that before entering Heaven, the dead soul lived in the Otherworld or Underworld (Fi. *Tuonela* or *Manala*) and the grave was considered their home, but after the Reformation, the concept of the Otherworld as a place similar to Purgatory was replaced by viewing it as Damnation. Accordingly, from this time onwards the returning dead were considered as demonic and dangerous lost souls. This change occurred at different times in different parts of Finland (east, west, town, rural areas). (*Kanteletar* 1887; Waronen 2009 [1898]; Hagberg 2016 [1937]; Harva 1948: 489–490; Koski 2011: 100.)

3.3. Dressing life on dead individuals

In the Lutheran context, death may be considered as a temporary undressing that leads to a new dressing according to Paul's (1 Corinthians 15: 35–58) understanding of the Resurrection (Utriainen 1999: 164). When dressing the dead, these identities are first undressed and then built on the deceased by relatives, neighbours, and friends. In archaeological contexts, interpreting these unique events is problematic. Often it remains unclear whether the deceased had any opportunity to influence which clothes were chosen or what was the world view or religious thinking that resulted in certain outcomes. However, we may assume that the choices followed the public ideas of the deceased person and their roles in the community. They were also closely intertwined with the conception of the dead clothed body.

Undressing or dressing an abject is not primarily dressing a body but dressing personhood or identity. People are living historical embodied beings who have an intra-actional conception of the past and of themselves. The clothed body defines and transforms the self-conception, both personality and social identity (Horn and Gurel 1981: 134–157). Folklore may preserve social memory, and even though it does not provide historical accuracy, it may confirm or inform archaeological narratives (Silva 2015). Together, material and oral records mediate knowledge through dynamically reconstituted practices. This means that a mummified or decayed clothed body uniquely, specifically, and particularly mediates the phenomenon that has been and still is in a state of flux in regard to knowledge.

Preparing a dead body for burial is a ritual that is a communal and traditional action rooted in beliefs (see Bell 1997: 94). As a phenomenon and source of meaning, the clothed dead body is not a thing but a specific ongoing and unfixed material performance of the world in its differential intelligibility (see Barad 2007: 335, 376). Performance, framed through structure and the material conditions (being discursive practice), creates ritual that creates meaning and significance to be experienced (Turner 1981: 155–156; Bell 1992: 82; 2008; Barad 2007: 335). The sense of structure evolving through embodied active action, in this case preparing the dead body for burial, is more important for the participant than the rationalizations or coherent and uncontested meanings of actions (Nilsson Stutz 2015: 6). The ritual takes the decomposing cadaver and its treatment under social control, which ensures that the dead does not remain in the dangerous liminal space for eternity but moves from the world of the living to the afterworld (Hertz 1960 [1907]: 36–37, 83; Eilola and Einonen 2009: 198–199). Structural relations in a poststructuralist sense are "specific material (re)configurings of bodies, that is, ongoing re(con)figurings of space-time-matterings" (Barad 2007: 448, note 8) and as such they contribute to the production of phenomena, but also implicate power dynamics that rule out agency and "deterministically produce subjects of ideological formations" (Barad 2007: 237, 240).

A clothed dead body was the result of two individual rituals, namely the selection and preparation of the funerary attire and the washing and dressing of the body in the coffin. Different people performed these rituals: the first was conducted by the relatives, the second by a fearless older woman. (Wacklin 1844; Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 184; Lipkin et al. in press.) The meanings of these rituals were different, and they resulted in different experiences for the participants who were acting in accordance with their emotions.

3.3.1. Designing the clothed dead body

The fabrics for the dead and the coffin were likely provided by the family. In the Northern Ostrobothnian archaeological data, this is occasionally evidenced by exactly the same fabrics in burials that belonged to members of the same family (Lipkin et al. 2018). Family relationships are identified based on the church records identifying the burial place or the names inside the coffins. Even though death strips the deceased of the veil of their individuality, the relatives put it back on by choosing clothes for the deceased. The clothes of the deceased represented the family's understanding of the person, as well as their understanding of the world of the dead and of what kind of clothes were suitable for burial. Fabrics chosen for burial are predominantly reused white domestic fabrics such as sheets, old clothes such as shirts repurposed for burial, or caps, stockings, and gloves that used to belong to the deceased. As items, all of these held memories of family life and possibly even of the deceased person. They were filled with emotions arisen during their use as fabrics or items. Now, as they were transformed into funerary attire, chosen, measured, cut, folded, ironed, sewn, and decorated, they were contrasted with a new set of emotions including at least sorrow, yearning, and love (Fig. 3.1). The sensory interactions evoked emotions and created memories. These performances helped the mourners by keeping them active and allowing them to provide something for the loved one. Humans derive pleasure from actual physical movement and creating something new with their own hands, and this must have been important for the coping of the mourners (Lipkin et al. manuscript).

Figure 3.1. Neatly folded and pinned funerary attire of a newborn from Haukipudas. (Photograph: S. Lipkin 2014.)

The 19th-century evidence implies that it was the duty of young virgin godmothers to provide clothes and accessories for young children's burials in Northern Ostrobothnia. Godfathers and godsons usually made the coffin. Sara Wacklin (1844), a local schoolteacher, implies that these godmothers arranged a happy evening event, in which they invited their friends to help prepare the clothes and floral wreaths for infants. Young gentlemen were also invited, and Wacklin states that soon after these events, weddings were planned. The event in which no-one thought of death may be regarded as a way to socialize young people into accepting the realities of life and the fact that as future parents, they would most likely lose one or more children. In addition to sorrow and joy, these events likely evoked the feeling of falling in love. (Lipkin et al. 2020a; Lipkin et al. manuscript.)

3.3.2. Clothing the dead body

The clothed dead body was soaked in emotions, but because of the fear of death, neither parents nor the youth dressed children, nor did family members dress their loved ones. First of all, ethnographic evidence suggests that in some regions of Sweden it was believed that dressing a dead body would prevent family members from joining each other in Heaven (Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 184). Secondly, children and youth were not allowed to touch and handle dead bodies (Paulaharju 1924: 116). The clothed dead body was considered a pseudo-spirit, an abject, which represented the feared force of death. Kalma, the force of death, would easily catch others if they handled or touched the deceased. For this reason, the dressers were usually neighbours or other older, post-menopausal women who had previous experience and were not afraid of death. The force of death might have been dangerous for unborn babies, making them sickly and morbid, which prevented pregnant women from being close to dead bodies. (Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 184.)

It was important that the deceased were clean when entering Heaven. For this reason, the dead body was first washed in the person's own bed. After washing, the sheets, mattress, and sometimes even the whole bed, if it was old, were burned. In the spot where the deceased had lain, an iron nail was beaten to prevent death from catching the living and the deceased from returning to haunt the house. The deceased was addressed by name and kindly told that they would be washed and placed in their coffin. They were also asked to keep death with them and not let it spread. (Waronen 2009 [1898]: 58; Paulaharju 1914: 106–107; Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 184–186.)

Archaeological evidence shows that the funerary attire was not functional but constructed on the human remains from selected pieces of fabric arranged, folded, and pinned to look like clothes. The funerary clothes followed the fashion of the living, but they were not clothes for the living. (Lipkin et al. 2015, Lipkin et al. 2020a.) Even though people in the past did not concretely believe that the clothes followed the dead into the Otherworld where the deceased waited for the Resurrection, the dead individuals were not thought to enter the Otherworld naked either. The funerary clothes likely had a symbolic value for the deceased; after all, the dead were buried dressed according to their social standing.

Preparing the dead for burial was directed by official instructions and customs that were regulated by the state and religious authorities, but charms were also used to appease the unsatisfied dead. The dead could become furious if they were offended during the dressing process. For instance, in some regions of Sweden, pins had to be attached to the textiles in such a way that the dresser stood on the same side of the coffin on which the pin was attached. Reaching over the body was not permitted. It was also important how the pins were attached to the fabrics; if the sharp ends pointed towards the legs, the deceased could not rise on the day of Resurrection. However, if the intention was to prevent haunting, the pins were pointed towards the legs on purpose or the legs were tied together. In some regions of Sweden, using pins was prohibited. (Waronen 2009 [1898]: 60; Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 176–182, 201–206.) In Northern Ostrobothnian burials, pins are often found attaching the funerary gown to the coffin bedding. Additionally, sleeve cuffs, laces, and bodices are regularly attached to the gown with pins.

If the deceased was not dressed properly, they could not rest in peace. In this respect, caps, stockings, and gloves were extremely important. Otherwise the deceased was considered naked. Folklore knows many stories of the deceased who come to haunt the living and complain about the lack of these items and feeling cold. (Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 187–194.) In Northern Ostrobothnian burials, unlike the false gown laid on the deceased, caps, stockings, and gloves were usually items most likely owned by the deceased and as such worn and occasionally repaired and mended for life or burial (Fig. 3.2).

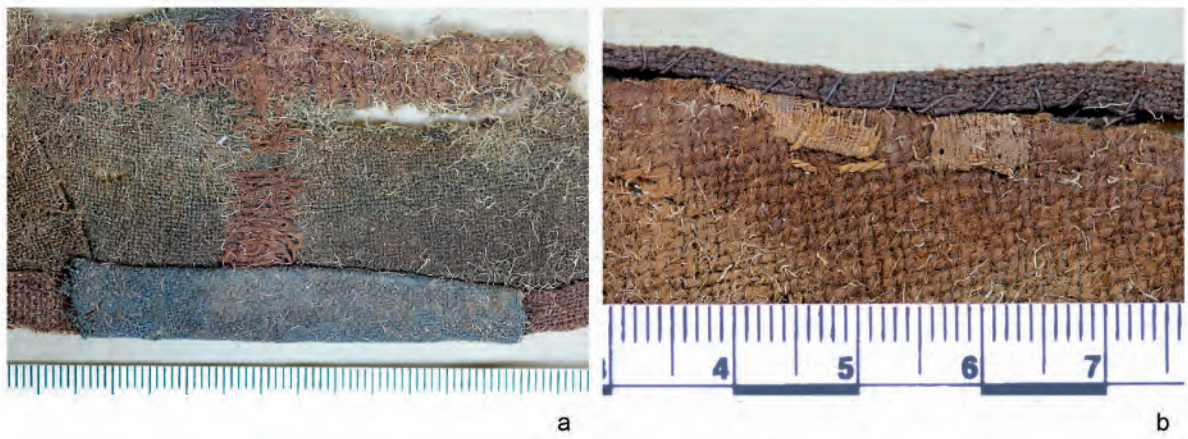

Figure 3.2. A man's skull cap from Hailuoto (Burial 98) was mended with a patch attached with a horsetail string. At some point, the cap had a silk tape, but it was later replaced with a woollen one. (Photograph: S. Lipkin, 2017.)

As archaeological data indicates, the coffins were furnished with pillows and mattresses as beds, and the deceased slept and waited for the Resurrection. It was believed that the dead should enjoy their time in the coffin, which would keep them from coming back as ghosts. Even though children were born naked into the world, it was believed that if a human being needed something on earth, they would need the same thing on the other side as well. (Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 215.) As the clothes did not have to be real clothes, we may assume that like the body itself, the clothes were not expected to be resurrected as matter. However, as it was believed that pins or tying feet together could prevent resurrection, it may also have been believed that the image or resemblance of the clothes could be resurrected with the soul. The body and the clothes were the same, and they were considered equal in death. Nevertheless, dressing the body was regulated by strict norms and traditions, and it was believed that the clothing type was important for the souls of the deceased both in Heaven and while still in the Afterworld (inside the coffin). If the deceased were not happy, they could haunt the living.

The ontological problem of the dead body being neither dead nor alive or the frightening cadaver resembling less and less the individual who was once known (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 95) led to a belief that most likely relieved the fears of the living. It was believed that a person's life did not end at the moment of death. Even though the deceased was stripped of life and an identity as a living person, they received another ancestral identity that could be inherited by future generations. It is possible that the cycle of souls and future resurrection comforted the living and ensured an eternal life.

3.4. Living clothed dead bodies: Facing the decaying bodies

False clothes pinned on the deceased, the decay process of both material and human remains, and haunting were neither religious nor philosophical concerns for past Finns. Despite the fact that the living bodies, the abjects, and the force of death were feared, Uno Harva (1945: 23) notes that questions concerning the 'living bodies' of the dead and their clear dissimilarity to actual living bodies were not relevant for people in the 18th and 19th centuries, and such questions did not disturb their faith. It is possible that the messages of the Bible were read concretely: "For our dying bodies must be transformed into bodies that will never die; our mortal bodies must be transformed into immortal bodies" (1 Corinthians 15: 35–58).

Kristeva (1980: 12) does not see a lack of purity or health as defining an abject. Indeed, in Northern Ostrobothnia, retaining the purity of the clothed dead body was considered crucial. It was important that the deceased was washed before being dressed. Being clean was not connected only to the body: the funerary clothes or fabrics needed to be washed too, otherwise the dresser could die. (Hagberg 2016 [1937]: 134, 187–188.) Retaining purity and the unchanged state of the decaying cadaver was further aided through a selection of materials in the coffin preparation ritual. The fabrics for the clothes were often white, a colour of purity, as were also the fabrics that covered the pillows and mattresses. Northern Ostrobothnian church burials exhibit cleanliness and careful folding that was most likely done by ironing. Mattresses and pillows were made of hay, straw, birch bark, or antibacterial sawdust that would soak up the liquids that were evident in the putrefying process (Lipkin et al. 2020b). Purity may be especially connected to children's burials; children themselves were considered as pure of earthly sins (Heywood 2013), and both folklore and historical sources emphasize that their lives and death were considered pure (Wacklin 1844). This purity is further evidenced by Northern Ostrobothnian burials. Children received more beautiful funerary attire with more silks and other precious fabrics. Additionally, the burials of very young, even prematurely born infants have been found below church floors, and the burial of the youngest continued well after the church burial tradition had otherwise ended. The fact that children's dead clothed bodies produced less putrefying products and smells than adults had possibly led to the belief that children were considered pure also after death. (Lipkin et al. 2020a.)

Purity was one of the central aims in the funerary preparation process; it was important that the deceased stepped in the Afterworld clean and wearing simple white funerary attire. However, even the contemporary people knew that the result was the opposite. Soon after burial, or even during the wake period, the human remains started to decay and produce unpleasant smells. The unpleasant effects of decay were prevented by different means. Spruce boughs found inside the coffins in churches were used both as mattresses and to cover the body. They had originally had a strong fragrance used to cover the smells of the putrefying body. During the funeral procession, spruce boughs were also spread on the ground in the house and church until the early 20th century, and originally this was done to expel ghosts (Pentikäinen 1990: 54). Herbs placed in the coffins and sniffed during the church services were also used to cover the bad smell. Additionally, coating the inventoried coffins under the church floor with tar would have served the same purpose for a while. (Tranberg 2015; Kallio-Seppä and Tranberg 2020; Lipkin et al. 2020b.)

The use of antibacterial and absorbent coffin bedding and fragrant herbs and washing both the body and the clothes may be considered as rituals that aimed to retain the state of a subject and to prevent or slow down the transformation of the clothed dead body into an abject. However, it is intriguing that even though purity was a goal, everyone knew that most of the deceased decayed. It is claimed that Nikolaus Rungius (ca 1560–1629), a vicar in Kemi, had preached: "If my words are not true, my body will decompose, but if they are true, it will never decompose." Apparently, he and many others knew that not all human remains decayed, but some mummified, and their clothes maintained their softness. Based on Rungius's words, which apparently were true because he can be found mummified under the floor of St Michael's church in Keminmaa, it is possible that mummification was the preferable outcome in his time (Väre et al. 2020a). Rungius acted as a Lutheran priest living while the Reformation process was finalized in Finland (Vahtola 1997: 152–156; Lipkin et al. 2018). However, his conceptions regarding the soul and death could have been affected by Catholic perceptions. The bones of Catholic saints retained the vigour of the saints, and the saints were better encountered through their bones (Harva 1945: 26). Furthermore, God gave tendons, flesh, and breath to dry bones in the Valley of Dry Bones in Ezekiel 37, which may have been interpreted as meaning that the preservation of bones and human remains was a necessary prerequisite for eternal life (Harva 1945: 28). Indeed, through the material continuity of the body (the marking of graves and the containment and religious dressing of the body), medieval Christian burial rites in England confirm the belief of bodily resurrection and the continuity between the body in the grave and the soul (Gilchrist 2014).

If the soul was believed to fade away with the body (Harva 1945: 24; Lehikoinen 2011: 20), was the soul of naturally mummified remains still present in the coffin? The vigour of the human being was considered to be preserved especially in body tissue. As long as there were remains of tissue, it was possible that a person who had died violently or too early could return to haunt the living. Furthermore, it was believed that human bones, flesh, and mummified tissue contained spiritus, vigour of life, that could be used for medicinal and magical purposes. This vigour was thought to transfer to the clothes as well. Any part of the body or clothing would represent the person as a whole, and the soul of the dead could be controlled through them. Especially the body parts of executed criminals and others who had died a violent death were considered effective because these individuals' lives had been cut short, which retained their vigour more powerfully than in the case of those who died of old age. (Eilola and Einonen 2009: 194, 196–167; Tarlow 2014: 406–408.) If such a belief prevailed, decayed and mummified individuals were contrasted with different perceptions. Even though mummification may have been preferable, so far no clear evidence is known from Finland of an artificially aided mummifying process, or at least any such attempts were not successful. However, even during the warm summer months, preserving the corpses in cellars may have aided their preservation (Núñez and Silver 2019). The fate of the human remains may have been left into the hands of God. The living understood that the body was to decay, and the clothes along with it.

In Finland, mummification was the result of good ventilation and freezing air under the church floors. The human remains were freeze-dried, but natural mummification was rarely perfect (Väre et al. 2020b). Temperature and moisture could vary during winter months, and the torso area was less likely to dry completely. With time, the skin of the individuals has turned dark brown. Because space under the floors was cleared from time to time and new bodies were buried, many people were aware of the appearance of the mummified and partly decayed individuals. At least from the 19th century onwards, people had a morbid interest in the dead bodies and their nonconformity and unsocial nature, which has driven people unconsciously to re-personify and resocialize fleshed mummies (Nystrom 2019: 257). These remains may have affected the stories of so-called church people (Fi *kirkonväki*), who were spirits of the dead or the invisible power of death. The tradition of believing in church people is recorded only in the west of Finland, among the Lutherans (Koski 2011: 12–13). Church people were described as smelly, black or grey, small crippled creatures that were sometimes invisible or transparent. Dressed in white, they are often headless, armless, footless, or somehow deficient. They could also cause constriction and pain in whoever confronted them. Most often church people passed the living in crowds and could be sensed by smelling or hearing: they could hiss, whoosh, or sigh. Previous research indicates that the ideas of the appearance of the church people were due to thinking that they appeared in their funerary attire and that their crippled state was caused by time spent in the grave. The size of the church people was connected to their age: someone who had died as a child would become a haunting child. (Krohn 1914: 67; Harva 1945: 20–21; 1948: 492–496; Koski 2011: 187–192.) A dark appearance and the bad smell of death could also be attached to these abject creatures.

Finnish historical sources also support the view that the deceased was present also in the bones. The bones, pieces of funerary attire, or soil around the burial could be used in witchcraft. To take or steal parts of the clothed body was a penal act that could lead to fines. The crime was especially severe if the parts were used for magical purposes. (Tittonen 2008.) This malicious act aroused the anger of the dead person, and together with the power and spells of witches, as well as the evil nature and sinfulness of the deceased, the body parts could be extremely powerful in ill-natured witchcraft. However, if the clothed body parts, wood chips from the coffin or soil surrounding the burial were collected with the intention of helping households economically or healing sickness, the deceased and the church people were supposed to be given payment in coins. On the contrary, if the intention was to get the deceased to start haunting, no payment was to be left behind. (Harva 1948: 499–500, Koski 2011: 242.) Wood chips and coins occur together in an old tale called *Kirkonwäki* (Church people) printed in 1856. In this tale a Christian woman is taken to the world of church people to aid in a delivery and as a reward for her service she is given wood chips and a skein of yarn. By morning these have turned into gold coins and necklace. Occasionally coins are found in the burials or in their filling soil at the Oulu cathedral graveyard and observed on the surface of soil under church floors. Coins were especially frequently found inside the extensively excavated Hailuoto church, where hundreds of coins were found. They could either have been left deliberately in connection with acquiring the clothed body parts, wood chips or soil, or they could have slipped between the floor planks. To further emphasize their magical nature, three of the coins were wrapped in fabric or paper. Additionally, hundreds of small hooks and eyes used to fasten clothing have been found below floors. They may also have been slipped there to please the deceased and the church people. (Fig. 3.3)

Figure 3.3. A coin wrapped in paper found below the floor at the Hailuoto church (KM86088:255). Hundreds of hooks and eyes have been found below the floor as well (KM87131:505). (Photographs: S. Lipkin 2019.)

Folk belief does not directly imply whether the church people were the deceased themselves or the power sent by the deceased. However, they were the guardians of the church and the deceased buried both inside and outside the church. They could punish those who violated consecrated ground. Church people were the power of death. (Koski 2011: 12–13.) Describing the church people as objectionable and obnoxious emphasizes the confrontation between the church people and the living (Koski 2011: 189). It is unlikely that all members of the community saw mummified or decayed remains in their coffins, but knowledge of their appearance was based on the experiences of those who emptied the space under the floor for new coffins. However, the smell of decaying human bodies inside churches was a shared experience. Shared experiences of decaying human remains and their smells were manifested by the belief in church people and ghosts, which were an important part of daily life and the afterlife. Belief in church people continued well after the church burial tradition ended and people lost their original understanding and common memory of the smell or sight of rotting corpses (Paulaharju 1914: 112–114; Koski 2011). As such, church people may be considered as one expression of the clothed dead body as an intra-active abject that, as a concept, is an open-ended practice with no intrinsic boundaries.

3.5. Conclusion

The beliefs concerning death and the deceased directed the daily life and attitudes of the living community, as well as affections, emotions, caring, and attitudes towards disease. The dead were something different in contrast to the living. Although the dead once used to be a part of the living world, they had just lost one of their souls, *breath,* the soul of bodily functions. Their other soul, *selfhood, itse,* could roam between generations, and if demonic, return as a ghost. They lived in the Otherworld and were connected with feelings of prejudice and fear. These feelings directed how the dead clothed body was prepared for the funeral and burial.

Based on material culture, it is important to understand past peoples' conceptions of the individual in the Otherworld or Heaven. Understanding these conceptions is about understanding the otherness the living ones felt towards the pseudo-spirits, *abjects,* the dead people who were neither subjects nor objects. Respect for the dead can be seen in the burials through the clear intention to ensure that the deceased had a comfortable and beautiful resting place and a coffin and clothing according to their social status. When a person died, they needed to be taken care of with respect and honour. The clothed dead body was subject to different kinds of emotions, the most prominent of which were perhaps sorrow, love, respect, and fear. The rituals of the liminal phase gave the mourners control over this life stage and helped them cope with sorrow and the fear of death.

The meaning of the clothed dead body is not fixed, but different performers of different rituals created their own understanding through material-discursive open-ended practices. Different performers gave their own meanings to individual clothed dead bodies, and as such the clothed dead body mediates neither one perception of the individual nor a cultural conception of death and the deceased. In the historical perspective, the meanings are open-ended, in a state of flux, and archaeological research adds to this discussion.

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Sanna Lipkin is senior researcher (Academy Research Fellow) in archaeology at the University of Oulu. She has special knowledge in identity and childhood theories and methodologically she has specialized in textile research. Her current research projects, both funded by the Academy of Finland, focus on emotions related to child death as well as daily and afterlife of children in post-medieval Finland. Her most recent book is co-edited with Titta Kallio-Seppä and Paul R. Mullins: Historical Burials in Europe: Natural Mummification, Burial Customs, and Ethical Challenges. Thematic Collection of Historical Archaeology 54(4).

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4
A bottle of spirits for Saint Peter? Grave goods in Finland during the modern period

Sanna Ritari-Kallio

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.

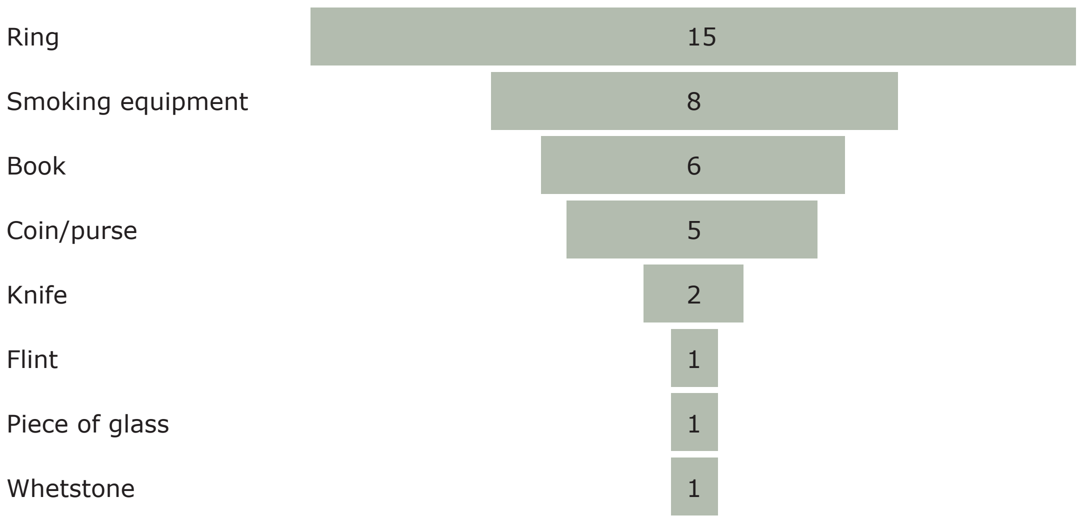

Figure 4.1. Confirmed number of pieces of grave goods in the field of archaeology.

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

3. MV KTKKA 631 Ikaalinen, Anna-Kaarina Salava 1931. Translation by author. [Arkkuun 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 yhtenään niitä 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, Tallimäenkenttä	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

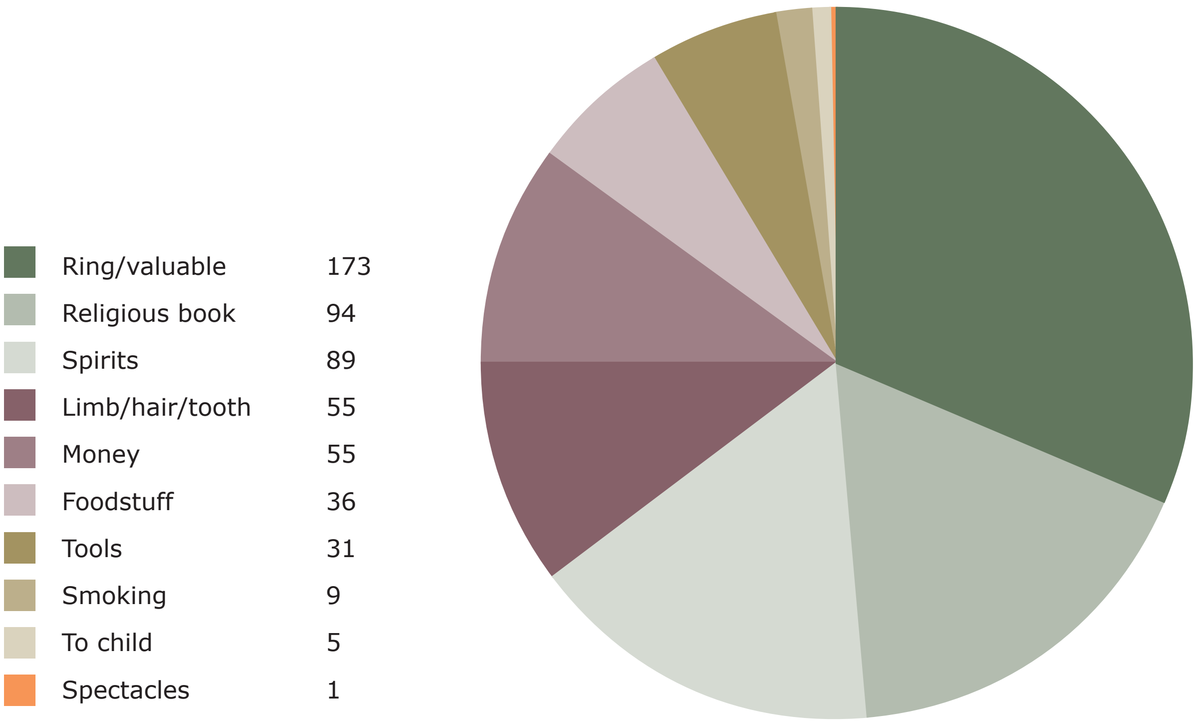

Figure 4.2. Mentions of leaving grave goods in the folklore data.

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 times[4] (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 KRK. 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. Ylitalo, 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. Kuhmoinen; 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, Kuusoja; 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 instances[5] (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; Vihervaara 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, Hilkka 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. Viitaniemi, 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, Nilsiä; 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, Hilkka 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 Tallimäenkenttä). (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 arkkuun, 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 Tl (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 Tl.; 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 Ol; 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 Ol; 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, Viitasaari, 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 Ol.; 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 times[12] (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).

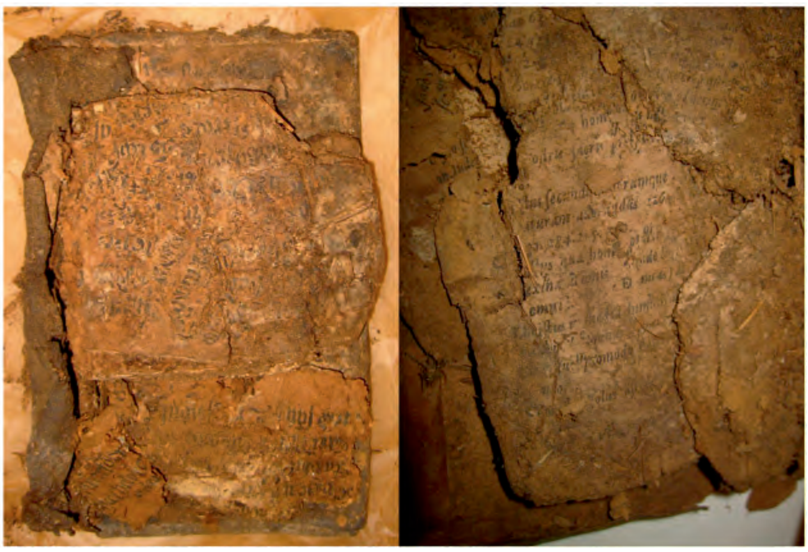

Figure 4.7. Book in Swedish (NM Hist. 8287:28) next to coffin number 3 and, on the right, a book in Latin (NM Hist. 8287:29) from a coffin at the Padasjoki church. (Photographs: J. Harjula, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

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 Nuoriso-Opisto 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. Utriainen, 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 Vl.; 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 Ol. 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. Pälmä, Kuhmoinen; TYKL V. Pälmä, 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; Hiekkanen 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; Hiekkanen 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 Hiekkanen 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 (Hiekkanen 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 Tallimäenkenttä 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 times[14] (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. Säkylä; 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. Raahe 1 6; SKS KKA 1. Tyrnävä 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. Kälviä; 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. Ylikiiminki; 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. Mäkäräinen, 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, Nilsiä; 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. Mikkelin 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, Nurmes; SKS KRA. Hiiri, Hilkka 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. Nurmes; 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. Kaltiala, 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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Sanna Ritari-Kallio is a Master of Arts (thesis in archaeology and ethnology 2016) from the University of Helsinki. She is interested in the medieval and modern history of Finland and the way objects have influenced the culture of death. She is also fascinated by how traditional ways and Christian beliefs have blended together and continued to affect everyday life.

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 Litteratursällskapets 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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5

Turkansaari chapel and the material linkage of religious and socio-economic activities in the Oulu region in the 17th century

Mirette Modarress Julin

Abstract

In Northern Finland, the middle and later part of the 17th century was an active time of building prayerhouses (Fi *saarnahuone*)[1], small chapels (Fi *kappelikirkko*), and churches. One of these small chapels was built in 1694 on the Turkansaari island in the Oulujoki river in the parish of Oulu (Uleåborg). In this chapter, I discuss connections between the religious and socio-economic practices on the island through the material remains excavated on Turkansaari. I also take a brief look at the building of other similar chapels or prayerhouses in Northern Ostrobothnia and chiefly the Oulu region. Since the borders and definition of the province of Northern Ostrobothnia have experienced changes throughout history, they are not defined exactly at this point. The main questions considered here are the following: What do the excavation finds indicate about the activities on Turkansaari? What was the existing social, economic, and religious framework and what motivated the building of Turkansaari and other chapels in the region?

Keywords: chapels, prayerhouses, religious buildings, religious practice, Northern Finland, 17th century, excavations, Turkansaari

5.1. Historical background

The island of Turkansaari[2] is one of a group of small[3] islands in the Madekoski district on the Oulujoki river about 15 km upstream (to the south-east) of the river mouth. In the old written sources, the first references to Turkansaari are found in administrative documents of the Church from the 1340s, in which it is mentioned that the Oulujoki river was an official borderline between the Turku (Åbo) and Uppsala dioceses. Rivers and other waterways were also the main routes for the traders who came from the south and east to Northern Finland[4] along the river to exchange commodities. According to A. H. Snellman (1887: 146, 150; 1905: 18–19), another early document is an edict from the bailiff of Ostrobothnia from 1489. It states that Karelian and Russian traders were allowed to come up the river only until Turkka[5] to market their goods (also e.g. Virkkunen 1953: 18). This regulation had to be imposed because the traders had caused a lot of unrest and had sacked and ravaged the surrounding settlements.

1. A direct translation of *saarnahuone* is *saarna*=sermon, *huone*=room, but the word prayerhouse (Fi *rukoushuone*) is principally used here. Its meaning is the same as that of the Swedish term *bönehus*, a term used in the 18th-century map of the Turkka region (see p. 3 and Fig. 5.2). In 17th-century Finland, a *saarnahuone* was usually a small one-room wooden cottage or house. These small cottages were mainly built for giving weekly sermons in places that were located at some distance from the main parish church. In this respect, most of them are analogous with the English term 'chapel of ease' (see e.g. lexico.com).

2. Oulu Turkansaari (564010017)

3. Turkansaari is approximately 3 hectares in size.

At least since the 16th century, the area around Turkansaari has been important for fishing. Weirs for salmon were specifically mentioned. One of them was *Turkanpato*, which is known in the 1558 account books for fishing (Snellman 1905: 27–28; Virkkunen 1953: 27; Virrankoski 1973: 215; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 70). Salmon was a source of livelihood and an important product for the trading and economy of the region (see Vilkuna 1949; Halila 1953: 277), also for the Church. The fishing rights were not self-evident, and they caused some disputes. The officials gave the town-dwellers of Oulu the right to fish on the weirs along the river, which the local fishers found hard to accept. The parties concerned engaged in lengthy disputes that often had to be solved in the local court. (Halila 1953: 451–464; Virkkunen 1953: 283.) Crop failures during several years in the 1630s, 1640s, and 1690s caused hunger among the population (e.g. Virkkunen 1953: 584–586; Vahtola 1986: 76–77; Talve 1997: 305–306), which might have made disputes over fishing even worse.

In the 17th century, trade in Northern Finland was strongly regulated by the Crown. Buying and selling should take place only at specific times in specific places, in the case of Oulu in the marketplace of the town. Nevertheless, rules were commonly broken. Traders and villagers bought, sold, and exchanged products in villages and small marketplaces. Salt was one of the most important imports, whereas sugar was rarely imported before the 18th century.[6] Other articles included spices, tobacco, wines, luxury items, cloth, ceramics, and glassware. Local trade products included salmon, dried fish, butter, furs, and on a larger scale tar, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. (E.g. Halila 1953: 276–283; Virkkunen 1953: 228–229, 241, 250.) When travelling in Northern Finland at the end of the 18th century, the Italian explorer Giuseppe Acerbi (1802: 258) observed that at the markets of Stockholm, salmon from the Oulu region fetched higher prices than salmon from any other region.

Turkansaari was a part of the Oulu parish since 1610, and at the end of the 17th century, a wooden prayerhouse was built in the centre of the Turkansaari island.[7] (Fig. 5.1.) The year 1694 is carved on the wall of the chapel, and this is considered to be the year the chapel was erected. The chapel was in use well into the 18th century. At that time, however, the activities on Turkansaari declined and concentrated on the growing and developing city of Oulu, which had been founded in 1605 at the mouth of the Oulujoki river. Already in the 1720s, the Turkansaari prayerhouse was in bad shape and in need of repair. According to Aimo Halila (1953: 550), the burghers of Oulu were not interested in repairing the chapel. Repairs were nevertheless carried out.[8] Still, towards the end of the century, the heyday of the Turkansaari chapel was over. In 1814, the prayerhouse was taken down and moved to

Figure 5.1. Turkansaari chapel in the outdoor museum of Turkansaari in 2011. (Photograph: M. Modarress.)

4. At that time, Western Finland was considered to be under Swedish rule, and Sweden and Russia had disputes about the borders. In 1323 the borderline was defined by so called Treaty of Nöteborg (*Pähkinäsaaren rauha*) and in 1595 by the Treaty of Teusina (*Täyssinän rauha*). Researchers have not yet agreed upon the exact borderlines, and they are continuously under study (see e.g. Viinanen 2011).

5. Snellman (1887, 1905) calls the place *Turkan kylä.* The word *turkka* refers to market, like *turku* (see Itkonen et al. 1975: 1425), and kylä means village.

6. According to Virkkunen (1953: 229, footnote 1), the old trading documents from 1704 list sugar among the imported items. Sugar became more widely available in Oulu from the middle of the 18th century onwards (see also Vilkama et al. 2016).

the river mouth to be used as a warehouse (Paulaharju 1968; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 70–71). Moreover, the salmon weir of Turkka was closed a few decades later, in 1871 (Vasala 1963: 46). Luckily, in the 1920s, Östen Elfving, who was fascinated by regional history, became interested in the forgotten and vanished chapel. He eventually found the rather broken-down warehouse, which he decided to transfer back to the Turkansaari island. The transfer was carried out and the chapel was repaired and re-erected in its original location in 1922 (Elfving 1933: 1716–1718; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 71). Since then it has been used as a small local chapel. Today, Turkansaari and the adjacent island of Siikasaari house an outdoor museum, and a collection of buildings from the 17th and 18th centuries have been brought there from various places in Northern Finland.

5.2. Material remains - what do they indicate?

In 2009 and 2010, three excavations were conducted on Turkansaari: inside the chapel, by the outer walls, and on the rise of the island about 20 to 30 metres north-west of the chapel (Modarress 2010, 2011a, 2011b). There are no written sources that mention any buildings on the island (other than the chapel) during the periods under discussion. The oldest map of the place known so far is from the 1740s. On this map, Turkansaari is called *kirkon saari* (the island of the church), and one building on the map has the word *Bönehus*[9] (prayerhouse) beside it. (Fig. 5.2.) There is also a drawing from 1862 by the reverend and writer J. W. Calamnius. He has drawn one building on the map of the island (see Pääkkönen 2007: appendix VII; also Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 71). Since the prayerhouse had been removed already a few decades earlier, the building either marks the stone foundations of the removed chapel building or it could be a barn. A scythe blade (KM2010038:113) was found in the 2010 excavations (Modarress 2011a; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 71) in just about the same location,

Figure 5.2. Map of the area under study (left) and a detail of the map of Turkansaari from 1737/1745 (right). The prayerhouse is marked with the word Bönehuus (in the circle). (Map by E. Höjer. University of Jyväskylä/JYX Digital Repository. Adaptation by author. Available at https://jyx.jyu.fi/handle/123456789/15137?locale-attribute=en [Visited 22 Nov 2019].)

7. On the research of Turkansaari, see also the detailed article *Turkansaaren saarnahuone* (Modarress-Sadeghi 2011).

8. Various quantities of pieces of different glass for windows found around the foundations and under the church floor in the excavations in 2009 and 2010 are also attributed to repairs (see below; also Modarress 2011b; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011).

9. *Bönehus* is Swedish and means prayerhouse.

which indicates a possible barn at the site. In any case, there was a barn on the rise of the island during the rebuilding of the chapel in the 1920s (see Rinne 1921) (Fig. 5.3).

Figure 5.3. Re-erection of the Turkansaari chapel in its former location in 1922. A barn can be seen behind the building. (Photograph: Ö. Elfving/Museum and Science Centre Luuppi/Turkansaari archives.)

The excavations on the hillside in 2010 revealed signs of an earlier building, some burned layers, and the remains of an oven foundation (Fig. 5.4). Around the oven, a clear boundary of stained soil shows the foundation of a dwelling. The function of the construction(s) could not be defined. It could have been used by fishermen during active seasons of salmon fishing[10] or traders during markets. In the marketplaces, there were usually some storage buildings and cottages for traders to use during the (autumn) markets (e.g. Luukko 1954: 489). Various activities of fishermen, farmers, and traders would have called for shelters and stores, as well as places for meeting and gathering socially. The excavations under the church floor also revealed a stone layer in the SE corner of the church, as well as some burned stones under and by the side of the southern church wall foundations. They are indicative of a building prior to the prayerhouse on the site. Also, sermons are known to have been conducted during the summertime already around the middle of the 17th century (e.g. Vasala 1963: 45; Palola 2000: 230). It seems possible that a small cottage could have stood at the site that was used for sermons before the actual prayerhouse was erected (Modarress 2011b; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 78–79).

Figure 5.4. Excavations 2010, trench B. Remains of an oven foundation. (Photograph: M. Modarress, Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Oulu.)

10. Midsummer, June and July, was the best time for catching salmon (e.g. Vahtola 1991: 133).

Objects found in the excavations included pieces of clay pipes, glassware and ceramics, a few personal or clothing items, and numerous coins (Modarress 2010; Modarress 2011b; see also Hakonen 2012) a few of which were silver. All coins were Swedish, and those found under the chapel floor were from the period 1592–1766.[11] In the excavation trench on the hill, only one coin was found, dating from 1629 (KM 2010038: 32). The coins under the floor have mostly been considered as different kinds of offerings. Some coins might have fallen on the floor from people's pockets. (See e.g. Hiekkanen 1988: 48–52; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 76–77, 79.)

Furthermore, the coin finds in the chapel area and its surroundings are indicative of trade. As mentioned already, traders came to Turkka and markets were most likely conducted at times when people got together, on days when religious sermons were preached. The authorities assigned special market days. Although trading was forbidden at other times, it was nevertheless common (see e.g. Virkkunen 1953: 195–198, 201).

Other excavation finds revealing human activities were a few pieces of clay pipe handles and bowls (Modarress 2011b). Smoking tobacco was widespread in the Oulu region already at the beginning of the 17th century. The trade of tobacco was regulated, but illicit trade was quite common (e.g. Virkkunen 1953: 186−187.) In the Turkansaari material, the small and rounded forms of the bowls (e.g. KM2010082: 255, KM2010082: 270, Fig. 5.5.) clearly indicate early-17th-century origins (see Åkerhagen 1985: 59, 64–65; Duco 1987: 26 – 42; Hakonen 2012: 8–9; also Ainasoja 2003).

Figure 5.5. Excavation finds from 2010. Half of a clay pipe bowl (KM2010082: 270) and a bowl and handle (KM 2010082: 255). (Photograph: M. Modarress, Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Oulu.)

11. Altogether 47 coins have been found at the Turkansaari excavations. Two coins could not be dated exactly, since part of the numbers had faded away. However, they were from the 18th century (Modarress 2011b). The total number includes five coins found by Rinne in 1921 and one coin found by Palmroos (2016) in a small-scale rescue excavation. Another rescue excavation was carried out in 2017 (Franzén & Viljanmaa 2018), and no remains earlier than the 20th century were found.

The excavation finds also included pieces of thin green object glass. One of the small pieces from the 2009 trench on the south-western side of the church has two decorative projecting lines that are typical of a so-called Passglas beaker (octagonal pole glass beaker) (KM2009050: 24, Fig. 5.6). Two pieces came from the 2010 excavations under the church floor. They are angular and parts of same object, a drinking vessel (KM2010082: 254) of seemingly low-quality glass. Passglas pieces are fairly common excavation finds in urban historical contexts of the 17th to 19th centuries in Finland, as well as Sweden. Passglas beakers were produced already at the end of the 15th century and through the 16th and 17th centuries in different parts of Europe. (Haggrén 1999: 35–36, 2005; Henricson 2003.) For this reason, it is impossible to give an accurate date for these small pieces. In the Turkansaari context, they indicate connections to the European trading network, as do the few pieces of stoneware ceramics found nearby. Some of them were decorated and unusual, certainly not local products (KM2010082: 145, Fig. 5.6). A comparison of the pieces with descriptions and illustrations of Raeren ceramics (see Hurst et al. 1986: 204–205, Fig. 99 and PL 37) shows clear similarities. Archaeologist Aki Hakonen (2012: 10–11) also found a similar ceramic flagon depicted on a European painting from the early 17th century. These kinds of flagons were produced in Raeren, today a part of Belgium, at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries (see Hurst et al. 1986: 194–208; also Pihlman 2018).

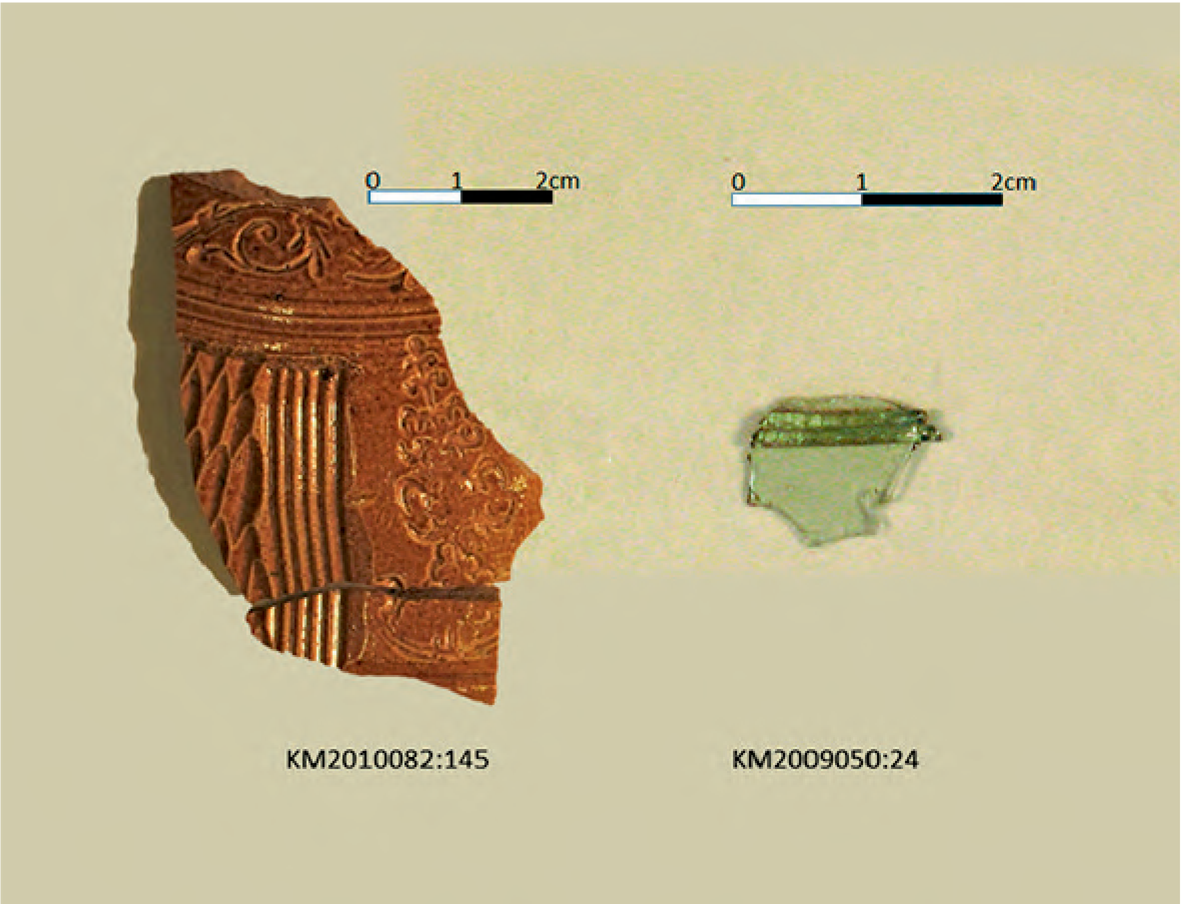


Figure 5.6. Excavation finds from 2009 and 2010. A small piece of a glass object (KM2009050:24) and two pieces of a decorated ceramic vessel (KM2010082:145). (Photograph: M. Modarress, Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Oulu.)

All these excavation finds are indicative of trade conducted on the island. In the fishing and farming community, Passglas beakers would hardly have been used for drinking during daily working activities, nor would money be needed on such occasions. The patterned ceramics were clearly of Central European origin. Also, the pipes and a lead seal (KM2010082: 51, Fig. 5.7) found under the church floor are signs of trade. Lead seals have been found at several excavations and have been used in traded items of yard goods (e.g. Taavitsainen 1994, 2018). Although no writing or marks could be discerned on the seal surface, it was identified as a seal for a bolt of cloth and dated to the early 17th century (Ikonen & Hyttinen 2011: 182–183; Hakonen 2012: 12). Cloth of various materials was a popular item of merchandise. The tax book archives of the burghers of Oulu from the 17th century contain lists of imported cloth, among others silk, broadcloth, and fine linen. Some burghers of Oulu had complained that Russian and Karelian traders sold Persian silk cheaper than it was sold in Stockholm (Virkkunen 1953: 228–229, 250).

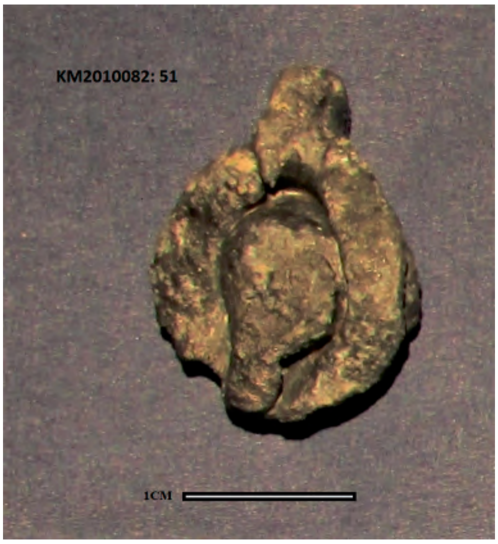
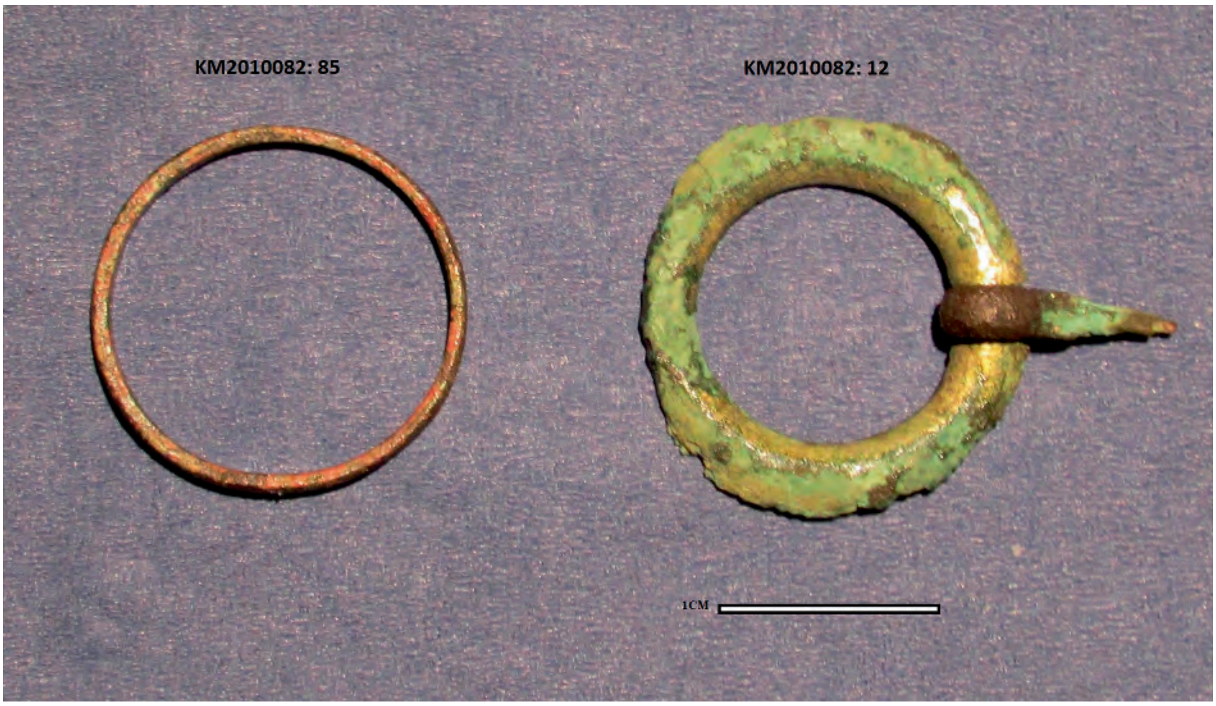


Figure 5.7. Excavation finds from 2010. A seal (KM2010082: 51), a ring (KM2010082: 85) Ø 1,2 cm; a buckle (KM2010082: 12) Ø 2,5 cm. (Photograph: M. Modarress, Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Oulu.)



Among the few personal items in the Turkansaari excavation material are a buckle (KM2010082: 12, Fig. 5.7), a pewter button (KM2010082: 11) connected to clothing, and a ring (KM2010082: 85, Fig. 5.7.). The buckle was gold-plated, so it was clearly not part of an everyday item. As for the button, no similarities to other buttons excavated in the Oulu region were found, and the ring was simple and narrow with no distinctive features.

The excavated materials do not date Turkansaari clearly either to the Middle Ages or the early 16th century. However, the material remains and excavation results show that at the end of the 16th century and during the 17th century the island was clearly an active social space used for various functions: activities connected to livelihood as well as economic, religious, and social gatherings. Religious activities were intimately connected to other goings-on, activities for means of livelihood and economics (see also Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 79).

5.3. The spiritual and mundane: The religious beliefs and practices of 17th-century Ostrobothnians

The basic activities in the daily life of the majority of common folk were carried out for livelihood and the practice of religious rituals. What, then, was the relationship between the means of acquiring the daily bread and the practice of religion, between the material world and the spiritual? How did they influence or affect the need to build chapels?

Early prayerhouses and churches especially in the Middle Ages were often located on islands. According to oral tradition, the first prayerhouses or chapels at the Ii trading centre by the mouth of the Ii river in the Bothnian Bay were built on the Illinsaari and Kirkkosaari islands already in the 14th century (Luukko 1954: 265), though this view has been challenged by recent archaeological studies.[12] Oulunsalo was an island in the 1660s when the first known chapel was built there, though a small chapel had probably stood at the site even earlier, in Catholic times (Hiltunen 1987: 17, 36–38). Likewise, in Muhos, a prayerhouse is said to have been located on an island hence called *Kirkkosaari* (Church Island), perhaps already in the beginning of the 16th century (Snellman 1887: 269; Vahtola 1986: 50, 78). Since chapels were plundered and burned repeatedly, it has also been mentioned that islands were safer places for chapels, as they were easier to defend in the case of enemy attacks (Luukko 1954: 263).[13]

Islands have often been regarded as special places. Surrounded by water, they have been given meanings as unusual or liminal and seclusive spaces (e.g. Herva 2009) not only in the material but also in the spiritual world. Spiritual or superstitious beliefs about material surroundings might have played a role in the use of islands as burial places, but the main reason seems to have been a question of practicality. Temporary burials were made if the deceased could not be buried in a cemetery, for instance because of weather conditions, long distances, war, or conflict situations. In different parts of Finland, there are numerous islands called *Hautasaari* (burial island), *Kalmosaari* (death island), and *Ruumissaari* (corpse island), names that might indicate possible burials on the islands.[14] Indeed, some have been detected on the islands in excavations and surveys (see e.g. Jokipii 2001; also Koivunen 1990; Laitinen 2001). Actually, recent research has suggested that not all burials on islands were temporary: on the contrary, they were meant to be permanent from the outset (Ruohonen 2010). No burials have been found on Turkansaari (see Rinne 1921; Paavola 1998: 209; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011), and there is no known burial island nearby. Undoubtedly the various subsistence and economic activities carried out on the island, like fishing and trading, made the place unsuitable for burials

12. The claim that there has been an early chapel on Illinsaari cannot be verified by excavations carried out on the island (conversation with archaeologist Ville Hakamäki 23 March 2018). In the 2009 archaeological excavations, the remains of possible small chapels from the Middle Ages were found in Ii Hamina instead (see Kallio-Seppä 2011).

13. In the case of Turkansaari, this can hardly have been the motive for choosing the island, even though Turkansaari had also been plundered by Russian soldiers in 1714. They tried to burn the prayerhouse but did not succeed (e.g. Palola 2000: 73).

14. Hautasaari could also be connected to a means of livelihood (see e.g. Hautasaari 1000037956, kyppi.fi). Burning tar, which was an important activity in the region in the 17th century, was done in a tar-burning pit, which is called tervahauta in Finnish. Tar-burning pits were situated at some distance from living quarters, if possible, on the bank of a river or lake, for the easy transportation of tar with boats (see e.g. Turpeinen 2010: 26).

unlike other, more isolated islands. Besides, Turkansaari was, after all, a minor chapel in the parish of Oulu, a modest prayerhouse. Oulu was the central burial place in the parish also for rural people (see Paavola 1998: 209).

The change from various ancient folk beliefs and norms to Christianity was a slow process; it affected and changed the whole world view and culture (Talve 1997: 302). In the 17th century, old folk beliefs, superstitions, and even Catholic conventions were still common (see e.g. Hukantaival 2016; Lahti 2016; Koski 2018), although the Crown and the Church were trying to spread and strengthen the official Lutheran Christianity among the common folk. Firm control was exercised by the Church in the form of church discipline (Fi *kirkkokuri*). The 17th century has been considered a period of growing social control and discipline exercised by the authorities, the Church as well as the Crown (e.g. Juva 1956; Palola 2000: 231; Wunsch 2006: 72; also Kuha 2016: 11, 13; Koski 2018). Taking part in the Sunday prayers was, in a way, compulsory for everyone. It was important to make evident to the community that one was a pious Christian, a decent member of the community. Social control was strict; neighbours and other fellow citizens or villagers kept an eye on each other. If one did not attend church to take part in religious ceremonies, a neighbour could report this to the authorities. As a result, one could be brought to district court for failure to attend and be fined. One might also be considered a person out of one's society and in some instances even be accused of witchcraft. (See e.g. Virkkunen 1953: 509–512; Juva 1956: 37.) However, according to Miia Kuha (2016: 85), people were not necessarily as interested in their neighbours' behaviour as has been commonly believed. The judiciary and church exercised effective control over even one's personal religious behaviour (e.g. Wunsch 2006; Koski 2018). Nevertheless, as Kuha's (2015, 2016) studies of Eastern Finland show, many times common folk did not care to attend church and avoided attending if possible. On the other hand, on religious holidays, attendance at Lutheran chapels was overwhelming and churches were packed full of people. They wanted to partake in the Holy Communion and give offerings. Religious holidays were considered as something out of the ordinary, times when prayers and offerings were thought to be more advantageous than on common days. Clearly, the offerings sprang from people's religious needs, although Lutheran orthodoxy (Fi *puhdasoppisuus*) did not allow them. Offering was a relic of Catholic customs. Especially churches known as sacrificial churches (Fi *uhrikirkko*), such as the church of Kuopio in Eastern Finland, were thus favoured (Kuha 2016: passim). In the Oulu region, the chapel of Oulunsalo was a famous sacrificial church[15] where people gave offerings in the hope of fulfilling their personal wishes or easing their difficulties and fears; a traveller might ask for a safe journey and a fisherman for a good catch. The offerings were usually coins but could be also other things. Sacrificial churches were pilgrimage sites, and people came to these places even from long distances. (E.g. Merenheimo 1910; Hiltunen 1987; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 76; Toivo 2014.)

5.4. Motives for building chapels

There are a range of reasons for choosing the place for a chapel that are connected not only to religious notions but social realities as well (Turner 2011: 955). In the construction of the Turkansaari prayerhouse, we can perceive the connection between the spiritual and mundane worlds. It reflects the orientation of how people in the area brought together these two (spiritual and material) in everyday realities. Although old familiar beliefs and rituals had an influence on the mental and practical levels, religious practices were changing with the adoption of the Lutheran faith. As in other parts of Europe, they diverged from Catholic customs concerning ceremonies, practices, and saints. In Finland, this process was slow, whereas in some other places, like larger cities in Europe, the change was more aggressively pursued (see e.g. Juva 1956: 2–3; Isaiasz 2012; also Koski 2018).

15. Oulunsalon uhrikirkko (567010045)

Apparently, the Lutheran faith caused some changes in the role of the church building per se. Preaching and prayers became central rather than the place where they were conducted (e.g. Heal 2005: 41; Isaiasz 2012; Koski 2018: 57–58). This seemingly also allowed the construction of a modest building that even a small community could accomplish. Collective services were seen as an important part of religious observances that influenced people's fortunes. Moreover, individual religious efforts could affect the collective fortune. (Talve 1997: 234–235; Kuha 2016: 101.) Building a proper prayerhouse nearby and within easy reach helped in both ways. One question to consider is also Luukko's suggestion (1954: 265; see also Herva 2009) that a church built on an island would be on no man's land and therefore more easily accepted by all. That is, at least partly, what the building of a prayerhouse indicates: the wish to perform religious duties as conveniently as possible, close to the working place and the site of daily activities. In the case of the prayerhouse of Turkansaari, this is evident: the needs of the fisher and farmer community were thus met, and the location had its advantages for traders too.

Another significant factor and motive in the construction and planning of prayerhouses was to make the community in question more independent (Hiltunen 1987: 89–92). Building a chapel for the community was a show of collective strength; it raised the status and self-esteem of the community. Such determined community involvement can be seen in the erecting of the Kempele and Oulunsalo chapels. The Kempele chapel, erected in 1691, was supposed to be a prayerhouse but became a towered church instead, as had happened with the Oulunsalo chapel built a few decades earlier (see e.g. Virkkunen 1953: 465– 466; Hiltunen 1987: 91). On a more personal level, the pretensions of the region's wealthy families could be a reason for building a local prayerhouse. Sometimes disputes between groups led to the need to have separate places of worship (e.g. Snellman 1887: 258–259). Villages and neighbourhoods, especially wealthy farmers, had a kind of competition with their neighbouring villages, which might have been what led to building the prayerhouse in Ängeslevä, Tyrnävä. The locals wanted to show off, to assert that they could afford to build and maintain their own prayerhouse (see e.g. Modarress-Sadeghi 2018).

Building the chapel near the living and working areas is also understandable when the weather conditions of Northern Finland are considered. Travel was easiest by means of waterways, and otherwise it was difficult during a large part of the year: rainy or frosty weather conditions in the spring and autumn wrecked the paths and cart tracks.[16] In the winter, sleighs could be used, but extreme snow or cold could still be an obstacle. As for the summer, it was the busy time of the working season; this is why it was good to have a chapel nearby. Before the prayerhouse was built on Turkansaari, the nearest churches for the local population were in Oulunsalo, circa 14 km to the west, in Oulu, 15 km to the north-west, and the Kempele chapel in the neighbouring Liminka parish, circa 14 km to the west.

5.5. Prayerhouses as markers of the formative phase of institutionalizing Lutheran religious practices

Erecting a prayerhouse on Turkansaari was not an isolated case; it was one of the many prayerhouses and chapels constructed in the villages of Northern Ostrobothnia during the latter half of the 17th century. Historian Pentti Virrankoski (1973) has mentioned c. 30 chapels or prayerhouses in the region.[17] To display this wider context of activities, Table 5.1 provides a list of chapels and prayerhouses that were nearly contemporaneous to or a few decades earlier than Turkansaari. During the second half of the 17th century (from the 1640s to the 1690s) c. 23 of these small chapels were erected in the region (Fig. 5.8).[18] Local traditions often mention the existence of an earlier (medieval) chapel in the same place or nearby. Information about the older chapels is usually controversial and their

16. Actual roads are a later invention. In rural areas, routes were rather more like cattle paths that were used when necessary. Waterways were by far the best way to travel, although rapids were possible obstacles to be overcome. (See also Mauranen 1999.)

17. The number depends on how the border of the Ostrobothnian province is defined. The borders are elusive and have changed a few times since the Middle Ages.

18. After these active building periods, times turned hard for the Ostrobothnian people. The turn of 17th and 18th centuries and the first decades of the 18th century saw first the famine years of 1695 and 1697 and later the Great Northern War (1700– 1721) and the Russian invasion, 'the Great Wrath' (1713–1721) isoviha, as it is called in Finnish historiography.

exact location is known only by hearsay. However, it has been rather common to build a church over the foundations of an earlier prayerhouse (Paavola 1988: 11, 16), as has presumably been done in Haukipudas (Paavola 1998: 27) and Tyrnävä (Matinolli 1989: 28.) Even on Turkansaari, there has probably been an earlier building that might have been used for sermons (Modarress 2011b; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011).

Building a prayerhouse in the near vicinity of one's living and working place was rewarding and

Figure 5.8. An old map from the 19th century. The sites of the small chapels and prayerhouses (erected from the 1640s to the 1690s) are marked with dots (red dots are chapels/prayerhouses mentioned in the text, blue dots are other chapels in the region). (Original map: Hällström, C & Lundgren C. 1806. Available in the Doria Repository, National Library of Finland, adaptation by author.)

Table 5.1. Chapels and prayerhouses built in the Northern Ostrobothnia* and Oulu region in the 1640s–1690s.

Region/county	Year	Description
Tyrnävä/Ängeslevä	1640s	Prayerhouse
Tyrnävä	1644–1648 (1664)	Prayerhouse (church)
Haapavesi	1640s (1693)	Prayerhouse (chapel)
Pyhäjärvenkylä/Pyhäjoki	1647 (1626) **	Chapel
Haapajärvi	1649 (1653)	Prayerhouse
Alavieska	1651	Chapel
Sipola	c.1653	Prayerhouse
Ylivieska	1653	Chapel
Sievi	1654 (1690)	Chapel
Oulainen	1650s (1682)	Chapel
Rantsila	1658–63 (1640–45/1655–60)	Chapel
Oulunsalo	1665	Chapel
Pulkkila	1671	Chapel
Louhua	prior 1680s	Prayerhouse
Revonlahti	prior 1680s	Prayerhouse
Kalla/Kalajoki	1680	Prayerhouse
Nivala/Pidisjärvi	1682	Prayerhouse
Vihanti	1688 (1691)	Prayerhouse
Kempele	1688–1691	Chapel
Paavola	1691	Chapel
Ylikiiminki	1691–1693	Prayerhouse
Turkansaari	1694	Prayerhouse
Simo	1692–1695	Prayerhouse

*The table is based on Virrankoski 1973 and Petterson 1987. List is only indicative. Distinction between prayerhouse and chapel can be clear or subtle, they are defined according to the written sources or the small size of the building. Large churches are not included, but sometimes the definition is uncertain. Northern Ostrobothnia is considered as defined in the end of 17th century (excluding Eastern part), and attention is on Oulu region.

** When Virrankoski and Petterson give dissentient information for the date of the building, the latter is in parentheses. It's not clear from their text, but in some cases, it might be that the later one is a chapel and earlier in the same spot has been a modest smaller prayerhouse.

provided many benefits. It clearly simplified the practice of religious duties; it was so much easier to take part in the sermons. Accordingly, people wanted a chapel built near their daily activity centre. There would then be no need to travel to the nearest church in the heat of the harvesting season, in the middle of fishing on the river and farming on the surrounding fields. A practical way of carrying out one's religious duties was not the only motivation for chapel building. Other reasons to be considered were economy and trade: a chapel would draw traders to the site, since the arrangement enabled organizing a market where people gathered together (e.g. Manninen 1986: 3; also Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 70). Since the Middle Ages, marketplaces were often in the near vicinity of a church, for example, in the square in front of the church. This was a rather common feature in early Finnish towns, as well as in the wider European context (e.g. Ylimaunu 2007: 28; Burke 2009: 154–155).

Turkka is mentioned already in the 15th century as a place for Russian and Karelian traders to come exchange their goods. Nevertheless, it can be questioned whether, in this early phase, the market was on the island or on the banks of the river. In the old written sources, the market is mentioned to have been held in *Turkan kylä,* which means the village of Turkka (e.g. Snellman 1905:18–19;

Virkkunen 1953, 18–19), not necessarily the island. However, an island operating as a restricted area would have been a better choice in the case of the sometimes disturbing behaviour of traders and the market folk (Virkkunen 1953: 18–19; Ylimaunu 2007: 27–28). In any case, in the 17th century, the marketplace was on the island, as indicated by the excavation finds.

It seems that proposals for building prayer huts and chapels often came from the villagers themselves, but also the Church supported them. For the people, they strengthened a sense of communality and self-esteem. They were also places for discussing and making decisions related to various kinds of social and community concerns. In fact, the parishes were foundations for later municipalities and rural districts (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus 2014; Asunmaa s.a.). The prayerhouses and chapels were a way of institutionalizing the Church and provided better opportunities to control people's religious practices. The 17th century was a time of growing Lutheran orthodoxy, which was vigorously carried out. The Lutheran church was changing the belief system, and at no other time was it as uniform as at the turn of the 18th century (Talve 1997: 306; see also Koski 2018). With the growing number of chapels with their own priests, new parishes were created. The people also had to provide economic support for the parish priest (Virkkunen 1953: 465; Virrankoski 1973: 678; Hiltunen 1987: 198). In the small chapels and prayerhouses, the sermons were preached periodically mostly by visiting curates (e.g. Hiltunen 1987:91). Turkansaari was a part of the Oulu parish, and sermons were probably preached mostly in the summer season.

5.6. A glance at the Ängeslevä prayerhouse

In general, written information on the old prayerhouses is rather scarce and confusing, and in many cases, their exact locations are not known. Often building a prayerhouse was a preliminary stage for a church to be built on the site later. Even the Turkansaari prayerhouse was re-erected as a chapel after a period of being used as a warehouse. There are sites where, according to local oral history, a prayerhouse has stood. However, the prayerhouse has been demolished later, and now there might be only a few stones of the foundation left to indicate its previous existence. This is the case in Tyrnävä some twenty kilometres south of Oulu. In the beginning of the 17th century, Tyrnävä, which was a part of the parish of Liminka, had two prayerhouses (see Table 5.1). One was located in the old churchyard by the bank of the Tyrnävänjoki river, approximately in the same place where the actual church was built in 1664 (Snellman 1887: 276; also Matinolli 1989: 27–28; Väre 2018). The other was in Ängeslevä, only about 3 km north-east of the old Tyrnävä churchyard (Fig. 5.9).[19] The spot where the prayerhouse had been located is at present a field by the small *Kirkkokursu*[20] canal. Nothing is left to show the location of the vanished prayerhouse (Modarress-Sadeghi 2018; see also Snellman 1887: 276; Matinolli 1989: 27–29). The only present reminder is a memory stone erected on the bank of the canal by the field (Matinolli 1989: 29). The Ängeslevä prayerhouse seems to have been a modest hut. Still, having their own prayerhouse could be considered in the context of individual wealthy farmers' desire to show off, according to hearsay by earlier generations[21] (see Modarress-Sadeghi 2018.) The existence of another prayerhouse at only a few kilometres' distance supports this idea.[22]

19. The prayerhouse is mentioned in the register of the Finnish National Board of Antiquities as a "possible ancient remain" (Ängeslevä Toppinen 859500001), but the recent survey had not been able to verify or locate it more exactly (Itäpalo 2010: 16–18). However, in the summer of 2017, a local farmer, the owner of the Toppinen estate, escorted the author and a few members of the Tyrnävä old cemetery survey group to the presumed site of the 1640s prayerhouse.

20. The term kirkkokursu means a channel for the rivulet by a church. In this case, the name is also indicative of the site of prayerhouse.

21. Mentioned by the Toppinen estate farmer.

22. Nevertheless, archaeological studies of the site would be required to obtain more detailed information on the matter.

Figure 5.9. The site of former Ängeslevä prayerhouse (top right) and Tyrnävä prayerhouse (bottom left) on map, distance about 3.3 km. (Map: Google. com, 2019, adaptation by author.)

5.7. Concluding thoughts

Religious communities in Northern Ostrobothnia experienced what can be called a boom in the construction of chapels and churches in the middle and later parts of the 17th century (Virrankoski 1973: 663–668; also Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 70). The local people had various motives for wanting to build the chapels and prayerhouses: practical aspects, religious needs and duties, economic concerns, spiritual pride, and a desire to show off. In the 17th century in Northern Ostrobothnia, the Lutheran religious convictions of rural people were not yet very deep, and old beliefs and customs still had a strong influence. Common people took part in church services usually weekly and on religious holidays. Communality was strengthened by increasing uniformity and the common concept of religion provided by collective services and prayers. Daily labour, farming, and fishing often required joint effort, people working together. This also helped people commit to collective sermons and to pray together, since it was thought to be advantageous for obtaining bountiful crops and catch.

For the Church, the prayerhouses and chapels supported its efforts to spread and control people and their religious practices on both the spiritual and the practical level. Furthermore, chapel building played a role in institutionalizing the Lutheran Church and in defining the borders of administrative areas. As can be perceived from the active chapel construction boom in the region (see Table 5.1), the locations of chapels were later used as a tool to define the borders of parishes, as well as community districts. Nevertheless, the lifespan of the early prayerhouses was often rather short, usually not due to demographic or organizational changes but simply because some just fell into decay and a number of them were torn down (e.g. Virrankoski 1973: 664–665) or burned. There was no desire or need to repair them, and many are remembered now only in local oral traditions or place names (e.g. *Ängeslevä* *kirkkokursu*). In some cases, a church has been erected on the site and survives even today. A few have been reconstructed and enlarged, and they are operating as churches.

In the case of Turkansaari, the religious activities were closely connected to the means of livelihood, and practicality guided people in the construction of the prayerhouse. In Turkka, the most suitable place was on the island. The fact that the prayerhouse was within easy reach for fishers and farmers certainly influenced the decision. The idea of an island as a liminal or spiritual space might have strengthened the choice. However, in the case of Turkansaari, there are no signs of any strong feeling of sacredness, such as in Oulunsalo, where the chapel was famous for its sacredness and people came from long distances to visit the place. Instead, the main feature is the location's centrality to subsistence and economic activities. The excavation finds on the island indicate trading activities near the chapel at least since the turn of the 17th century. The island was a suitable central place for the market, but at a safe distance from settlements in the case of possible disturbances often caused by market activities.

For modern people, it is challenging to understand the mentality of the people living in 17th-century Northern Ostrobothnia, their decisions, and their possibilities to act accordingly. There was a close relationship between daily life and religious activities. More archaeological studies on the sites of marketplaces and chapels could shed essential light on the way people lived, acted, and built their social surroundings and environment and how they connected to the spiritual and material worlds, religion, and socioeconomics. Institutionalized religion gave the framework that people acted in, but the efforts and ideas came from the everyday needs of the people, and along with spiritual needs, practicality was a significant factor in how they lived their daily lives.

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Mirette Modarress Julin, PhD, is an archaeologist from the University of Oulu, Finland. Her research interests are in the areas of heritage studies, illicit antiquities trade, post-colonialism, Iranian archaeology, and the social and material aspects of the archaeology of religious sites.

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6
Archaeological and lexical perspectives on indigenous South Saami religion

Minerva Piha

Abstract

In the article, a multidisciplinary method for studying past religions is introduced and applied to indigenous South Saami religion. The etymologies of the religious lexicon and the archaeological sacred remains of the South Saami area are systematically examined and the results of the two disciplines are correlated according to the theoretical model for the correlation of archaeological and lexical data. Special attention is paid to studying how archaeological material reflects the phenomena seen in the vocabulary. The lexical and archaeological data are collected from various dictionaries, historical descriptions, etymological and archaeological research, and archaeological fieldwork reports.

Correlations between archaeological and lexical data are seen in the offering tradition, burial traditions, and matters relating to death. The bear cult is highly visible in both materials, but the age of the bear cult seems suspiciously young in the archaeological and lexical material. Sometimes, as in connection with the shaman institution, lexical and archaeological materials do not reveal much about the origin or dating of religious phenomena. Non-material concepts such as deity names are not visible in archaeological data. A very tentative correlation is drawn between the faunal osteological material at offering sites or scree graves and the saajve animal tradition. Such a correlation will, however, need more research to be verified.

Keywords: Indigenous religion, etymology, Saami archaeology, South Saami

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, my aim is to examine the continuity of and changes in the South Saami indigenous religion by combining archaeological and lexical data. I examine the indigenous religious vocabulary of South Saami from an etymological perspective and study how the religious archaeological remains of the South Saami area reflect the religious phenomena seen in the vocabulary. I have a particular interest in studying what kinds of archaeological and linguistic materials correlate with each other and what kinds of stories of continuity and change the combined datasets tell. This is done by applying a theoretical model for the systematic correlation of archaeological and lexical material (first introduced in Piha 2018: 123–132; section 6.1.2 in this chapter). Vocabulary referring to non-material or abstract concepts is not often seen in archaeological material. Thus, I concentrate only on the vocabulary referring to concrete objects or places in the landscape with religious meaning. It is also of interest to examine whether archaeological material might be of help in determining the absolute time of semantic change in words.

The mythological domain of the Saami languages and cultures has been a subject of interest not only among historians of religion and folklorists but also in archaeology and, to some extent, linguistics. Birgitta Fossum (2006) has written an extensive research-historical study of archaeological sacred remains in the Saami area. Within the South Saami area, Berglund (2010), Dunfjeld-Aagård (2005, 2007), Gjerde (2016), and Zachrisson (e.g. 2009), among others, have recently studied sacred archaeological sites. The religious vocabulary and its history have interested many linguists, but most etymological studies have not been exclusively concerned with religious vocabulary (however, see Frog 2016–2017). Nevertheless, The Saami. A Cultural Encyclopaedia (Kulonen et al. 2005) contains articles dedicated to the etymologies of religious words. Also, at least one master's thesis on the religious vocabulary of Saami languages has been written (Suomalainen 2014). Håkan Rydving (e.g. 1987, 1992, 2010) has published studies on the history of religion with a strong emphasis on linguistics. However, none of the linguistic studies have concentrated exclusively on South Saami religious vocabulary.

By indigenous Saami religion I mean the world view and system of beliefs of the Saami people approximately before the 17th century AD when Christian missionary work among the Saami began. Before this, Christian influence had reached and affected the Saami religion, but it had not resulted in an actual conversion to Christianity. (See Pulkkinen 2011: 208; on "ethnic" religions, see also Pentikäinen 1995: 30–32.)

It should be noted that indigenous Saami religion should not be understood the same way that scholars in the West have typically understood the concept of religion: indigenous Saami religion did not require strict commitment or membership by its practitioners. Pentikäinen states that the terms world view and life philosophy are more suitable for describing indigenous Saami religion. These terms include concepts such as a way of thinking, experiencing, and feeling one's place in the world. (Pentikäinen 1995: 30.) I agree with Pentikäinen's definition.

The article is structured as follows: In the introductory section, I first present my view of the spread of Saami languages into central Scandinavia (6.1.1) and then describe the theoretical model (6.1.2), principles of semantic change (6.1.3), and datasets (6.1.4). The second section presents the lexical data divided into simplex words (6.2.2) and complex words (6.2.3), as well as a short overview on the word formation of the religious words (6.2.1). The third section is dedicated to the description of the archaeological material. In the fourth section, I provide a description of the correlations between the combined archaeological and lexical datasets. First, I examine the correlations in the datings of the lexical and archaeological data (6.4.1) and then proceed to the examination of correlations in the lexical finds and archaeological find groups (6.4.2). The fifth and last section focuses on drawing conclusions based on the questions presented in the introduction of the article.

6.1.1. The spread of the Saami language into central Scandinavia

In this section, I describe the spread of the Saami language from its proposed homeland into central Scandinavia where South Saami is spoken today. I also describe the linguistic phases of the language as it evolved from Proto-Saami into South Saami[1]. As the research on the phonological developments of South Saami is fragmented and no datings of different phases can thus be given, my proposal here is sketchy and hypothetical and requires further study.

According to runic inscriptions and Proto-Scandinavian loanwords in Saami as well as Saami toponymy in central Scandinavia, a Saami language has been spoken in central Scandinavia since AD 200 (Piha 2018: 176; Piha & Häkkinen 2020; for a slightly later arrival date, see also Bergsland 1995:

1. Due to space restrictions, this article does not cover the phonological changes that led Proto-Saami to evolve into dialects and, later, into separate Saami languages, such as South Saami and North Saami. Interested readers may turn to Korhonen (1981), Sammallahti (1998), and Aikio (2012) for a good introduction on the subject.

18; Häkkinen 2010: 59; Heikkilä 2011: 68–69; Aikio 2012: 77–78), and it arrived there by crossing over Kvarken or perhaps the southern part of the Gulf of Bothnia (e.g. Häkkinen 2010: 60; see also Piha 2018: 122 footnote 2). Before that, a form of Saami language, Proto-Saami, was spoken widely in southern and central Finland, where it had arrived around the beginning of the Iron Age from the southern part of Karelia, the proposed original homeland of Saami languages (e.g. Häkkinen 2010: 57; Aikio 2012: 77). Proto-Saami is the mother of all later Saami languages, including South Saami. Proto-Saami disintegrated into dialects when the linguistic area of Saami spread across Fennoscandia. One of those dialects is the predecessor of South Saami.

When the Proto-Saami dialect (and its speakers) arrived in inland central Scandinavia, the area was already inhabited. There is no general consensus on who dwelled there around AD 200; archaeologists have suggested that the area was inhabited by Scandinavian speakers or the Saami[2]. I have suggested that a Palaeo-European-speaking people of central Scandinavia dwelled there and encountered the Saami speakers when the Proto-Saami dialect first was spoken in the area (Piha 2018: 172–175; see also Aikio 2012: 101).

At the time of arrival, the Saami language had most likely not changed much from the common Proto-Saami, but gradually the Saami language spoken in central Scandinavia adopted sound changes due to internal development and loanwords from Proto-Scandinavian. It first evolved into a dialect that I have named Southern Proto-Saami[3]. My educated estimate of when this happened is the Early or Middle Iron Age (AD 200–800). Later in the Iron Age or in the Middle Ages, Southern Proto-Saami evolved into Proto South Saami, which is the immediate predecessor of the modern South Saami dialects.

In this chapter, when I use the word Saami, South Saami, Scandinavian, and so on, I refer to the languages, speakers of those languages, or cultures of the speakers of these languages. I do not refer to the ethnic situation of those past times (see e.g. Aikio 2012: 97–102 on the differences between ethnic, linguistic, and archaeological concepts).

6.1.2. The theoretical research model

The theory of the systematic correlation of archaeological and lexical material (Piha 2018) is applied in this study (Fig. 6.1). The main principle of the theory is that archaeological and linguistic material can be combined when this is systematically done on the results of archaeological and linguistic research. Relating words and languages to archaeological material is not a new phenomenon, but this theoretical model is created for systematic research to link archaeological and linguistic data.

In an earlier study, I have proposed a theoretical model for the systematic combination of archaeology and linguistics and tested it on the Early Iron Age archaeological material of the South Saami area and the simultaneous Proto-Scandinavian loanword stratum in South Saami (Piha 2018). I examined all the words found in a particular lexical stratum and all the archaeological remains dated to the designated period (Piha 2018).

In my previous study, the use of the model required the lexical finds (words, e.g. *axe, hearth*) and archaeological find groups (e.g. axes, hearth remains) to be classified in categories. For example, the archaeological find group of axes was placed within an archaeological category of tools, and the word referring to an axe was classified in the semantic category of tools. The categories represent the life domains that the language and cultural contacts touched or did not touch; the lexical finds and archaeological find groups are the actual data. (For details and pros and cons of the model, see Piha 2018.)

2. Some archaeologists have suggested that the Saami people have been in central Scandinavia since the beginning of (or even before) the Common Era (e.g. Zachrisson 1997, 2009; Hansen & Olsen 2006:103).

3. Aikio (2012: 77) calls this ‘the southwest dialect’ of Proto-Saami.

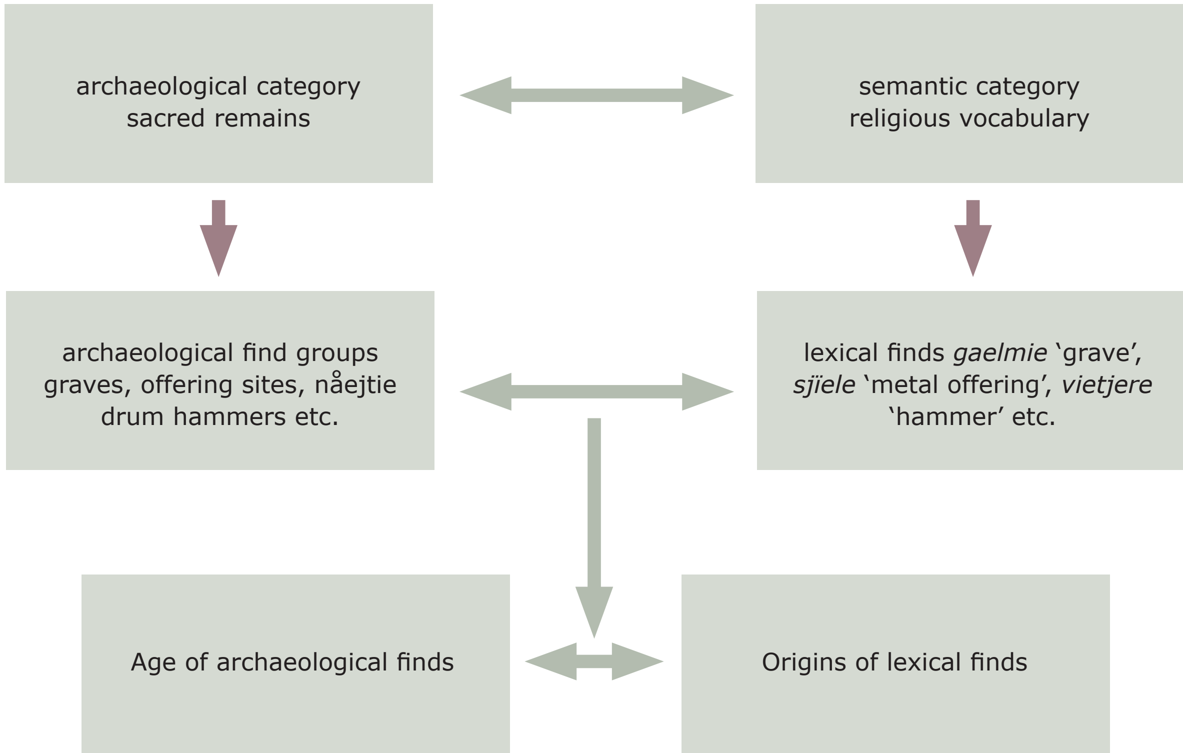

Figure 6.1. The theoretical model for combining archaeological and lexical materials used for the religious material. (Compare to Piha 2018: 124 fig 1.)

In this chapter, the perspective is different. Here, I examine all the words in one life domain – indigenous religion – regardless of their origin, as well as all the sacred remains that are defined as belonging to the South Saami past. In other words, I have one broad archaeological category (the sacred remains) and one semantic category (the vocabulary referring to indigenous religion). The actual archaeological find groups and lexical finds that are the data of this study belong to these categories respectively. Nevertheless, the aim remains the same: to see what kind of lexical finds and archaeological find groups correlate with each other.

However, the theoretical model used previously for correlating the data of a specific language stratum and the simultaneous archaeological material (Piha 2018) cannot be applied as such to religious material in which the vocabulary originates etymologically in various directions and the archaeological material is dated to an extensive period between 200 BC and AD 1800. The model needs a means of dating the material, as this enables the study of which lexical finds and archaeological remains are contemporary and which do not correlate because of differences in age. If the archaeological find is many centuries older than the word, that particular lexical find cannot be the original word referring to the object in the archaeological material. For example, if a word is borrowed from Old Norse (spoken approximately AD 800–1200) but the concept found in archaeological material dates to AD 300, the word and concept hardly correlate. For this reason, the theoretical model has been modified to include concepts of dating the material: the age of the archaeological finds and the origins (and ages) of lexical finds (Figure 6.1).

6.1.3. Language-historical perspectives on semantic change

The linguistic concept of semantic change in lexical items from a diachronic perspective is significant in this study. Semantic change means a change in the meaning of a word, but it also refers to a change in the concept that is associated with the word (Campbell 1998: 255). Semantic change is a difficult field to research, as semantic change is rather an abstract concept (Häkkinen 1997: 35): there is no universal logic in semantic change, it affects individual words, and thus every word needs to be studied individually (Durkin 2009: 260).

This chapter places a special emphasis on studying the time when the semantic changes happened. Defining the exact time is difficult, but there are linguistic methods for doing it. Loanword research is one of the ways of studying semantic change. In most cases, when a loanword is borrowed into a language, the meaning of the word, or part of it, comes along with the word form (Durkin 2009: 134). If a word is defined as a loanword from a specific language but has a different meaning in the modern recipient language, a semantic change has happened from the original meaning of the donor language to the modern meaning of the recipient language. The time of the borrowing is a *terminus post quem* for the semantic change, meaning that the change must have happened after the borrowing. The exact time of the semantic change is, however, difficult to define: it could be any point in history after the *terminus post quem*.

Another method of studying semantic change is examining the cognate words in language relatives. The meaning that appears in most of the language relatives should be considered as the original meaning. (E.g. Häkkinen 1997: 35.) The languages that have a different meaning than the original have gone through a semantic change. This change has taken place after the language relatives, stemming from a common mother language, disintegrated into separate languages. Again, it is not easy to determine the absolute dating of the semantic change.

The dating that can be acquired by linguistic methods is relative: the semantic change happened after or before something else. Determining the absolute dates of semantic changes is nearly impossible with linguistic methods because usually – especially when there are no written records that can be dated with scientific methods, for example – linguistic features are not datable.

However, there are exceptions. There are runic inscriptions written in Proto-Scandinavian that are datable according to an absolute chronology. Thus, the dating for Proto-Scandinavian was made with the help of archaeological material – the runic inscriptions found in the archaeological excavation. As the Saami languages have a large number of Proto-Scandinavian loanwords, this lexical stratum is datable to AD 200–550.

It is worth considering whether archaeological material that can be dated would also help with dating semantic changes. After all, words and their meanings refer to extralinguistic objects. If there is a word for a phenomenon that has gone through a linguistically undatable semantic change, a reference for this phenomenon could be sought in archaeological material that is connected with the language under scrutiny. If such a phenomenon appears, it can be proposed that the semantic change happened around the time the phenomenon first appeared in the archaeological material. Thus, the archaeological material provides a *terminus post quem* for the semantic change. In this study, I use such a method to aim at dating semantic change.

6.1.4. The datasets

The lexical finds are collected from two main sources. One is missionary Hans Skanke's "Anlangende de Nordske Lappers Hedendom og Superstitioner" ("On the paganism and superstitions of the Northern Saami"), which is included in his history of missionary work among the Saami, *Epitomes Historiæ Missionis Lapponicæ* (1945 [1728–1731]). The other source is missionary Johan Randulf's *Relation Anlagende Find-Lappernis saavel i Norlandene og Findmarken som udi Nummedalen, Snaasen og Selboe, deres af Guderier og Sathans Dyrkelse* (1903 [1723]) ("On the Saami in Nordland and Finnmark as well as Nummedalen, Snåse and Selboe, their worship of gods and Satan"). These descriptions mainly concern the situation in the South Saami area (Mebius 2003: 33). In addition to old historical descriptions, I have used Hans Mebius's religion-historical work Bissie (2003). He uses other historical sources in his study as well, and therefore my lexical material is extensive enough. Mebius has done a thorough job of updating Skanke's, Randulf's, and other writers' orthography into the modern South Saami orthography, which I use in this chapter if not otherwise noted.

In addition to Skanke, Randulf, and Mebius, I have collected words from various religion-historical and linguistic works of research and dictionaries, as not all religious or belief-related words are mentioned in the old descriptions – they mostly cover words related to the Saami divinities and the use of the *nåejtie* drum. The references are indicated in Appendix 1 (simplex words) and Appendix 2 (compound words) for each word in the data. The total number of religious words included in the data is 74, of which 26 are included in this study, as they can be correlated with archaeological material. As for the etymologies of the words, I have used all studies that discuss the origins of the words in the data.[4] I collected only those words that are known to be connected to the South Saami indigenous religion.

Sacred remains have been a central topic for a few major archaeological studies conducted in the (South) Saami area and, therefore, the religious (pre)historical landscape of Saepmie (the land of the Saami in South Saami, Sápmi in North Saami) is rather well known within Saami archaeology. The archaeological data is collected from these studies, various other research publications, and, to some extent, excavation reports and Ernst Manker's ethnological works (1957, 1961). The reference literature is indicated in Appendix 3 for each site in the data. Although the indigenous South Saami religion was not practised only at the sites of sacred remains but also at dwelling sites, for example, I have limited the data to the remain types with a primary function in sacred and ritual practices.

The research area is restricted to the provinces of Dalarna, Härjedalen, Jämtland, and the southern parts of Lapland in Sweden, as well as Sør-Trøndelag, Nord-Trøndelag, and Southern Nordland (with Mo i Rana being the northernmost municipality) in Norway (Figure 6.2). The research area is slightly bigger than the modern South Saami area, but the historical language area of South Saami has been larger than the present-day area.

4. Not all the etymologies of the lexical finds are straightforward and agreed upon by every researcher, and there are some words with unknown etymologies in the data. Unclear and much-debated etymologies are discussed further in footnotes in Appendices 1 and 2. It should also be kept in mind that the etymologies are collected from earlier research, and my aim here is not to revise the etymological work done by other researchers. However, I consider all the etymologies included here to be valid.

Figure 6.2. The research area is presented in dark grey on the map. All the archaeological sites used in this study are found within this area. (Figure: M. Piha.)

6.2. The lexical material

In this section, I present the lexical data. First, however, some clarifications of the data are needed. North-West Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian loanword strata are the earliest that may have been obtained within the South Saami area; in the language history of South Saami, it was the time of common Proto-Saami developing into Southern Proto-Saami. Thus, vocabulary borrowed into Proto-Saami or earlier is inherited by Southern Proto-Saami. The donor languages of the loanwords borrowed into Proto-Saami outside of the research area are not of interest from the perspective of this research.[5] Thus, they are discussed under the heading "Words inherited by Southern Proto-Saami" (see below). In turn, the origin of the rest of the loanwords might be significant, as they have been borrowed into Southern Proto-Saami. All the words are of interest when we study which words refer to concepts that are seen in the archaeological material.

The words discussed mostly refer to concrete concepts that are visible in the archaeological material. The abstract side of religion is not visible in this study because such concepts as *vuelie* 'chant, yoik melody' or *Raedien* 'Sky god; the ruler of the world' and others are not visible in the archaeological record. However, I deem it important to note that the uncorrelative material – be it linguistic or archaeological – is also significant, as the different material tells a different story of the same history.[6]

6.2.1. Overview of word formation in South Saami religious words

The South Saami religious vocabulary consists of simplex words and compound words. Simplex words consist of a single word component. Compound words have two or more component words, and their origins may differ: one component may be, for example, an old Finno-Ugric word and the other a loanword.

As for the religious compound words, the different roots of the compound words alone may not be religious at all; it is the compounding that gives the words their religious meanings. To get an idea of the age of the compound word, we should examine the younger part of the word. A religious compound word may not have developed when the younger component was borrowed, but the stratum in which the component originates is the *terminus post quem* for the development of the word. The origin of the concept that the compound word names should not unconditionally be assumed to originate in the same place where the younger part of the word originates or at the time of borrowing of the younger component, either. For example, the South Saami religious compound word *Saaraahka* has two parts: *Saar-* and *-aahka*. *Aahka* is an old loan either from Finnish or Late-Proto Finnic meaning 'old woman' (Aikio 2009, 54), and, elsewhere, I suggest that *Saar-* is a loan from Proto-Scandinavian and has had a meaning related to seeds and grain (Piha and Häkkinen 2020). Individually, these words are not religious. Together they form a name for a female divinity whose function was to create life and help with giving birth (e.g. Mebius 2003: 117–118; Kulonen et al. 2005: 281). However, it is not certain that the concept of Saaraahka was borrowed from Finnish/Finnic or Proto-Scandinavian even if the words were borrowed from there; it might be a (South) Saami innovation affected by other *aahka* deities or by influences received from Proto-Scandinavian speakers, or it might be an old concept that was newly named for some reason. Thus, words alone do not reveal the origin of the concepts. The compound word, however, reveals the date after which this concept could have been referred to by this particular compound word.

In the data, there are 44 simplex words, 15 of which can be correlated with archaeological material. The other 30 lexical finds, 11 of which are included in the material of this article, are compound words. In the following two subsections, all the simplex and compound words of the data are listed according to their origins. More detailed descriptions of the etymologies are presented in Appendices 1 and 2. The numbers of words within each stratum are presented in Table 6.1.

5. However, the donor languages are indicated in Appendices 6.1 and 6.2.

6. For this reason, I have presented all of the lexical material in Appendices 6.1 and 6.2. The same goes for archaeological material: I have listed all the archaeological remains analysed for this research and the archaeological reference literature in Appendix 6.3, because not all details can be presented in this chapter. Thus, interested readers may find information excluded from the article easily in the Appendices. However, the analysis of the uncorrelative material has to be left for the future.

Table 6.1. The number of religious words in each lexical stratum. The religious compound words are sorted by the younger component of the word. The total amount of the words in the data is given in brackets to indicate how many words are not compatible with archaeological material.

Origins of the words	Number of words per stratum	
	Simplex words	Compound words
Inherited words	6 (16)	2 (7)
Proto-Finnic / Finnish	2 (6)	1 (6)
Proto-Scandinavian	4 (10)	4 (9)
Old Norse / Old Swedish / Old Norwegian	1 (5)	1 (3)
Later Scandinavian	0	0
Paleo-European	0	1 (2)
No known etymology	2 (7)	2 (3)
Total amount	**15 (44)**	**11 (30)**

6.2.2. Simplex words

Words inherited by Southern Proto-Saami

båassjoe ‘the innermost place in a Saami hut; the holy place of the hut’; *gievrie* ‘Saami shaman drum’; *jaemedh* ‘to die’; *kobdam* ‘Saami shaman drum’; *nåejtie* ‘Saami wise man, Saami shaman’; *vietjere* ‘(shaman drum) hammer’.

Proto-Finnic (and Finnish) loanwords

gaelmie ‘grave outside of a churchyard; corpse’; *vearoe* ‘sacrifice; tax’ (through Lule Saami?).

Proto-Scandinavian loanwords

aajmoe ‘the other world (e.g. the realm of the dead), the great spirit’; *beere, bïerne* ‘bear’; *duvrie* ‘bear’; *saajve* ‘mythical creatures thought to live inside mountains or below the earth; the holy mountains’.

Old Norse and Old Swedish loanwords

sjïele ‘artefact sacrifice; metal artefact that has a protective character; wedding present from bride and groom to parents-in-law’.

Words without etymologies

tseegkuve ‘animal (reindeer) sacrifice’; *viejhkie* ‘pointer used with *gievrie*’.

6.2.3. Compound words

Words inherited by Southern Proto-Saami
The following word is sorted by the first component: *biss-aajja* 'bear (lit. holy grandfather)'; *boeltaajja* 'bear (lit. forest grandfather)'.

Components borrowed from Proto-Finnic (or Proto-Finnish)
The following word is sorted by the second component: *bissiengaelmie* 'bear grave (lit. holy's grave)'.

Components borrowed from Proto-Scandinavian
The following words are sorted by the first component: *saajveguelie* 'Saajve fish'; *saajvenïejth* 'girls of Saajve /dwellers of Saajve'; *saajvesarva* 'saajve reindeer'; *saajveålmah* 'men of Saajve (dwellers of Saajve)'.

Components borrowed from Old Norse and Old Swedish
The following words are sorted by the first component: *sjïelegierkie* 'offering stone (lit. (metal) artefact offering stone)'.

Palaeo-European
The following word is sorted by the second component: *bissiemoere* 'holy tree'.

Words without etymologies
The following words do not have any etymology for the second component: *boeltegotje* 'bear'; *saajve-vuernesledtie* 'Saajve bird that brings bad luck and evil'. Thus, the age of these compound words cannot be defined.

6.2.4. Summary: Origins of the South Saami religious words

The words that are inherited by Southern Proto-Saami and borrowed from Proto-Scandinavian are the most common origins for the South Saami religious words (Table 6.1). In turn, Proto-Finnic / Finnish and Old Norse / Old Swedish / Old Norwegian are minor donors. A few words have not been discussed in etymological research at all, or it has not been possible to establish an etymology for them. The data does not include any simplex words originating in Later Scandinavian languages, and the Palaeo-European influence is minuscule as well. However, it is possible that some of the words without etymologies originate in these language forms.[7] It is difficult to determine whether words were religious from the beginning or whether they gained a religious meaning later through semantic development. It is likely that words such as *jaemedh* 'to die' and *nåejtie* 'wise man, shaman' were religious from the beginning. The words *aajmoe* 'the other world', *gievrie* and *kobdam* 'shaman drum', and *vietjere* 'shaman drum hammer', for which it has been possible to reconstruct an original semantic meaning in the donor language or earlier form of Saami language, have had a profane meaning prior to the known religious meaning. The profane meaning did not disappear in every case, such as *vietjere*, but the word received a religious connotation in a religious context.

There are also words that have been borrowed in a religious context, though no religious connotation is left in the modern meaning. One example of these are the words for bear. They have probably been borrowed for the purposes of euphemism because the original name of the bear was considered a taboo (Frog 2016–2017: 50; Kulonen et al. 2005: 138). Thus, they might have had a religious connotation from the beginning. The same applies to *sjïele* 'artefact sacrifice; metal artefact that has a

7. The amount of words analysed in this chapter should be compared to the total amount of the religious words in the data (seen in the brackets in Table 6.1), as the division of words into lexical strata is slightly different then.

protective character; wedding present from bride and groom to parents-in-law' because its meanings are connected to the religious domain of life.[8]

It is also worth noting that no South Saami indigenous religious words are borrowed from other Saami languages with the exception of *vearoe*, which might be a loan from Lule Saami. However, it is possible that research has paid no attention to loans from other Saami languages until recently, that is, after linguists concluded that South Saami separated from Common Saami at an early date (e.g. Häkkinen 2010: 59; Aikio 2012: 77; Piha 2018: 121, 176; Piha and Häkkinen 2020). Another reason for such a phenomenon is that, until recently, Saami languages were usually treated as a whole without studying the history of the individual languages and without taking into account that these languages most likely borrowed words from each other.

Looking at the compound words, the exact time of the compounding of words cannot be defined by means of linguistic research. The compounding could have happened at any point in language history at any point in language history up to the *terminus post quem* of the compound word in question. Defining the age of a religious compound word in South Saami is one of the cases that might benefit from archaeological research.

6.3. The archaeological material

In this section, I present the archaeological sacred remains that likely are affiliated with the past of the South Saami language and its speakers. Due to space constraints in this article, all the remain types are described only briefly: their position within the landscape, their structures, artefacts found at the sites, and the dating of the remain type are given. Appendix 3 presents all the sites that are included in the data and references to the studies from which I have collected the data and information below. The ethnic affiliations of the archaeological remains in the traditional South Saami area have been extensively debated, especially in the case of graves.[9] However, I do not comment on the ethnic discussion here but present all the sacred remains that Saami archaeologists (e.g. Zachrisson 1997, 2006, 2009; Fossum 2006; Hansen and Olsen 2006; Piha 2018) have considered as likely to be affiliated with the South Saami (language speakers). I do not comment on the ethnic identity of the prehistoric South Saami, only the linguistic situation. The (Southern) Proto-Saami language arrived in central Scandinavia only after the beginning of the Common Era. Any archaeological sites in central Scandinavia dated to earlier than approximately AD 200 cannot be connected with the language and, therefore, I do not comment on earlier sites or remain types.

6.3.1. Hunting ground graves

Hunting ground graves (Sw. *fångstmarksgravar*) are a grave type that has been in use from 200 BC up to the 13th or 14th centuries AD (Fossum 2006: 90), and most often they are divided into three or four periods: 200 BC–AD 200, AD 200–550, AD 550–800, and AD 800–1200/1300 (e.g. Zachrisson 1997: 195–200; Fossum 2006: 89–97). Hunting ground graves are known only in the South Saami area: Jämtland, Härjedalen, Dalarna, Gästrikland, Medelpad, and Ångermanland in Sweden and Trøndelag in Norway. Outside of the research area they are found, for example, in Hedmark (e.g. Skjølsvold 1980; Bergstøl 2008). The earliest graves (200 BC–AD 200) are not connected with the Southern Proto-Saami language. Many, if not all, of the later graves dated to AD 200 and later are likely affiliated with Southern Proto-Saami speakers. (Piha 2018: 174.)

The hunting ground cemeteries and graves are located on headlands and islands or along lake shores far away from Scandinavian settlements (Ambrosiani et al. 1984: 62–63), though younger graves from around AD 600 onwards are no longer necessarily located near water. From AD 600 to

8. The meaning connected to weddings could be interpreted as a part of the societal domain as well. However, weddings have most likely had a religious scope, and it is possible that the semantic development has been from the religious scope of weddings to the societal scope.

9. Regarding this discussion, readers may be interested in, for example, Fossum 2006, Gjerde 2016, and Wehlin 2016. I have also written a brief overview of the hunting ground graves and the discussion around them in Piha 2018: 142–147.

950, there are graves in mountainous areas in Trøndelag and Jämtland (e.g. Zachrisson 1997: 27–33). The graves are usually round or triangular stone settings with chains of stones around them; the younger graves are not as regular in shape as the older ones, and some graves do not have any stone structures (Fig. 6.3). Grave goods include jewellery, weapons, coins, tools, animal bones, and textile remnants. Grave goods are richer in the Dalarna graves than the more northern graves, though later on they get richer also in the more northern sites. The hunting ground graves are mostly cremation graves, but later, also inhumations under flat ground without stone structures are known from several cemeteries. (E.g. Zachrisson 1997; Fossum 2006: 90–93.)

Figure 6.3. The Vindförberg hunting ground cemetery in Dalarna, Sweden, is dated to AD 100–550 BC. (Photo: Riksantikvarieämbetet / L. Löthman, © CC-BY.)

6.3.2. Scree graves

Scree graves (Nw. *urgraver*) are a widely known burial custom in Saepmie that has been in use from 300 BC to AD 1700/1800. A total of 36 scree graves are known from the South Saami area, and they date from the 14th to 18th centuries AD, that is, the last phase of burials in scree graves. The scree graves of the South Saami area are made under and between boulders, in caves and crevices, and in cist graves. Often the deceased are buried in wooden coffins or sleds. The South Saami scree graves are inhumation graves. (Schanche 2000.)

Artefacts found within scree graves are often everyday tools: iron artefacts such as scissors, knives, and axes. In addition, some brass rings and bronze artefacts and objects made of bone and horn have been found. Animal bones are also among the grave goods.

6.3.3. Ring-shaped offering sites[10]

Ring-shaped offering sites are a remain type known all over Saepmie. Most of the ring-shaped offering sites are found in the more northern Saami areas. The dominant structure of ring-shaped offering sites consists of stone walls that are constructed carefully into a circular, angular, hexagonal, or other shape. These structures are often made in rocky terrains. They are found both in the inland and near the coast. They date between the 13th and 17th centuries AD (Spangen 2016: 171–172). Sometimes bone material is found within the structures, but it is not a definitive criterion (Spangen 2016: 120–131).

In the data of this study, two structures resembling ring-shaped offering sites are included, both from Sør-Trøndelag (see Zachrisson 2009). They have only revealed either reindeer or elk antler and cranium finds (Zachrisson 1997: 201, 2009: 142). Zachrisson (2009: 142) mentions that ring-shaped offering sites should also be found in Dalarna and probably in Nord-Trøndelag as well as in Lapland. It is of interest that Dunfjeld-Aagård (2007: 54) speculates that the ring-shaped offering sites are an older variant of the *sjïelegierkie* offering site.

According to Spangen's research, neither of the ring-shaped offering sites in my research area meets her structural and artefact criteria of ring-shaped offering sites, and Spangen concludes that these structures are related to various cultural activities (Spangen 2016: 137). In addition, one of the two datings differs from Spangen's results, as it dates the site to AD 700–900; the other dating agrees with Spangen's datings (see Zachrisson 1997: 201, 2009: 142). Zachrisson (1997: 202) also notes that it is not clear what the circular structures represent.

Some of the sites in Northern Norway have lately been defined as wolf traps rather than sacrificial sites (Spangen 2016). The sites included in this study have not been recategorized by Spangen (2016) as wolf traps. The wolf trap theory should, however, be kept in mind.

6.3.4. Metal-rich offering sites

Zachrisson (2009: 143) calls metal-rich offering sites *sjïele* sacrificial sites as, in South Saami, *sjïele* means '(metal) artefact offering'. However, most of the sites are located outside of the South Saami language area in the Pite, Lule, and North Saami area; only two such sites have been found in the (peripheral) South Saami area. Therefore, the South Saami name is hardly fit for the remain type. Fossum (2006: 107; see also Zachrisson 2009: 143) has decided to call them metal-rich offering sites (Sw. *metallförande offerplatser*).

The remain type dates to AD 1000−1350. One of the two known sites in the South Saami area is from AD 1150−1250 and the other is undated. The sites are most often near lakes or the sacrificial objects have been thrown into a lake. Sometimes the metal-rich offering site may be a large boulder. The sites contain antlers, bones, and metal artefacts. Datings indicate that the antler and bone material is younger than the metal objects (Fossum 2006: 108).

6.3.5. Tseegkuve sites

Tseegkuve sites are reindeer offering places: according to Zachrisson, the reindeer were sacrificed beneath cairns beside or between boulders. The antlers were often still attached to the cranium. Tseegkuve sites are thought to be private offering sites used by one family. All the *tseegkuve* sites are located in Southern Lapland and Jämtland. (Zachrisson 2009: 144.) In addition to reindeer bones and antlers, the sites occasionally contain bones of other animals and wooden idols (sites in Risentjakk and Ailesjokk). The sites date to after the 18th century. *Tseegkuve* sites are also known from historical sources and folklore (see e.g. Mebius 2003: 150; for discussion, see Bäckman and Kjellström 1979: 63–64 and Piha forthcoming). Sometimes *tseegkuve* sites are connected to *sjïelegierkie* sites.

10. Spangen (2016), who has specialized in these sites in Northern Norway, calls these "Sami circular offering sites".

6.3.6. Sjïelegierkie sites

Sjïelegierkieh ‘offering stones (lit. metal artefact offering stones)’ are prominent stones in the hunting ground areas where the Saami speakers have dwelled and travelled. In some cases, *sjïelegierkie* sites are very close to *tseegkuve* sites. As they have not been studied by archaeologists (Zachrisson pers. comm. 2018), not much is known about artefact finds at these sites. However, Manker (1957: 232) describes how he visited the Kusenkerke *sjïelegierkie* in Sorsele with a Saami woman in the first half of the 20th century AD and saw her offer a coin at the *sjïelegierkie*. Coins and perhaps other metal objects are to be expected among the finds around *sjïelegierkieh*. It seems that the *sjïelegierkie* tradition is not very old.

Based on the archaeological and ethnological material, it is not clear what the difference between the types of offering sites is or whether there is any difference at all. Thus, they should be examined and defined more specifically to obtain knowledge about their internal chronology as well as differences and similarities.

6.3.7. Bear graves

Bear graves (*bissiengaelmie*) are graves in which a bear has been ritually buried. A bear may be buried in the ground, in a cave, or in rocky ground in a custom similar to scree graves. Sometimes the bear graves were covered with logs and birch bark. Bear graves are known all over the Scandinavian part of Saepmie, and they date from AD 200 to the 18th and 19th centuries. The graves in the South Saami area are the youngest known bear graves, dating to the 15th–18th centuries AD. (Zachrisson and Iregren 1974; Myrstad 1996.) It is worth noting that in the Salsfjellet grave in Nord-Trøndelag and the Värjaren grave in Jämtland, a small brass chain attached to the bear’s cheekbone was found. It is interpreted that it was placed there for protective purposes.

The bear was considered a holy animal. There is historical evidence of Saami bear rituals. The most thorough description of a Saami bear ritual is written by Pehr Fjellström (1981 [1755]), and according to him, burying a bear was just one part of a several-day ritual. It is not clear where the bear ritual described by Fjellström took place, but the words he lists as referring to a bear point towards the South or Ume Saami linguistic area (see e.g. Mebius 2003: 97).

6.3.8. *Nåejtie* drum find sites

There are four *nåejtie* drum find sites in the data, and at least three of the drums were found under a stone. All the *nåejtie* drums found in the wild have at least a drum frame left; some of the drum finds also include leather fragments of the bag where the drum was kept, small metal objects, brass rings that were used as pointers, or hammers made of antler (Fig. 6.4).

The Henriksdalen drum has been identified as belonging to Nils Johan Johanssen Vesterfjell, who died in 1871. The Visten drum find has been C14-dated, and two different dates were obtained: AD 1530 from the drum frame and AD 1685 from the hammer. (Berglund 2010: 27, 32.)

Figure 6.4. Frames and small metal objects were found at the *nåejtie* drum find sites. The drum in the photo is kept in Meininger Museum in Germany. It originates from the 18th century AD. (Photo: Sammlung Musikgerchichte der Meininger Museen © CC BY-SA 3.0.)

6.4. Correlations between archaeological and lexical finds

In this section, the archaeological and lexical data are combined and compared in search of correlations visible in the datasets. First, in subsection 6.4.1, the datings of the archaeological and lexical material are discussed. Then, in the following subsections, correlations between archaeological find groups and lexical finds are made. The correlations are illustrated in Table 6.4, which follows the theoretical model introduced in section 6.1.2.

6.4.1. Correlations between the datings of archaeological and lexical material

Correlations between datings of the types of archaeological sites and lexical strata are presented in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. The tables show that the first phase of hunting ground graves (200 BC–AD 200) cannot be at all connected to Southern Proto-Saami (for details, see Piha 2018: 172–175). All the other types of archaeological sites may have had a connection to the Southern Proto-Saami language and its descendants, as the language was already spoken within the area of the sites in question. Of course, this alone does not prove that the sites were used by Saami speakers, but it is nevertheless a possibility.

The tables reveal that during the time of use of the hunting ground graves, Southern Proto-Saami received loanwords from Late Proto-Finnic and later Finnish, Palaeo-European, North-West Germanic, and, after the latter developed further, Proto-Scandinavian and Old Norse language forms. The tradition of hunting ground graves continued up to the 13th century AD. When ring-shaped offering sites were introduced, Proto-Scandinavian was already starting to dissipate into ancient Scandinavian languages, and Southern Proto-Saami (or perhaps already Proto South Saami) received words from Old Norse. At the time, some loanwords were also borrowed from Late Proto-Finnic and Finnish. Also, the speakers of a Palaeo-European language were probably assimilated with the Saami speakers, and the language grew extinct by AD 500–800 (Aikio 2012: 87). From AD 1000 onwards, vocabulary was received from Old Swedish, Old Norwegian, and Finnish. The sacred remains dating to periods after AD 1000 consist of scree graves, bear graves, *tseegkuve* sites, ring-shaped offering sites, metal-rich offering sites, and *nåejtie* drum find sites. With the exception of metal-rich and ring-shaped offering sites, all these remains are rather young, dating to the 14th to 17th centuries or later.

It is important to note that Table 6.2 does not indicate the origins of the sacred remains. The remains do not have counterparts in the cultures that are associated with Finnic, Proto-Scandinavian, or later Scandinavian languages. Contacts with non-Saami speaking cultures can certainly be seen in the archaeological material in the form of grave goods, for example. However, the artefacts found in graves may not have been traded with the Proto-Scandinavian speakers for religious reasons. Thus, their placement in graves as religious objects is secondary (see Piha 2018: 126). There are bear cults, offering traditions, and burial traditions elsewhere that are somewhat similar to those found in South Saami archaeological material, but none of them can be seen as a direct donor culture for the South Saami phenomena. Thus, Table 6.2 indicates only the datings of archaeological remains in relation to the datings of lexical strata of South Saami.

Table 6.2. Datings of the religious archaeological remains in the South Saami area.

Remain type	4000–1500 BC	1500–500 BC	500–1 BC	AD 1–400	AD 400–550	AD 550–800	AD 800–1000	AD 1000–1500	AD 1500–1700
hunting ground graves									
scree graves									
bear graves									
tseegkuve site									
ring-shaped offering sites									
metal-rich offering sites									
sjïelegierkie sites									
nåejtie drum find sites									

Table 6.3. The datings of lexical strata in South Saami. The table includes all the strata from which the religious vocabulary originates. The table is based on and adapted from articles by Kallio (2006) and Häkkinen (2010).

Vocabulary strata	4000–1500 BC	1500–500 BC	500–1 BC	AD 1–400	AD 400–550	AD 550–800	AD 800–1000	AD 1000–1500	AD 1500–1700
Inherited words									
Late Proto-Finnic									
Paleo-European language(s) of Fennoscandia									
Southern Proto-Saami and its decendants									
North-West Germanic									
Proto-Scandinavian									
Old Norse									
Old Swedish, Old Norwegian									
Finnish									

Table 6.4. The lexical and archaeological material correlated. The table presents all correlations that can be made between the archaeological find groups that are part of the archaeological category of sacred remains and the lexical finds that belong to the semantic category of indigenous religion. The datings of the lexical finds and archaeological finds are *terminus post quem*. The question mark in front of the archaeological find group refers to uncertain correlation with the lexical find. The deity names that are correlated with wooden idols are not given in detail, as the correlation is very uncertain.

Lexical find	Word's terminus post quem	Archaeological find group	Dating of the remain
biss-aajja 'bear (lit. holy grandfather)'	inherited	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
boeltaajja 'bear (lit. forest grandfather)'	inherited	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
gievrie 'Saami shaman drum'	inherited	*nåejtie* drum remains	after AD 1500
jaemedh 'to die'	inherited	?graves	AD 200–1700
kobdam 'Saami shaman drum'	inherited	*nåejtie* drum remains	after AD 1500
nåejtie 'Saami shaman'	inherited	?*nåejtie* drum finding sites	after AD 1500
vietjere '(shaman drum) hammer'	inherited	drum hammer remains	after AD 1500
bissiengaelmie bear grave (lit. holy's grave)'	Finnic / Finnish	bear graves	AD 1600–1700
gaelmie 'grave outside of a church yard'	Finnic / Finnish	hunting ground and scree graves	after AD 1500
vearoe 'sacrifice; tax'	Finnic / Finnish	artifacts at offering sites	after AD 700
aajmoe 'the other world (e.g. the realm of the dead)'	Proto-Scandinavian	?graves	after AD 200
beere, *bïerne* 'bear'	Proto-Scandinavian	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
duvrie 'bear'	Proto-Scandinavian	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
saajve	Proto-Scandinavian	?hunting ground graves	AD 200–600
saajveguelie 'Saajve fish'	Proto-Scandinavian	?animal bones in offering sites / scree graves	AD 1300–1700
saajvenïejth 'girls of Saajve / dwellers of Saajve'	Proto-Scandinavian	?human bones in scree graves	AD 1300–1700
saajvesarva 'saajve reindeer'	Proto-Scandinavian	?animal bones in offering sites / scree graves	AD 1300–1700
saajveålmah 'men of Saajve (dwellers of Saajve)'	Proto-Scandinavian	?human bones in scree graves	AD 1300–1700
sjïele 'metal artifact sacrifice'	Old Swedish	metal artifacts at offering sites, in bear graves and scree graves	after AD 1200
sjïelegierkie 'offering stone'	Old Swedish	sjïelegierkie offering sites	?
boeltegotje 'bear'	No etymology	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
saajve-vuernesledtie 'Saajve bird bringing bad luck'	No etymology	?animal bones in offering sites / graves	AD 1300–1700
tseegkuve 'animal (reindeer) sacrifice'	No etymology	animal bones at *tseegkuve* sites	after AD 1700
deity names		?wooden idols	after AD 1700
viejhkie 'pointer used with *gievrie*'	No etymology	drum pointers	after AD 1500

6.4.2. *Tseegkuve* and *sjïele* – offering sites

The correlation between word *tseegkuve* 'reindeer (or animal) offering' and the *tseegkuve* site is interesting. Unfortunately, the etymology of the word tseegkuve is unknown and the word therefore does not reveal much about the genesis of the *tseegkuve* ritual. The tradition seems very young: all datings of archaeological sites point to a time after AD 1700, and the meaning of 'reindeer offering' is likely from the same time, even though the word itself might be considerably older (for the word's semantic development, see Piha forthcoming).

The words *sjïele* 'metal offering' and *sjïelegierkie* 'offering stone' have possible indications in the archaeological material. These indications could be the metal-rich offering sites and, more likely, the *sjïelegierkie* sites. Manker (1957) has listed quite a few *sjïelegierkieh*, but they have not been studied archaeologically (Zachrisson 2018 pers. comm.). The archaeological excavation of a *sjïelegierkie* site might reveal whether the word *sjïele* refers to offerings made at the sites. The assumption is that the *sjïelegierkie* sites, as well as the word *sjïele*, date to a time after the 13th century AD, but archaeological investigation is needed to verify the dating, which could also be younger than the word, if the word was borrowed in another context than that of the *sjïelegierkieh*.

Dunfjeld-Aagård's (2007: 54) speculation about the ring-shaped offering sites being an older variant of *sjïelegierkie* is somewhat problematic. The dating of the ring-shaped offering sites is more or less contemporaneous with the *sjïelegierkieh*. There is an older dating from one of the ring-shaped offering sites in the research data, so it could, in theory, be an older variant of *sjïelegierkie*. However, the tradition would have changed drastically from circular structures built by humans to natural rock formations. Even the name of the tradition would have changed, as the word *sjïele* was obtained later than the first use of the ring-shaped offering site. They might both be sacred places of ritual and offering, but that does not necessarily make them variants of the same tradition. To my mind, the *sjïelegierkie* tradition resembles the *sieidi* tradition of the more northern Saami cultures – it might be a cultural loan in South Saami culture.

The dating of the metal-rich offering site in Backsjö, Vilhelmina, is contemporary with the word *sjïele*, so in theory, the word can be connected with this remain type. However, as mentioned in section 3.2, metal-rich offering sites are rather peripheral in the South Saami area and may not have been used by South Saami speakers. Also, the earliest dates of the more northern metal-rich offering sites are older than the loanword *sjïele*.

6.4.3. The bear as a sacred animal

The word in South Saami referring to a bear grave is *bissiengaelmie*, literally 'the grave of a/the holy', and it has a direct counterpart in the archaeological bear graves. In addition, the South Saami language has at least five words referring to the bear, one of them being *biss-aajja* 'the holy grandfather'. These words have been preserved until modern times, which provides a clear indication of the sacred role of the bear in the South Saami indigenous religion. The other four words for bear reveal the same phenomenon indirectly: they were euphemisms for the sacred animal whose original name was not to be spoken (Kulonen et al. 2005: 138). They can be correlated with the bears buried in bear graves.

According to the data, the bear cult including bear graves is not very old in South Saami culture: the earliest dated bear grave is from the 16th century AD, and the rest date to the 18th century AD or later. The word *bissiengaelmie* 'bear grave' should thus be a fairly young compound word, as there was no need for a word referring to a bear grave before the concept was adopted into the culture, or perhaps slightly earlier when the South Saami speakers learned of bear graves from neighbouring Saami-speaking groups. This is one of the occasions where archaeological material can help to date the creation of a compound word whose components are both rather old words.

The words for bear, in turn, speak of a somewhat older tradition. The oldest word for bear,[11] *bïerne*, derives from Proto-Scandinavian. The compound words *biss-aajja, boeltaajja* or *boeltegotje* could be old, but there is no way of telling when the words were established to refer to the bear – they could be rather young compound words, dating perhaps to the time of the bear grave tradition. If *bïerne* was borrowed to be used as a euphemism, it could be the *terminus post quem* of a Saami bear cult within the South Saami area. However, the cult has likely changed and intensified over time: there are a few remains of parts of bear skeletons in hunting ground graves from 200 BC to AD 1050, but the bear cult appears as dominant in the form of bear graves only much later. The tradition of bear burials is undoubtedly due to the impact of the more northern Saami-speaking cultures that practised bear burials many centuries or even a millennium earlier than the South Saami speakers.[12]

The archaeological and lexical indications of the young age of the bear cult are contradicted by the fact that bear ceremonialism is reconstructed for Uralic cultures and should thus be of Pre-Proto-Saami inheritance. It is entirely plausible that there was a bear cult in earlier times and that it either did not leave traces in the archaeological record or those traces have not yet been found. As for the missing vocabulary, it may have fallen out of use when a new form of bear cult with a new vocabulary was obtained. Thus, it may have disappeared from the language.

The find group of brass chains and rings found in bear graves in the South Saami area (Salsfjellet grave and Värjaren grave) might have a connection to *sjïele*. It is known from historical sources that brass had a protective character in Saami mythology, especially in connection with the bear cult (e.g. Fjellström 1981 [1755]; Pentikäinen 2007: 47). As the meaning of *sjïele* has also been 'metal artefact that has a protective character', the brass chains in bear graves might have been included in the semantic domain of *sjïele*.

6.4.4. *Gaelmieh*: the graves outside churchyards

The word *gaelmie* 'grave outside a churchyard; corpse' has a reference in the archaeological material: all the graves of the study. The word does not reveal whether it was used in connection with a particular grave type, but *gaelmie* refers specifically to graves outside a Christian churchyard. The meaning 'grave outside a churchyard' is a rather late semantic development, as it is connected with distinguishing Christian graves from non-Christian graves.[13] The earlier meaning might be 'corpse', and the word still also contains this meaning. It is also possible that the word has referred to graves in general, and the modern meaning was created after there was a need to distinguish Christian and non-Christian graves. The modern word for 'grave' is *kroepte*.

However, as the meaning 'grave outside a churchyard' has held up to present times, it reveals that the existence of graves outside churchyards is not an old, forgotten phenomenon. Also, archaeological (or more accurately Manker's (1961) archaeological-ethnological) research may prove this: even after the South Saami speakers converted to Christianity, they sometimes buried their deceased in the wilderness if it was impossible to transport the corpse to a churchyard. The intent was to transport the deceased to a churchyard later. (Manker 1944, 1961: 183–184.) These so-called summer graves were the final stage of the *gaelmieh*.

Other words referring to graves and the semantic domain of death are *jaemedh* 'to die' and possibly also *aajmoe* 'the other world (e.g. the realm of the dead)' (see Piha 2018: 167). The word *sjïele* 'metal offering' might also belong to the domain of death: it should be considered whether the grave goods (those made of brass or some other metal, or even grave goods in general) dating to the 13th century AD or later were also called *sjïele* by South Saami speakers. Thus, using an object in a religious context (offering site, bear grave, or grave) changes its profane meaning and use to a religious one that was called *sjïele*.

11. The original word for bear has disappeared from South Saami, but it might have been preserved in the North Saami *guovža*. However, there are toponyms with the cognate of *guovža* near the South Saami area. (Collinder 1964 s.v. *guobtjë*.)

12. As the bear grave tradition might be older than the Saami languages in Northern Fennoscandia, it is possible that Saami speakers in Northern Scandinavia adopted the tradition from another Palaeo-European-speaking people dwelling in present-day Northern Norway. (On the datings of the bear graves, see Myrstad 1996: 46–48.)

13. I am grateful to an anonymous referee for bringing this notion to my attention.

6.4.5. *Nåejtie* and the drum

A good correlation is made between the words belonging to the domain of the *nåejtie* and the archaeological *nåejtie* drum find sites. The lexical material consists of the words *gievrie* 'nåejtie drum', *viejhkie* 'drum pointer', and *vietjere* 'hammer'. All the concepts the words refer to are found in the archaeological data. The words also refer indirectly to the *nåejtie* him/herself.

However, the words are all much older than the archaeological material. Thus, the archaeological material reveals nothing about the age of the South Saami *nåejtie* institution, and the lexical material is also ambiguous. The word *gievrie* traces back to pre-Saami, and it has a cognate in Finnish with no religious meaning: *käyrä* 'crooked, curved'. In other Saami languages, the word does not have the meaning '*nåejtie* drum', either. *Vietjere* refers to non-religious hammers as well, and the religious (connotative) meaning has developed at an undefined time. The etymology of *viejhkie* has not been discussed. The word *nåejtie* itself might be a Proto-Finno-Ugric word (UEW 307–308), but the etymology is somewhat uncertain (Kulonen et al. 2005: 244). Thus, we can say that a *nåejtie* institution was part of the South Saami culture at the time the drums were left in the wilderness. Because a somewhat similar *nåejtie* institution is known from every Saami-speaking culture, it may be assumed that the tradition was inherited from a time when a common Proto-Saami form was still spoken.

6.4.6. *Saajve* animals in graves and offering sites?

Researchers have suggested that in an early tradition, *saajve* was the original realm of the dead (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375). The word is a Proto-Scandinavian loanword and would thus correlate quite beautifully with the hunting ground grave tradition. In modern South Saami, the meaning of *saajve* is 'mythical creatures living inside mountains; the world inside sacred mountains', but its cognates in modern Scandinavian as well as other Saami languages mean 'lake', and that has been defined as the original meaning of the Proto-Scandinavian word. The new word was most likely adopted in a religious meaning: during the time Proto-Scandinavian was spoken, the hunting ground graves were made near lake shores which were perhaps considered as sacred *saajve* lakes. However, this does not mean that the graves themselves were the *saajve*. The graves might have been gateways to *saajve*, the underwater realm of the dead that is reconstructed to the Proto-Uralic cultural phase by historians of religion (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375). Later, the tradition changed to mean sacred mountains, perhaps motivated by Scandinavian ideas of dead members of clans going to live inside mountains (see Kulonen et al. 2005: 374). This might have happened at the time when the hunting ground graves were no longer made near water.

When Christian missionaries wrote their descriptions of South Saami mythology, the tradition had already changed to mean mythical creatures living inside mountains: *saajveniëjth* 'girls of *Saajve*', *saajveålmah* 'men of *Saajve*', and various *saajve* animals (Rydving 2010: 121). At the time, the belief was that *nåejtieh* and sacrificed animals were reborn in *Saajve* mountains (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375). According to Manker's (1957: 251) interpretation, the diver placed as a grave good in the scree grave of Västra Abelvattsundet was a *saajve* bird. Thus, it should be considered whether other animal sacrifices in *tseegkuve* sites and scree graves should be called *saajve* animals. If this assumption is correct, the compound words with *saajve* as the first component could be dated to a time after the 13th century, when the scree graves came into use, or to the 18th century, when the *tseegkuve* sites were in use. Such a dating would be more or less contemporary with the missionaries' texts and would prove that the literary descriptions are quite trustworthy in describing the concept of *saajve* in this particular period. *Saajve* and the compound words are an example of how archaeological material may be of help in determining the time of semantic change when linguistic methods fail to do so.

Lexicologically, there is no objection to interpreting the hunting ground graves from around AD 200 as a representation of the realm of the dead, as the word is old enough to support this interpretation. Also, the semantic change from the original meaning of the realm of the dead to the modern meaning is plausible. If this is the case, the Proto-Scandinavian loanword *aajmoe* 'the other world' might have developed into its modern meaning later when *saajve* had lost its meaning as the realm of the dead. The original meaning of *aajmoe* could have been connected to concepts of world, air, or natural phenomena, as in other Saami languages (e.g. Sammallahti 1998: 227; Piha 2018: 167–168, 191), or village, as in Proto-Scandinavian (Sammallahti 1998: 227).

6.4.7. Some thoughts on uncorrelative and other challenging material

The religious vocabulary contains many names for deities and other religious characters that are not included in the lexical material of this article, as they usually cannot be seen in the archaeological material. The only exception might be the wooden idols found on some of the *tseegkuve* sites, which could be interpreted as religious characters such as deities. Mebius (2003: 147) notes that the offerings were directed to deities or other religious characters who had power over people's lives. Nevertheless, based on the archaeological or lexical material, it is impossible to interpret which character the idols might represent.

Reports on landscape investigations with an archaeological perspective around *saajve* mountains were expected when I started the study. However, I have no knowledge of such investigations despite the importance of *saajve* in the South Saami indigenous religion. (However, see Dunfjeld-Aagård (2005: 89–90) who mentions *saajve* mountains.) The lack of archaeological investigations might be due to the knowledge derived from historical sources: rituals honouring the *saajve* mountains were performed at the *gåetie* dwelling sites, not near the mountains (Rydving 2010: 124).

The grave good material is rather large and diverse in both hunting ground and scree graves, but the vocabulary does not name individual artefact types. This brings into focus the names for tools, jewellery, and other artefacts as religious when found in a religious context (see Piha 2018: 126). In this chapter, I have decided not to define such words as religious apart from metal objects in religious contexts that were called *sjïele* since around AD 1200.

Finally, the lexical material includes the word *båassjoe* 'the innermost place in Saami hut; the holy place of the hut', which is not seen in the archaeological data. I decided not to include dwelling sites in my material, but if they had been included, correlations could probably be found between the lexical find and the corresponding archaeological find group.

6.5. Conclusions

In this lengthy chapter, I have combined archaeological and lexical research to study the indigenous South Saami religion by applying the theoretical model for the systematic correlation of archaeological and lexical material (Piha 2018). The theoretical model indicates correlations between lexical finds (lexical material) and archaeological find groups (archaeological material) and between the ages of the lexical finds and archaeological find groups.

After adjustments of datings, the theoretical model for combining archaeological and lexical material worked well with the religious material. The model brings out not only the confluence between archaeological and lexical material but also the differences: the archaeological material indicates phenomena that linguists cannot see in the lexical data and the lexical material brings forth concepts that are invisible in archaeology. In this last section, I briefly describe what kinds of phenomena the application of the theoretical model revealed in the religious material.

There are no odd correlations between the ages of the lexical and archaeological materials of this study: most often the lexical finds that have possible correlations with archaeological find groups are etymologically old enough to have been acquired in the language during the usage period of the archaeological remain. In my study, one example is the word *saajve* in the meaning 'the realm of the dead' and the hunting ground graves as a possible gateway to *saajve*. The word was borrowed into South Saami from the Proto-Scandinavian language which can be dated to the same period as the second phase of the hunting ground graves (AD 200–550).

Archaeological research may be of help in determining the time of semantic change in words. Often, loanword research and comparison of semantics with language relatives are useful methods for dating semantic developments. However, there are cases when linguistic methods fail, and one example of this is the compounding of words. In my study, I noted that the archaeological material was of help when I searched for the time of compounding and semantic development, for example, in the word *bissiengaelmie* 'bear grave'. There is a strong counterpart for the word in the archaeological material: the bear graves. The word was most likely created when the bear grave material started to appear in the South Saami archaeological material around the 16th century AD. Thus, the time when the components of the word were obtained in the language is not any indication of when the compound word was created.

In turn, linguistics may be of help in indicating what archaeologists should look for in their own research. In my lexical data, there is a word for offering stones, *sjïelegierkie*. It is also known from ethnological research that there are plenty *sjïelegierkie* sites in the South Saami area. However, these have not been researched by archaeological methods. *Sjïele* has been an important part of the indigenous South Saami religion, and it should be studied from the archaeological perspective how *sjïele* connects to *sjïelegierkie*, what the dating of *sjïelegierkie* sites is, and what was offered at *sjïelegierkie*. The word *sjïele* also indicates to archaeologists when metal objects in religious contexts first began to be called by the term *sjïele*. This provides cognitive perspectives on how the Saami speakers understood the border between religious and profane in the past.

Even though the combination of archaeological and linguistic research indicates consistent correlations between many findings, sometimes the correlations do not reveal much about the history of the phenomenon under scrutiny. The *nåejtie* 'shaman' institution has clear counterparts in the archaeological and lexical material: *gievrie 'nåejtie* drum' and its associate tools correlate with the archaeological *nåejtie* drum finds. However, the etymologies and semantic development of the words connected with the *nåejtie* institution are uncertain and do not reveal much information about the age of the phenomenon. The archaeological *nåejtie* drum finds date to the 16th century at the earliest. The data of this study reveals that the tradition derives at least from the 16th century. However, it is probably considerably older because the *nåejtie* tradition is quite similar in all the Saami cultures and thus may well originate in times when the common Proto-Saami language had not yet disintegrated into dialects (or even earlier).

Although there are plenty of words that correlate with the archaeological material, the etymological origins of the words are not reflected in the archaeological material – there is no archaeological proof of religious contacts with the material cultures associated with the Finnic, Proto-Scandinavian, or later Scandinavian languages. The archaeological material points to cultural impact from the more northern Saami cultural areas from around AD 800 onwards: the scree graves, ring-shaped offering sites, and bear graves, among others, were borrowed from the northern Saami cultures. It is curious that the religious vocabulary borrowed from those languages is missing. Thus, the impact of different Saami cultures and languages on each other needs to be studied more closely both archaeologically and linguistically.

Another interesting question is the impact of the Palaeo-European language and the culture of its speakers: the continuity seen in the archaeological material of the hunting ground graves points to the Saami speakers adapting the Palaeo-European burial custom. Nothing in the religious vocabulary reflects such intensive religious contacts. The view might change in the future when Palaeo-European substrate studies advance and, perhaps, more Palaeo-European substrate impact in South Saami is discovered.

Lastly, the religious vocabulary contains old inherited words with an original meaning belonging to the domain of religion (e.g. *jaemedh* 'to die'). This suggest that the roots of the South Saami indigenous religion lie deep in the past and continuity through the centuries and even millennia is visible in the lexical material. Archaeologically, it is not possible to reach this far because the predecessor of the South Saami language developed only around 1800 years ago. However, with correlations to linguistic material, the archaeological material also reveals 1800 years of Saami-speaking culture in central Scandinavia. To dig further than that, we should look for the archaeology of the area where common Proto-Saami was spoken – namely Finland and Karelia.

It should also be kept in mind that even though the correlations between lexical finds and archaeological find groups and their datings seem to be in sync, this article includes only 26 lexical finds out of 74, which is the total number of the lexical finds in the data. This means that 48 words have no counterparts in the archaeological material. Such words that do not correlate with archaeological find groups refer to abstract phenomena and non-material objects such as deities and other mythic beings (e.g. *Raedien* 'Sky God'; *jeahna* 'giant'), religious songs (*vuelie* 'chant, yoik melody'), or concepts such as soul (*sealoe* 'soul').

The combination of archaeological and linguistic research indicates the kind of continuity and change in the historical processes leading to the present that are not seen by using only archaeological or only linguistic methods. The inherited vocabulary, very old loanwords, and early Iron Age archaeological material are indicators of the continuity of religious practices. The semantic changes in words, newer loanwords, and archaeological material tell the story of an ever-changing and constantly evolving South Saami culture with roots deep in the history of Fennoscandia. Simultaneously, the religious material reveals contacts and interaction between linguistic and cultural groups and enables a hypothesis that would be near impossible if examined only by the methods of one discipline.

The perspective taken in this study is useful in articulating the similarities and differences in the data of the two disciplines: it strengthens the understanding of the nature of these disciplines and what kind of potential they offer for the research of the human past. Such a perspective is vitally important in the present-day international scientific community that grows ever more multidisciplinary and needs to understand the research possibilities of neighbouring disciplines.

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Minerva Piha has recently defended her dissertation on the South Saami past. She has an MA in both archaeology and Finno-Ugric linguistics and specializes in combining archaeological and linguistic research. Her research interests include the Saami past and South Saami language and culture, as well as the unknown Palaeo-European languages of Northern Europe and their effect on the Saami and Finnish languages.

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Personal comments

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Appendix 1. Simplex and derivatives of the data with a translation into English, a short description of the etymology, and the references for the etymology. In cases where there is no consensus among researchers about the etymology and there is more than one etymological option, I have separated the options with a virgule and first given the one with which I have classified the word.

SaaS word	English translation	The donor language	References for the etymology
aajmoe[1]	'the other world'	← Proto-Scandinavian **haima* / < Pre-Saami **ajmo*	Álgu s.v. *aajmoe*; Lehtiranta 1989, s.v. **äjmö*; Qvigstad 1893: 83, 191; Sammallahti 1998: 128; 227; Sköld 1960: 11-13.
aejlege, aejlies	'holiday, Sunday'	← Proto-Scandinavian **hailagaz*	Bergsland 1992: 9; Lagercrantz 1939: 26; Piha 2018: 192; Qvigstad 1893: 85.
Biejjie	'Sun (deity); day, sun'	< Pre-Saami < Proto Uralic **päjwä*	Aikio 2015: 63; Álgu s.v. *biejjie*; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Koivulehto 2000: 247f 10; 2016: 251, 543; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **pɛ̄j̄vē*; Sammallahti 1988: 540; 1998: 230; SSA 2 s.v. *päivä*; UEW 360.
bïergele	'evil spirit, devil'	← Late Proto-Finnic / Finnish *perkele*	Álgu s.v. *beargalat*; Frog 2017: 52–53; Lagercrantz 1939: 637; Lehtiranta s.v. **pɛ̄r̄keļę*; Sammallahti 1998: 129; SSA 2 s.v. *perkele*.
bïerne, beere	'bear'	← Proto-Scandinavian **bernu*	Álgu s.v. *bïerne*; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. *bjørn*; Frog 2016–2017: 50. Lagercrantz 1939: 659; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **pērnę*; Piha forthcoming.
bissie	'holy'	< Pre-Saami ← ? Proto-Germanic **wīxa* / < ? West Uralic	Aikio 2009: 134–136; Álgu s.v. *bissie*; Frog 2016–2017: 54–55; Koivulehto 1973: 13f 14; 1997: 89; 1999a: 215; 2016, 28, 543; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **pęsē*; Sammallahti 1998: 123; 1999: 83; 2001: 409 table 6.
båassjoe[2]	'the holy place of the hut'	< Pre-Saami **pošjo* ← ? Proto-Germanic / ← ? Indo-Iran	Aikio 2009: 270; Álgu s.v. *båassjoe*; Kulonen et al. 2005: 41; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **pǭššǭ;* Sammallahti 2001: 403; SSA 2 s.v. *posio; pohja.*
doene, doenehke	'devil'	< Pre-Saami ← Proto-Germanic **dawīni* /	Álgu s.v. *doene*; Häkkinen K. 2004 s.v. *tuoni*; Koivulehto 1996: 323; 1998: 241f 1; 2016: 180, 203f 1, 546; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **tōnę*; LÄGLOS 3: 315, 332–333; Sammallahti 1998: 124; SSA 3 s.v. *tuoni*.
duvrie	*'bear'*	←Proto-Scandinavian **deuza-* / **diuRa* / Old Norse *dýr*.	Aikio 2009: 282; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. *dyr;* Heikkilä 2014: 110; Häkkinen J. 2017 pers. comm.; Lagercrantz 1939: 224, 924; Qvigstad 1893: 132.
faastoe	'lent'	← Proto-Scandinavian **fastō*	Álgu s.v. *faastoe;* LÄGLOS 3: 5–6; Piha 2018: 140, 197; Qvigstad 1893: 147, 158; SSA 2 s.v. *paasto*.
gaedtsie	'spirits; younger generation'	< Proto-Finno-Permic **kansa*	Álgu s.v. *gaedtsie;* Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **kāncē;* UEW 645.
gaelmie	'grave outside of a graveyard; corpse'	← Late Proto-Finnic *kalma*	Álgu s.v. *gaelmie;* Frog 2016–2017: 51; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **kālmē;* SSA 1 s.v. *kalma;* UEW 119-120.
geavodh	'to behave ecstatically'	?	Aikio 2009: 85-87; Álgu s.v. *geavodh;* Lehtiranta s.v. **kɛ̄vǭ;* Rydving 1987: 195.
gievrie	'Saami shaman drum'	< Pre-Saami **kävrä*	Álgu s.v. *gievrie*; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **kɛ̄vrē*; Sammallahti 1998: 123; SSA 1 s.v. *käyrä*.

1 The etymology of *aajmoe* is unclear. It might be an original Pre-Saami word with a cognate in Finnish (*aimo* 'a whole, quite a') or a PScand loanword (< **haima-*) (Piha 2018: 191; Sammallahti 1998: 227). I have included the word in the PScand loanword strata (Piha 2018: 191).

2 *båassjoe* is a cognate with the Finnish *pohja* 'bottom' (Aikio 2009: 270), but it has tentatively been suggested that the word originates in either Proto-Germanic or Indo-Iranian (SSA 2 s.v. *pohja*).

goeksegh	‘Aurora Borealis’	← < PIE _*$h_2$aws-ōs-_	Álgu s.v. _goeksegh_; Koivulehto 2001: 245; 2002: 585; 2003: 298-299; Kulonen et al. 2005: 137; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _kōks͡ȷ̄;_ Sammallahti 1998: 126; 1999: 81.
hïegke	‘life’	← Late Proto-Finnic / ? Finnish _henki_	Álgu s.v. _hïegke_; Frog 2016–2017_ 51–52; Korhonen M. 1981: 38, 85, 104, 134; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*ε̄ŋkę_; Sammallahti 1998: 129, 248; SSA 1 s.v. _henki_.
håltoe	‘evil; the devil’	← Old Norse _huld_	Álgu s.v. _ulda_; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. _hulder_; Korhonen O. 1987: 48–49; Kulonen et al. 2005: 136; Qvigstad 1893: 337.
jaemedh	‘to die’	Pre-Saami ?_*jämä-_ ~ _*jama-_ < West Uralic ?_*jama-_ < Proto-Uralic _*jämä-_	Aikio 2014: 81–82; Álgu s.v. _jaemedh_; Frog 2016–2017: 55; Kulonen et al. 2005: 153; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*jāmē_; Saarikivi 2007: 337; Sammallahti 1998: 249; UEW 89–90.
jeahna	‘giant’	Old Swedish _*iätn-_	Álgu s.v. _jiehtanas_; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. _jutul_; Lagercrantz 1939: 205; Piha forthcoming; Qvigstad 1893: 202; SSA 1 s.v. _jätti_.
jïhpe, jïhpege	‘unusual appearance, ghost; owl; stupid person’	< Proto-Finno-Ugric _*üpikä_ / _*ipз_	Álgu s.v. _jïhpe_; FUV 1977: 99; Itkonen 1958: 39; Korhonen O. 1987: 52–57; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*epękē_; Olthuis 2007: 244–245; Sammallahti 1988: 542; 1998: 120; SSA 1 s.v. _hyypiä_; UEW 98.
joejkedh	‘to yoik; to chant’	< Pre-Saami _*jojki_	Aikio 2009: 246; Kulonen et al. 2005: 154; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*jōjkę;_ Sammallahti 1998: 123, 251; SSA 1 s.v. _joiku_.
jupmele	‘god’	← Late Proto Finnic / Finnish _jumala_ < Aryan	Álgu s.v. _ipmil_; Korhonen M. 1981: 83; Sammallahti 1998: 249; SSA 1 s.v. _jumala_; UEW 638.
jåvle	‘Yule; Christmas’	Old Norse _jöl_	Álgu s.v. _jåvle_; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. _jul_; Kulonen et al. 2005: 155, 224; Lagercrantz 1939: 229; Qvigstad 1893: 203–204; Schlachter 1958: 76; SSA 1 s.v. _joulu_.
kanna	‘magic power’	← Old Norse _gandr_ / Norwegian _gand_	Heggstad et al. 2008 s.v. _gandr_; Qvigstad 1893: 164; Rydving 1987: 196.
kobdam	‘Saami shaman drum’	? < Proto-Finno-Ugric _*kamte_ / _*komta_	s.v. _goavddis_; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Häkkinen K. 2004: 346–347, 348; Kulonen et al. 2005: 133; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*kōmtē_; SSA 1 s.v. _kannus2_.
Maanoe	‘Moon (deity); moon; month’	← Proto-Scandinavian _*mānan-_ / _*mānōn-_	Álgu s.v. _mánnu_; Frog 2016–2017: 48; Koivulehto 1999b: 20; 2002: 589; Kulonen et al. 2005: 224; Lagercratz 1939: 472; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*mānō_; Piha 2018: 204; Qvigstad 1893: 231; Sammallahti 1998: 129, 253–254.
moenesje	‘good or evil spirit; ghost; illness brought by evil spirit’	< Pre-Saami ← Iran	Aikio 2002: 14; Álgu s.v. _moenesje_; Koivulehto 1998: 241f 1; 2016: 203f 1; 552; Sammallahti 1998: 124.
Njannja	‘wife of Staalo’	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
nåejtie	‘Saami wise man, shaman’	< Pre-Saami _*nojta_ < ? Proto-Finno-Ugric	Álgu s.v. _nåejtie_; Frog 2016–2017: 53; Korhonen M. 1981: 180; Kulonen et al. 2005: 244–245; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. _*n͡ȷ̄tē_; Sammallahti 1998: 123; UEW 307–308.

raavke	'apparition, ghost'	← Proto-Scandinavian **drau-ga-* / **draugaʀ*	Aikio 2009: 272; Álgu s.v. *rávga*; Frog 2016–2017: 49; Lagercrantz 1939: 721; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **rāvke*; LÄGLOS 3 s.v. *raukka*; Qvigstad 1893: 261; Sammallahti 1998: 129.
Raedien	'Sky God'	late North-West Germanic / early Proto-Scandinavian **rāð* / **rād-*	Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. *råde*; Häkkinen 2018 pers. comm.; Kulonen et al. 2005: 279–282, 401–402; Lagercrantz 1939: 711–712; Piha (forthcoming); Qvigstad 1893: 253; SSA 3 2000, 35 s.v. *raati*.
Rota/Ruto	'God/Demon of Pestilence'	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
saajve	'mythical creatures living inside mountains'	← Proto-Scandinavian **saiwi-* / **saiw-*	Aikio 2009: 276; Álgu s.v. *saajve*; Frog 2016–2017: 48–49; Korhonen M. 1981: 47; Kulonen et al. 2005: 374–375; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. *sāvje*; Qvigstad 1893: 332; Sköld 1961: 126; 1980: 108; SSA 3 s.v. *saivo*.
sealoe	'soul'	← ? Late Proto-Finnic / ? Finnish / ? Scandinavian / ? West Germanic	Álgu s.v. *siellu*; Lagercrantz 1939: 790; Piha forthcoming; Sammallahti 1998: 262.
sjïele	'artefact sacrifice'	← Old Swedish *siäl* / Swedish *själ* / Norwegian *sjel*	Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. *sjel*; Hasselbrink 1981–1985 s.v. *sjïele*; Piha forthcoming; Qvigstad 1893: 286.
Staaloe	'troll-like mythological character'	← ?Proto-Scandinavian **stālō*	Aikio 2009: 280; Álgu s.v. *staaloe*; Frog 2016–2017: 49–50; Kulonen et al. 2005: 408; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **tālᵔ̄*; SSA 3 s.v. *staalo*.
tseegkuve	'reindeer sacrifice'	?	Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **cε̄ŋkᵔ̄*; Mebius 2003: 150; Piha forthcoming.
vearoe[3]	'sacrifice; tax'	< SaaL *värrö* 'sacrificial gift' < PS **vε̄rᵔ̄* < F vero 'tax'	Álgu s.v. *värro*; Bäckman & Kjellström 1979: 63–64; Korhonen M. 1981: 86, 104; Lagercrantz 1939: 996; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **vε̄rᵔ̄*; Mebius 2003: 133–134; Piha forthcoming; Rydving & Kristoffersson 1993: 197; Sammallahti 1998: 130; Skanke [1728–1731] 1945: 201, 204, 255 (*wärro-mora*); SSA 3 428 s.v. *vero*; UEW 569.
vesties	'evil; enchanting'	?	Aikio 2007a: 50; 2009: 288; Álgu s.v. *vesties*; Rydving 1987: 196; Schlachter 1958: 149.
viejhkie	'pointer used with *nåejtie* drum'	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
vietjere	'*nåejtie* drum hammer'	< Pre-Saami **vaśara* < West Uralic *waśara* ← Aryan	Álgu s.v. *vietjere*; Korhonen M. 1981: 91, 162; Koivulehto 2003: 286; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **vε̄čērē;* Sammallahti 1998: 122, 127; SSA 3 s.v. *vasara*; UEW 815-816.
voejkene	'spirit'	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
vuelie	'chant; South Saami yoik melody'	< West Uralic **wala* < Proto Uralic **wala*	Aikio 2006b: 26–27; Álgu s.v. *vuelie*; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **vōlē*; Sammallahti 1998: 121; SSA 3 s.v. *vala*.
vuerpie	'lot; fate; share'	< Pre-Saami ← Proto-Germanic **arƀa*	Aikio 2006a: 12; Álgu s.v. *vuerpie*; Frog 2016–2017: 53; Koivulehto 1976: 249–251; 1984: 11; 1991: 106; 1997: 83; 2002, 587; 2016: 558; Korhonen M. 1981: 35; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **vōrpē*; LÄGLOS 1, 36–37; Sammallahti 1984: 144; 1998: 123, 128; 1999: 83; 2001: 409 table 6.

3. The word *vearoe* and the concept reflected by it is a Lule Saami phenomenon, and it most likely drifted to South Saami at quite a late date (Rydving and Kristoffersson 1993: 197). *Vearoe* is also known from the compound word *vearoegierkie* 'offering stone'.

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UEW = Rédei, K. 1988. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1–2. [The etymological dictionary of the Uralic languages.] Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Appendix 2. Compound words with an English translation, a short description of etymology, and references for the etymologies. Words with a similar second root are placed together in alphabetical order first by the second root and, within the second root group, by the first root. The second root is described jointly for all the words in the second root group. The first root is described in connection with the word in question. Words with unique second roots are in alphabetical order by the first root. The full reference list is in Appendix 1.

South Saami word		Translation	The donor language	References for the etymology
-aahka		'old woman'	← Late Proto-Finnic / Finnish **akka* / < ? Pre-Saami **akka*	Aikio 2009: 244; Álgu s.v. *aahka*; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **ākkē*; Sammallahti 1998: 123, 227.
	Båassjoeaahka	'Old Woman of the back part of the Saami hut'	See *båassjoe* in appendix 1.	
	Jaemiehaahka	'Old Woman of the Dead'	See *jaemedh* in appendix 1.	
	Joeksaahka	'Old Woman of the Bow'	*joekse* 'bow' < Proto-Finno-Ugric *j*oŋse* / **joŋsi* < PU **jiŋsi*	Álgu s.v. *juoksa*; FUV 1977: 40; Koivulehto 1986: 170; 2001: 245; 2002: 585; 2003: 300; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **jōksę*; Sammallahti 1988: 537; 1998: 118.
	Maadteraahka	'Old Woman of Earth; Mother of Man'	*maadter* 'fore-; stem, root' < Pre-Saami **manta* / ? Late Proto-Finnic	Álgu s.v. *maadtere*; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **māntē*; Randulf [1723] 1903: 25; Sammallahti 1998: 124; SSA 2 s.v. *manner*.
	Oksaahka	'Old Woman of the Door'	*okse* 'door' ← Finnish uksi	Aikio 2007a: 46; Álgu s.v. *ukse*; Junttila 2015: 90, 177; Koivulehto 1993: 34; Korhonen M. 1981: 82; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **uksę*; SSA 3 s.v. *uksi*; UEW 803.
	Saaraahka	'Creative Old Woman'	← Pscand *sāðá-* (< PG *sēdá-*)	Bjorvand & Lindemann 2007 s.v. *så2*; Heggstad et al. 2008 s.v. *sáð*; Köebler s.v. *sēda-*; Mebius 2003: 55, 118; Piha & Häkkinen 2020; Randulf [1723] 1903: 24.
-aajja		'grandfather'	< Proto-Finno-Permic **äje* / **äjjä*	Álgu s.v. *aajja*; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **ājjē*; Sammallahti 1988: 552; 1998: 120, 227; SSA 3 s.v. *äijä*.
	biss-aajja	'bear'	See *bissie* in appendix 1.	
	boeltaajja	'bear'	*boelte* 'vegetation zone with deciduous trees' < Pre-Saami **palti* ← early Proto-Germanic **falþi-* / **falđa-z*	Aikio 2006a: 11; 2012a: 72; Álgu s.v. *boelte*; Koivulehto 1976: 254–257; Korhonen M. 1981: 35; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **pōltę*; Sammallahti 1998: 230.
	Maadteraajja	'Old Man of Earth; Father of Man'	See *maadteraahka*.	
-nïejte		'girl'	< Pre-Saami **näjti* < Proto-Finno-Ugric **näxi* ? < Proto-Uralic **näxi*	Lagercrantz 1939: 524; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **nējtę*; Sammallahti 1988: 539, 540; 1998: 256; SSA 2 s.v. *neiti*; UEW 302-303.

	Biejjien nïejte	‘Sun Girl’	See *biejjie* in appendix 1.	
	Rananïejte	‘Goddess of Vegetation; lit. Green Girl’	Rana ?~kruana ‘green ← Proto-Scandinavian **grōniz*	Álgu s.v. *kråånehke*; Koivulehto 1988: 36; 1999b: 17; Lagercrantz 1926: 68; 1939: 391; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. *rōnȩ;* Mebius 2003: 55, 123-127; Piha 2018: 202; Qvigstad 1893: 275.
	saajvenïejth	‘girls of saajve’	See *saajve* in appendix 1.	
-*ålmaj*		‘man’	< Proto-Finno-Ugric *ilma* + suffix **-āj*	Álgu s.v. *olmmái*; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **e̮lmē*; Sammallahti 1998: 259.
	Biegkålmaj (or *Bïegkegaellies*)	‘Wind Man’	*bïegke* ‘wind, storm’ ← Paleo-European	Álgu s.v. *biegga*; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **pēŋkȩ;* Saarikivi 2004: 189; Sammallahti 1998: 231.
	Liejpålmaj	‘Alder Man’	*liejpie* ‘alder’ ←Proto-Baltic **leipa*	Álgu s.v. *leaibi*; Aikio 2006a: 40; Junttila 2015: 112, 182; Koivulehto 1992: 299–300; Korhonen M. 1981: 32; Lagercrantz 1939: 414; Sammallahti 1977: 123; 1984: 139; 1998: 124, 127; SSA 2 s.v. *leppä*.
	Saajveålmah (pl.)	‘men of saajve’	See *saajve* in appendix 1.	
	Tjaetsieålmaj	‘Water Man’	< Proto-Finno-Ugric **śäcä*	Korhonen M. 1981: 159; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **ćācē;* Sammallahti 1988: 549; 1998: 234; UEW 469.
	Vearelden Ålmaj	‘Man of the World’	← Old Danish *wærælden* / Old Norse *verǫld*	Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. *verden*; Lagercrantz 1939: 995–996; Mebius 2003: 66; Qvigstad 1893: 353.
bissiemoere[4]		‘Holy tree’	See *bissie* in appendix 1.	
			moere ’tree’ ← Paleo-European	Álgu s.v. *moere*; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **mōrȩ;* Saarikivi 2004: 189; Sammallahti 1998: 256.
bissiengaelmie		‘bear grave (lit. holy’s grave)’	See *bissie* in appendix 1.	
			See *gaelmie* in appendix 1.	
boeltegotje		‘bear’	See *boeltaajja* for *boelte*.	
			gotje < ?	
Hovrengaellies (or *Hovren-åarja* / *Hovreskodtje*)		‘Thunder Man’	*hovre-* (obsolete) ← ? Old Norse *Þórr*	Álgu s.v. *hovre*; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007, s.v. *torden*; Hasselbrink 1981-1985 s.v. *huvre*; Kulonen et al. 2005; 413–415; Mebius 2003: 71; Piha forthcoming; Rydving 1992: 29–30.
			gaellies ‘husband’ ← Proto-Scandinavian **karlaz*	Aikio 2009: 250; Àlgu s.v. *gállis*; Koivulehto 1999b: 11; Lagercrantz 1939: 261–262; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **kāllēs*, Piha 2018: 199; Qvigstad 1893: 161–162; Sammallahti 1998: 128.
nåejtiesvoejkene		‘helping spirits of nåejtie’	See *nåejtie* in appendix 1.	
			See *voejkene* in appendix 1.	

4. It is difficult to say which of the components is older. If we assume that Proto-Germanic loanwords were borrowed in Southern Finland, perhaps near the coast, and Palaeo-European words in the inland or Northern Fennoscandia, it is probable that the Palaeo-European word *moere* is younger. This is definitely so if the word *bissie* is a West-Uralic word, as Aikio (2009: 134–135) suggests.

Raediegiedtie		'Son of Raedienaehtjie'	See *Raedien* in appendix 1.	
			giedtie '(reindeer) corral' ← < Proto-Germanic **skenþa-*	Koivulehto 1989: 44; 1993: 35 f 8; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **kēntē*; Sammallahti 1998: 123; 2012: 100.
Raedienaehtjie (cf. *Raedien*)		'The High God'	See *Raedien* in appendix 1.	
			aehtjie 'father' < < Pre-Saami **iśä* < Proto-Finno-Ugric **iśä* < Proto-Uralic **ićä/äćä*	Álgu s.v. *aehtjie*; FUV 1977: 24; Korhonen M. 1981: 159; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **ęćē*; Sammallahti 1988: 541; 1998: 227; UEW 22.
saajveguelie		'saajve fish'	See *saajve* in appendix 1.	
			guelie 'fish' < < Pre-Saami **kala* < Proto-Finno-Ugric **kala* < Proto-Uralic **kala*	Aikio 2007b: 172; FUV 1977: 42; Korhonen M. 1981: 89–90, 136; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **kōlē*; Sammallahti 1988: 538; 1998: 247; UEW 119.
saajvesarva[5]		'saajve reindeer'	See *saajve* in appendix 1.	
			sarva 'reindeer' < Pre-S **širvas* ← Proto-Baltic	Korhonen M. 1981: 30, 31, 130; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **sęrvēs*; Sammallahti 1998: 124.
saajvevuernesledtie[6]		'saajve bird that brings bad luck'	See *saajve* in appendix 1.	
			< Proto-Finno-Ugric **lunta*	Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **lontē*; Sammallahti 1988: 545; 1998: 252; SSA 2 s.v. *lintu*; UEW 254.
			vuernes < ?	Not discussed in etymological research.
sjïelegierkie[7]				
tjaetsie-almetjh		'water people'	See *Tjaetsieålmaj* for *tjaetsie*.	
			almetjh (pl):*almetje* (sg) 'human' < Proto-Saami **ęl̀mē* + **ńǯ́ę* < Proto-Finno-Ugric **ilma* + Pre-S **-nśi-*	Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **olmꞈ̄-*; Sammallahti 1998: 259.
Tjåervieraedie		'Ruler of antlers'	*tjåervie* 'antlers' < Pre-Saami **śorva* < Proto-Finno-ugric **śorwa* < Proto-Uralic **śorwa*	Aikio 2012b: 238; Korhonen M. 1981: 87, 110, 130, 184; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. **ćꞈ̄rvē*; Sammallahti 1988: 549; 1998: 120; 1999: 80; 2001: 402; UEW 486–487.
			See *Raedien* in appendix 1.	

5. The first component *saajve-* is a loanword from Proto-Scandinavian, the second *-sarva* from Proto-Baltic. However, *sarva* has been reconstructed to Pre-Saami (Korhonen M. 1981: 31) and *saajve* to Proto-Saami (e.g. Aikio 2009: 276), and therefore, according to the reference literature, the second component of the compound word is older.

6. No etymology for *-vuernes-* has been established, and therefore it is difficult to say how old the word is. According to the two other components of the word, it could not be older than the Proto-Scandinavian loanword stratum.

7. The second component *-gierkie* might be a Palaeo-European loan in Saami languages (e.g. Aikio 2004: 11). It is common Saami.

Appendix 3. List of the archaeological sites from which data was used.

Remain type	Site	Amount of remains	Dating	References
Scree grave	Nordland, Rana, Virmadalen,	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 405.
Scree grave	Nordland, Rana, Dalselv	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 405.
Scree grave	Nordland, Rana	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Lurøy, Nesøya, Sørnesøy	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Vefsn, Bjørkjønli	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Vega, Finneset	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Hattfjelldal, Tiplingsfjellet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 405–406.
Scree grave	Nordland, Brønnøy, Aunet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Lierne, Ingulsvatn	2 graves	AD 1700s	Schanche 2000: 406,
Scree grave	Nord- Trøndelag, Røyrvik	2 graves		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Skjolden	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Fossdalsfjellet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Kalvfjellet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, between Leirkollen & Finnkruvatnet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Inderøy, Kverkillen	?		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Levanger, Finnkallbakken on Høislomo	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406–407.
Scree grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Tydal, Møsjøen	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 407.
Scree grave	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Fjällojaure	1 grave		Manker 1961: 95; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Kalmepakte	1 grave with 2 sled-like coffins and bones from two individuals.	AD 1700s or later	Manker 1961: 97, 149–154; Pettersson 1912: 95–96; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Oltokjaure	1 grave		Manker 1961: 97, 155–156; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Guttuberget, Gäutavardo	1 grave	AD 1360–1540	Manker 1961: 97; Schanche 2000: 408; Zachrisson 1986.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Atoklimpen (the Suoivengellas grave)	1 grave	AD 1450	Heinerud 2002; Manker 1957: 249–250; 1961: 97, 156–160; Pettersson 1913; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Rikkevardo	1 grave		Manker 1961: 98; Schanche 2000: 408.

Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Västra Abelvattsundet	2 graves with bones from 6 individuals	AD 1500s	Manker 1957: 251; 1961: 98, 161–164; Schanche 2000: 408–409; Sundström 1988: 137; Zachrisson 1986: 142–143.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Routeken, Övre Vapstsjön,	1 grave		Manker 1957: 254; 1961: 99; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhemina sn, Rainesfjället	1 grave		Manker 1961: 100; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhemina sn, Lehtinjaure, Grönfjellet	2 graves (200 m apart)		Manker 1961: 100, 170–172; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Gemonfjället	1 grave		Manker 1961: 102; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Jamigerke	1 grave		Manker 1961: 102–103; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Gransjö	1 grave	AD 1500–1600s	Hedlund 2011; Schanche 2000: 409; Sundström 1988.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Offerdal sn, Jänsmässholmen	3 graves (1 excavated)		Manker 1961: 106; Schanche 2000: 410.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Kall sn, Äggsjön			Manker 1961: 106; Schanche 2000: 410.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Undersåkers sn, Tjatjasen	1 grave		Manker 1961: 65–66, 106; Schanche 2000: 410.
Hunting ground grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Östra Abelvattssundet	1 grave	AD 400–500	Manker 1961: 165–168; Serning 1960: 151.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Revsund sn, Backnorholmen	1 grave	AD 400–550	Sundström 1994: 105; 1997: 23.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Nyhem sn, Klevsand, Gindalen 2:11	8 graves (1 excavated)	AD 200–500	Larje 1989a; Sundström 1989b; 1989a: 158; Sundström & Feldt 1989.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Hällesjö sn, Ansjön, Båganäset	1 grave	AD 800s	Larje 1985; Sundström 1984; 1989a: 156–157.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Hällesjö sn, Näsvarpsundet	4 graves (1 partly excavated)	AD 280+/-125	Sundström 1984; 1989a: 156.
Hunting ground grave	Hälsingland, Ängersjö sn, Stora Drocksjö	1 grave	AD 600	van Vliet 2013; Sundström 1989c: 23–25, 27.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Hede sn, Vikarsjön	1 grave	AD 1200–1250s	Sundström 1989a: 158–159.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Hede sn, Halvfariudden	7 graves	AD 515+/-70	Hemmendorff 1984; Sundström 1989a: 159–160.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Tännas sn, Smalnäset	34 (all excavated)	AD ~200 BCE–200	Ambrosiani et al. 1984
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Rödön sn, Nyland, Josvedsviken	1 grave	AD 900s	Magnusson 1986: 62; Sundström 1989a: 161.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Rödö. sn, Josvedsviken	1 grave	AD 441–665	Magnusson 1986: 73; Sundström 1989a: 162.

Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Rödön sn, Tjuvholmen	10 graves (1 excavated)	AD 264/470/640	Magnusson 1986: 73–75; Sundström 1989a: 161–162; 1997: 22.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Stugun sn, Långholmen	1 grave	AD 550–800	Larje 1989b: 66–67; Magnusson 1986: 424; Sundström 1994: 106.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, northern side of Storsjö	2 graves	AD 800–1000	Sundström 1994: 106–107; 1997: 23.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, Krankmårtenhögen	30 (all excavated)	AD ~200 BC–200	Ambrosiani et al. 1984.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, Storsjö 17:5	1 grave	Iron Age	Oskarsson 1998.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Horrmundsjön, Hästnäsey	25 (5 excavated)	AD 500s	Gejvall 1966: 254; Hyenstrand 1987: 132–133; Serning 1962: 32, 35, 50–51; 1966a: 92–94; 217–218; Wehlin 2016: 225.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Lima sn, Tisjön, Örviken	4 graves (all excavated)	AD 0–200	Hyenstrand 1987: 119; Serning 1966a: 150; Wehlin 2016: 230–231.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Lima sn, Tisjön, Örviken	1 grave with 2 individuals	AD 400–550	Hyenstrand 1987: 119–120; Serning 1966a: 150–152; Wehlin 2016: 230–231.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Södra Bredsundsnäset	1 grave (belongs to Norrs Bredsundsnäset?)	AD 600–700	Gejvall 1966: 254; Hallström 1945: 108; Serning 1966a: 217.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Vejsundsfjärden	1 grave		Hallström 1945: 108; Serning 1966a: 219-223
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Rättvik sn, Hästudden	1 grave	AD 400–550	Hyenstrand 1974: 109; Serning 1966a: 177–180; Wehlin 2016: 229.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Venjan sn, Finnäset	16 (1 excavated)	AD 200(–400)	Serning 1966a: 224; Wehlin 2016: 221.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Särna sn, Fulufjället	4 graves (1 excavated)	AD 0–550	Wehlin 2016: 233.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Rättvik sn / Alfta sn, Amungen, Södra Getryggen	30 (5 excavated)	AD 400–550	Serning 1966a: 176–177; Wehlin 2016: 228–229.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Dalarna, Rättvik sn / Alfta sn, Amungen, Norra Getryggen	7 graves (3 plundered and therefore excavated)	AD 550–800	Serning 1966a: 174, 176; Wehlin 2016: 229.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Ore sn, Vindförbergs udde	43 (all excavated)	AD 100–550	Serning 1966b; 1967, 1968; Johansson 2016; Lipping 1980;
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Svärdsjö sn, Hinsnäset	10 graves (2 excavated)	AD 800–1100	Serning 1966a; 204–205; Wehlin 2016: 232–233.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Svärdsjö sn, Bynäs udde	10 (1 excavated)		Wehlin 2016: 221.

Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Rättvik sn, Tjällassen			Wehlin 2016: 233–234.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Holtålen, Gullhåen	1 grave	AD 700	Gollwitzer 1997: 29.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Røros, Stenollen	3 graves	AD 900s	Floor 2006: 33–34; Gollwitzer 1997: 31.
Hunting ground grave	Trøndelag, Tormsdalen, Steikpannvolla	1 grave	AD 800	Gollwitzer 1997: 29–30.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Knutshø	1 grave	AD 900	Skjölsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Drivstua	1 grave	AD 550–750	Skjölsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Drotningdalen	1 grave	AD 750–1000	Skjölsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Riseberget	1 grave	AD 550–750	Skjölsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Skåråvangen	1 grave	AD 800	Skjölsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Kall sn, Burvattnet (Skäckerfjället)	1 grave	AD 850–950	Gollwitzer 1997: 30; Hansson 1994: 6.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Dalsvallen	1 grave	AD 800–950	Hansson 1994, 3–4.
Hunting ground grave	Sylsjön (Sylarnafjällen), Berg/Åre, Jämtland	1 possible grave	AD 800–950	Hansson 1994: 4–6.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Oviken sn, Lundörrspasset (Oviksfjällen)	1 grave	AD 800–1000	Hansson 1994: 1–3.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Norra Bredsundsnäset	6 graves (4 excavated)	AD 600–700	Gejvall 1966: 253–254; Hallström 1945: 107; Serning 1966a: 211–217; Wehlin 2016: 225–227.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Ås sn, Rösta	7 graves excavated	AD ~1050	Kjellmark 1905: 364–370; Zachrisson 1988: 121. See also Larje 1989a: 61–62.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Vilhelmina sn, Vardofjäll, Gaisarsjön	1 grave	AD 550–1000?	Hvarfner 1957: 31; Serning 1957: 154
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Hede sn, Övre Grundsjön 1	1 grave		Hemmendorff 1984.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Tännas sn, Vivallen	21 graves (all excavated)	AD (900/)1000–1100	Hallström 1944; Iregren & Alexandersen 1997: 81–82; Zachrisson 1997a: 56–60; 1997b: 61–71.
Hunting ground grave	Ångemanland/Jämtland, Tåsjö sn, Långön i Hotingsjön	12 graves (all excavated)	AD 900–1100	Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 86; Hvarfner 1957: 39–47; Zachrisson 1997c: 224, 225 tabell, 226, 227.
Hunting ground grave	Ångermanland/Jämtland, Tåsjö sn, Aspnäset	1 grave	AD 900 – 1100	Hvarfner 1957: 39-47; Zachrisson 1997c: 225 tabell.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, Ljungdalen 1	5–6 graves (2 excavated totally, 1 partly)	AD 800–1000	Holm & Willemark 1988.

Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Grangärde sn, Korsnäset	5 (4 excavated)	AD 600	Serning 1966a: 232–234; Wehlin 2016: 231–232.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Tärna sn, Överuman	1 offering place (not excavated)		Zachrisson 1985: 83; 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Blattnikselet	1 offering site (not excavated)		Zachrisson 1985: 83; 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Varris	1 offering site (not excavated)		Zachrisson 1985: 83; 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Viktorp, Meselefors	1 possible offering site (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 271.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Stensele sn, Lake Storuman	7 offering sites and 1 possible offering site	AD 1700 ➔	Iregren 1985: 101–109; Zachrisson 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Tärna sn, Rosapakte	1 offering site		Manker 1957: 242–243.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Risentjakk, Marsjfällen	1 offering site (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 256–259.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Tärna sn, Råga, Laisholm	1 possible offering site (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 244.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Ailesjokk	1 possible offering site (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 239–240.
Tseegkuve site / sjïelegierkie site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Sjielakerke on sjielaselma, Marsfjället	1 site (not excavated but visited)	used until AD 1860	Manker 1957: 259–262.
Tseegkuve site / sjïelegierkie site	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Dajmanjapp	1 site (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 277–278.

Tseegkuve site / sjïelegierkie site	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Sjie-lakerke, Gransjödalen,	1 site (not exca-vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 280–282.
Sjïelegierkie site	Nord-Trøndelag, Lierne, Gudfjelløya (Tunnsjøguden), Tunnsjøen	1 sjïelegi-erkie (not exca-vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 274–276
Sjïelegierkie site	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Kusenk-erke	1 sjïelegi-erkie (not exca-vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 232.
Ring-shaped offering site	Sør-Trøndelag, Snåsa, Finnt-jønnan, Budalsfjella	1 offering site	AD 720–890	Zachrisson 1997d: 201; 2009: 142.
Ring-shaped offering site	Sør-Trøndelag, Snåsa, Finnt-jønnan, Budalsfjella	2 offering sites	AD 1470–1650	Zachrisson 1997d: 201; 2009: 142.
Metal-rich offering site	Lapland, Lycksele sn, Bjärk-fallsudden, Vindelgransele	1 offering site		Fossum 2006: 107–114; Manker 1957: 234–236; Serning 1956: 15, 157–160; Zachrisson 2009: 143–144; see also Hansen & Olsen 2006: 120–122.
Metal-rich offering site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Basksjö	1 offering site	AD 1150–1250	Fossum 2006: 107–114; Manker 1957: 267; Serning 1956: 15, 160; Zachrisson 2009: 143–144. See also Hansen & Olsen 2006: 122–120.
Bear grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Gråtanån	1 grave		Zachrisson 1985: 89–90.
Bear grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Nedre Vaptsjön,	1 grave	AD 1700s	Manker 1957: 254; Zach-risson & Iregren 1974: 28–29.
Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Gällhol-men	1 grave	AD 1700s	Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 15–19.
Bear grave	Lapland, Dorotea sn, Avaträsk	1 skull that is possibly from a bear grave		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Vesken	1 grave		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Långbäck	1 grave (with 2 individual bears)		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 34.

Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Ström-sund	1 grave (with 5 individual bears)		Manker 1957: 246; Zach-risson & Iregren 1974: 32.
Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Sörviken,	1 grave	AD 1700s	Manker 1957: 246; Zach-risson & Iregren 1974: 20–27.
Bear grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Auttejaure	1 grave		Manker 1957: 250; Zach-risson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Mal-gomaj	1 grave		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33–34.
Bear grave	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Värjaren	1 grave	younger than AD 1700	Zachrisson 1985: 88; Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Overhalla, Salsfjellet, Namdalen,	1 grave	AD 1530–1665	Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 94, 150; Fossum 2006: 102; Myrstad 1996: 45–46; Petersen 1940: 158–159.
Bear grave / sjïelegierkie site / tseegkuve site	Nord-Trøndelag, Overhalla, Urskaret	1 grave (not exca-vated)		Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 95–96
Nåejtie drum find site	Nordland, Brønnøy, Henriks-dalen, Velfjord	1 drum		Berglund 2010: 27; Dun-fjeld-Aagård 2005: 99, 151.
Nåejtie drum find site	Vevelstad, Nordland, Vevel-stad, Krongelvassfjellet, Visten	1 drum with ac-cessories and carri-er bag	AD 1530 (frame) / AD 1685 (hammer)	Berglund 2010: 29-32; Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 99–100; 151–152.
Nåejtie drum find site	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Røyrtjønna	1 drum with ac-cessories		Berglund 2010: 27–29; Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 100, 152.
Nåejtie drum find site	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Ankarvatnet	1 drum		Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 100, 152.

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7
Heritage of past and present: Cultural processes of heritage-making at the ritual sites of Taatsi and Jönsas

Tiina Äikäs & Marja Ahola

Abstract

This chapter approaches two ritual sites located in the territory of modern Finland from the perspective of heritage-making. Taatsi is an offering site used by indigenous Saami starting from the 10th century AD, whereas Jönsas is a cemetery site connected with the Stone Age populations but used also in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. What is common to these sites is that they have been used and reused for long periods and gained new meanings also in the contemporary world. By using a site-biographical approach, we suggest that past and present ritual activities, along with other meaning-making processes, such as town planning and youth gatherings, have all been an important part of the heritage-making processes of the Taatsi and Jönsas sites. Accordingly, we propose that archaeological sites should be seen as active places that have obtained changing meanings during and after their original use. Based on the life histories of these two sites, we further suggest that the core idea of heritage existed already deep in prehistory.

Keywords: ritual site, heritage-making, site biography, offering site, cemetery

7.1. Introduction

Within the field of archaeology, cultural heritage is often defined as a known and controllable thing – a site or an object that is discovered, defined, recorded, mapped, put on a site register, managed, and conserved (Smith and Waterton 2009: 42). However, in reality, the process of heritage-making might not be as straightforward as this. For example, as Barbara Bender (1998: 9) remarks in her influential work *Stonehenge: Making Space,* in archaeological literature, the story of Stonehenge seems to end with the last stone put in place – even though the site and its landscape have clearly continued to attract the human imagination during historical and contemporary times. Are these later encounters part of Stonehenge's heritage or should they be understood as less significant moments of history that have not shaped the life of the site? Recently, such a static definition of cultural heritage has been problematized within contemporary heritage discourse (Harrison 2013; Holtorf 2013; Ikäheimo & Äikäs 2017; see also Finn 1997). According to this discourse, archaeological sites should not be observed only as relics of the past but also as places that are actively used and given meanings in the contemporary world. Indeed, as Cornelius Holtorf (2008: 419) has noted: "the monument's life history includes *all* its transformations over time and *all* the landscapes it transformed, whether or not that involved any notion that the megalith was "old" and from another time period or not."

In this chapter, we study the life history of two ritual sites from the perspective of the heritage-making process – the prehistoric burial site of Jönsas in Southern Finland and the historical Saami offering place of Taatsi in Northern Finland (Fig. 7.1). Although geographically located at different ends of the country and dating several millennia apart, these sites nevertheless show points of connection in the way the natural landscape has contributed to ritual activities (e.g. Bradley 2000). Indeed, at Jönsas, a Stone Age cemetery was intentionally established next to a smooth area of bedrock that contributed to the remembrance and recognition of the site also during later times (Ahola 2017). Similarly, the Taatsi site is a topographically impressive location that stands out from the surrounding landscape (Äikäs 2015). By investigating the life history of these ritual sites initially connected with the natural landscape, we aim to gain information on how past and present ritual activities, as well as archaeological research carried out at these sites, have influenced the heritage-making process both in the past and in the present. Making examples of these sites that come from different contexts, one from the forests of Lapland and the other from urban Southern Finland, allows us to show the breadth of the applicability of the concept. Accordingly, we do not concentrate solely on contemporary times, but instead aim also to see whether these sites could also be understood as 'sites of heritage' in the past.

Figure 7.1. Map of the sites mentioned in the text.

In order to study the heritage-making process, we analyse the Jönsas and Taatsi sites from the perspective of *site biography*. In a nutshell, the site-biographical approach is a description of the life history of an archaeological site; it includes all the activities, changes, and phases of use and reuse of a site along with all meanings that are attached to it (e.g. Appadurai 1986; Gosden & Marshall 1999: 160–170; Meskell 2004). We suggest that a site-biographical approach is fruitful in the analysis of cultural processes, such as heritage-making, since it gives equal value to all meanings given to a site (Olsen 1990: 200; see also Lucas 2005: 57). As Laurent Olivier has stated (2011: 54–55): "The recent past, and the present as well, are just parts of a sequence that have naturally been added on to those that preceded them, either by augmenting sites or artifacts with new matter, or by transforming them through physical change. Fundamentally, these transformations are part of the long history of places whose origins usually date back to prehistorical times." Accordingly, from the perspective of the site-biographical approach, heritage-making is a dynamic process where not only does the past influence contemporary meanings, but also current values and ideas have an effect on how we see and experience the past.

7.2. Remembering, forgetting, and recreating: Making sense of the cultural heritage of past and present

Based on the UNESCO definition, cultural heritage consists of monuments, groups of buildings, and sites that are of exceptional importance to both present and future generations of all humanity and thus warrant permanent protection (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 2019). However, according to Laurajane Smith, heritage consists not only of the material culture or places of the past but also of a cultural process or meaning-making. Indeed, as Smith (2006: 44) explains: "There is no one defining action or moment of heritage, but rather a range of activities that include remembering, commemorating and passing on knowledge and memories, asserting and expressing identity and social and cultural values and meanings. As an experience, and as a social and cultural performance, it is something with which people actively, often self-consciously, and critically engage in."

From this re-theorization of heritage, the story of Stonehenge would not have ended with the last stone put in place. Rather, all engagement with Stonehenge – from the creation of the monument to the present – are part of the cultural meaning-making of what is now considered the World Heritage Site of Stonehenge. However, even if contemporary winter solstice celebrations at Stonehenge are part of the cultural heritage of Stonehenge, archaeological research nevertheless plays a big role in the definition of the site. This is because, in the case of prehistoric sites, we are dealing with a past that we have not witnessed ourselves. It is therefore much easier to accept the authority of written text and knowledge gained via archaeological research than to try to grasp hold of the site without recollections of the activities that have taken place at the site (Smith and Waterton 2009: 46–47). In this sense, the intellectual authority of archaeology has a strong position in the cultural process of heritage-making.

Although cultural heritage is a modern concept, when we look at the attributes linked to cultural heritage – remembering, commemorating, and passing on knowledge, memories, and objects inherited from past generations – these attributes can easily be applied to prehistoric and historic times as well. In fact, if we look at societies lacking written records, it was through oral tradition and the material remains of previous generations that these people formulated their sense of the past (Bradley 2002). In archaeology, this act of commemoration can be seen in the continuous use or reuse of the same sites even for the duration of millennia (e.g. Williams 1997, 2013; Bradley 2002; Wessman, 2010; Ahola 2017). Such traditions are known worldwide and are commonly accepted as intentional behaviour suggesting how people interpreted the remains of past activities in their surroundings in the past and present (Bradley 2002; van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Borić 2010; Bourgeois 2013; Williams 2013). In other words, how people engaged in the cultural process of heritage-making.

In archaeological contexts, the act of reuse is documented, in particular, at burial sites, and is often explained by a need to connect or reconnect with past generations (e.g. Williams 1997; Wickholm 2006; Wessman 2010: 95; Turek 2014). According to the historian Pierre Nora (1989), these sites are usually referred to as 'sites of memory', that is, places in which the social memory[1] of the community is

1. Social memory can be understood as the construction of a collective notion about how things were in the past (Halbwachs 1975 [1925]; Connerton 1989; Zerubavel 2003)

recalled and passed on (Zerubavel 2003: 6). According to archaeologist Anna Wessman (2010: 94–95; see also Gosden & Lock 1998), the repeatedly used sites can be viewed as communal places where links to certain individuals, ancestors, were considered strong, whereas the sites reused after a hiatus of several hundred years should not be considered as examples of direct social memory but rather as places that were important on a mythical level. In other words, through commemoration, these sites would have been reinvented as places of the mythical past.

In fact, in the act of remembering, past and present as well as body and memory are intertwined; remembrance is a bodily activity as much as a cognitive one (Jones 2007: 12). Hence, not all remembering is an acknowledged action. Henri Bergson's (1988) concept of *habit-memory* refers to something that is learned by means of repetition in connection with bodily perceptions and remembered without an effort. This can include our way of moving in the landscape and acting in a particular place. Remembering can be a repetitive incorporation of bodily movements that forms habitual body memory, and these movements are culturally prescribed (Connerton 1989; Jones 2007: 12). As Andrew Jones (2007: 26) states: "Remembrance is not a process internal to the human mind; rather, it is a process that occurs in the bodily encounter between people and things." According to Dušan Borić (2010: 50), there is also a difference between an acknowledged and bodily remembering: "Discursive transmission of meaning over time depends on the conscious effort of making explicit and *meaningful* links to the past, non-discursive practices refer to repetitive everyday rhythms, which continuously re-produced ingrained ways of doing and acting in a particular way… Such links to the past derive from everyday memory but do not utilize the past through a conscious act of remembering."

To conclude, by interacting with traces of the past in the landscape we constantly give them new meanings and hence recreate the place – we create heritage. A burial mound might be used as a picnic site and an old fortress as an arena for live-action role-playing. In some cases, the old meanings and uses of the place are vital for the creation of atmosphere, in other cases they might be totally forgotten. And then again, forgetting does not mean an end to engagement and meaning. Our bodily interaction with a place can continue even if the past meaning of the place is lost from our memory. Indeed, according to Laurent Olivier (2011: 70), it is not possible to remember unless we also forget. By this Olivier means that memory is not something that once existed and is recalled, but something that is reinvented. In this sense, "perpetuating the past is not preserving it, but transforming it."

7.3. Site biography of Jönsas, Vantaa

We begin our site biographies with the Jönsas cemetery, one of the largest Stone Age cemeteries in Finland. The cemetery consisted of five Neolithic Corded Ware graves (ca. 2800/2700–2300 BC) and more than 20 ochre graves that are connected with Stone Age hunter-gatherer populations (Fig. 7.2; Purhonen and Ruonavaara 1994; Ahola 2017). The site itself has an even longer duration; the cemetery was discovered within a multi-period settlement site that contains find material – lithic flakes and artefacts consisting primarily of quartz, ceramics, and burnt bone – from the Late Mesolithic, the Middle Neolithic (Corded Ware culture), and the Bronze and Early Iron Ages[2] (Purhonen and Ruonavaara 1994: 89).

2. Based on the chronology provided by Nordqvist and Herva 2013, the Late Mesolithic in Southern Finland is dated c. from 6800 to 5200 BC, Early Neolithic from 5200 to 4000 BC, Middle Neolithic from 4000 to 2300 BC, Late Neolithic from 2300 to 1800 BC, Bronze Age from 1800 to 500 BC, and Early Iron Age from 500 BC to AD 400.

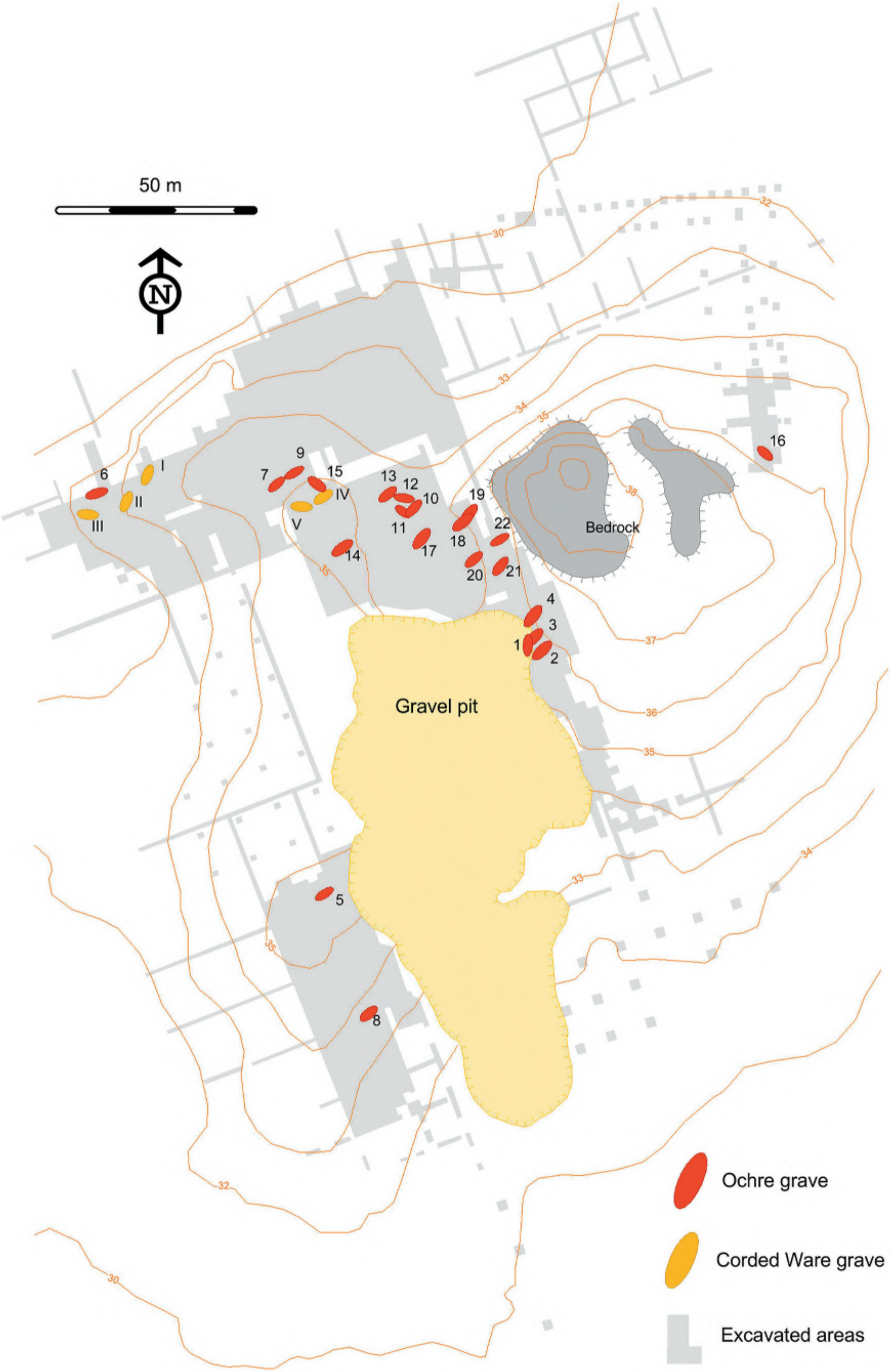

Figure 7.2. A site plan of the Jönsas cemetery after Ahola 2017, Fig 3.

Although it was clearly an important ritual location, the Jönsas cemetery has been a challenge for archaeological research. This is due to the fact that organic materials are usually poorly preserved in the acidic soil of the Finnish territory. Thus, all of the Jönsas graves lack human bone material and, accordingly, radiocarbon dates (Ahola 2017). In fact, although the Jönsas Corded Ware graves were easily recognized as burials due to the documented grave structures and find material typical of Corded Ware grave goods (e.g. Purhonen 1986), the dating of the Jönsas ochre graves – furnished only with water-smoothed stones (Fig. 7.3) – is still problematic (Ahola 2016).

Figure 7.3. A Stone Age hunter-gatherer ochre grave from the Jönsas cemetery. (Photograph: L. Ruonavaara 1987, Finnish Heritage Agency.)

7.3.1. From the Mesolithic to the Neolithic

Due to isostatic land uplift, the landscape of the Jönsas site changed tremendously during the Stone Age. The Jönsas site was first occupied during the Late Mesolithic, and judging from the number of counted objects and the vast distribution of finds, the site was most probably a central site for the Stone Age population of the area (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: 85–88). At this time, the shoreline was ca. 33–32 metres above the present-day sea level, and the site was an island situated roughly one kilometre from the adjacent mainland (Purhonen and Ruonavaara 1994: 91; Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: appendix 3). By the Early Neolithic period, however, land uplift connected the Jönsas site to the mainland, with the shoreline being ca. 25 metres above the present-day sea level (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: appendix 3). At this point, the occupation moved c. 50 metres south-east of the Mesolithic settlement (Purhonen 1980a: 8). Since only small-scale trial excavations have been conducted in this area (Väkeväinen 1973; Purhonen 1980b), we do not know much about this phase of use. It seems, however, that after the Early Neolithic, the Jönsas site was not actively visited until the Corded Ware period.

Although it is not certain when the Jönsas ochre cemetery was established, the mortuary practice of inhumation graves with ochre suggest a hunter-gatherer tradition (e.g. Zagorska 2008; Grünberg 2013) that was in use in the Finnish territory from the Mesolithic to the end of the Neolithic (Edgren 2007; Ahola et al. 2016). Accordingly, it is plausible that the graves are connected to the Mesolithic phase of use or that an old, abandoned settlement site was later reused as a cemetery (Ahola 2017). It is nevertheless clear that with more than twenty ochre graves, the site has been an important ritual location for hunter-gatherer populations.

In a recent study conducted by Ahola (2017), it was noted that the cemetery was set up on purpose next to smooth bedrock located at the highest point in the area. At the same time, an intentional connection to past generations was created by placing new burials among older ones. Because most of the ochre graves were oriented towards the bedrock or were located in close vicinity to the bedrock, it appears that the bedrock might have held a special symbolic meaning for the population burying their dead at the site. In fact, it seems plausible that the bedrock, a topographical anomaly, could have functioned as a reference point for boundaries that separated the sacred from the profane and was thus selected as a burial place (cf. Anttonen 1992, 1996, 2003; Bradley 2000). Perhaps this location on a topographical anomaly made the cemetery "monumental" and thus contributed to the recognition and remembrance of the site.

Another apparent landscape feature at the Jönsas site has been the changing coastline that most likely affected the ways people perceived the site. Indeed, as has been suggested by Vesa-Pekka Herva and Timo Ylimaunu (2014), the rapid emergence of new land from the sea could have been packed with symbolic and metaphorical meanings related to the cosmological role of water and the sea. At the same time, the memory of the changing coastline – a changing liminal boundary with respect to otherness – could have made the site significant. It might even be possible that the water-smoothed stones were collected from the emerged ancient sea bottom and placed in the ochre graves as mnemonic references to the ancient coastline (Ahola 2017).

7.3.2. The Corded Ware phase of use

During the later part of the Middle Neolithic, the Jönsas site was already located far from the open sea and was most likely a natural meadow near a small lake or river (Purhonen and Ruonavaara 1994: 91–92; Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: appendix 3). The Corded Ware occupation of the Jönsas site was located mainly in the northern area of the site, although sherds of Corded Ware pottery were also discovered in areas previously inhabited by the Mesolithic people (Purhonen and Ruonavaara 1994: 93).

The presence of a Corded Ware settlement at an older hunter-gatherer dwelling site is relatively common in the Finnish territory (Edgren 1984: 75). Because the landscape and vegetation of these sites would have differed from the surrounding wilderness due to past activities, the phenomenon has generally been seen as indicating the presence of people who relied on pastoral farming (Äyräpää 1939: 118; Edgren 1984: 75). However, since Corded Ware people also buried their dead in these locations, the phenomenon is not related solely to subsistence (Ahola 2019: 39, 64−66). Indeed, also at Jönsas, five Corded Ware graves are located within the ochre cemetery (Ahola 2017). These graves do not cut any of the older graves, but instead, sherds of a Corded Ware pottery vessel have been discovered from a stone setting of an ochre grave (Purhonen 1980a: 11), suggesting that the cemetery could have been intentionally reused by the Corded Ware people (Ahola 2016, 2017).

7.3.3. From the Late Neolithic to the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age

According to sporadic radiocarbon datings, the Jönsas site might have been occupied during the Late Neolithic Kiukainen culture (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: Appendix 4). However, most of the radiocarbon datings succeeding the Corded Ware phase are either from the Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age, suggesting a more intensive period of use of the site. At this time, however, it seems that the occupants no longer buried their dead at the site. These people nevertheless built a dozen large pit hearths at the site (Purhonen and Ruonavaara 1994: 89; Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: 232). Similar pit hearths are often connected with seal oil production (e.g. Ylimaunu 1999; Äikäs 2009), but no further analyses have been conducted on the Jönsas hearths. During this period Jönsas was already located roughly five kilometres from the shore (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: Appendix 2008), so the site would have been a poor choice for activities connected with marine resources. Indeed, a more plausible explanation for the large pit hearths is their use as cooking pits (e.g. Lavento 2015: 144–145) that could be related to commemoration and feasting (cf. Kuusela 2013: 120–122). Thus, even if Jönsas was no longer an active cemetery, the ritual nature of the site could nevertheless have continued but with different practices.

7.3.4. From the 1960s to the 2010s

After the Early Iron Age, it seems that the Jönsas site was slowly forgotten until it was discovered during archaeological fieldwork in the 1960s (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: 43). During the first excavations, the Jönsas site was located in a rural area. However, the situation was about to change with the extensive building plans of the Myyrmäki suburb (Hako 2009). These plans went into action during the 1970s and resulted in intensive excavations that continued for a decade (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: 43). During this period, local people eagerly visited the site and an exhibition of the finds was set up at the local school (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: 38). The excavations also gained attention in the newspapers.

The 1970s were clearly the time of the most intensive excavations with several site directors, hundreds of square metres of excavated areas, and tons of finds (Leskinen and Pesonen 2008: 43). After the 1970s, excavations at the site continued during 1985–1987 and 1991. The intensive excavations and the rise of the Myyrmäki suburb resulted in the destruction of the Jönsas site, and after the 1990s, only the fringes of the site were left intact along with the remains of the central bedrock. The presence of the ancient site was nevertheless commemorated in the street names of the newly built area. Accordingly, in Myyrmäki you can still walk on an 'ochre path' (Fi *punamultapolku*), 'flint alley' (Fi *piikuja*), 'flake path' (Fi *iskospolku*), 'hearth path' (Fi *liesipolku*), or 'potter's street' (Fi *ruukuntekijänkuja*) (Koivisto 2009: 19). After the last excavations, the reconstruction of an ochre grave was also made in the lobby of the Myyrmäki House (Koivisto 2009: 19), a local cultural and multipurpose centre situated right next to the central bedrock.

With the course of time, however, the excavations and the presence of the site were slowly forgotten. Although no large-scale interviews on the subject have been conducted, two informants who had spent their childhood and youth in the Myyrmäki suburb (approximately from the 1980s to the early 2000s) had not heard of the site. Similarly, when the University of Helsinki conducted small-scale earth resistance measurements at the site in early 2015, locals were surprised that such a site had ever existed. Only one elderly man passing by still remembered the excavations of the 1970s. By the end of 2016, the local art museum, working on the premises of the Myyrmäki House, had also covered the reconstruction of the ochre grave with a mat and some furniture (Fig. 7.4). Since the site itself has never had a visible informative sign, the covering of the reconstruction also covered the last powerful reminiscence of the Jönsas site. Indeed, even though the Jönsas site still existed in the street names of the Myyrmäki suburb, these names were possibly too general to keep up the connection with the distant past.

Figure 7.4. The covered ochre grave reconstruction in the lobby of the Myyrmäki House. (Photographs: M. Ahola 2016.)

7.3.5. The present and the future

In 2013, Ahola became interested in the Jönsas site and especially in the apparent connection between the ochre graves and the Corded Ware graves. In order to understand the connection, she reanalysed the archived find material and reconsidered the remains of the site, resulting in several articles (Ahola 2015, 2016, 2017). Visits to the location of the Jönsas site clearly showed that even if the site itself was no longer remembered, the smooth bedrock located in a small park at the centre of the suburb was still constantly in use. Indeed, in many cases when Ahola visited the site, people were spending time on the bedrock. Traces of modern-day use were present also in the form of a large number of cigarette butts and other trash, along with drug needles. Some graffiti has also been painted on the bedrock (Fig. 7.5).

Figure 7.5. Modern graffiti on the Jönsas bedrock. (Photo: K. Lassila 2015.)

In 2016, the city of Vantaa started to draw up new city plans for the Myyrmäki area (Myyrmäen keskustan julkisen ulkotilan yleissuunnitelma 13.3.2017). According to these plans, the Myyrmäki area needed not only new residential buildings but also more business space. At the same time, the public space at the centre of Myyrmäki was going to be refreshed and unified. Since the plans to improve the public space also included the small park in which the remnants of the Jönsas site were still located, Ahola was contacted by Andreas Koivisto, an archaeologist at the Vantaa City Museum (A. Koivisto, personal email 24 March 2016). This contact lead to the exchange of several emails in which Ahola told about her new research and interpretation of the Jönsas site. Koivisto seemed to be very interested in the topic, and since he was part of the committee working on the city plans, he promised to share these ideas with the rest of the committee.

In 2017, the new city plans concerning the public space of the Myyrmäki area were published (Myyrmäen keskustan julkisen ulkotilan yleissuunnitelma 13.3.2017). Remarkably, prehistory – and especially the material discovered at the Jönsas site – was the central theme of the plans. The city architects had not only decided to preserve the central bedrock as 'an ancient sacrificial site', but this area was also to be refreshed with a platform and a set of steps (Fig. 7.6) in which the ochre graves were to be marked as human-shaped features made from red bricks (Myyrmäen keskustan julkisen ulkotilan yleissuunnitelma 13.3.2017, p. 23) In addition, an information stand presenting the history of the site was going to be built.

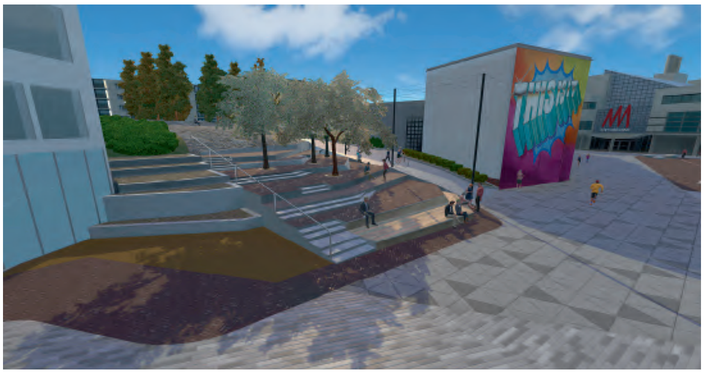

Figure 7.6. The Jönsas bedrock in the new city plans. (Drawing: Myyrmäen keskustan julkisen ulkotilan yleissuunnitelma 13.3.2017, p. 18.)

In addition to the ancient cemetery, the plans had also taken into account the ancient coastline that was going to be represented by large smooth stones placed along the central avenue of the area (Fig. 7.7; Myyrmäen keskustan julkisen ulkotilan yleissuunnitelma 13.3.2017, p. 23). When Ahola interviewed Koivisto (personal comment 12 Oct 2017) on the topic, Koivisto explained that the idea was for the stones to function as reminders of both the changing coastline and the ancient graves. Intriguingly, the idea strongly echoes the interpretation of the meaning that the smoothed stones might have had also during the Stone Age.

Figure 7.7. The water-smoothed stones from Jönsas as an inspiration for urban art. (Drawing: Myyrmäen keskustan julkisen ulkotilan yleissuunnitelma 13.3.2017, p. 22.)

7.4. Site biography of the Taatsi offering place, Kittilä

After investigating the site biography of the prehistoric Jönsas site, we now turn our gaze to another ritual site, the Taatsi *sieidi*. *Sieiddit* (singular *sieidi*, North Saami) are offering places that have traditionally been used in the Saami ethnic religion[3]. The Saami are the indigenous people of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula whose livelihood has traditionally included hunting, fishing, gathering, and reindeer herding. In connection to livelihood, offerings of most commonly animals, meat, antlers, and metal were made to *sieiddit*. *Sieiddit* were considered to be living subjects that could communicate with humans, eat, and take revenge if betrayed, but they could also be destroyed. The connection between humans and *sieiddit* was reciprocal; a *sieidi* helped humans and in return it received its share of the catch – and either party could cause harm if the other did not keep the promises that were given (Paulaharju 1932; Itkonen 1946; Schanche 2004: 5; Äikäs 2015).

The *sieidi* of Taatsi and the sacred cliff of Taatsinkirkko ("the church of Taatsi") in Kittilä are among the most well-known Saami sacred places in Finland (Fig. 7.8), mentioned in several written sources (Fellman 1906; Andersson 1914; Paulaharju 1962 [1922], 1932; Äyräpää 1931). Samuli Paulaharju (1932: 50), a schoolteacher and collector of ethnographic knowledge, relates how reindeer antlers, head bones, and fish bones used to be found on top of the *sieidi* of Taatsi. Today the site is curated by Metsähallitus (Finnish Forestry Agency), described in various blogs and books (e.g. Kesäläinen and Kejonen 2017), and visited by tourists.

Figure 7.8. Taatsi and Taatsinkirkko in Kittilä. (Photograph: A. Malinen 2011.)

3. We use the term ethnic religion to describe a world view that partly predated the arrival of Christianity but also lived simultaneously with it (Äikäs and Salmi 2013). We are, nevertheless, aware that even the term 'religion' is an etic concept that does not fully cover the notions of a world view that included all aspects of living and livelihood (Äikäs et al. 2009).

7.4.1. From the 10th century onwards

According to datings from archaeological finds, Taatsi received its first offerings around the 10th century AD. These included a pike whose bones were dated to 900 ± 25 BP (Hela-1878), corrected to cal AD 1040–1180 (Reimer et al. 2004). This was the oldest bone material found at sieidi sites in Finland so far and reflects the long use period of the *sieidi* of Taatsi. Similarly to other studied *sieidi* sites, the first offerings consisted of wild species. The bones of wood grouse (Tetrao urogallus) unfortunately remain undated, but based on evidence from other sites, they were likely to appear in the offerings at Taatsi starting from the 13th century AD. (Salmi et al. 2011; Äikäs 2015.)

It seems that fishers who were fishing at the nearby lakes of Rotkojärvi and Taatsinjärvi made the first offerings. These magnificent rock formations might have caught the attention of earlier hunters too; on top of the shore cliff, 150 metres east of the *sieidi*, there are two hunting pits that are traditionally dated to the Stone Age (Halinen 2005).

7.4.2. From the 17th century onwards

A reindeer bone found on the western side of the *sieidi* gave considerably newer results, dating to 80 ± 25 BP (Hela-1880), corrected to cal AD 1690–1920 (Reimer et al. 2004). (Salmi et al. 2011; Äikäs 2015.) This is somewhat late compared to datings from other sites with a peak in reindeer bones in AD 1400–1650. Wild and domesticated reindeer cannot be separated in osteological analyses of this material. However, it is highly probable that the emergence of reindeer offerings was related to the spread of pastoralism and indicates that the religious importance of reindeer increased at the same time as its changed economic role (Salmi et al. 2018).

In addition to animal bones, also an undecorated bone ring was offered to the *sieidi*. No accurate dating could be obtained, but the way the ring has been made indicates the historical period. The ring can be seen as belonging to the tradition of giving personal items, such as jewellery, to *sieiddit* (Äikäs 2015).

All the ancient offerings were deposited on the eastern side of the *sieidi* and on a small terrace on top of the cliff on which the *sieidi* was located. This was the side from which there was a visual connection to the cliff of Taatsinkirkko. Hence, the connection between these two places seems to have been relevant to the people making offerings. Äikäs has suggested elsewhere that in a world view in which *sieiddit* were considered as living and acting subjects, the eastern side of the *sieidi* of Taatsi could be seen as an area where the *sieidi* interacted with the sacred cliff of Taatsinkirkko (Äikäs 2012). This gave a special ritual meaning for this side of the *sieidi*. Paulaharju (1932: 50) mentions that offerings were also brought to Taatsinkirkko and that offering songs were sung there because it 'boomed'. This might refer to the echoes that are evident at Taatsinkirkko and create a particular soundscape in the area in front of the cliff (Rainio et al. 2018). Oral tradition claims that Taatsinkirkko, with its pew-like stones, has later been used for church gatherings. This story might nevertheless originate from the name of the place, which refers to a church.

In his book from 1922, Samuli Paulaharju relates how he was told that the *sieidi* was respected by many. The fishermen brought the biggest head from their fish catch to the *sieidi*. A birch pole was used to lift the head on top of the rock. Similarly, deer hunters brought the finest antlers to the *sieidi*. And reindeer herders came all the way from Koutokeino to live near the lake with their herds in late winter and brought offerings to the *sieidi* so that their herd might prosper. But Paulaharju mentions that already before his time the *sieidi* had lost the respect of some people; the top part of the rock formation, "the hat of the *sieidi*", had been pushed down, the offerings were thrown in the lake by unbelievers, and the last wooden pole was broken into pieces decades ago. (Paulaharju 1962 [1922]: 138–139; Paulaharju 1932: 50–51.) There might have been many reasons for this. Also among the Saami, *sieiddit* that were believed to have lost their powers could be destroyed, but destroying *sieiddit* was also a part of the Lutheran Christian missionary work (Äikäs 2011).

7.4.3. The 1960s

Ancient offerings ceased at Saami offering sites in the 17th century possibly due to the rising influence of Lutheran Christianity (Rydving 1993; Kylli 2012; Äikäs and Salmi 2013). However, this does not mean that these places were forgotten or fell out of use. Coins were among the early metal offerings found at Saami offering sites in Sweden (Serning 1956: passim; Hedman 2003: 161–189; Fossum 2006: 108). Written sources tell that coins were still given as offerings in the beginning of the 20th century (Paulaharju 1932; Kjellström 1987: 24–33). The oldest coins from Taatsi are a Finnish mark from 1963 and a Norwegian crown from 1960. Coins might be left as offerings following the old traditions, but they could also be part of a touristic performance where coins are left at meaningful places. Coins from Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland show that by the 20th century, Taatsi had become a place visited by tourists. Some of the coins might have dropped from the pockets of the visitors but the careful placement of some coins in the crevices of the rock indicates an intentional deposit.

A silver ring with the engraving '1953' – which indicates when the ring was acquired and provides a *terminus post quem* for when it was left to the *sieidi* – could have been left in connection with the above-mentioned tradition of leaving personal objects to the *sieidi*. Apart from the Saami tradition, the motive for this offering might also have stemmed from the more widespread habit of leaving personal objects in sacred places. At a sacred spring in Sigulda, Latvia, this tradition has even been commercialized so that people can buy rings and other 'personal' items from a stall and then throw them into the spring (Äikäs 2015: 165).

Local informants related that the *sieidi* was emptied of coins in the 1960s. This explains the lack of older coins at the site. Some bones may also have been removed during this cleaning.

7.4.4. The year 2008

In 2008, Äikäs carried out archaeological excavations at the *sieidi* of Taatsi. During these excavations, in addition to ancient offerings, we also documented contemporary finds. They were placed in cracks and on flat areas of the stone formation, and in some easily visible places there were accumulations of finds. Recent visits manifested themselves as coins and personal objects that were left at the site. Some more peculiar finds were pieces of quartzite and altogether 29 partly burned tea lights that were placed on rock shelves and on the ground (Fig. 7.9). These kinds of offerings most closely resemble the contemporary Pagan activities documented at archaeological sites in Britain (Wallis 2003; Blain and Wallis 2007).

Figure 7.9. Tea lights on a rock shelf of the sieidi. (Photograph: T. Äikäs 2008.)

Here the interpretation of the activities as contemporary Pagan is made somewhat more uncertain by the fact that a shaman entrepreneur called the Shaman of Nulituinen has organized shamanistic sessions, so-called 'Lapp baptisms', at Taatsi. His activities could be interpreted in the framework of touristic practices rather than contemporary Pagan rituals – but of course these can in some cases be intertwined. Some of the above-mentioned objects might have been left there during these sessions. In an interview, the shaman nevertheless denied leaving anything behind (Äikäs 2015). The case of the Shaman of Nulituinen is one example of performances where touristic behaviour and the experience of spirituality might be intertwined. In contrast to personal contemporary Pagan experiences, people attending these organized 'shamanistic sessions' might just want to have a nice experience on their holiday or feel 'the magic of Lapland' without any religious connotations. On the other hand, also a touristic performance can provide spiritual experiences.

Ethnologist Helena Ruotsala (2008: 52) has stated that the Lapp baptism performed at Taatsi transforms a sacred place into a product:

> Lapp baptism at the *sieidi* of Taatsi is an example of how local people's sacred place, their magic or historical landscape, has been transformed to a product, a play for tourists without any ethnographic origin – or rather, to a stage of a play. In that sense it enters the area of trans-cultural and trans-local politics of ownership, monetary value and representation. The *sieidi* of Taatsi presents an ideal stage for Lapp baptism in the tourist industry, because the place is 'authentic'. In a sense Lapp baptism is also authentic: it is an authentic part of the history of tourism in Lapland, but it does not belong to the culture or history of Lapland or Sápmi in any other form.

In 2008, most of the documented contemporary finds were located on the eastern side of the *sieidi* and thus continued the old tradition. This was most likely due to the infrastructure erected by Metsähallitus. The *sieidi* of Taatsi is situated by a canyon lake where the cliff from the shore terrace to the waterline is steep and rocky. Hence, the best way to approach the *sieidi* was by using the wooden steps and platform built on the eastern side of the *sieidi*.

7.4.5. The 2010s

In the beginning of the 2010s, Metsähallitus dismantled the stairs and the platform that had fallen into disrepair. After this, the easiest way to approach the *sieidi* was a narrow path on the western side of the *sieidi*. This led to a shift in the use of the *sieidi* – the number of finds deposited on the western side grew significantly. At the same time, the variation in the find material grew: there were no more tea lights, but instead there were decorations made of organic materials and jewellery. The first category included a doll made of twigs, a piece of birch bark sewn together, and a wooden plate with a rune symbol and hairs attached to it (Fig. 7.10).

Figure 7.10. In the 2010s, the contemporary offerings at Taatsi included coins, a twig doll, birch bark, and a rune symbol. (Photographs: A. Rainio 2015 and T. Äikäs 2016.)

The increased number and greater variety of contemporary finds at Taatsi in the 2010s in comparison to 2006 is evident from the visits made to the *sieidi* in 2011, 2015, and 2016. Interestingly, this coincides with the growing number of contemporary finds at the Saami offering site of Áhkku in Alta, Norway. Kjell Olsen (2017: 122) has documented an increase in the contemporary finds starting in about 2013.

One especially striking thing in the finds from the 2010s was the appearance of rune symbols, which are traditionally connected to Scandinavian – not Saami – mythology. A similar example of the use of runes at a supposed Saami offering site[4] is known at Offerholmen, Porsanger, Norway where runes were carved into a stick that was raised at the highest point of an islet – not in the actual stone structure (Äikäs and Spangen 2016; Spangen 2016: 217–219). Even though there are examples of the use of Germanic runes in Saami areas and by Saami people, they are not known to be connected to the Saami ethnic religion (Rasmussen 2016: 204; Spangen 2016: 218).

In many contemporary Pagan movements, it is acceptable to mix rituals and symbols from different cultural contexts (Blain and Wallis 2007), and this has also been evident in the material culture from sacred sites (Jonuks and Äikäs 2019). This is also the case in folk metal music that seeks inspiration from different elements of folk religion and ethnic religions. Some folk metal fans who are inspired by Finnish bands are known to visit Lapland (personal communication Järvelä 2017) but whether they visit *sieiddit* or leave anything at the sites requires further investigations.

So far, the contemporary offerings at Taatsi have not raised a wide discussion on the appropriate use of sacred places. There has been an international debate on whether this kind of use should be seen as ‘ritual litter’ and contamination or as a continuation of the old offering tradition. Also contemporary Pagan groups have sometimes viewed it as important to clean sites of offerings that do not decompose. (Wallis and Blain 2003: 310; Houlbrook 2015, 2016; Jonuks and Äikäs 2019.)

7.5. Discussion

The site biographies of these two ritual sites suggest that these places were visited and remembered for considerable periods of time. Indeed, in the case of the Jönsas site, the sequences of use and reuse cover a period from the Stone Age to the emergence of the Metal Ages, while the Taatsi offering place can be connected with ethnic religion from the 10th century to as far as the early 20th century. Accordingly, these sites were clearly part of the social memory of the prehistoric and historic populations of the area. Although these populations would not have used the term ‘cultural heritage’, the material remains of commemoration and meaning-making suggest that the core idea of heritage existed even deep in prehistory (cf. Bradley 2000).

Although – as far as we know – Jönsas and Taatsi were not in use simultaneously and are geographically located in different parts of modern-day Finland, they nevertheless show several points of connection. Indeed, in both places, magnificent or somehow anomalous landscape elements seems to have produced significance as well as contributed to the recognition and remembrance of the sites. This seems to imply that ritual activities were clearly attached to landscape. Indeed, the Jönsas and Taatsi sites are not the only ancient sacred sites in Finnish territory connected with outstanding landscape features. On the contrary, many but not all *sieidi* sites are connected with somehow anomalous topographical features (e.g. Äikäs 2015), a phenomenon that applies also to Finnish prehistoric rock art (Lahelma 2008). It thus seems that the topography of landscape played a significant role within the cosmology of prehistoric and historical northern populations. Indeed, Bender (1998: 93) has already suggested that particular places and pathways used by hunter-gatherers seem to have gradually accumulated meanings and ritual significance and thus become marked in some way. This seems to be

4. The current interpretation of this site points to a wolf trap instead of an offering site, but the previous academic interpretation still affects the popular use of this site (Spangen 2016).

true in the case of our examples, in which natural landscape features were treated with ritualized practices – burials, offerings, or feasts. Even though at first glimpse these practices might seem completely different, their ultimate purpose was the same – to somehow mark and engage with a significant place. These anomalous topographical features invoke bodily activity and interaction with the place and thus affect people's remembrance of the place.

While there are similarities between the ritual use of the Jönsas and Taatsi sites, there are also differences. For example, it seems that during the course of time, the Taatsi site was always furnished with offerings. Although the materials used might have varied from food to ornaments and coins, the ritual practice of leaving offerings nevertheless remained, although it carried different meanings in different times. However, the ritual practices conducted at the Jönsas site seem to show more variation, although the significance of the site remained. This might be due to the considerable length of time the Jönsas site was used. Indeed, oral tradition might easily have prevailed at the Taatsi site, while the Jönsas site – used for millennia – was sometimes forgotten and then rediscovered and recreated. In other words, the significance of the site was somehow passed on with new generations – and even new populations – bringing forth their own ways of engaging and making sense of the site. In this sense, the cultural heritage of the past was clearly born as a cultural process.

Interestingly, the idea of heritage-making as a cultural process also seems to be present when we examine how modern people have engaged with the sites. Indeed, during the last decade the Taatsi site has gained several new meanings from local ethnic religion to a touristic site and a ritual place for contemporary Pagan movements. This is not entirely surprising since one of the major objectives in visiting religious heritage sites is the development of identity through spiritual enlightenment (Singh 2016: 135). In the case of the Taatsi site, the doctoral dissertation by Äikäs (2011) might also have contributed to the phenomenon. The dissertation was published in 2011 and it included a list of known *sieidi* sites in Finland, as well as information on the excavations at Taatsi. The dissertation was written in Finnish and it was also read by non-professionals (it was referred to at least on one hiking-related discussion forum). By offering research results and knowledge on *sieiddit*, this dissertation might also have encouraged further visits to *sieiddit*.

What is remarkable is that modern people visiting the Taatsi site clearly wanted to leave something behind. These items could be understood as offerings, but at the same time, it seems as if they wanted to somehow mark the site. Regardless of their original meaning, these items nevertheless contributed to the further recognition of the site. Curiously, a completely different thing happened at Jönsas, where the local art museum covered the old ochre grave reconstruction and thus actively contributed to the further forgetting of the site. If the site itself had been marked somehow, it might have remained in the social memory of the local people. Consequently, the visitors of the Myyrmäki House or the art museum would have understood the meaning of the ochre grave reconstruction. However, because the site was gradually forgotten, it is no wonder the art museum – focusing on modern art – was not interested in the old museum installation with very little connection to modern-day Myyrmäki.

Probably due to the oblivion of the Jönsas site, the site shows no evidence of contemporary Pagan movements. Echoes to the past can nevertheless be seen on the Jönsas bedrock, which seems to be a common place to socialize even today (Fig. 7.5). However, what used to be a significant place and perhaps accessible only to a few is now the dwelling area of the outcasts of society. Although not very appealing for heritage management, this activity is nevertheless a part of the Jönsas biography and consequently part of its cultural heritage.

Even though the Jönsas site is almost completely forgotten today, it was clearly not so during the intensive excavation period of the 1970s. Indeed, during this time, the results of the excavations were used in city planning and especially in naming the newly made streets. What is interesting, however, is that most of the street names are profane. Indeed, instead of emphasizing the newly discovered cemetery, for example, the street names are mainly related to subsistence strategies. In this sense, the recreation of the site is also entwined with archaeological tradition and represents an era during which religion and ritual were largely neglected (e.g. Insoll 2004). A similar tradition can actually be seen also in a brochure produced for one of the 1970s school exhibitions (Vantaan Martinlaakson radan esihistorialliset asuinpaikat 14.2. –14.3.1974), in which the Jönsas cemetery was explained with one paragraph while the main emphasis of the brochure was on the discovered artefacts and the interpretation of the ancient subsistence strategies.

During the past decade, however, a shift has occurred, making religion and ritual a routine part of archaeological research (Insoll 2011). Indeed, this shift can also be seen in Ahola's work that highlights the ritual practices conducted at the Jönsas cemetery and consequently also interprets the site itself as a ritual place (e.g. Ahola 2015, 2016, 2017). Similarly, the work of Äikäs (2012, 2015) also focuses on religion and ritual practices rather than issues of livelihood connected with the *sieiddit*. As both the modern city plans of the Myyrmäki area and the contemporary use of the Taatsi site emphasize ritual activities, it seems that current archaeological research has again played a key role in the definition of the sites. What is interesting, however, is that the heritage-making process also portrays the research paradigms of the era.

7.6. Conclusions

The case studies of Jönsas and Taatsi demonstrate how a site-biographical approach allows us to study the cultural process of heritage-making both in the past as well as in the present. This again challenges the preservation ethos that is still often typical for heritage management. As we have shown, archaeological sites do not freeze after their prehistoric or historical use; instead, the past and the present are intertwined at these places. Previous use as well as our archaeological interpretation of it affects contemporary use, and our contemporary knowledge influences how we see the past. This is especially evident in the case of Jönsas, where ritual interpretations have been highlighted according to the research paradigm of the time. We see heritage-making as a comprehensive process covering different actions and uses of places where the past is an integral part of creating the meaning of the place. Hence contemporary ritual use as well as urban town planning can be a part of heritage-making.

When we investigated the use and reuse of the Jönsas and Taatsi sites in prehistory and historical times, it also became apparent that the core idea of heritage existed even deep in prehistory. According to this study, especially sites connected with ritual practices were remembered and used or reused for considerable lengths of time. Curiously, when the ritual nature of the ancient sites was known, they were also reused or recreated with practices resonating with the prior religious activities also within contemporary society. It thus seems that sites connected with ritual practices fascinate not only the minds of past populations but also of contemporary Finns. Considering the increasing amount of Pagan activities at the Taatsi site during recent years and the way the ritual nature of the Jönsas site has been taken into account in new city plans, it seems that non-Christian religion and ritual are more highly esteemed than fifty years or so ago.

Finally, we wish to emphasize that archaeological sites should be seen as active places. Jönsas and Taatsi did not function as static religious sites of a certain time period but gained changing meanings after their original use. In their life cycle they might have been used for centuries or forgotten once in a while and later rediscovered and recreated. Even when almost destroyed by modern-day land use, they nevertheless continue their cycle of life. Accordingly, the future challenge of heritage management is to keep track of the continuous site biography and meaning-making process of each site.

Tiina Äikäs is a researcher in Archaeology at the University of Oulu in Finland and holds the title of Docent in Archaeology at the University of Helsinki. Her thesis (2011) dealt with the ritual landscapes of Saami sacred places, and her post-doctoral research has concentrated on the site biographies and contemporary use of Saami offering places (sieiddit). Her research interests include the archaeology of religion, heritage studies, and industrial heritage. Her most recent book co-edited with Anna-Kaisa Salmi was The Sound of Silence: Indigenous Perspectives on the Historical Archaeology of Colonialism (2019, Berghahn Books).

Marja Ahola works at the University of Helsinki as a post-doctoral researcher. Her current project deals with religion, movement, and migration in European prehistory. In addition to this topic, Ahola is interested in ritual and mortuary archaeology – subjects that were also covered in her recent PhD thesis Death in the Stone Age: Making Sense of Mesolithic-Neolithic mortuary practices in Finland (ca. 6800−2300 cal BC) (2019, University of Helsinki).

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8
Vital scrap: The agency of objects and materials in the Finnish 19th-century world view

Sonja Hukantaival

Abstract: In the science-based western world view today, objects and materials are perceived as inert; essentially, they are dead matter. However, this is not the case in all cultures and all periods. In the area of present-day Finland, objects and materials were seen as potentially alive up to the early 20th century. This is well documented in oral accounts gathered and stored in folklore archives. Moreover, objects perceived as potent have been gathered into museum collections. While the issue of special agency in objects and materials has been discussed within folkloristics and comparative religion, it has been less familiar among archaeologists. This chapter provides an archaeologist's viewpoint on the significance of this issue, especially the ways in which it affects the important question of ritual or rubbish. The notion of non-human agency in the 19th-century Finnish world view is a complex and dynamic matter. This kind of agency surfaces in the interaction between a human and a thing.

Keywords: magic objects, agency, world views

8.1. Introduction

If a sick person's disease is unknown, where it has been caught and what it is will be divined as follows: Nine hairs are taken from the head of the sick person and nail cuttings from three fingers. They are put on a table and an old silver coin on top of them. A vessel with spirits is put on top of the coin. While covering and pressing the vessel with the left hand, one says:

Begin the journey, Lot,
Begin rolling, Holy Cross,
Let knowledge show the way!
Tell, Lot, the causes,
Not what man wants to hear![1]

Then one hits the hand holding the vessel, so that the liquor stirs. Then, when one takes the hand off the vessel, one can see the type of creature that the people[2] *of the guardian spirit* [that caused the illness] *look like, and if the dregs spin counterclockwise, the disease cannot be healed, but if they spin clockwise, it is certain that the sick person can be released. If the sick person has been cursed, the dregs will not stop spinning. The hairs and nail clippings are put in the bathing water with the other ingredients, and from*

1. Lähe arpa astumaan,Pyhä risti pyörimään, Tieto tietä näyttämään! Sano arpa syitä myöten, Elä miehen mieltä myöten!
2. Fi *väki*

the coin one should scrape silver onto the places where the bathing ingredients are gathered. (SKVR I, 4 1919: 544. Translated from Finnish by the author. Clarification in brackets added.)

Disease: a disordered or incorrectly functioning organ, part, structure, or system of the body resulting from the effect of genetic or developmental errors, infection, poisons, nutritional deficiency or imbalance, toxicity, or unfavorable environmental factors; illness; sickness; ailment. (Dictionary.com)

The two quotes above are examples of two different understandings of the cause (and cure) of disease. The latter is the modern, scientific understanding, while the former comes from rural Karelia at the turn of the 20th century. The latter example shows an understanding that has its roots in European 17th–18th-century materialistic science in which the workings of the world began to be explained through physical forces that were non-intentional and thus mechanic (e.g. Sheldrake 2012: 28–55). This science-based way of understanding the world has since become a commonly believed truth in the west. However, it took time before the new world view was adopted among uneducated people, and even among the educated, it has not been as triumphant as often portrayed (e.g. Josephson-Storm 2017).

This chapter discusses the notion of non-human agency in the world view that prevailed among uneducated people in the area of Finland before science-based understanding became popular. While this question has been discussed especially within Finnish folkloristics (e.g. Krohn 1915; Apo 1995, 1998; Issakainen 2002; Koski 2003, 2008, 2011; Stark 2006), it is less familiar among archaeologists in Finland. Thus, in this chapter I approach the significance of this issue from the perspective of archaeological material culture and address the challenging question of "ritual or rubbish" (e.g. Hill 1995; Clarke 1997; Brück 1999; Morris 2008). The discussion is based mostly on observations that I made when researching data for previous projects (Hukantaival 2015a, 2016, 2018). The main material consists of archived narrative sources (folklore) describing customs and magical practices. In addition, some material sources, objects that have been seen as potent, are discussed. Both types of sources derive from the extensive folk culture collection efforts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, this is the temporal limit of this discussion. Spatially the discussion mainly covers the area of present-day Finland. However, some of the sources derive from the Karelian areas east of the present-day border. This temporal and spatial context remains the focal point of the discussion throughout this chapter, even when words that are more vague are used (such as 'the old world view').

In this chapter, I operate with many challenging and ambiguous concepts. The first problem is what to call the world view in the area of study before changes in society fuelled changes in the world view from the early 20th century onwards (e.g. Stark 2006: 452–458). Finally, I decided to try to use the concept 'peopled world view'. The meaning of this concept is specified shortly, but first some additional issues need to be addressed. First, like any cultural aspect, world views are not static (e.g. Sire 2015). Wider world views shared in a society are in constant flux. Within these mainstream perspectives are personal world views that may partly conflict with the wider constructions. Personal world views change when an individual matures due to experience. It would thus be misleading to assume that the science-based world view promoted in western societies today was preceded by a static, universal 'peopled' world view that is as ancient as humankind.

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, a world view is a way of thinking about the world. However, this is too narrow a definition for the needs of this chapter and certainly does not do justice to this complex concept (see e.g. Sire 2015). Above I have used words such as understanding, experience, and construction in connection with world view. I see world view as the basic assumptions (conscious and subconscious) about the nature of reality (truth) that shape how we experience the world. World view is thus mostly a feedback loop where the experienced reality is formed by what is previously believed (known) to be real and true. Occasionally a new experience or piece of information is accepted into the loop, and as a result the whole world changes. It might even be fitting to modify the concept into 'world *experience*', since it is more than a vision. However, I chose to use the more established concept in this discussion.

The science-based world view is rooted in materialism and reductionism, and it may use analogies of mechanical clockwork or computers in describing the workings of reality. Matter is essentially inert and, ultimately, life becomes difficult to explain. Consciousness is another problematic issue in a purely materialist world view (see e.g. Nagel 2012; Sheldrake 2012). This materialist world view is popularized by being included in elementary school curricula in modern Finland. In contrast, the Finnish world view of the late 19th and early 20th centuries used analogies of people or crowds of beings (*väki*) in discussing how reality functions. This is discussed in more detail in the next section. To put it pointedly, the actors in the peopled world view were living and human-like agents instead of non-intentional physical forces. The fact that the Finnish personal pronoun *hän* (he/she) also referred to animals and objects (he/she/it) long into the 19th century (Häkkinen 2013) may be one example of this way of understanding the world.

Laura Stark's (2006) discussion of how the *self* was experienced clarifies other aspects of the old world view. In the light of narrative sources, 19th-century rural Finnish-speakers experienced themselves as essentially entangled with their environment (cf. Hodder 2012). The boundaries of the body were felt to be 'open': the self was intertwined with the surrounding social world and therefore vulnerable to the emotions, intentions, and desires of other humans and non-human agents inhabiting the natural surroundings. This open body schema is reflected in the understanding of illness and magical harm, both of which often involved the idea of an 'external' force penetrating the fragile borders of the body. (Stark 2006: 452–454.) This idea of weak boundaries was also reflected in the need to ritually protect the borders of a household against outside harm (such as witchcraft) (Hukantaival 2016). The notion that selfhood or personhood was seen differently in the 19th-century world view than in the science-based one is a key observation in discussions of non-human agency (see also e.g. Hallowell 1960; Bird-David 1999).

8.2. Magic agency and the problematic concept of väki

Magic is a concept even more problematic than world view (e.g. Buss et al. 1965; Jarvie and Agassi 1967; Hammond 1970; Agassi and Jarvie 1973; Bailey 2006; Pocock 2006). In fact, some scholars have abandoned the word altogether, since it carries a heavy load of colonialism and contempt. Others, like me, still find it useful when applied carefully. Magic refers to a special understanding of causality. It has earlier been seen as a misunderstood mechanical causal relationship in which things automatically act on each other in ways and from distances that are not possible from the viewpoint of Newtonian physics (see Frazer 1992 [1890]). However, these effects are directed towards the desired results by the intent of the magic practitioner, and thus the causality is not mechanical (e.g. Mauss 2006 [1902]: 81–83; Hämäläinen 1920: 35). I see magic as a useful concept for directing our attention towards a principle of causality that is not seen as real in the modern western, science-based world view, but was (and still is) experienced as real in other world views. Some find it important to distinguish magic from religion, but I see this as unnecessary. Magic can be part of religion or outside of religion, depending on how these concepts are defined. Essentially, magic is a way of controlling the uncontrollable aspects of life: weather, health, or good luck (cf. Malinowski 1954). These aspects are crucial for survival, and thus it is not surprising that people feel a need to be able to improve their situation.

In Finnish scholarship, the 'magical properties' that objects and materials were believed to possess have often been referred to by the concept of *väki* (e.g. Krohn 1915; Apo 1995; Stark-Arola 2002; Koski 2003, 2008, 2011; Stark 2006: 258–62; Ratia 2009). In everyday Finnish, *väki* means people, especially crowds of people, but it is also used to signify force, especially in adjective form or in compound words (e.g. *väkivalta*, violence, or väkevä, strong, powerful). The association is quite natural: crowds of people are powerful forces.[3] Accordingly, in a late-19th-century folk belief context, *väki* refers to both personified (humanlike but non-human) beings, such as guardian spirits, and impersonal forces. *Väki* manifested in different natural environments and materials: One could find *väki* in the forest, in water, in the earth, in fire, in rocks, or in a cemetery, for example. *Väki* could grab someone, infect, and cause illness. This would happen, for example, if one was startled or became angry when in close vicinity to a *väki* element. The healing of such an illness needed to begin with finding out what kind of *väki* had caused it. Thus, in the folklore quote in the beginning of this chapter, the purpose of the divination was to find out which kind of *väki* had been caught (had grabbed the patient) and whether the problem could be corrected.

In Finnish folk religion research, *väki* has become a scholarly concept (see e.g. Issakainen 2002; Koski 2003, 2008). This means that the polymorphous, ambiguous word of the living spoken language has been fixed into a specific form for communicating in an academic context. Hence, the concept of *väki* converted to mean specifically *'supernatural', 'otherworldly'* power that could be manipulated in magic. This was later criticized by folklorist T. Issakainen (2002). When familiarizing herself with the *väki* of folk belief texts, Issakainen noticed that the idea of a useful, impersonal otherworldly power seemed to be rare in the tradition. Instead, *väki* could mean one of three things: crowds of supernatural beings, impersonal power that was too powerful to be manipulated (at best, it could be repelled), or impersonal power that was *mundane*, not supernatural (e.g. the *väki* of wind is blowing). Issakainen (2002: 119) pointed out that *väki* could not always be persuaded to work to the benefit of the performer of magic. Instead, *väki* could be angered and seek revenge, and it could be appeased with proper, respectful conduct. Issakainen sees this as further evidence that *väki* was not impersonal: it was a personified active agent. Moreover, Issakainen views the idea that certain objects or materials contain otherworldly power as too simplifying. She also finds it dubious that the idea of a powerful object would be meaningful to 19th-century people unfamiliar with batteries and magnets. I see this last notion as an example of how our materialist (mechanistic) world view may confuse us: one does not need to know about batteries to understand power when every living creature clearly manifests a power to act – agency[4].

Väki may not be such a good scholarly concept, since it easily confuses fixed academic language with the dynamic spoken language of late-19th-century people. Moreover, the notion of *väki* seems to contain many different layers of tradition. For example, Issakainen (2002: 112) notes that the idea of the *väki* of water contains images of guardian spirits living in a water realm, ghosts of drowned humans, the energy of flowing water, and otherworldly power conducted through water. Kaarina Koski (2003, 2008, 2011) has also discussed the different layers of meanings present in *väki* narratives. She specializes in the belief traditions concerning the *väki* of death (often called *kirkonväki*, 'people of the church'). This *väki* could manifest as a group of dead people (ancestral spirits), a group of small, partly or completely invisible beings that reek of death, or an invisible power. Koski (2011: 331, 334) noted that the images of crowds of beings dominate in tales while the idea of power is more prominent in rite descriptions and healing. This is an important observation, since it shows the context-dependency of the mental images. Essentially, in folk belief contexts, *väki* is human-like agency: the ability to act intentionally (Stark 2006: 256–257). Despite these issues, I do not propose to abandon the concept of *väki*. Instead, we should look into this matter a bit more deeply.

3. However, it has been suggested that 'force' was the original meaning for this native Finno-Ugrian word, since this meaning is prevalent in most neighbouring languages (Häkkinen 2013).

4. From the Latin root agere, do, act, perform, etc. See the section Agency and Material Culture below.

8.2.1. Agency in nature

I have found it revealing to observe how *väki* has been encountered in the natural environment. As mentioned, Issakainen (2002: 115) pointed out that the *väki* of wind could simply mean the wind's mundane ability to rustle treetops and dry the laundry, for example. Issakainen calls this the mechanistic ability of the wind, as surely many contemporary westerners may agree. However, in the light of the narrative material, I am not convinced that this was how it was seen in the peopled world view. Still, Issakainen (2002) makes the important observation that *väki* is especially connected with movement and activity that can be perceived with the human senses. In addition to wind, for example, flowing water and fire are strong *väki* elements.

As the healing ritual in the very beginning of this chapter suggested, the *väki* people of a natural realm had a distinguishable appearance. Thus, in addition to human-formed apparitions such as guardian spirits who 'owned' the natural realm, the 'people' of water could manifest, for example, as a seal, frog, or pike, and the 'people' of forest as a bear, squirrel, or wood ant (e.g. Krohn 1915: 71–72, 75, 142). In fact, a nest of wood ants[5] is a frequently recurring location for ritual performance in narratives. For example, a hunter would offer silver and pewter on an anthill to the guardian spirit of the forest in order to secure good hunting fortune (SKMT I 1891: 2, 13 §). The constant busy swarming on the surface of an anthill must have been a sign of forest agency at work. Likewise, roaring rapids were places where extremely strong water 'people' could be encountered (Krohn 1915: 93). Still, there were 'people' also in motionless natural environments. For example, the agency of rock was quite steady. In fact, in this case, agency manifested as hardness (durability) (cf. Stark 2006: 277–81). As noted above, the agency of death was not always visible at all, but instead it could be experienced as rustling sounds or unpleasant smells (the reek of death) (Koski 2003, 2008, 2011).

The powerful agency of nature could make someone fall ill (e.g. Stark 2006: 257, 269–77). This was often connected with a sudden loss of mental balance, such as being startled. The illness was described as being caught or rubbed on by the element in question, or as if the element had grabbed the person. For example, forest agency could cause illness as follows: "The forest rubs on also if one is hit by a twig or branch or if one stumbles on a stump, root, or something, so that one is startled. They are all that forest." (Hako 2000: 3.)

In addition to startling, one could get infected by *väki* if one behaved inappropriately and thus bothered the agency. One account states that ”forest väki will not harm anyone if it is not aggravated” (SKMT IV, 2 1933: VIII 28§). One way to upset an agency was to bring something from the realm of another väki in contact with it. Thus, many situations called for special soothing rituals, for example when a horse needed to be swum:

> *When a horse needs to be swum across a sound, one should take three stones from the shore, and while the horse is led into the water, one should throw the stones into the lake and say:*
>
> *The hound to the ground, we to the water!*
> *Water to us, coin to the king!*
> *The king is famous for gold,*
> *the ruler for silver.*
>
> *Then the water will not oppress the horse, even if one has angered the guardian spirit of the water. Then, when one has reached the other shore, one scrapes silver into the lake and chants offering words, so the guardian spirit of the water will not be angered. If one does not pay for swimming a horse, one angers the lake's guardian spirit. The horse is an animal that belongs to* hiisi's väki*, and it is not a favourite of the water guardian spirit.* (SKMT IV, 2 1933: XIII 963§.)

5. *Formica* species.

The last two accounts show rather well how agency in nature could be attributed to the element in question as a whole *(they are all that forest)* or to a personified guardian spirit. The human-like guardian spirit, the actions of animals and plants in its environment, and the environment itself were all entangled in the idea of *väki*. Often these environments were seen as households and guardian spirits as the masters of their people. The *hiisi's väki* (Fi *hiidenväki*) mentioned in the latter account is not quite as straightforward a concept as many other nature agencies, since *hiisi* may refer to a sacred grove, a cemetery, or any eye-catching (sacred) natural place (Anttonen 1996: 116–23; Pulkkinen et al. 2004; Wessman 2009; Koski 2011: 149–51; Jonuks 2009, 2012).

In essence, the notion of *väki* is connected with the vitality of nature. A walk in the forest (especially in the summer) is filled with sensations: sounds, smells, and visible movement. The powers of nature also have very concrete effects: the wind may tear off a roof, a bear may kill a good milking cow, and raging waters may collapse a boat or drown a horse. The agency in nature can thus be clearly perceived in everyday life. The explanation that there were humanlike beings that caused such phenomena may, in our view, be seen as 'supernatural' or at least as anthropomorphizing. Still, the experience is real, only the explanation differs in the materialist and peopled world views. As the folklorist Lauri Honko (1964: 10–12) has pointed out, belief in supernatural beings was actualized in certain situations through authentic experiences. In other words, the whole world changes when it is experienced from a different viewpoint (world view).

8.2.2. Animism, ancestors, and metaphor

At this point in the discussion, one might ask whether the belief in 'people' in nature equates to animism. Animism is commonly defined as the belief that all objects, places, and creatures possess a spiritual essence such as a soul (see e.g. Tylor 1891: 23, 287, 417–502; Durkheim 1964 [1915]: 48–70; Bird-David 1999: S67). However, I agree with the cultural anthropologist Nurit Bird-David (1999) in that animism has been misunderstood. First, the common definition is misleading, since it contains a (Cartesian) dualistic bias: the idea of an eternal spiritual essence separate from the body – the soul. However, the notion of life does not necessarily imply a separate spirit essence or soul; life can also simply be one property of matter. For example, in Buddhism the existence of a separate soul is negated while life is certainly not (e.g. Agganyani 2013). Still, the root of the word animism is quite revealing: the Latin *anima* refers to air, breeze, breath, life, and soul (Morwood 2012). Similarly, in Finnish the word *henki* refers to breath, life, and spirit. One can see or feel movement in both breeze and breath.

One very important aspect of animistic agency pointed out by Bird-David (1999) is that it surfaces through interaction, in a relationship between humans and their environment. Another point is that in all cultures, the sense of personhood is not restricted to humans. Thus, for example, the Native American Ojibwa sense of personhood was conceived as an overarching category within which e.g. 'human person', 'animal person', and 'wind person' are subcategories (Hallowell 1960). These two observations seem to be essential also for the discussion at hand. However, even though revised animism could be a suitable concept for this chapter, I feel its older connotations would mislead the argument.

As revealed above, some of the *väki* narratives contain images of dead people: ghosts or ancestors. The question of whether we should see an ancestor cult in the beliefs concerning guardian spirits in nature is part of an early academic discussion. It was debated in detail in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see also Tylor 1891; Durkheim 1964 [1915]). As often happens, this discussion became somewhat polarized: some scholars were prone to believe that all folk belief phenomena were to be traced back to an ancestor cult, while others were against this (see e.g. Varonen 1898; Haavio 1942; Honko 1962). Since this chapter is not concerned with any 'origins' of the traditions, it is sufficient to note that these kinds of mental images were present in the tradition. Sometimes the agency of a place could be seen as a remnant of someone who had died, or was buried, at that location. Likewise, the agency of a human person could remain in an object that this individual had manufactured or used, and thus objects with unknown makers and owners were often preferred in rituals (Issakainen 2012: 136–38; Hukantaival 2016: 140). I return to this latter phenomenon below.

Still, one way to understand the concept of *väki* could be as metaphor. We should not uncritically assume that past people were more (or less) naive than we are. Just as we today may speak of the workings of the world or the brain using metaphors of machines and computers, the concept of 'people' acting in the wind or in flowing water, for example, may have been a metaphor. Still, metaphors are extremely powerful (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). If we do not reflect on the matter, we may really believe that the human mind works like a computer. However, when we stop to consider it, we realize that computers are a product of the human mind and not equal to it. This could have been the case with *väki* as well. The metaphor of 'people acting in nature' may have become reality, but it could still have been revealed as metaphor if it was contemplated more deeply. Still, this does not mean that such contemplation would have resulted in a view of the world as mechanical. It is more likely that the world was seen as alive and imbued with agency that sometimes resembled the agency of people.[6] Next, I discuss in more detail how the idea of human-like agency affected material culture.

8.3. Agency and material culture

The connection between agency and material culture is complex. The recent prominent discussion on the agency of materiality (see e.g. Knappet and Malafouris 2008) was promoted by philosopher and anthropologist Bruno Latour (e.g. 1993, 1999). He criticized modern science's engagement in 'purification', where the world is divided into clearly separated domains (e.g. nature and society). According to anthropologist Daniel Miller, one of Latour's most influential strategies in the quest against purification has been to apply the concept of agency to the nonhuman world. In this approach, material things may be said to possess the agency that causes effects having consequences for people but that is autonomous from human agency (Miller 2005: 11–15; see also Hodder 2012: 68). Thus, in that approach, agency refers to the fact that material things have their own properties that constrain human activity. To understand the agency of material things in the world view of the study area, however, a more permissive approach is needed: things may have been understood as acting with intention. Still, the issue concerns material things that are believed to possess agency that causes effects, which have consequences for people. This is how the agency of things is understood in this chapter.

In her study, Issakainen (2002: 111) criticized the idea that an object could be seen as filled with impersonal *väki* power, since this may direct too much attention to the "instrument of the magic act". Instead, she argues, the object functioned as a conduit for a power that transcended the mentioned realm of forest, water, or rock. There might be an (unconscious?) Cartesian dualist notion behind this claim: since matter is inert (dead), any agency must be immaterial (spiritual or social), and thus matter may only function as a vehicle for such power (cf. Latour 1993: 80). Naturally, this same notion is present in wording that implies that an object may be a vessel for power, as well. Partly this is a problem of language – it is difficult to express anything in a non-dualist way, since dualism seems to be embedded in the English language.[7]

Obviously, the 19th-century Finnish speakers who spoke of *väki* were the descendants of about 700 years of Christian tradition with its belief in souls. Moreover, it has been argued that even the older, pre-Christian, world view included a kind of soul-belief. This belief supposedly maintained that an individual had two (or even three) souls. When put in a simplified form, the *itse* (self) included the personality, was attached to the person's name, and was inherited in the family (being reborn), while the *henki* or *löyly* (spirit, breath) was an impersonal life force that left the body at death (Harva 1948:

6. The tendency to see natural activity as human-like agency was suggested as the cause of belief in humanlike gods already in classic works (e.g. Tylor 1891: 285), and this theory still prevails in the cognitive science of religion (e.g. Culotta 2009).

7. Even though passive voice expressions (where action is underlined) are common, this is largely true also in the Finnish language. Of course, this text does not manage to avoid dividing the world into subjects and objects either.

234–62; Pentikäinen 1990: 21–24; Siikala 2013: 370)[8]. However, this argument is already old, and a fresh approach to the material might produce renewed conclusions. In any case, my question for this section of the chapter is whether it is possible that agency was seen as a quality of matter without the need for an extra 'spiritual' actor. Let us first look at how the relationship between agency and material culture appears in narrative sources. After this, I describe some ritual objects present in museum collections.

8.3.1. Väki and material culture in folklore

For this part of the discussion, I have intentionally searched for folklore examples where *väki* is explicitly mentioned in connection with material culture. Since these kinds of accounts form only a small part of the narrative material, this admittedly limits the viewpoint. However, the intention is to see what the overt connection between *väki* and material culture is in the narratives. Overall, the reason why a specific object is chosen for a ritual practice is very seldom stated in the vast narrative material (Hukantaival 2016: 123–29). Moreover, different types of *väki* are considered as being connected to tangible objects to different degrees. For example, in narratives about obtaining the *väki* of water, often the only object mentioned is water itself. The agency of fire, on the other hand, is frequently mentioned as connected to fire-making equipment:

> *"Väki of fire is most powerful and quick. With it one can repel all other väkis. But it cannot be repelled with anything. One raises it with fire-making equipment."*[9] (SKS KRA. Kinnula 1946. Otto Harju 3624, informant (man) born in 1889; Issakainen 2002: 120.)

The agency of fire and the connected agency of the forge were useful in bear hunting, since "the *väki* of the forge is stronger than forest *väki*" to which the bear belonged (SKMT I 1891: 322 §; Stark 2006: 261). The agency of fire is again connected to fire-making equipment in the following example:

> *When one sets off to kill a bear, one puts an old fire steel, the maker of which is unknown, in one's hat. Then, if the bear tries to attack, the hat is thrown in front of it. The bear cannot cross the hat, since the fire väki confronts it, and the bear must try to flee, as it is sensitive to fire.* (SKS KRA. Uhtua 1889. H. Meriläinen II 811, informant 42-year-old man; Issakainen 2002: 121.)

Hunters also needed to guard themselves against the malicious envy of other hunters. For this purpose, as well, it was good to keep fire *väki* in one's tinder pouch:

> *When two hunters meet and one of them leaves, if the other looks between his legs at the leaving hunter, that hunter will get lost in the forest. The looker should cross his eyes so that the leaving hunter is seen double. But if that hunter is prepared, if he carries fire* väki *in his tinder pouch, the looker is inflicted with eye pain that follows him to the grave.* (SKMT I 1891: 3, 98 §.)

This example clearly suggests that it was not sufficient to simply carry a tinder pouch in order to guard against the malicious wishes of others. Most likely, all hunters would keep fire-making equipment with them. Instead, fire *väki* needed to be activated with the proper rituals. The key event for this was often when the *väki* was 'taken' from its natural environment. For example, the *väki* of rock was obtained from a crack in a cliff that was always wet (a 'crying rock') (Stark-Arola 2002: 72). One could take some chips of the rock or soil from the crack with an old knife. Still, it was crucial to perform the proper offerings of coins or silver and to utter flattering words and incantations when taking the substance. *Väki* would infect a careless and disrespectful person (Stark 2006: 258–60). In fact, coins or silver are often recurring objects mentioned in connection with any *väki*: it was important to give

8. The third 'soul' was a kind of doppelgänger-guardian spirit (*haltia*).

9. Fi *tulukset* means the combination of firesteel, flint, and tinder, usually kept in a pouch.

offerings in interactions with these agents (e.g. SKVR I, 4 1919: 28, 29, 31). However, sometimes *väki* was connected with certain objects without the need for any preceding rituals. In these cases, the object was still special: often old, broken, and found (with an unknown maker and owner):

> *One drives out bedbugs by gathering rainwater during a thunderstorm from three roofs into three vessels. During midsummer night, one should sprinkle the water around the house naked and brush the walls and floor with an old, broken oven broom that has been found in the village while saying:*
>
> *Get out old inhabitants,*
> *Ukko[10] commands you away!*
> *If you don't obey,*
> *I'll torch your hair with fire*
> *and burn your shirts.*
>
> *Then the house is left empty for three nights and the oven broom is left to guard the threshold; it has the* väki *of fire, it will not let the bedbugs leave through the door; they did not come that way, they need to leave the same way they came so they will not come back. Afterwards, the oven broom and the brushed litter are taken into the forest to a northward slope onto a path where all kinds of people and animals travel. Then one has gotten rid of them.* (SKVR I, 4 1919: 1954.)

Even though, in the first example above, the agency of fire is mentioned as the most powerful *väki*, these kinds of folk beliefs are not fixed and dogmatic. Thus, also the *väki* of water is sometimes mentioned as the oldest and strongest (Krohn 1915: 93). In the following example, one seems to be able to repel both wind and fire when combining the agency of forest and quicksilver:

> *When one builds a house, one drills a hole in the ridge beam and puts inside three small pebbles that have been taken from an anthill, as well as some quicksilver. The hole is then plugged with an alder wood plug. Then the wind cannot take the roof and an enemy cannot incite fire* väki *to attack the house.* (SKS KRA. Usmana. H. Meriläinen II 2265. 1894; informant 64 years old woman.)

The agency of quicksilver (mercury, Hg) is an interesting question. This substance was commonly used in 19th-century folk magic practices, especially for apotropaic purposes (Vuorela 1960: 50–51; Issakainen 2012: 48, 56–57; Hukantaival 2016). Quicksilver was generally used as medicine and could be bought in pharmacies. Earlier, I have suggested that quicksilver may have been seen as belonging to the domain of the earth, since it was sometimes believed that it was produced by vipers. Vipers were believed to gather their venom from the ground, and they were also otherwise connected with earth agency (Hukantaival 2016: 124–25; e.g. SKVR I, 4 1919: 370). However, one folklore account states that quicksilver is the "stuff of the fire guardian spirit" and thus one could upset the water guardian spirit by putting quicksilver into a lake (SKMT II 1892: 43§). Again, folk beliefs are not fixed and dogmatic, so it is possible that the type of *väki* quicksilver belonged to was ambiguous.

Another type of agency that was often described as connected with objects is the *väki* of death. The object could be anything that belonged to a burial: churchyard soil, coffin nails, and pieces of clothing, bones, or hair. Moreover, one could transfer this power to almost any object simply by putting it in physical contact with a dead body:

> *This is done to make a thief bring back the stolen object. Coins are kept in the mouth of a dead person for three nights and then the coins are put in the place of the stolen thing, then one says: Catch the one who took my thing! Then the church* väki *will find the thief and force him/her[11] to bring it back.* (SKVR XII2 1935: 7897.)

10. 'Old man', the thunder god/guardian spirit.
11. The Finnish personal pronoun does not differentiate between the sexes.

Other types of *väkis* could be used similarly to find and punish a wrongdoer. For example, in the following complex miniature coffin ritual, water *väki* was incited to attack a witch:

> *If a hunter's gun has been bewitched so that it does not kill prey, a squirrel should be caught by any means and the gun should be smeared with its blood. The squirrel is then skinned without using a knife and a coffin is made of a lone alder tree. The squirrel is put in the coffin and buried in the churchyard like a corpse while one recites prayers as a priest, but not the Priestly Blessing or the Lord's Prayer from the part 'but deliver us from evil' onwards. Then the witch will die, and no one can heal him/her. But if the witch is unbaptized, so that a priest has not blessed him/her, then this will not work. In this case, the coffin should be drowned in the rapids; the water* väki *will find him/her, and there is no escape. If the coffin is put in the rapids so that it can be removed, the punishment can be reversed if the witch comes forward to confess, but only the one that put the coffin there can heal him/her.* (SKMT I 1891: 282§; Hukantaival 2015a: 212–13.)

As noted, the agency of death could be obtained from churchyard soil. However, also other types of agency could be connected with soil. The following example is intriguing, since it depicts a very specific type of agency: the *väki* of juniper. In this example, *väki* and guardian spirits (*haltia*) are used as synonyms.

> *One takes the* väki *of juniper to herd one's cattle by taking soil from the root of a juniper with nine forks into a silken cloth. Three hairs are taken from the head of the farm wife and put on the root of the juniper, and three chips of gold are scraped on it from a wedding ring that has been used to marry three couples. The cloth with soil is put into the bell collar when the cows are let out to pasture in the forest. On the first three days, one should take milk from the bell cow to the root of the juniper where one took the guardian spirits. Then bears will not eat the cattle and everything will go well.* (SKMT IV, 1 1933: V 33§.)

Before returning to discuss the relationship between *väki* agency and objects as seen in these examples, let us take a look at some physical objects that have been used in rituals.

8.3.2. Potent 'scrap'

The observations in this section are based on the ethnologic collection catalogued in the Magic Objects card index of the National Museum of Finland (Sirelius 1906; Hukantaival 2015a, 2018). These objects have been collected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries from mostly rural people all over Finland, and the catalogue includes information on how they have been used. The users were often parents or grandparents of the people from whom collectors bought or received the objects. The approximately 330 objects in this collection can be roughly divided into natural objects (56%) and manufactured artefacts.[12] Within these two main categories, the largest groups consist of different remains of animals and (mostly natural) stones, but natural wooden formations are also quite a large group. The category of artefacts includes both objects that could be used in mundane contexts and objects specifically manufactured for ritual use. Teeth, claws, and other body parts of bears stand out in the whole collection as the largest subgroup. Stones are mostly smooth water-polished pebbles (so-called snake's court stones and raven stones). Some objects stand out thanks to their complex and fascinating character, such as the frogs and squirrels buried inside miniature coffins (Hukantaival 2015a). However, in this discussion, I focus on some of the least remarkable objects in the collection – the things that might be interpreted as 'scrap' if no information of their use in rituals was available (if they were encountered at an archaeological site, for example).

12. There are 333 catalogue numbers in the collection, but some of these include several objects.

The collection includes several fragmented bones and artefacts. For example, a piece of European elk antler (KM F482) has been used to heal or prevent sudden pain, and a small stoneware potsherd (KM F634) has been used to heal boils on the skin by pressing the potsherd on the boil (Fig. 8.1). A brass handle of a knife (KM F1297) has been used to heal swollen cow's udders by pressing on the udder with the heated object. The assemblage also contains a compress against 'the rose' (erysipelas) (KM F272). This wrapping includes nine different objects: a rag, some blue paper, some black wool, a wasps' nest, a piece of red cloth, the bladder of a cow, some seal blubber, some chalk, and a piece of hare skin. Similar assemblages of small 'scrap' are found in several cunning folks' pouches and boxes in the collection. For example, one such box (KM F1254) contains two wooden gnarls, six pieces of some vegetable material, a piece of coal, and the head of a nail. This box has been used by a cunning man, who had inherited both the objects and the occupation from his mother.

Figure 8.1. According to the information in the museum's catalogue, this fragment of a stoneware mineral water bottle has been used for healing boils by pressing them with it (KM F634). National Museum of Finland. (Photograph: S. Hukantaival.)

As can be inferred from the above, many of the objects in this collection have been used by folk healers, but it also includes objects used in other connections. For example, a so-called “magic treasure” was delivered to the National Museum in 1931 (KM 7380:77). It is a small birch bark packet that contains three small fragments of animal bones (a vertebra, a tooth, and piece of jawbone) and a small piece of flint stone (Fig. 8.2). The packet had been found under the southern corner of an old building in Perho. According to the catalogue, this ‘magic treasure’ had been made to repel pests from the building and to divine whether the building location was favourable (Hukantaival 2016: 86, 198, Appx. 3: 197).

Figure 8.2. The animal vertebra, tooth, and bone fragment together with a small piece of flint and a wood fragment (not mentioned in the catalogue) were found inside a birch bark packet under the southern corner of a building in Perho. The so-called magic treasure was delivered to the museum in 1931 (KM 7380: 77). The catalogue explains that it was used to expel pests from the building or to divine whether the building plot was favourable. In the latter case, the packet would be left at the prospective site overnight. The place was good if there were ants under the packet in the morning, but if there was a frog or snake at the site, the building must be built elsewhere. These animals represent different *väki* categories. National Museum of Finland. (Photograph: S. Hukantaival.)

As for items mentioned often in the narratives presented above, the collection also includes a tinder pouch made of leather that contains a full set of fire-making equipment (KM F1321). The catalogue explains that these items have been used to restore good fortune in marriage, and according to the donor, "they have proven to be very good magic objects in use". Moreover, the collection contains a small round buckle (KM F1545) from which silver has been scraped in "offering to appease, for example into a spring".

8.4. Discussion: The archaeologist and magic agency

Though widely criticized (e.g. Brück 1999; Bradley 2005; Morris 2008; Chadwick 2012; Hukantaival 2015b), a division into purely functional ('rational') objects and ('non-functional') ritual objects often surfaces in archaeological interpretations. This is quite understandable, as it is often very difficult to interpret the meanings of objects in an archaeological context. Thus, it seems safer to assume ritual interpretations only when no other explanation is acceptable. Still, it has been recognized that distinguishing the remains of ritual from rubbish is not easy, and in some situations such a division can even be misleading (e.g. Brück 1999; Bradley 2003). As can be inferred from the discussion so far, this chapter is not making this issue any clearer. In contradiction, it might blur things further. However, if the matter is simply not clear-cut, it would not be right to try to force it into a neat fantasy. So what *can* we say about rubbish and agency?

The above short survey of *väki* agency and material culture in narratives depicting ritual practices confirms the idea that there seem to be different shades of meaning in the tradition. On the one hand, the relationship between object and agency seems to be metonymic, based on association between an element[13] and an object. Still, all examples show the importance of ritualization, such as offerings, incantations, the number three, and special properties of the location where agency was obtained or the object itself (on ritualization, see e.g. Bell 1992, 1997). Thus, agency manifested in special circumstances. It is not completely apparent, though, what the relationship between the object and the agency was. In some cases, agency seems to be a property of the object that fulfils those special circumstances, while in others it seems that the object acted as a conduit or gateway for the agency. Thus, both mental images may have coexisted in the tradition. Issakainen (2002: 111) did not believe that the agency used in magic was believed to originate in the element in question (e.g. forest, water, or fire) but, I assume, in some "otherworldly" realm. Still, everyday life was so imbued in ritual and the respectful consideration of nonhuman actors (e.g. Stark 2015) that I do not see it as important to draw any clear lines between the mundane and supernatural in this context. It seems likely that the agency did belong to the element, and that it manifested when activated ritually or accidentally by improper behaviour.

As is common also in narratives, the 'magic objects' in the National Museum's collection do not include explanations of the agency of these objects. They are simply portrayed as objects that 'work': they are good for some specific task. Still, when one is familiar with the narratives depicting magic objects, one can interpret the logic (at least partly) of why these objects were good for these uses. First, any small piece of something had the potential to manifest the type of agency to which it belonged. For example, an elk antler, as well as wooden gnarls, most likely manifested the agency of forest. Animal bones, especially horse skulls, were commonly used for repelling pests (Hukantaival 2016: 111, 126). Perhaps the *hiisi*'s agency, to which the horse belonged, was stronger than the pests' agency (earth?). Skin diseases were often believed to have been caused by earth *väki* (e.g. Hako 2000: 2–3, 86–88). When these ailments were healed, the agency that had 'grabbed' or 'rubbed on' was returned to its source. Thus, the same agency, earth, was often used. It is likely that the stoneware potsherd

13. The elements in Classical natural philosophy were fire, air, water, and earth, but in this context, forest and death are also included. The more limited agencies (e.g. juniper, the forge, the tar-burning pit) may be seen as subgroups of the main elements.

was indeed found in the ground and thus manifested earth agency. In any case, the scraps and fragments are more than scraps and fragments: they represent something, and they have the agency of that something.

Still, not all rubbish was always seen as powerful. When studying the Native American Ojibwa world view, Hallowell asked an old man whether "all the stones we see about us here are alive". After reflection, the man had answered, "no, but *some* are". The 'alive' stones were those that appeared to move or have an 'open mouth' (Hallowell 1960: 24–25). Similarly, Bird-David notes that the personified *devaru* of the South Indian hunter-gatherer Nayaka are certain things-in-situations. *Devaru* manifest in events involving engagement between things and an actor-perceiver. Moreover, Bird-David states that "we do not first personify other entities and then socialize with them but personify them *as*, *when*, and *because* we socialize with them" (Bird-David 1999: S75−78). Something similar to this can be inferred from the narrative material of *väki* agencies in nature: nature becomes 'people' when coming in contact with humans in a way that is beyond human control, and thus negotiation is needed.

Unfortunately, the special character of the ritual objects often cannot be observed in an archaeological context. It is certainly not visible to the archaeologist whether a fragmented object has been obtained accompanied by offering and incantation or whether a coin has been kept in the mouth of a dead body. Likewise, as archaeologist Timo Muhonen (2013) noted in his study of natural stones in Finnish folk beliefs, portable stones used in rituals were often special, but in ways that do not necessarily leave traces: they could belong to a sauna stove or they could be picked up in a lake at a place where fish catches had been good, for example. Still, one aspect that can be observed in some cases is the tendency to prefer objects that are old and found – objects with an unknown maker and user. This has sometimes been the reason for the use of objects found in Iron Age cemeteries or coins a few hundred years older than the ritual event (Hukantaival 2016: 184–185, 196–197). An object included the agency of its manufacturer or owner, and using such an object in rituals could be harmful to that person. This could be prevented by using old objects (e.g. Issakainen 2012: 136–138). Thus, whenever antiquated objects appear in temporally removed contexts, a ritual meaning should be considered. It is well known that Stone Age tools were widely seen as potent 'thunderbolts' (e.g. Blinkenberg 1911; Carelli 1997; Johanson 2009), but also other objects that appear in the 'wrong' time frames should be noted.

Archaeologists are trained to interpret functions and meanings of objects based on the object's context. In this connection, context refers to the immediate find context of a particular object (e.g. soil layer or structure, grave or settlement site) and more widely the usual pattern of similar objects and their find contexts, as well as the context of the particular site within the geographical area. In fact, contexts are crucial in the interpretation of 'ritual rubbish'. Archived folk belief narratives clearly show that, for example, fragments of bone, natural stones, pieces of coal, ashes, and iron slag have been used as ritual objects (e.g. SKMT I 1891: 74 § p). However, the only way to interpret such activities on an archaeological site is through the context of the 'rubbish'. Ashes and coal found in connection with a hearth are best left without any further interpretations even though they may well occasionally have had ritual meanings. Ashes and coal found, for example, in an inhumation grave are more revealing.

In any case, the main message of this chapter to the archaeologist is that we should remember that world views have changed and that what looks like insignificant rubbish to us may have been seen as imbued with agency that could activate in a specific situation. Moreover, the significance of the observations on agency in nature to archaeology is in the tendency of these special places to attract ritual behaviour. Naturally, it is easier for archaeologists to recognize special natural places that are outstanding features in the environment, such as rocky hills or rapids (e.g. Bradley 2000; Jonuks 2012). The site where an anthill has attracted offerings may not be recognizable at all. Still, it is good to remember that these latter kinds of sites have been important as well.

8.5. Conclusion

The notion of non-human agency in the 19th-century 'peopled' world view is a complex and dynamic matter. Understanding it requires letting fixed categories of people, animals, and non-sentient material break down. Instead, human-like agency may surface in interaction between a human and a thing. Thus, the interaction comes to take place between two subjects: the human and the 'other people'. The *väki* tradition includes different shades of meaning, for example of personified guardian spirits, residual human agency, and impersonal activity. *Väki* manifested in movement (rustling, swarming, and rushing) or in specific qualities such as hardness, sharpness, or unusual form (such as branches of trees forming a circle).

The ritual objects discussed here are not remarkable artefacts but everyday tools and even small fragments of 'scrap'. The ritual usefulness of these kinds of unremarkable objects is revealed in narratives describing the activities of *väki* agencies. The agency originated in a powerful element, such as fire, water, or death, and the object was linked with this agency through association or contact with it. This observation calls attention to the archaeologists' question of 'ritual or rubbish', showing that it might indeed be the wrong question to ask. What we see as rubbish may have been quite useful in ritual contexts.

As mentioned in the beginning, this chapter is not based on comprehensive research based on large sets of data, but mainly on observations made during researching data for other projects. Thus, it is formed as a theoretical discussion backed up by examples of data that are in accordance with that discussion. The next step would be to try to find data that contradicts the hypothesis that the world was seen as imbued with human-like agency. Perhaps this way of seeing the world only surfaced in specific, ritual contexts. This is an intriguing question for further study.

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Sonja Hukantaival specializes in questions of folk religion, ritual, and magic. She is currently conducting her postdoctoral project "The Materiality of Magic in Finland in a Long-Term Perspective: Developing the Archaeology of Folk Religion" (2018–2021, SA-314622) at the Department of Nordic Folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland.

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9
From professional educator to labour movement agitator: The Devil's role in an industrial context

Noora Hemminki

Abstract

What springs to mind when the word 'industry' is mentioned? Perhaps negative things such as pollution and deprivation? Evil and industry have a long history together. This chapter examines the supernatural at work, namely metallurgy and the Devil within from prehistory to the time of industrialization in the 20th century. For thousands of years, various non-human powers have been linked to metallurgy, the metalworker, and the origin of metalworking skills, as well as the materiality of metallurgy, such as the smithy and the objects made there. These issues are discussed here through stories told in Finland about the Devil and the smith, concentrating on an industrial context. When metallurgy was industrialized, the Devil did not leave the forge, he just changed his role from that of the smith's persecutor to that of an agitator in labour movement politics. The tradition of linking the smith's job with the supernatural continued in the industrial context. Industrialization was not just about capitalism, modernity, and development, it was also about magic and adapting past beliefs into a modern context.

Keywords: metallurgy, industrialization, supernatural, corporeality, haunted spaces

9.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between early industry and the supernatural. How did industrialization change the link between the smith and the supernatural Devil and how did material examples of the supernatural and the work represented by the smith's body and workplace change over time? These questions are answered by taking a look at the stories (written and pictorial) told about the Devil, smiths, mills, and mill owners.

Recently, many fields of the research of the past have been interested in giving a voice to people who have previously been in a marginal position (in Finnish research, e.g. Helsti et al. 2006; Mikkola 2009; Vainio-Korhonen 2018) or focusing on a marginal phenomenon like the supernatural or haunted places (e.g. *Paranthropology: Journal of Anthropological Approaches to Paranormal*; Holloway 2010). This chapter follows this tradition by discussing a rather marginal yet revealing aspect of the industrialization process, which was a part of the modernization of Finland that took place rapidly in the 19th century. Religious thinking in the industrial context has been an underexplored area in archaeology and history, even though religious thinking is usually an essential field to examine in the study of human actions. This chapter discusses religious thinking in an industrial context.

Mikkola (2009) has studied the attitudes of Finnish agricultural communities to new technologies (such as trains, cameras, and radios) introduced by modernization in the latter half of the 19th century. Mikkola argues that the emotions (admiration and fear) that people experienced when facing new and strange technologies for the first time resembled religious experiences (Mikkola 2009: 207). This could also be seen in the industrial context, as I argue here. People living during the modernization process understood modern material manifestations through a mental schema that Mikkola calls folk theology, which often explained new and inexplicable objects as products of the Devil (Mikkola 2009: 179–182). This kind of thinking is still alive today in connection with new technologies: for example, in computer programming, the act of programming is sometimes considered 'magic' (Aupers 2009: 153).

My data consists of diverse material from historical and pictorial sources that are seemingly different but share the common feature of revealing something about the supernatural in an industrial context. The majority of the data consists of folklore stories (27 different runes and beliefs) from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (FLS FA) and early-20th-century newspapers and magazines (12 articles, approximately 50 illustrations).

Folklore material has been used in archaeology, for example, by Hukantaival (2016), who used it to interpret traditions of building concealment. I formed my body of folklore data by searching the SKVR (Suomen kansan vanhat runot, Old poems of the Finnish people) database for mentions of smiths, factories, or mill-made iron objects together with magic tricks, fire handling, or non-human creatures. Another source was the FLS FA index of religious stories with similar mentions (G: guardian spirits of culture spaces, E: the Devil) (see the Appendix 9.1. for detailed information).

Magazines represent the material culture of the labour movement through which the ideas were propagated. I went through hundreds of early-20th-century labour magazine covers and illustrations and ended up forming a collection of about 50 images that share certain features and cover a period of 30 years. This chapter does not discuss each image separately. Magazines that emerge as significant sources for such images include *Tie vapauteen* (Road to Freedom), *Metallityöläinen* (Metal Worker) which was previously named *Ahjo* (Forge), *Punikki* (Commie), and *Työmiehen joulu* (Worker's Christmas), to mention a few. Some of these magazines were published in North America (for example, *Punikki* in New York, *Tie vapauteen* in Michigan, and *Työmiehen joulu* in Wisconsin) for Finnish immigrant labourers, and many of the illustrations were made in America, where the production of such images was popular (Slavishak 2008), but also Finnish illustrations were produced.

I collected my set of written stories by browsing through the archives of Finnish newspapers and collected articles that mention industry and the supernatural together. I ended up with 12 different articles. None of the newspapers was profiled as a significant source for this kind of material, as the same stories were circulated in various newspapers. Most of the Devil and worker stories in Finnish newspapers originated in Russia.

This study counts as documentary archaeology (Beaudry 1988) because textual and pictorial documents are used to interpret past ideas that were linked to the material culture of metallurgy (objects, body, and spaces). My method of studying these documents was not an actual discourse or picture analysis, as my aim was simply to see whether the supernatural and the industrial were depicted together in this data and if so, how. To find this out, I browsed through documents searching for any signs of the supernatural and industry together. Applied to texts and oral testimonies, this means I sought to see whether words referring to non-human actors were used to describe the materiality of industry. In pictures I sought symbols that implied supernatural attributes referring to workers' bodies or industrial processes. My objective was mainly to see whether something could be found in this material or not, and any deeper analysis of this data as literature or art was not the aim of this study.

Documentary archaeology is often used for studying the lives of labourers because industrial sites have left behind plenty of documents about the sites and the people who lived there. A classic study that combined different sources for studying the industrial past from a social point of view is the study of the Boott mills by Mrozowski, Ziesing, and Beaudry (1996). However, they criticized oral and written histories because of their tendency to glorify issues (Mrozowski et al. 1996: 49) and preferred traditional archaeological methods for finding out the truth. That is understandable in some cases, but this chapter specifically focuses on the aspect of glorifying and issues that go beyond actual material reality. The more factories are glorified, the more interesting the material is to me. I also point out that even imaginary things such as haunting and the supernatural related to industry reveal the truth when it comes to peoples' experiences and attitudes towards new and unknown things. Textual and pictorial data is interpreted here as material culture made for certain purposes, as material manifestations and pictures of shared ideas rather than literature or works of art. Mills and workers are seen here as the material context of the non-human experiences linked to metallurgy. The context is interpreted a bit differently than usually in archaeology (on context, see Hodder 2009). The terms in the articles reflect the attitudes towards modernization and the symbols in the magazine illustrations reveal how old myths related to metallurgy were used for propagating new ideas.

In premodern and modern times, the Devil was associated with people and phenomena that were considered unfamiliar due to the world view where phenomena were explained using folk theology. Calling unknown people or objects 'devils' has been common (Åström 1995; Ylimaunu 2007: 7; Mikkola 2009: 207–211), and, for example, in the Seinäjoki region the term was used to refer to workers of the Östermyra iron and gunpowder mill (Alanen 1970: 281). Studying something as ambiguous as personal experiences of the supernatural (especially past experiences) can be risky. Linking certain groups of people to certain interpretations might even increase inequality (Cameron 2008: 384). Discussing mills and smithies from a supernatural point of view makes sense because the tradition of associating these places with non-humans is a fact. A link between the supernatural and inequality also appears in my data especially with regard to mill owners. In some cases, there is no doubt that the Devil stories were a way to make certain people look non-human. The Devil's changing role in the metal industry echoes ancient mindsets, and sensing non-human activity in certain places and spaces – even industrial ones – is something to be considered.

9.2. The smith and the Devil together at work

Smiths have been associated with supernatural powers for a long time all over the world. The supernatural in metallurgy is a common theme in Finnish folk culture (see e.g. Sarmela 1994: 131–133). Finns used to call a smithy a 'nest of witchcraft' quite recently (Paulaharju 1932: 81), and even today's blacksmiths connect their work with the Devil and the occult, for example, by naming their forges after the Devil or in a heathen manner, such as Manalan paja ('Hell's forge', Jyväskylä, Finland) or Takomo Alkutuli ('Primordial fire forge', Keuruu, Finland). In Finnish folklore, the Devil appears in many kinds of contexts and smiths are not his only companions. Research on the Devil is plentiful in the fields of folkloristics and religious studies (e.g. Klemettinen 1997; Purola 2020). Naturally, the concept of incarnated evil varies through time and place. The character discussed here is not the same as in the Abrahamic religions. As Klemettinen (1997) puts it, the Devil of Finnish folklore is a mixture of the poltergeist tradition, Christianity, and heathen folk religion. Considering the areal and temporal perspective, the link between the smith and the Devil has been strong.

A smith transforms matter with fire. The transformation process requires special skills, and this is where invisible forces come into play. Herva and Ylimaunu (2014: 193–194) argue that in prehistoric times metallurgy took place in liminal spaces (islands, coastlines) because of its engagement with non-human powers. The continuity of isolation can be seen in the locations of later smithies and factories (Fig. 9.1). Their location outside of people's everyday life spaces, far from other buildings (and for factories, even in their own village-like communities), was chosen for practical reasons, but the isolation might have strengthened the feeling of the mystical nature of these places and the processes that took place there.

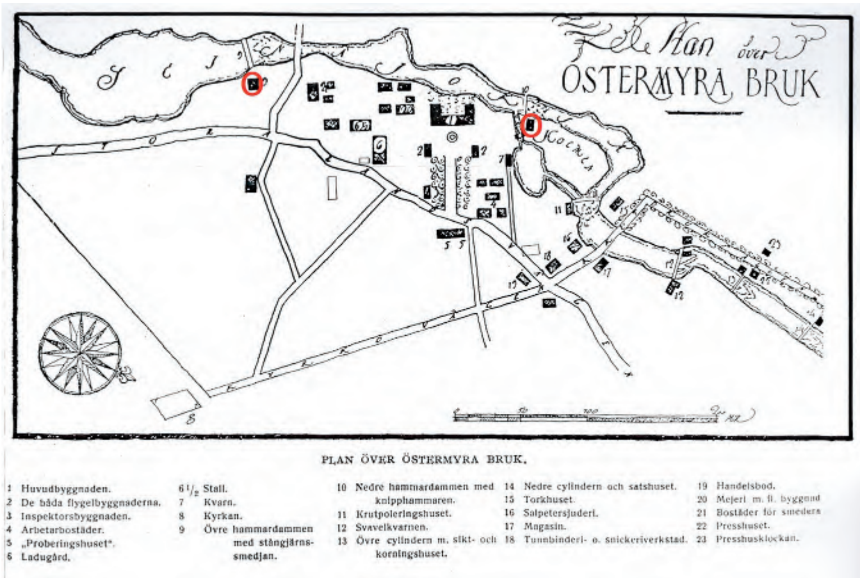

Figure 9.1. Map of the Östermyra iron mill (1798–1880). Smithies, marked in red by the author, are located on an island and in the utmost corner of the mill area. (Picture: Seinäjoki Museum archives.)

The fairy tale 'The smith and the Devil' might be the oldest fairy tale known, dating 6000 years back (Tehrani and da Silva 2016), and it is thus also the oldest story about the smith and the Devil. In this tale, the smith gives his soul to the Devil in exchange for his professional skills. This kind of trade is a common motif in most Devil stories. *Mythologia Fennica,* written in 1786, is a dictionary of the creatures and places of Finnish folk stories. The book introduces the Devil as a smith and agitator: 'Piru, djefvulen, perkele: agitator and smith, forges arrows that spread diseases' and 'Fiery perkele' because as a smith he deals with fire and melts iron (Ganander 1984 [1786]: 70). Björklund (2018) has studied myths related to smiths using FLS FA data revealing that smiths were often described as wizards. Björklund has also taken a brief look at the Devil and smith stories. One typical story tells about the Devil asking a smith a favour, for example nailing a horseshoe to his hoof or providing a place to rest or food, but the Devil ends up fooled and does not get the smith's soul as promised. In the earliest stories, the smith learned his skills from the Devil on purpose or by accident or tried to banish him with fire and strength, but in the most recent stories (1950s), the smith uses the Bible for deportation. Based on this, Björklund interprets that the influence of Christianity becomes visible in stories as time goes by. The Christian church was hostile to smiths because of the heathen qualities attached to them (Björklund 2018: 46–53). An old folk tale about the first smith in Finland (Lönnrot 1840, rune no. 94 'The first smith [*Ensimmäinen rautio*]') tells how an axe was invented when the Devil entered a forge and revealed how to forge weld (Tegengren 1918: 116). A typical outcome for stories is that the smith ends up banned from Hell and Heaven (Westermarck 1897; Appendix 9.1 N:o 1). The smith was not the only one connected with the Devil: 'the simple folk', as a newspaper calls them in the 19th century, thought that gunpowder-makers (who also deal with fire and transform matter) learned their skills, 'strange magic tricks', from the Devil (see Unknown author 1856; Ahlfors 1929: 50).

Like saunas and other places where fire was handled, smithies were associated with frightening and supernatural attributes (see Simonsuuri 2017: 327–332). Smithies and later factories, that is, sites of metallurgy, were places where fire, iron, and special skills were present, which is why non-human attributes and creatures were attached to these places. The smith's frightening character was strengthened with stories of a guardian spirit of the forge. Having a guardian spirit involved corpses. When a smith received an order to make coffin nails, he nailed one nail per order in the smithy's wall. When certain number of nails, or corpses (usually nine), was reached, the smithy received a guardian spirit (Appendix 9.1 N:o 2). The spirit made a hammering noise when the smith was absent, guarding the place against thieves (e.g. Appendix 9.1 N:o 3; Appendix 9.1 N:o 4). The threat of facing this frightening creature was an efficient deterrent against entering a smithy without permission. The spirit is portrayed as an ugly creature with long teeth (Appendix 9.1 N:o 5) or as kalma (meaning death), otherwise called 'waste from the graveyard', as in a story from Suistamo, previously Eastern Finland (today in Russia) (Appendix 9.1 N:o 6). Hukantaival (2017) has also found evidence of human remains used as a guardian spirit in a smithy. According to Hukantaival, so far the only Finnish example of human remains as a protective building concealment comes from Perho in Western Finland, where a human hand was said to have been hidden under the furnace in the smithy as protection against thieves (Hukantaival 2017: 136. See also Goldhahn & Oestigaard 2008: 224). These two examples of human remains in a smithy come from opposite parts of the country and from different cultural contexts. They imply that even though the tradition of hiding human remains under furnaces might not have been common, it was something people had heard of as being possible, and this was enough to give the feeling of otherworldly things being present at smithies.

9.3. The eerie materiality of metallurgy: The body and the workplace seen as non-human

The difference between ordinary people and smiths, also those employed by industry, was manifested in corporeality. The appearance and features of a smith's body evoke feelings ranging from fear to astonishment, which were emotions close to religious experiences, as discussed above. Heat and soot had turned the clothes of industrial smiths ragged and blackened their faces, and even their beards were burned (Nirkko et al. 1990: 42, 94). Even today, smiths' working positions cause their bodies to become slightly twisted: the hammering arm is usually larger and the back is bent (personal information, smith from Manalan paja 2019). Many old industrial smiths had disabilities such as poor hearing or vision (Nirkko et al. 1990: 102; Lehtiö 2007: 40). Bodily functions are also altered. Smiths sweat less (personal information, smith from Manalan paja 2019) and are able to handle hot iron. The inability to feel the heat is a result of dry skin and pores clogged by coal dust. The ability to bear heat is one of the Devil's features. This seemingly non-human physical ability connected the smith to the Devil. The mystery of the fire-resistant body of certain professionals has been contemplated already at the beginning of industrialization. A newspaper explained the phenomenon as follows in 1836: The skin of smelters, smiths, and others working with fire becomes hard and numb. They can grab a hot ember and iron or put their hands-on molten lead because their skin is so dry (Unknown author 1836: 187).

9.3.1. The archaeology of industrial forge ruins

Smithies have left behind scant and scattered archaeological evidence, because in many cases both industrial and small-scale smithies ended up burning. Many industrial smithies burned down and were rebuilt several times. After production ended, they were abandoned and exposed to the destructive powers of nature. Due to this, the only remains left of most industrial smithies are stone structures or foundations (see Härö 1980–1982, 1980–1985, 1980–1984, 1980–1994). Sometimes, in the case of intentional abandonment, smithy sites were carefully cleaned and all materials were taken somewhere else (see Koivisto 2010: 34). However, some objects associated with beliefs and magical thinking might have remained behind in spite of cleaning and destruction because of their deposition place underneath the furnace. According to Hukantaival's interpretation, in the intentionally cleaned smithy excavated by Andreas Koivisto (2010) and yielding only a few finds, one of the finds was most likely a building concealment. Underneath the supposed furnace, Koivisto unearthed a piece of iron slag that, according to Hukantaival, was buried there for protection, suggesting the tradition of a guardian spirit of the smithy (Hukantaival 2017: 339). Smithies may have borne marks of belief on wooden structures similar to the above-mentioned rows of coffin nails on the wall. Building concealments placed underneath the floor ranged from coins to iron slag, and there are even stories of human remains (Hukantaival 2017: 80, 87, 97).

Archaeological work done at industrial sites (like iron mills) has mostly consisted of documenting structures and field surveying. As I searched through the mill data of the Finnish Heritage Agency (FHA), I noted that no specific archaeological information has been collected about industrial forges or smithies. The only archaeological excavation carried out in a such place in Finland is the excavation of the Kimo mill hammer smithy in 1994, but unfortunately the excavation report was never sent to the FHA (personal information, Vuoristo 2019). As recently as ten years ago, archaeology was not considered as the primary method of studying industrial ruins (see Niukkanen 2009: 59), which explains the lack of archaeological data. Recently, interest in studying industrial sites by socio-archaeological methods has increased (see Äikäs and Ylimaunu 2019; Hyttinen 2019).

9.3.2. Mills as haunted places

The Devil, Hell, and similar horror imagery was repeatedly used in articles that described smiths and sites of early industrial metallurgy (Fig. 9.2). They were described as haunted places, which is clearly another manifestation of the 'sacral fear of machines', as Mikkola calls the fear of planes, bicycles, and other mechanical novelties (Mikkola 2009: 209). Many 19th-century stories that describe visits to fac-

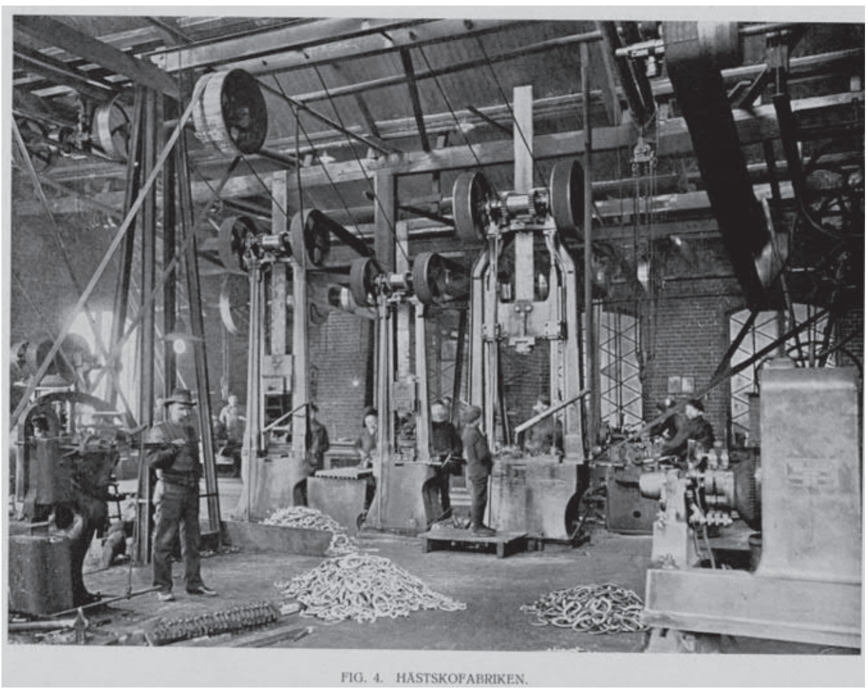

Figure 9.2. Inha mill horseshoe factory, a site of industrial metallurgy. Shoes for the Devil's hoof in the making? Illustration from *Tidskriften Teknikern* 1901. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

tories use language in which frightening creatures and a spooky atmosphere appear repeatedly. Industrial metal casting was described in 1864 as follows: ”Now all gutters are filled and we see something that looks like a fabric woven by *hiisi*s (*hiisi* is a non-human creature in Finnish folklore, a troll similar to the Devil, and a place similar to Hell. See Ganader 1984 [1786]: 14). One stripe is black, another is glowing golden red. *Hiisi*s walk around the fabric, trowel it, fix the ends of the rug and finally cover everything with gravel” (Unknown author 1864). In another story, upon approaching the factory, the writer ”feels something strange, like a foretaste of Hell” and sees mill workers who are blackened from soot ”move like ghosts” and ”look rather like Devils than men”. Factory machinery ”leads one’s mind to diverse thoughts, they resemble the eerie rascals of fairy tales” (K...nen, pseudonym 1907: 43–44). A visitor to the Östermyra iron and gunpowder factory described factory buildings in horror themes as well. The refiner engine generated ‘death energy’ and the water channel was ‘the black river of the underworld’. The smithy reminded the writer of a priest’s sermon and the Hell-related words used in it. The gunpowder factory brought to mind ”the story of the fire and brimstone of Sodom”. As a contrast to the horrific factory buildings, the gardens and other surroundings of the mill area are described as being beautiful and in good order (Olli-Setä, pseudonym 1914), which reflects typical ideas related to the resistance to modernization, where familiar things such as nature are good, whereas machinery, which is a new and complex thing, is bad. A factory is depicted as a Hell scene also in a labour propaganda story called ‘The priest and the Devil’, which was published in many Finnish magazines and newspapers at the beginning of the 20th century. In this story, which is said to have been written by Dostoevsky, the Devil takes a priest to see the horrors of people’s everyday life. The first stop is an iron mill (Fig. 9.3), which appears to be such a hot and harsh place that the priest begs the Devil for permission to ”leave this Hell” (Muuan vanki [A prisoner], pseudonym 1908: 187).

Figure 9.3. Illustration for the story ‘The priest and the Devil’ from the magazine *Liekki*, Vol 3, 1924. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

Edensor (2005: 835) argues that the urge to feel the presence of ghosts and supernatural beings in spaces and places is connected to remembering the past, especially the spatialization of memory. Haunted places usually represent old and familiar things that have somehow become different and thus scary. Edensor (2005: 829) talks about old factory ruins and how people today sense ghosts in them, but I see no reason why the same phenomenon would not have existed already when those factories were new. Edensor continues ”because of imperatives to bury the past too swiftly in search of the new, modernity is haunted [...]” and it is easy to understand that the people who visited factories and later described their experiences in ghostly tones had the feeling that the familiar had been changed into something new and strange because factories were spaces where old and new mixed. The task of metallurgy had already in earlier days been strongly attached to non-human beings such as guardian spirits and the Devil, and those ideas followed into modernity. Seeing factories with anonymous workers moving by the fire and oddly shaped machines might even have strengthened the feeling of weirdness. According to Mikkola (2009: 211), the tendency to interpret material signs of modernization as the Devil's work was an internal scheme that was based on a person's world view and activated spontaneously upon seeing the new technology for the first time. Modern phenomena may actually strengthen people's faith in magic and the supernatural, which will be discussed later. Also in later stories from the 20th century, factories are viewed as mysterious places because of the sensory perceptions they evoke. Facing modernization for the first time no longer explains these feelings. A story from the Jyrkkä mill relates that in the early 20th century, locals used to gather to watch the factory on dark Sunday evenings in the autumn, when the molten iron was let out and flames shed light on the factory itself and the dark night sky (Nirkko et al. 1990: 94). A memory related to the Haapakoski mill was recalled: ”There has always been something fascinating about the mill. The mysterious colours of the molten iron, the sounds of heavy hammers hitting, the rugged screaming of the steel, the mysterious rumble of rails...” (Nirkko et al. 1990: 98). As seen on magazine covers (Fig. 4), factories were depicted as playing an active role in military business, which also strengthened the evil attributes attached to industrialization.

9.3.3. The corporeality of the smith: Fireproof body, industrial body

People living in 19th-century Finland shared beliefs and habits related to handling fire. Fire was associated with fire *väki* and guardian spirits of fire, who were especially powerful, even the most powerful of all guardian spirits (Appendix 9.1 N:o 7). Fire had to be respected. It might take revenge on those who behaved disrespectfully towards it and cause destruction. For example, swearing was forbidden while making fire (Appendix 9.1 N:o 8); you had to bless the fire instead (Appendix 9.1 N:o 9; Simonsuuri 2017: 327–328). If you had to use water to put out the fire, it had to be clean, since using dirty water would have been an insult (Appendix 9.1 N:o 10).

Smiths, however, handled fire in a way that was against the taboos. They swore (e.g. Paulaharju 1932: 80–81) and urinated on fire (Appendix 9.1 N:o 11). Even today, smiths describe the colours of the cast in vulgar terms like ‘reddish as a dog's penis' and ‘shit brown' (Personal information, smith from Manalan paja in March 2019; smith from Takomo Alkutuli in October 2019). In fact, a smithy was a place that emphasized masculinity, and the smith could ignore the norms of usual behaviour thanks to his skills. Obscene stories were told, and also Devil stories were used to highlight the smith's special character (Jäppinen 2014: 116). People must have felt that the combination of handling fire and arrogant behaviour was both wrong and risky, and a person who could act this way was not afraid of the supernatural powers of fire. The ability to control fire and the desire to express that skill was probably the main reason for this behaviour. In folklore stories, a smith is actually often presented primarily as someone who controls fire regardless of the situation. For example, a smith tells about having a wooden capsule around the fireplace in his home: ”Well, there are means to curb the fire so that it does not burn” (Appendix 9.1 N:o 12). Another smith explained why he can touch hot iron: ”Fire does not burn his friend” (Appendix 9.1 N:o 13). This attitude was represented also in the industrial context. A boast from the Jyrkkä mill in 1885 claims: ”I pack my socks with fire and my boots with embers” (Appendix 9.1 N:o 14).

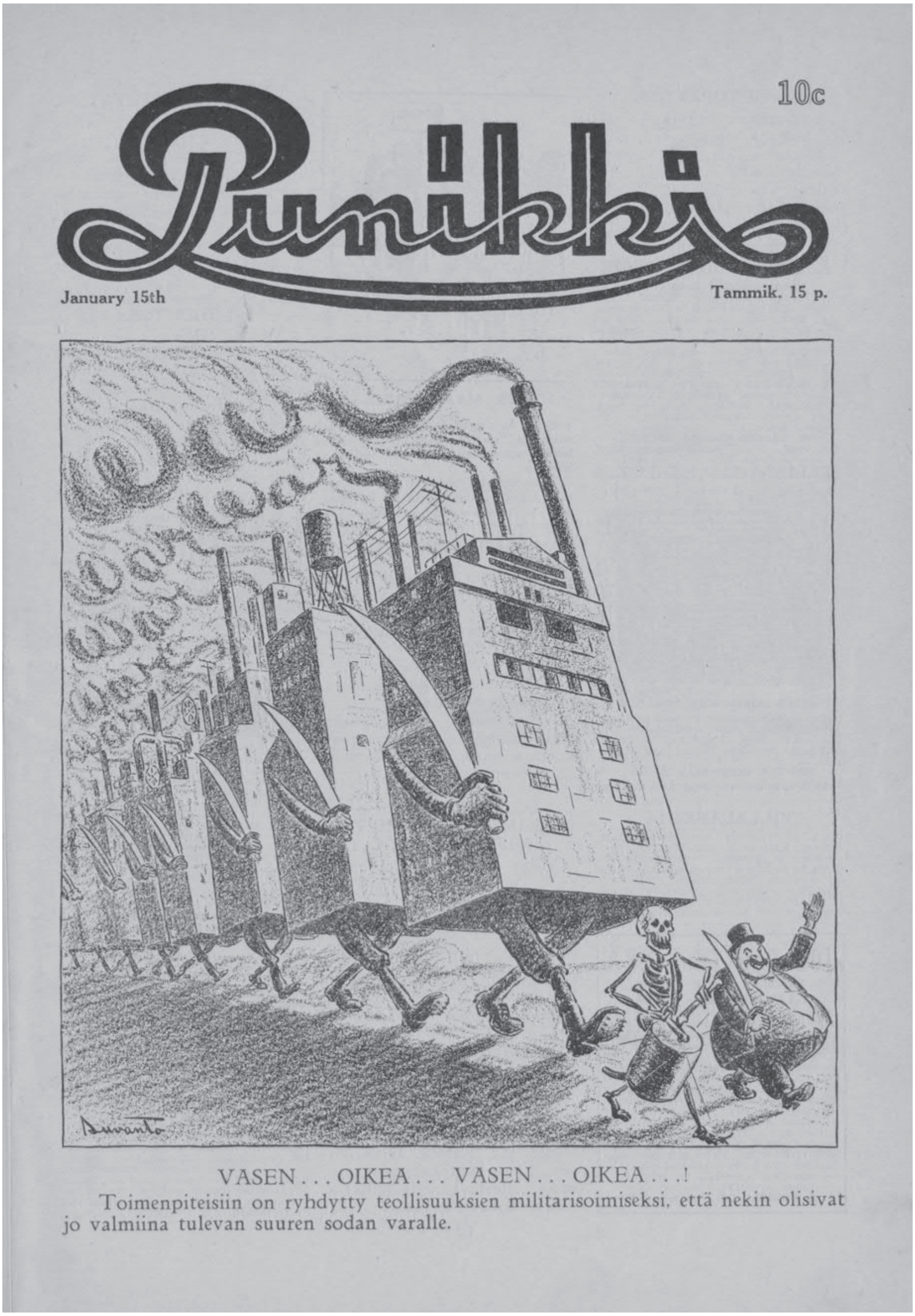

Figure 9.4. Evil factories. Magazine cover from *Punikki* 1928. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

Touching hot iron and other tricks have been a common source of amusement for smiths, especially if there was an audience. The tricks might have been a form of showing professional pride, a way of pointing out their extraordinary relationship with fire, which strengthened the myth of the special character of their bodily skills. As late as in the 20th century, in Toivakka it was considered an act of magic when a smith could drag a sizzling hot scythe over his hands without being burned in the least. Before performing the trick he had dipped his hands in water and ashes (Appendix 9.1 N:o 15). Another smith took glowing iron slag from the furnace and rubbed it onto his hands as though it were soap without suffering any burns (Appendix 9.1 N:o 16). Fire tricks were present also in the industrial context. Oral history collected in 1893 tells of a smith from the Leineperi mill: ”There used to be a smith in the Leineperi mill who was able to hold a glowing red iron and carry it around and his hands did not burn at all” (Appendix 9.1 N:o 17). The endurance of a smith's body was also the subject of an article written in 1864 that illustrated industrial iron-making in a mill that remains unknown: ”[...] the heat chased us viewers to the corners of the building where we were able to wonder at this amazing sight without feeling like we were suffocating. [...] It is amazing to see these men at work: it seems as if fire were their element, they move right next to its glowing stream and stoke it with their iron bars. As if their bodies were not made of flesh and bone that could scorch and burn. Sometimes, if there is an audience present, someone swipes his hand through the flames that flare out of the oven” (Unknown author 1864). The text above is interesting because it starts out as an educational piece about iron-making with the scientific viewpoint represented by cross-section pictures of a blast furnace, but when it comes to the mill workers, the tone turns poetic and non-human terms are used to describe the bodies of the workmen. Workers and viewers are divided by their corporeality in relation to the task performed. Corporeality in the context of early industrial work is a subject for a whole other study (on bodies in general, see Borić and Robb 2008; Slavishak 2008 for a holistic study of the many narratives of the working male body). In this chapter, my focus on corporeality is on how supernatural and non-human elements in metallurgy were linked to the materiality of the work, that is, the body and the site. It seems that for viewers, the corporeality of past labourers consisted of a mixture of supernatural and professional skills that were manifested in how their body reacted to fire.

As the industrialization process continued in the beginning of the 20th century, the strong, fire-resistant body of a smith seems to have become a political symbol of the worker class, an iconic industrial body (see Slavishak 2008). The shirtless, muscular smith with a big hammer was a common theme on covers and other illustrations of political magazines, and variations on this theme form the majority of my image data (Fig. 9.5). Smiths are represented from an extremely corporeal aspect. They are depicted shirtless despite the fact that in reality they wore heavy protective clothing, such as leather aprons and goggles (Nirkko et al. 1990: 94. See Fig. 9.6. However, a newspaper article argues that many accidents in metallurgy would have been easy to prevent if only workers wore the protective clothing they are offered. See Hall 1926). Attention is paid to bodies and power, which highlights masculinity. In comparison, industrialists are shown as old, plump, tiny, unmasculine men (Fig. 9.7; Fig. 9.4). These pictures were made for political purposes, but their symbolism is borrowed from the old myths about the smith's extraordinary corporeal features and power. Corporeality is an essential part of the work. Senses and bodily experiences were important in early metallurgy. The process was observed via the sound, smell, colour, and feel of the material (Kuijpers 2013: 143–144). Corporeality, as Kuijpers (2013) puts it, is the skill of using one's senses in a way that leads to the desired outcome. The tricks that smiths did are related to same ability to observe metal with their senses, which was why they were able to determine when it was safe to touch the hot metal. In the illustrations above, however, these sophisticated bodily skills are not represented, only raw muscular power. At the same time, propaganda stories suggest that these men were victims who suffered from the heat and heavy work at factories. In textual sources, the industrial body is referred to as a source of power. For example, a poem called ‘Steel hell' describes mill workers as ”harsh and sooty men, wounded by metal and fire” (Untamo pseudonym: 1922), which is the opposite of the message in the pictures.

Figure 9.5. Shirtless smith figures from several labour magazines. Common features are the unprotected body, masculine features, and a hammer. All of these symbols, or at least some, appear in several illustrations. Illustrations from magazines, top left to right: *Tie vapauteen* 1926, *Tie vapauteen* 1929. Bottom left to right: *Uuden ajan kynnyksellä* 1915, Tie vapauteen 1929, *Eteenpäin* 1909. (Pictures: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

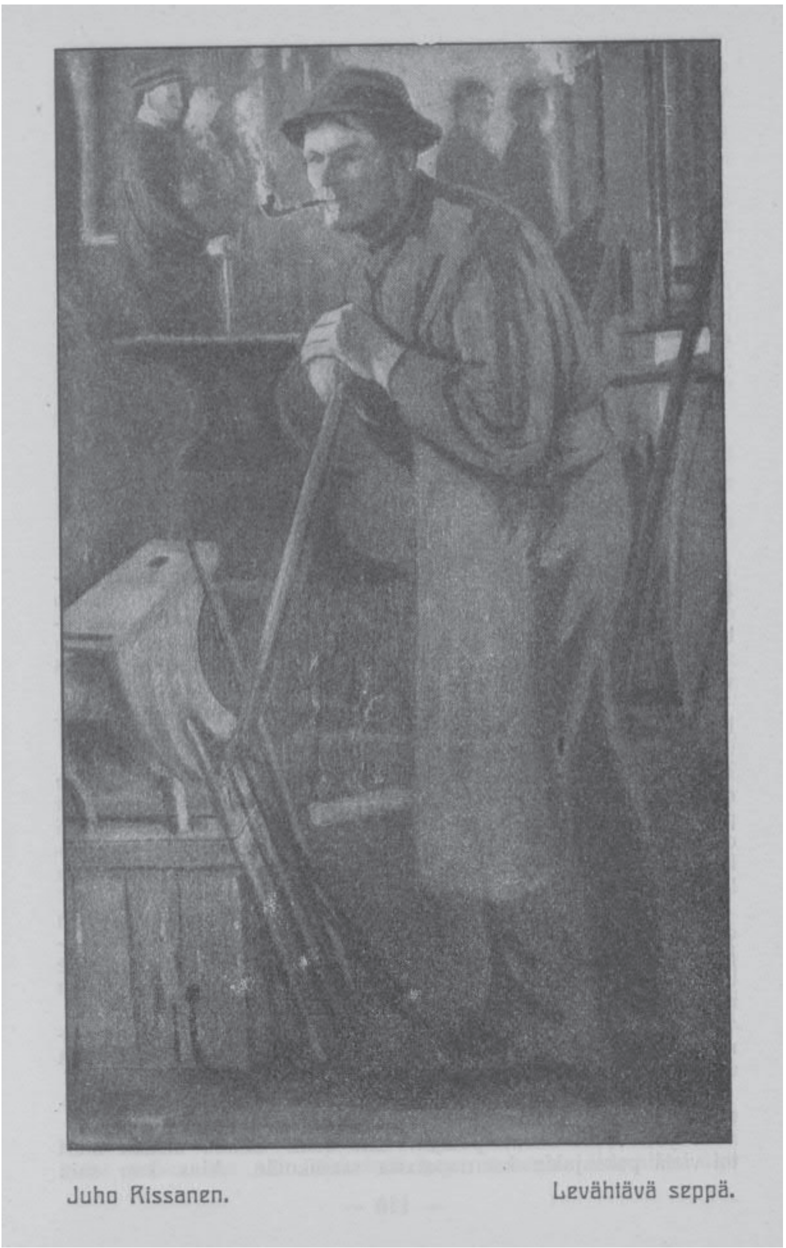

Figure 9.6. Juho Rissanen's drawing 'A resting smith' represents an industrial smith in protective clothing. Illustration for the magazine *Uuden ajan kynnyksellä* 1907. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

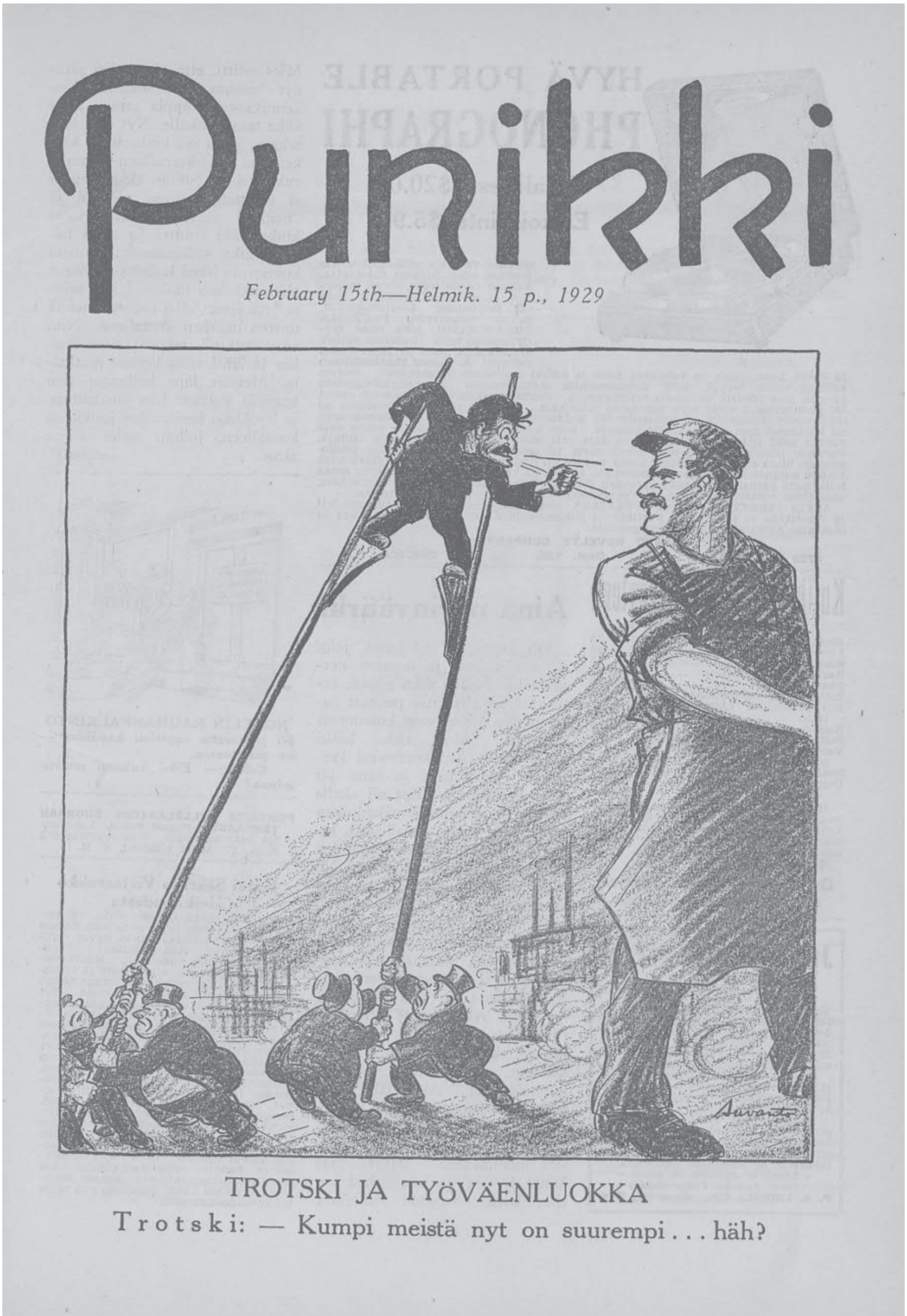

Figure 9.7. Unmasculine industrialists and a strong heroic smith with factories as a background. Cover illustration of the magazine *Punikki* 1929. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

9.3. Magical thinking in the industrial context

Christianity and early industry were interlinked in the iron mills of the 17th to 19th centuries in Finland and Sweden. Mills had their own churches, priests, and graveyards, so that Christianity was visible in the material culture of industrial spaces. The lifestyle of mill communities resembled the modern lifestyle of cities in contrast to the countryside around them (Monié Nordin 2012: 152). However, traditional folk religion and magic seem to have been practised in mill communities still in the 19th century. Only 3% of Finns were employed in industry in the 19th century (Talve 1980: 267), and considering the marginal nature of the industrial lifestyle, there are surprisingly many examples of magic from mill communities (magic was used, for example, in searching for the mill's cow that had run away (Appendix 9.1 N:o 18), preparing for hunting (Appendix 9.1 N:o: 19), and healing different kinds of diseases and pains (Appendix 9.1 N:o: 20). Mill residents were also scared of ghosts and believed in premonitions (e.g. Gustafsson 1974: 20)).

Mill buildings and iron objects in a mill context had also links to magical thinking. At least some mill buildings were protected by building concealments. The main building of the Karstula Kiminki mill was protected by placing a coin between the first log and the corner (Appendix 9.1 N:o 21). At its opening ceremony, the Kiminki mill was claimed to be the most modern factory in Finland (Nirkko et al. 1990: 22). At the Junosuvanto mill, a spell was cast to enchant the iron before starting to work on an axe or other iron tools (Appendix 9.1 N:o 22). At the Harjavalta mill, a ritual called 'the Barbaara tradition' was followed, which meant that when an oven was ready, builders went in to banish Barbaara, an evil spirit that had to be exiled from the oven. If this was not done, the oven could collapse or crack or "for sure something would happen in this oven". This ritual was performed for every oven in the Harjavalta mill as late as the 1950s (Nirkko et al. 1990: 179).

In premodern Finland, material culture had two roles. Objects were used for their primary functions in everyday tasks, but at the same time they represented supernatural powers (*väki*) depending on their material and use. For example, a knife represented iron and fire *väki* because it was made of iron with fire. There were several *väki* forces, like those of earth, fire, iron, and water (Hukantaival has drawn up a good summary of *väki* in terms of material culture, see Hukantaival 2017: 52–53, 141; fig. 45). Objects made of iron (i.e. made by a smith) were thought to have supernatural powers because they were made with fire *väki*. According to one saying, 'forge *väki*' was the most powerful kind of *väki* (Appendix 9.1 N:o 23).

Factory-made metal objects were important in many modern spells. To cure eye disease, you "had to use a mill-made knife so as not to know who had made it" (Appendix 9.1 N:o 24). A spell for getting back stolen goods required "a knife that still has the factory label visible [...]" (Appendix: 25), and a spell for treating snakebite required "a factory-made knife" (Appendix 9.1 N:o 26). Anonymity was an important feature for a charm because personal powers associated with objects made by someone known could be dangerous. That is why broken and found objects (often prehistoric) were preferred as charms (Hukantaival 2017: 140). Issakainen (2012: 136) says about the anonymity of charms: "[...] the charm has to be really old. A typical example of this idea is "a knife whose maker is unknown"". Consequently, modern factory-made objects were assimilated with prehistoric ones. Industrialization did not cause the supernatural features of iron objects to disappear but added a new dimension to the magic, making iron objects even more powerful charms because of the guaranteed anonymity proven by the factory label.

Metallurgy has sometimes been regarded as the first 'science' and a step towards rational thinking (Kuijpers 2013: 139), but it has turned out that the skill was carried on through a series of secret information (Budd and Taylor 1995: 136–138) rather than scientific methods. Thus, the urge to define the starting point of pure rationality has led to the assumption that industrial metallurgy at last was scientific, standardized, and rational. Still, even as late as in the 1940s, the metal industry in Finland was mostly based on hands-on experience. ”When something went wrong, people relied on magic tricks or just waited until everything worked again, even though nobody knew why” (Nirkko et al. 1990: 163). Komu (2019) has argued that a lot of this kind of wishful and non-rational thinking still exists today, for example, in the mining business. Industry-made charms prove that industrialization was not a step towards rationality in a way that would eliminate all non-rational aspects from metallurgy. Budd and Taylor (1995: 140) write about metallurgy getting more industrialized (meaning organized and centralized) in prehistory: ”There is no reason to see why power and charisma, once channeled via the spectacular alchemy of metallurgy, should have moved away from it […].”, and I would assume that this is valid also with regard to the later industrialization process. The factory seal represented both modern technology and power as a charm. Issakainen (2012: 53) also argues that modern phenomena and objects were adopted as instruments of magic, and they may even have maintained belief in magic.

The connection between folk beliefs and industrialization is illustrated in a spell that was used in Suomussalmi in the early 20th century for healing wounds made by metal objects. ”A wolf ran in the swamplands, a bear ran in the woodlands, the swamplands arose in the wolf's pawprints, the woodlands arose in the bear's footprints, thus grew an iron mill” (Appendix 9.1 N:o 27). The poem is a variant of the ninth rune of the *Kalevala* (the Finnish national epic, which consists of folk poetry collected in the 19th century), 'the origin of iron', in which the things that arose from the animals' paws were related to pre-industrial metallurgy. The spell combines folk beliefs and industrialization. The old poem is modified into the birth story of a modern phenomenon mixing sacred animals and industrial buildings. Another layer is added by the fact that the spell has probably been used for healing wounds caused by industrially made metal objects.

9.4. The Devil and the labour movement: The old myth reinterpreted

Stalinism in the 1920s cherished embodied worker heroes who built a new world. Religious symbols, mythology, and discourse related to Heaven and Hell are present in Stalinist industrial projects like the building of the Moscow metro, which was planned as 'a paradise built in the underworld', seen as some kind of holy place of Stalinism. The whole project was 'mythologically saturated' (Lives 2009: 83–84. See also Boer 2007: 447). Lives (2009: 84) argues:

”[...] the worker's lack of technical know-how or of the proper equipment is promoted as a virtue, since it allows her or him to press beyond a mechanistic worldview into the realm of utopian construction proper. This, in turn, mirrors what several scholars have described as Stalinist culture's marginalization of technical and professional languages in favour of a single, quasi-religious or mythological superdiscourse. Human beings, it was argued, are characterized by their ability to press beyond available norms into the realm of the fantastic and the miraculous. Man − not machine − is born to make the fairy tale come true.”

I would argue that this idea may be a counterpart to the fear of machines that people felt in the early years of the modernization process. The idea was made visible via the pictures discussed above. The shirtless smith figure is a symbol of these ideas, and it borrows from ancient stories of the smith's extraordinary skills. The cover illustration of a magazine from 1930 shows this idea via a smith figure depicted as a god creating a world of machines (Fig. 9.8) and in a way returning the 'natural' order where humans rule and machinery is no longer frightening.

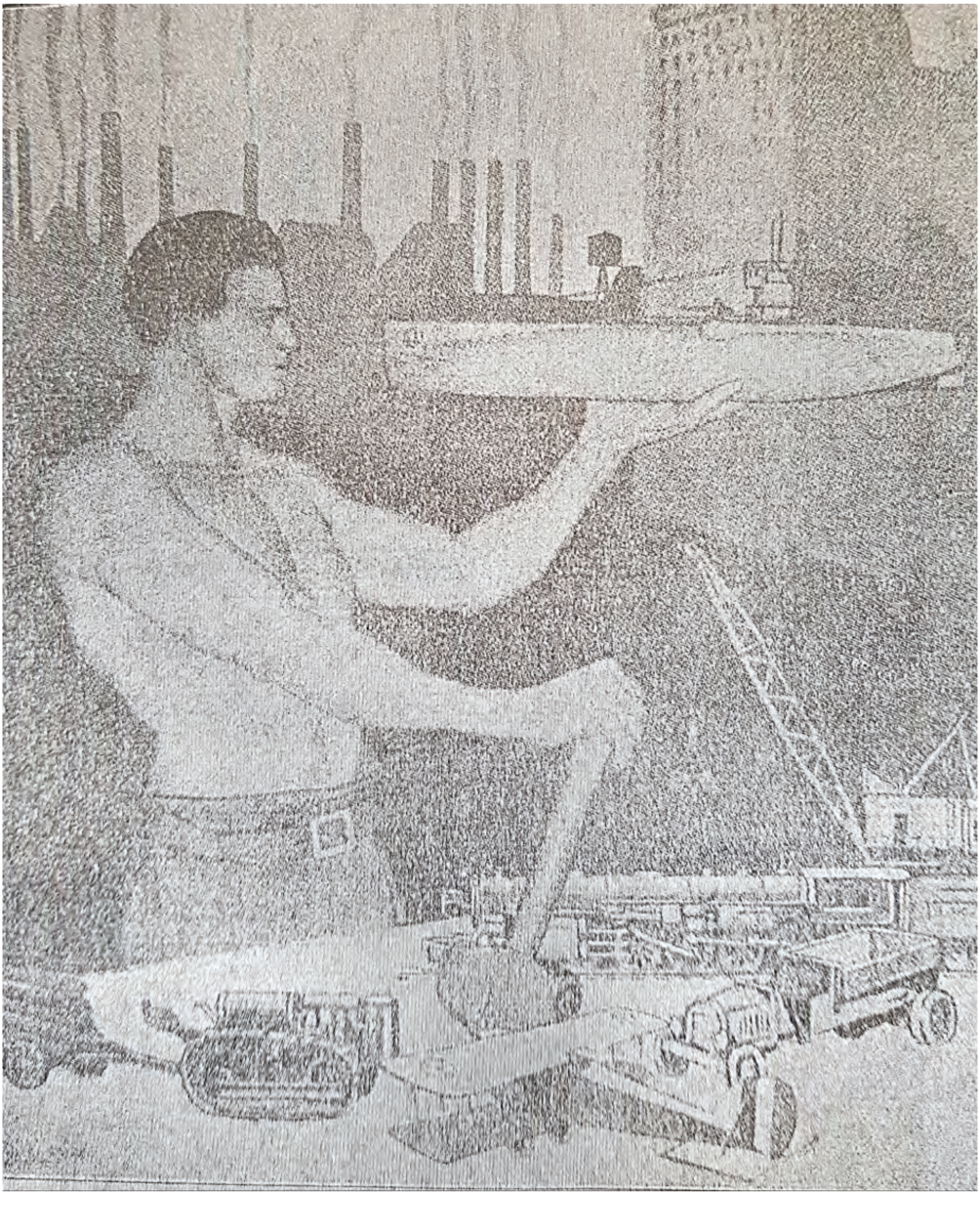

Figure 9.8. A god-like industrial body, a smith figure creating planes, ships, and other machines. Cover of the magazine *Tie vapauteen* 1930. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

9.4.1. The Devil and early factory owners

Linking the Devil with factory owners started already decades before the labour movement in the 19th century. One typical form of Finnish folklore Devil stories is the story of the Devil who enters a factory owner's estate and has to be exorcized by priest. The priest asks the Devil to enter via a hole made in the lead that supports windowpanes (see Simonsuuri 2017: 231). Usually the owners are referred to as freemasons (Simonsuuri 2017: 231–233) who have made a deal with the Devil and promised him their souls for some benefit in return. The exorcist was needed when the Devil returned to claim his prize. In the Seinäjoki version of this story, told in the Östermyra mill in the 19th century, the Devil comes to the Östermyra mill several times wanting to see the owner and buy some gunpowder because the owner has been buying and selling so much that ”the Devil was interested too”. However, the owner soon noticed that ”he is not a man even though he looks like a man”. When the priest finally exiled the Devil through the hole in the lead, a snowstorm hit the mill area, covering everything in snow. This was later named 'the mill owner's storm' (Kivisaari 1969). The fact that all this happened because of the owner's deal with the Devil was left unmentioned, but points of resemblance with other versions allow us to assume this between the lines. The informant says that the owner never sealed the deal and that is why the Devil kept coming, which is a typical feature in these stories. The Devil wanted to claim his part of the deal.

The Östermyra example fits the typical pattern. Factory and mansion owners have generally been attached to the Devil. There is a saying: ”this way, said the Devil to the factory owner” (Pulkkinen and Lindfors 2016: 257), and also Forsberg states in his study of conflicts between mill owners and workers that ”in stories owners were frequently allied with the Devil” (Forsberg 2014: 160). Åström (1995) mentioned the same in her studies, which discuss the attitudes of Finnish-speaking peasants towards mansion owners. It appears that the non-human was attached to owners in many negative ways. The origin of the mansion and its owners was explained as one of the Devil's misdeeds (the Devil had dropped them on earth). Their actions were explained with connections to the Devil, and ghosts and other horrific things were linked to mansions (Åström 1995: 211–212). The luxurious material culture they shared was also attached to the Devil (Mikkola 2009: 213).

Åström focused primarily on mansions and beliefs attached to them, but these conclusions have links to industry, as early industry and mansion culture were both practised by the Swedish-speaking nobility. The nobility and ordinary mill workers had a lot in common. The mansion as the main building was an essential part of early industrial complexes. Some of the mansions Åström studied included small-scale industry, like sawmills and dairy industry (RKY 2019). Otherness and disparity culminated and became visible through the language barrier (the nobility spoke Swedish), different and new sources of livelihood (industry), and a different lifestyle (mansions), which were the reasons why both noblemen and industry workers were linked to the Devil by residents. Locals used to call the Östermyra mill workers devils (Alanen 1970: 281). The nickname evolved from the same otherness that was felt towards the mansion owners.

9.4.2. The Devil and industrialists

When the Devil had thus begun to appear also as an ally of the factory owners, it was easy for the 20th-century labour movement to continue the story. Newspapers and magazines published stories where horror imagery and the Devil were attached to manufacturing, but whereas earlier the factory itself as a material space had awakened thoughts of the non-human, now the evil was seen in the ideology behind it, namely capitalism. Just as in the case of the older stories, it was typical that the same stories circulated. One widespread story was 'The priest and the Devil' which was published in Finnish in several magazines in the early 20th century.

A text from 1902 tells about Satan, ”a hideous, nasty ghost from the brimstone world”, and his travels. He has three favourite places: marriages, sites of business, and factories. In factories he provokes workers to strike and even tries get them to blow up the owner's office with dynamite. Satan visits the owner as well and tries to give him ideas of how to exploit the workers even more. Finally he burns the whole factory while laughing: ”Such fire and smoke! I love smoke!” (Unknown author 1902).

Strikes are a typical element in these stories. In 'The Devil and the scab' (1909), the Devil finds out that workers are planning strikes. The Devil participates in meetings as an infiltrator and tries to prevent the strikes because he wants the workers to stay poor and oppressed. He is afraid strikes would change that. He makes a deal with a scab. Finally the scab and his family end up suffering and ”thereof may the Devil and factory owner rejoice, since they managed to turn a glimmer into even gloomier darkness” (D. T., pseudonym 1909: 7). A poem from 1922 calls people to strike and calls mills ”brutal iron hells” (Untamo, pseudonym 1922).

On the other hand, one typical feature of the Finnish folklore Devil is that he is sometimes friendly, and in some of these stories he sides with the workers. In 'Workmen and the Devil' (1908), the Devil saves workers from evil owners and hires them for his own factory, where the labour force is treated well. The owners meet the Devil to negotiate how to get the workers back. The Devil tells them about his factory's good conditions: he provides the best level of occupational safety and health, including eight-hour workdays, friendly treatment, and the right to strike and unionize (Unknown author 1908: 67–70). Klemettinen (1995) quotes oral history from 1939 that relates how the problem of haunting was solved in a certain house because the Devil left the house to work in a factory.

A Finnish magazine cover from 1909 (Fig. 9.9) shows an industrial version of the ancient theme, the struggle between the smith and the Devil. The iconic smith figure, the industrial body, has triumphed over the evil creature. The red colour and defiant composition refer to labour-related political

Figure 9.9. A smith fighting a devil-like evil creature. Cover of *Punanen Häme* 1909. (Picture: Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.)

ideas, showing labourers winning industrialists, or maybe a skilled male body winning modernization and machines. However, this picture borrows imagery dating thousands of years back. The evil beast, metallurgy, and the body of a man – these are the basic elements that have their origins in prehistory and the dawn of metallurgy. The picture shows that the connection between the Devil and the smith still exists in the industrial context. It does not matter whether this was an intentional reinterpretation of an old myth or the myth living on naturally in a slightly altered form, because in both cases the main point is that people considered the smith and the Devil as symbols that belonged together regardless of what those symbols meant in certain pictures. The picture summarizes how industrialization affected beliefs and myths related to tasks that were changed through the process of industrialization. Forges moved into workshops, but the Devil moved too. Non-human elements did not disappear as old-fashioned out of modernity's way. Stories of horrific factories and the Devil messing around in the labour movement tell us that lots of absurd things were attached to industry and that it should be viewed as a potentially silly, non-rational, and surprising phenomenon, as everything we humans do.

9.5. Discussion

In this chapter, I sought to answer questions about how industrialization changed the link between the smith and the Devil and how physical examples of work and the supernatural changed over time. It seems that these elements were linked during the period of industrialization and continue to be linked. The physical examples through which non-human powers were manifested in the context of metallurgy remained the same: the worker's body and the workplace.

The relationship between the Devil and metallurgy can be divided into three periods. The oldest originated in prehistory and the mystification of the skill of controlling fire and transforming matter with it. The non-human teacher of that skill visits smiths regularly, so forges are seen as places where the Devil and other creatures might appear. The second period in the second half of the 19th century continues with the old traditions of attaching horrific, supernatural terms to metallurgy, forges, and smiths by describing relatively new industrial metallurgy like mills as places, their workmen, owners, machines, and industrial processes in the same terms. The third period at the beginning of the 20th century exploits the imagery related to factories, the Devil, and Hell, which had become traditional by that time, to propagate the ideas of the labour movement. The mystification of the smith's strong, almost non-human body is used as a symbol for the strength of labourers in comparison to factory owners, who are ridiculed.

I would summarize that the main point of connection between the smith and the Devil has always been the human body and its skills and endurance. The elements of the myth (the combination of the human body with fire and metal, as well as the space in which the body has enacted with them) have remained stable, but the meanings given to different elements have changed depending on the time and place. Fire has been honoured and the ability to control it made the smith honoured, but in the 20th century, fire in the form of the heat of foundries and forges turned into a symbol of the labourer's misery. The smith's body had been admired for its strength and skills, but after industrialization that body was seen as exploited, wounded, and in need of freeing, although at the same time the old myth of the smith's non-human corporeality was used in pictures. Originally the smith and the Devil were linked by mastering fire and metallurgy, the Devil being the teacher of these skills. He both taught and bullied the smith and sometimes asked for his help. Other supernatural creatures in smithies were guardian spirits that originated from folk religion and were mixed with the Devil stories. In the industrial context, the factory seal became a guarantee of magic powers and the Devil begun to work in a broader field, becoming the partner of factory owners and helping them to get rich. Smiths ended up looking like devils when working by the fire that looked like the flames of Hell. Finally, when the labour movement begun to spread, the Devil was seen as attending strike meetings and setting up his own factories. He had an active role in agitating members in the labour movement. He had moved from metallurgy to politics. The Devil was a familiar character around industries because they were emblems of modernity, and modernization was in most people's opinion 'against God's will'. The result, according to folk theology, was that industry was ruled by the Devil.

The changing role of the Devil in the context of metallurgy is related to new phenomena and otherness, how it is treated, what attributes are attached to it, and finally what was considered as 'other' in certain periods. At first, the smith was different because he knew metallurgy and his body seemed different. Smithies were places where metallurgy took place and taboos were broken. Scary features were attached to these places that were unfamiliar to most people. After industrialization begun, otherness shifted from smiths to factory owners. They were Swedish-speaking nobles, and most mill workers shared some of these attributes, which also made them different. After industrialization took place on a larger scale, the Devil started to work with factory owners. Otherness and the attempt to highlight the inhumanity of the industrialists is obvious and easy to understand as the aim of telling such stories in general.

Altogether, the overview of the shared history of the Devil and metallurgy shows that superstition and stories of the non-human have taken place in the industrial context. Mills were places where, despite an external and superficial veneer of Christianity, old heathen customs related to controlling fire and the power of iron objects remained active. The mills were symbols of modernity, but this even strengthened the supernatural qualities attached to the subject. These ideas originated in prehistory and were later used for political benefit. Examining whether the tradition of building concealments continued at industrial sites would be a reasonable way to study how factories may have been guarded by means of supernatural and other beliefs in the industrial context. This would be best studied with archaeological methods. Because of the placement of such concealments, they have likely remained *in situ* despite fires and other destruction and they may be findable even if only stone structures remain. It would be easy to focus the excavations on certain areas underneath the furnace. This would be an interesting subject for further studies. As a result, I suggest that industrial archaeology take into consideration the existence of unexplained and supernatural aspects in industrial processes and the related material culture.

Noora Hemminki is a PhD student in archaeology at the University of Oulu, specializing in industrial archaeology. In her doctoral dissertation, she studies the modernization process through the lens of death and the supernatural within early modern industrial societies.

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N:o	Reference	Locality	Informant	Supernatural	Context	Dating	Collector
1	FLS FA E261	Kivijärvi	b. 1876	Devil	Smith banned from Heaven and Hell	1937	Jalmari Leppänen
2	FLS FA G901 10642	Rautavaara		Guardian spirit	Smithy	1885	Kaarle Crohn
3	FLS FA G901, 432	Joroinen		Guardian spirit	Smithy	1938	Kyllikki sutinen
4	FLS FA G901, 421	Kangaslampi		Guardian spirit	Smithy	1894	O.A.F. Lönnbohm
5	FLS FA G901, 89	Kiuruvesi		Guardian spirit's looks	Smithy	1936	Juho Nivalainen
6	FLS FA G 901, kt 135, 13	Suistamo (nowadays part of Russia)		Guardian spirit's looks	Smithy	1938	Stephan repo
7	FLS FA G IIII KRK 170, 120	Pielisjärvi		Fire väki	Fireplaces	-	Saarelainen J.V.
8	FLS FA G IIII KRK 126:285	Lammi	56 y. o. woman	Fire väki	Cursing by fire	-	Kinnari Yrjö
9	FLS FA KRK 25:803	Nakkila		Fire väki	Blessing the fire	-	Vihtori Grönroos
10	FLS FA, 634	Karstula		Fire väki	Insulting fire	1938	Albert Rautiainen
11	FLS FA	Kokemäki		Smith and fire	Urinatig	1893	O. Ahti
12	FLS FA D611 KT 58	Sysmä	b. 1871	Smith and fire	Nonflammable apartment	1938	Uurasmaa Hulda
13	FLS FA KRK 118:235	Tuusniemi		Smith and fire	Nonflammable body	1935	Otto Räsänen
14	FLS FA, SKVR, VI1, 3002, n. 15023 b.	Pielavesi	Mill worker 65 y. o.	Smith and fire	Nonflammable body	1885	Kaarle Krohn
15	FLS FA E201, KRK 75: 415	Toivakka	65 y. o.	Smith and hot iron	Nonflammable body	-	Valkeinen Jalmar
16	FLS FA KRK 78:31	Sulkava		Smith and hot iron	Nonflammable body	-	Karppinen Juhani
17	FLS FA	Kokemäki		Smith and hot iron	Mill, nonflammable body	1893	O. Ahti
18	FLS FA, SKVR, VII5, charms, 3976	Nurmes		Magic at mill	Wizard seeks for mills cow	1885	Kaarle Krohn
19	FLS FA, SKVR, VI2, 4874	Sonkajärvi	39 y.o. Heard the spell from older mill worker	Magic at mill	Good luck for hunting	1885	Kaarle Krohn
20	FLS FA, SKVR, X2, 4898			Magic at mill	Healing	1889	J. F. Ollinen
21	FLS FA, KRA	Karstula, Kiminki		Guarding the mill	Building concealment	1809, 1944	Albert Rautiainen
22	FLS FA, SKVR, XII2, 7774	Junosuvanto		Magic at mill	Enchanting iron	-	J. Paulaharju
23	FLS FA G901 TH 29:4	Evijärvi		Forge väki	Most powerful väki	1961	M. Järvinen
24	FLS FA, SKVR, VI2,			Magical powers of mill made objects	healing	1890	Vihtori Alava
25	FLS FA, SKVR, IX3, 1610	Iitti		Magical powers of mill made objects	Getting stolen things back	1902	R. Kojonen
26	FLS FA, SKVR, XI, 1429	Kortesjärvi		Magical powers of mill made objects	Snake bite treatment	1888	M. Nurmio
27	FLS FA, SKVR, XII2, 6684	Suomussalmi	75 y. o. wizard	Birth story	Iron mills origin, healing enchantment	1917	Samuli Paulaharju

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Photo essay

10
The haunting and blessing of Kankiniemi: Coping with the ghosts of the Second World War in northernmost Finland

Vesa-Pekka Herva & Oula Seitsonen

Abstract

Modern industrialized war and the supernatural may seem odd bedfellows, but recent research has indicated that this relationship is much more important than has traditionally been recognized. This photo essay considers the haunting presence of a WW2 German prisoner-of-war camp for Soviet inmates in the environmental and cultural context of Finnish Lapland, or Sápmi, the homeland of the indigenous Sámi, which has long featured as an exotic and enchanted land in the European imagination. During our fieldwork at German prisoner camps in Lapland, we have come across some peculiar finds and features, including a heart carved on a pine tree at the site of Kankiniemi. We discuss this carving in relation to the stories and experiences of the supernatural associated with former German military sites and consider some broader implications of such stories and experiences from a heritage point of view.

Keywords: Lapland, Second World War, Prisoner-of-War, haunting, memorial service

The Second World War left Northern Finland with a difficult and conflicting legacy, as Finland first cooperated with Nazi Germany in the north and then fought a war against it, which resulted in the extensive destruction of Finnish Lapland. There is a wealth of tangible and intangible traces of WW2 in Northern Finnish landscapes and mindscapes, including stories of haunting and the supernatural related to the war and its heritage. Modern industrialized war and the supernatural may seem odd bedfellows, but recent research has indicated that this relationship is much more important than has traditionally been recognized (e.g. MacKenzie 2017). Importantly, too, the stories and experiences of the supernatural during and after the war are not just anecdotal curiosities, but provide perspectives on much broader issues, such as confrontations between the North and the South, land rights, and colonialism and de-colonialization in the context of the European Arctic.

This photo essay considers the haunting presence of a WW2 German prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for Soviet inmates in the environmental and cultural context of Finnish Lapland, or Sápmi, the homeland of the indigenous Saami, which has long featured as an exotic and enchanted land in the European imagination (e.g. Naum 2016). Tourism marketing in Lapland, for instance, still eagerly employs such cultural images.

As a result of the Finnish cooperation with Germany from 1940 to 1944, over 200,000 German troops came to be based in Northern Finland, together with about 30,000 Soviet and other POWs and forced labourers used as workforce for various German projects. We have studied this German WW2 heritage in Lapland from various viewpoints within the 'Lapland's Dark Heritage' project (Thomas 2018) and have come across some peculiar finds and features. In 2015, we conducted small-scale excavations at the site of Kankiniemi, which was a small POW camp in the forests of Anár (Fi. Inari). The site was used as a logging work camp, with trees felled and transported to the shore of Lake Anár to be floated to sawmills. Prisoners working at the camp were mostly Soviet POWs, according to local memories and names marked on the orthodox crosses that marked some graves found near the site after the war.

After the war Kankiniemi was forgotten in the woods for decades, except for the locals who maintained the memory of the camp and its inhabitants, both prisoners and German soldiers, until the site was mapped during a heritage survey in the early 2000s. Kankiniemi was also one of the sites that was marked in a public online crowdsourcing of German WW2 sites that we organized, with the following description given in the spring of 2015:

"A POW camp surrounded by a still partly standing barbed wire fence. A heart has been carved into a pine outside the camp's fence, maybe by some prisoner [sic]." (Lapland's Dark Heritage 2015; our translation)

This sent us looking for the heart in the pines surrounding the camp, and we located it at one corner of the guard path encircling the remains of the barbed wire fence (Fig. 10.1). A local man who grew up playing in the area informed us that the heart was there already in the late 1950s, but he did not know who had made it; he suspected that it had been carved after the war. A relative of his told us that in the early 1950s he had located two graves with Orthodox crosses on top of a small hill just behind the camp. The local police had asked him to open the graves with the intention of reburying the bodies in a collective POW burial in the graveyard of the nearby Ivalo village. When asked about the heart, he avoided the question and changed the subject. There is an old and well-known Finnish rural tradition of *karsikko*, manipulating trees during funeral proceedings, to mark or strengthen the boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead (e.g. Waronen 2009 [1898]: 97). The heart at Kankiniemi could be considered a modern variant of the tradition and is, probably significantly, carved on the boundary between the 'open' world and the confined world of the prisoners.

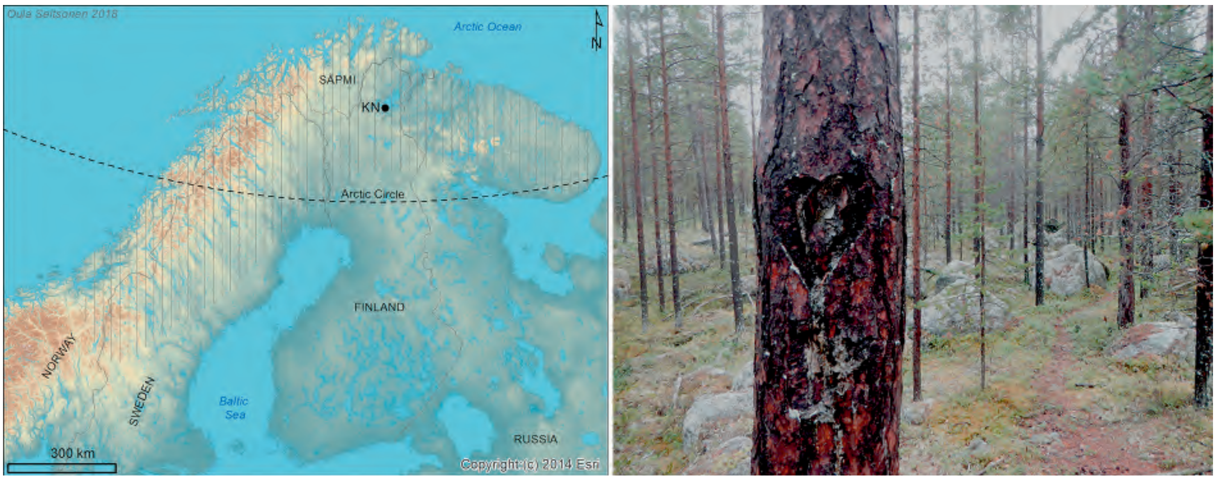

Figure 10.1. Left) The location of the Kankiniemi POW camp (KN) in Finnish Lapland; Right) A heart carved into a pine tree at the corner of the prisoner area, with the guard path surrounding it on the right. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

In August 2016, we organized a public excavation in the village of Anár, in collaboration with the local Sámi museum Siida, and worked for a week with very enthusiastic volunteers who were mainly middle-aged men and women, of different professions, from around Finland and with an interest in Sápmi/Lapland, archaeology and/or WW2. One evening, two of our volunteers called us to ask for directions to Kankiniemi so they could visit the site on their own. Next morning at the excavations, they shared with us their feelings and experiences of the site the previous evening. In the grey and rainy evening, our volunteers had been overpowered by the melancholic and desolate feeling of the place, and going through their photographs later in the evening, they discovered that one photograph appeared to have a ghostly figure standing in front of the remains of the kitchen building in the POW area of the camp. Unnerved, they deleted the photograph but, at our request, drew us a picture of the man they had seen in the image: a narrow-faced, gaunt man with a bandage around his head and one wounded eye. A little later this experience became linked to a dream that the mother of one of these two volunteers had had unaware of her daughter's strange experience in Lapland.

Whatever one makes of that evening at Kankiniemi and its aftermath, one thing is certain: the visit to the site affected our volunteers very strongly. Upset by the experience, they contacted us to ask if we thought it would be appropriate to consult the Greek Orthodox priest of the parish to enquire about the possibility of arranging some kind of a blessing of the site. The priest, Father Rauno Pietarinen, suggested that an Orthodox cross could be raised at the site and a service held there in memory of those who had suffered and died at Kankiniemi during the war. Father Pietarinen had previous experience of holding similar memorial services and setting up crosses at other WW2 sites, including a battlefield in Eastern Lapland.

Our public excavations, then, resulted in a rather unexpected form of public outreach and community engagement. In early October the same year, we went to the site with Father Pietarinen to choose a spot that felt right for the cross and put it up. He chose an open area on the border of the prisoner and German areas. The blessing ceremony, organized by Father Pietarinen as part of his pastoral duties, was the next day, when the three of us went to the site early in the morning, lit a fire, and pondered how many community members would turn up and take part in the service. When the ceremony began, over twenty people were present.

Figure 10.2. Raising the Orthodox cross at Kankiniemi the day before the memorial service. Left) Vesa-Pekka Herva and Father Rauno Pietarinen carrying the cross and tools to the site; Right) Father Pietarinen digging a foundation for the cross. He crafts the crosses for memorials himself. (Photographs: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.3. Top) Vesa-Pekka Herva starting the fire at the site before the service. Father Pietarinen asked us to light it to get coffee after the service, but also because clouds of smoke make communion with the spirits easier; Bottom) Father Pietarinen checking whether his wristwatch had stopped working, as no other people than his four-person Orthodox choir had shown up. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.4. In the end, the memorial service turned out to be surprisingly popular. Over twenty people showed up at this remote spot in the forest in the drizzling, cold fall rain, including several volunteers from our public excavations and their local relatives, other locals, and a journalist from the local newspaper. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.5. Vesa-Pekka Herva reminding everyone before the start of the service briefly of how the tragic events that took place at this remote camp and elsewhere in the wilderness of Lapland during the war are even today a reality for numerous people around the world, and that remembering the fates of dislocated people, prisoners of war, and refugees is very timely. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.6. Father Pietarinen holding the service. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.7. The long memorial service, designed by Father Pietarinen, included many phases, such as an anticlockwise procession around the camp following the former guard path surrounding the prisoner area and sprinkling the area with holy water, brought the same morning in a plastic bottle from the Skolt Sámi church at Sevettijärvi. (Photograph: V-P. Herva.)

Figure 10.8. Our volunteers placing flowers at the cross. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.9. After the memorial service, coffee was made and hunting stories, among others, were exchanged by the fire. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.10. The inscription and memorial plaque for the cross were designed and provided by the volunteers. The plaque says: "This cross is raised to commemorate those who died at the Kankiniemi prison camp during the Second World War 1941–1944". On the crossbeams is paraphernalia from the service, such as a paper cup filled with holy water. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

Figure 10.11. View over the site after the service with the newly erected cross, fresh flowers, and dying fire. (Photograph: O. Seitsonen.)

The ceremony was eye-opening to us in many ways and concretized or provided illustration to various more abstract theoretical ideas and concepts. For one thing, the Kankiniemi case shows the power of certain sites – presumably due to various tangible and intangible factors – to affect people on deep emotional levels, irrespective of what specific form or expression the experiences at such sites may take. Likewise, the memorial service provided clues about local perceptions of and relationships with the surrounding world, which is entangled with the magical or enchanted reality of the North, as described, however (in)accurately, in the accounts of the European far North since the early modern period (see Naum 2016; Herva and Lahelma 2019).

The northern world or modes of being in the world are characterized by a deep entanglement of human and non-human worlds, as well as material and spiritual worlds, and this was in evidence also at this event, which mixed typically Orthodox elements with elements of traditional folk religion. As for the former, the blessing involved a procession around the camp while sprinkling holy water along the way. One of us (Seitsonen) had the honour of carrying a paper cup filled with holy water in the pageant – and was worried about tripping and spilling it along the uneven path. The service also included circling the cross itself three times anticlockwise while sprinkling it with the holy water, and all the chants for remembering the dead were read thrice.

When the formal service was over, Father Pietarinen explained to the audience the rationale of the service – that is, how it was intended to work. He described it as a kind of 'spiritual time travel', explaining that remembering, in the context of the blessing ceremony, those who had suffered and died at the camp was intended to comfort those people during the war when they were still alive. He continued that while this appears to go against common sense and logic – changing the past from the present – such spiritual time travelling works through God. The blessing of the site was about asking God to comfort the suffering people in the past, and for God there is no separation between the past, present, and future, as He is timeless and eternal. In this way, the ceremony sought to 'pacify' the place and ease its 'bad air' in general, not in relation to the specific haunting experience that the site inflicted on an August evening.

The formal ceremony was followed by placing flowers in front of the cross (Fig. 10.8) and having coffee together, made on the open fire. The local participants of the service had brought a bottle of strong alcohol to make a toast with at the cross and to make a libation for the deceased. This could seem like a trivial detail, but it is embedded in the traditional northern worldview that acknowledges the (spiritual) power of alcohol (Fi. *viinanväki*), the special supernatural potency residing in alcohol; such powers exist in in a broad range of substances, such as soil and iron (e.g. Krohn 2008 [1894]: 41; Pulkkinen 2014: 189). Making libations and taking a drink of alcohol was a typical practice at sacred *karsikko* trees that, as mentioned earlier, served to commemorate deceased persons and to delineate the boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead (e.g. Waronen 2009 [1898]: 97; Pulkkinen 2014: 173). The heart carved on the pine tree at the site is reminiscent of this old tradition and the memorial cross works more or less the same way, as a powerful and visible symbol of the border and intra-site division between prisoner and guard areas, associated with Christian beliefs and supernatural powers.

During the after-service socializing, the participants reflected on their perceptions of and feelings about the ceremony in a manner that echoed the northern ways of relating to and engaging with the environment, characterized by the deep entanglement of the natural and supernatural and the material and spiritual dimensions of reality (e.g. Ingold 2000; Herva and Lahelma 2019). This relational mode of knowing and being in the world entails close attentiveness to one's environment. For instance, the participants had paid attention to changes in the wind during the service, especially a blast towards the end of the ceremony that made two dry pine trees leaning on each other squeak loudly. Likewise, they had noticed how, at the very end of the service, a strong wind blew across the site and then calmed down, giving a 'cleansing' feeling to the blast. It is interesting to note here that in rural folk traditions, the squeaking of trees leaning against each other has been taken to signify the restless soul of someone who had died in the forest before their time (e.g. Paulaharju 1908: 41; Pulkkinen 2014: 74). The stories and experiences of haunting and the supernatural can be considered to be grounded in this kind of intimate awareness and perception of the environment.

Ghosts and hauntings exemplify in a particularly clear manner how the past can have a 'living' presence in the present. WW2 prisoner camps, particularly in more remote and sometimes eerie locations in Lapland, have a particularly strong 'haunting potential'. Sites related to death and suffering – such as prison camps, hospitals, and mass graves – are frequently surrounded by stories of haunting, ghosts, and supernatural experiences. This is perhaps unsurprising, given the view that the locals who lived close to the Germans and their prisoners during the war were familiar with the mistreatment and sufferings of both POWs and soldiers at these sites. In part, then, the haunting character of this heritage is probably related to the suppressed difficult memories of the war (Herva 2014; Seitsonen 2018: 126–129; see Carr 2017, 2018 for the British Isles).

Various prison camp sites do have an oppressive and disturbing character to them as places, making it readily understandable why they should provoke strange feelings. Several seasons of mapping and digging alone at Kankiniemi and other related sites have made us familiar with such feelings. These places often do have a certain lonely and gloomy atmosphere, which is accentuated by the enduring silence of Lapland's wilderness, with only the occasional caws of crows and the footsteps of passing reindeer to be heard. Supernatural experiences at WW2 sites and their connections to, or resonance with, broader issues illustrate well the porous, fluid, and heterogenous understandings of time and pasts related to northern worldviews and ways of being in the world.

Vesa-Pekka Herva is Professor of Archaeology at the University of Oulu, Finland. He has studied various aspects of material culture, human-environment relations, cosmology, and heritage in North-Eastern Europe from the Neolithic to modern times. He is the author, with Antti Lahelma, of Northern Archaeology and Cosmology: A Relational View (Routledge, 2019).

Oula Seitsonen (**Sakarin-Pentin Ilarin Oula**) is an archaeologist and geographer at the University of Oulu, Finland. He has studied the archaeology and heritage of Finnish conflicts especially in the northern part of the country since 2006. His interests cover a wide range of subjects both temporally and geographically, ranging from early pastoralism in different parts of the world to the materialities of the 21st-century refugee crisis in the Arctic.

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Photo essay

11
The rescue excavation and reburial of late pet animals as explorative archaeological autoethnography

Janne Ikäheimo

Abstract

Autoethnography is founded on personal participation, description, and analysis that results in a higher consciousness of the studied subject when personal experiences are transformed through systematic sociological introspection into understanding regarding other people's feelings and behavior. Hence, the chapter describes the rescue excavation of late family companion animals from the backyard flowerbed and their subsequent re-burial to the local pet cemetery through the lens of explorative archaeological autoethnography. While being physically routine, the excavation caused deep emotions of self-reflection and self-confrontation ranging from the questioning of the author's capabilities as a field archaeologist to human-animal relationships and the afterlife. On the contrary, the activity at the pet cemetery involved significant physical input, as each pet owner is responsible for backfilling their pet burial. Emotional and physical are here argued to enrich and deepen the interpretative framework of pet cemetery studies by offering new insights into the motives and actions of pet owners. Along this line, a somewhat excessive and constantly evolving memorial combining elements from several religions and cultures was set up on the grave. It aims to establish a material-culture-based dialogue with other pet owners in a dynamic deathscape, where pet memorials designs constantly seek to redefine and renegotiate the acceptable limits of pet animal commemoration.

Keywords: companion animal, excavation, re-burial, pet cemetery, autoethnography, gerbils

11.1. Introduction

In August 2018, after a decade of immediate repairs and constant insecurity caused by groundwater-induced damage to our single-family house, we decided that it had to be sold as a plot. There was simply no point in carrying the burden of extended liability for any further damage for a five-year period as required by law (1994/843) had it been sold as a house. This meant that we had to clear out the house, as people normally do when moving out, but there was an additional twist: we also had to take care of those who would otherwise have been left behind. Before earth-moving machinery was introduced to the site, something had to be done to the remains of our family pet animals (for the definition, see Grier 2014: 125), six gerbils and a dwarf hamster, that my wife had buried over the years into a backyard flowerbed (Figs. 11.1–11.2). Being an archaeologist, it was quite natural for me to assume the responsibility for this operation.

Figure 11.1. A view from the late Ikäheimo residence at Tervastie 32 (Oulu) towards the backyard. Note the haphazard collection of unwanted items placed on the windowsill indicating the last stage of preparations before the move.

Figure 11.2. A flowerbed flanking a glacial erratic – too big and heavy to be moved away – was meant to be the final resting place of the family's pet gerbils and dwarf hamster.

11.2. Excavation

Surprisingly, the excavation that took place over an hour and a half on one misty Saturday morning in late September 2018 was mentally the most challenging one for me in my career of more than 25 years as an archaeologist. Practicalities, on the other hand, could not have been easier: the site was located fifteen metres from our back door and the field equipment needed was very basic: a trowel, a dustpan, a child's rake, and, most importantly, a camping mat to provide necessary insulation and comfort against the cold ground (Fig. 11.3). The only device was a cell phone camera that was used to document the appearance of the site before, during, and after the intervention. Moreover, a permit for the excavation was not needed and there was no obligation to report the results or store the finds.

Figure 11.3. Improvised tools of the trade. While a proper trowel was essential for the success of the excavation, other tools like a plastic dustpan and a child's rake were items that just happened to be around.

A flowerbed full of heart-leaved bergenia (*bergenia cordifolia*) turned out to be a highly unpleasant environment for excavation, as this plant species produces plentiful roots that are also very tough and resistant to mechanical stress (Fig. 11.4). Removing these roots, together with decayed leaves, took a good while, but after this, the physical work progressed quite easily. However, the mental template regarding my potential finds posed a challenge. Thus, I had a very good idea of what I should or could find, but I really did not want to find anything at all. This sentiment was further accentuated by the distant chime of a lone church bell announcing an on-going funeral service at the nearby churchyard of the Oulujoki parish.

Figure 11.4. After the removal of green heart-leaved bergenia, the site presented itself as a mess of decayed leaves and densely grown roots. Some stones used to delineate the flowerbed can be seen next to the glacial erratic.

However, the moment I had most feared came very soon (Fig. 11.5), as the delicate movement of my trowel unearthed the decayed remains of a green-striped wool sock. I recognized it immediately, as it was the burial shroud of Kaapo, the kindest and wisest gerbil of them all, that I had recently been forced to put down due to a malignant scent gland tumour. After fully exposing the sock-shroud but also taking great pains not to examine its content (Fig. 11.6), I carefully lifted it from the soil and then lowered it into a container on top of the body of Kassu, a more recent and very unfortunate gerbil victim of a vicious scent gland tumour, clad in a pink-striped wool sock. Together, the two gerbils that had been best friends in life were going to be (re)buried in a ceramic urn (Fig. 11.7). Although the urn was cheap Portuguese porcelain, it would form a nice closed context and evoke thoughts of the afterlife by means of the coloured fruit relief adorning its flank that has parallels in Roman art, especially in funerary sarcophagi (e.g. Öğüş 2014: Fig. 1).

Figure 11.5. An encounter of the (un)wanted kind. The trowel has exposed the first traces of a wool sock encasing the body of Kaapo the gerbil. Also note the walkway paving stones delineating the flowerbed.

Figure 11.6. The poor state of preservation of the wool sock/burial shroud deposited in the flower-bed just one year earlier reflects its harshness as a post-depositional environment in the northern boreal zone.

Figure 11.7. A soup pot of Portuguese porcelain recycled into a burial urn had been used to contain the remains of Kassu the gerbil before the excavation.

As the excavation proceeded further down, I made no new pet-related discoveries, which led to moments of serious self-reflection and self-confrontation. On the one hand, I was very relieved not to have to face any older burials, as they had been made without a concealing shroud of any kind; on the other hand, the inability to locate the remains of five other gerbils made me seriously question my abilities as a field archaeologist. While ludicrous images related to the resurrection of innocent animals filled my incredulous atheist's mind (however, see e.g. Kenney 2004; Royal et al. 2016; Magliocco 2018), the reality was probably blunter. Buried to a depth of hardly more than ten centimetres, their lifeless bodies could have been easy prey for neighbourhood cats on their daily wanderings outside (e.g. Baker et al. 2005). Alternatively, the post-depositional conditions in the flowerbed with annually repeated freeze-thaw cycles might have consumed the remains of these small rodents in no time (see e.g. Carter et al. 2007).

Thus, instead of fragile gerbil bones, a haphazard collection of items pertaining to the post-construction period of our house emerged (Fig. 11.8): a fragment of stoneware, several glass shards, a partly molten piece of plastic, and a tag indicating the plant species that had originally occupied the flowerbed. During the course of the excavation, walkway paving stones that had been used to delineate the flowerbed also resurfaced. They provided the much-needed reference for the sufficient extent of the excavation, which was briefly continued over the following weekend as my informant-wife started to doubt where exactly she had buried the gerbils (cf. Davenport and Harrison 2011: 184). No further discoveries were made, and the burial urn was stored for a while in the otherwise empty storage room of our soon-to-be-demolished house (Fig. 11.9).

Figure 11.8. Most of the finds from the flowerbed – from upper left: a molten piece of plastic, a shard of earthenware, a plastic tag, and glass shards – pertained to the earlier history of the house and backyard. Finds not to scale.

Figure 11.9. A lone burial urn in the house storage waiting for transportation to the Mikonkangas pet cemetery. Note the stains on the ceiling that record a substantially long history of roof leaks.

11.3. Reburial and monumentalization

As the next step, a burial plot was acquired for our late animal friends from the nearby pet cemetery at Mikonkangas (Fig. 11.10), where a ten-year lease for a plot suitable for the burial of a small pet animal costs no more than 50 euros. At this cemetery, other companion animal species than horses are buried into pre-dug ditches with temporary plywood or chipboard partitions used as aids during the backfill (Fig. 11.11; see Äikäs et al. *in press*). After the ceramic urn was placed at the bottom of the ditch, the tedious and sweaty task of covering it with sand began (Fig. 11.12). A small mound was raised above the burial and a walkway paving stone carrying the epitaph "Our beloved gerbils Kaapo and Kassu" inked on its side was placed as a headstone at its other end (Fig. 11.13). Three cherub statuettes from my late mother-in-law's inexhaustible collection of kitschy artefacts provided the much-needed adornment in the peculiar context of a pet cemetery where (e.g. Schuurman and Redmalm 2019), as formulated by the Swedish heavy metal guitar-god Yngwie J. Malmsteen, "*more is more*" (BangerTV 2015: 5:31–6:20).

Figure 11.10. The pet cemetery at Mikonkangas, established in 1993 near the city of Oulu, is currently the final resting place for c. 4,500 companion animals.

Figure 11.11. The burial urn placed on the bottom of the ditch used for burying small pet animals. Beams and plywood/partitions are used for the demarcation of individual burial plots.

Figure 11.12. As the pet owner backfills the ditch, physical strain is added to the experience of emotional grief.

Figure 11.13. The first three stages of the *Monumentum gerbillorum ikaheimoense* before the insertion of grass and oriental decorations.

In reflection to these words of wisdom, the memorial grew in the course of the following year from its humble beginnings to a proper monument light-heartedly known as *Monumentum gerbillorum ikaheimoense* (Fig. 11.14). While it still incorporates the three original cherub statuettes, pretty much everything else has been changed. Stones that once paved the walkway to our former house now frame a patch of green grass and carry two additional display items acquired from Kyoto, Japan: a Shinto torii gate from the Fushimi Inari Taisha shrine and a Buddhist prayer stick from Kondo Hall of To-ji shrine. Moreover, the original epitaph has been replaced with a proper funerary inscription written in Latin that follows the classical *Dis Manibus* formula the Romans used for commemorating their deceased with a dedication to the gods of the underworld (e.g. Tantimonaco 2013), the names and ages of the deceased, and information about the person responsible for the erection of the monument.

DIS MANIBVS
CAIVS GERBILLVS
VIX ANN III MENS XI
ET
CASSIVS GERBILLVS
VIX ANN III DIES XXV
VNGVICVLATIS DVLCISSIMIS
IANVS CALVVS
PATRONVS FECIT

Figure 11.14. The current state of the Monumentum gerbillorum ikaheimoense with a Shinto torii gate, a Buddhist prayer stick, and a funerary inscription in Latin (right).

The great pains I took to construct a proper and perhaps also slightly excessive memorial for our late family pets was partly stimulated by my interest in gathering first-hand observations on new memorial designs and how they are copied and their use is spread in the context of a pet cemetery. Nonetheless, I do not expect to see other torii gates or Latin epitaphs at Mikonkangas, but as the gerbil monument is among the rare memorials at the site incorporating a patch of green grass, I hope that other pet owners replicate this idea in their future memorials. Previous development of this kind has taken place with wooden funerary monuments reproducing the short façade of a front-gabled house, which became fashionable spontaneously judging by their spatial distribution at Mikonkangas (Fig. 11.15).

Secondly, I seized this opportunity to practice a sort of grassroots culture jamming (see e.g. Harold 2004) in this age of intolerance characterized by a growing tendency to oppose everything foreign. At the Mikonkangas pet cemetery, one can spot quite a few graves adorned with Christian crosses, which have been banned altogether from many Finnish pet cemeteries. Thus, to counterbalance their presence, I thought it was about time to introduce some elements from eastern religions too, as conscious exposure to new elements like them can sometimes lead to elevated tolerance. On the other hand, if my gerbil memorial gets vandalized in some way in the future, it is a different but similarly interesting response to this material-culture-based dialogue that seeks to redefine and renegotiate the acceptable limits of pet animal commemoration (see also Schuurman and Redmalm 2019) through the meditated insertion of somewhat unconventional and lavish elements in this public space.

Figure 11.15. Pet burials with a funerary monument reproducing the short façade of a front-gabled house were in fashion for a while at the Mikonkangas pet cemetery.

11.4. Discussion

Practical issues aside, why bother to set up a memorial of any kind for such small and universally insignificant rodents or to carry out a serious attempt to relocate all the animals buried into a flowerbed in our backyard? The answer is related to an ongoing trend of research that focuses on diverse aspects of companion animal death and pet cemeteries (e.g. DeMello 2016; Kogan and Erdman 2020) with the aim of not only shedding light on the material culture associated with them but also examining more conceptual subjects like longing, remembrance, and grief along with manifestations of religious beliefs.

From this point of view, the process narrated above gave me a further insight related to a missed opportunity to do community archaeology at the Hiironen pet cemetery. Hiironen is the older pet cemetery in the city of Oulu, Finland, that was actively used for animal burials from the early 1970s up to 1993. During the summer of 2017 (Rintala 2017), the western stretch of the site was severely disturbed by earthworks related to the installation of a new sound barrier for the adjacent motorway that was experiencing a major overhaul (Fig. 11.16). The pet cemetery users – some people keep visiting the graves at this site on major public holidays related to commemoration like All Saints' Day and Christmas (Fig. 11.17), even if their companion animal died in the 1980s – had been informed about the expected disturbances in advance by means of a note posted by the entrance.

Figure 11.16. The foundation trench needed for the installation of a sound barrier caused a deep temporary scar on the western side of the Hiironen pet cemetery.

Figure 11.17. A clandestine burial at the Hiironen cemetery, officially closed down in 1993, on Christmas Eve 2018 shows how pet animal graves are visited on holidays related to remembrance and how some pet owners see no problem in using a cross as a grave marker.

As a result, some pet owners came to the site to dig up their former pets animals: one couple unearthed altogether four cats and a dog (Jäntti 2017). Unfortunately, my colleagues and I became aware of these efforts only retrospectively. Had we had any advance knowledge of them, we could easily have set up a complimentary excavation service that could potentially have opened up a convenient way to interview the people about their sentiments related to and practices performed at the site. Now, our input was limited just to a survey of visible burials before the earthworks took place and the resurvey of the site after the foundation ditch for the sound barrier had already been dug. Especially the results of the latter campaign were truly underwhelming: only a handful of burials disturbed to different degrees by the excavator could be seen in the section of the trench – there were no scattered bones or smashed headstones.

These attempts to recover past animal friends from the Hiironen pet cemetery align well with my own project focusing on the recovery and reburial of family pets. Thus, from a methodological standpoint, the previous narrative can be identified as autoethnography or alternative ethnography, which aims in part to be both interesting and evocative enough to provoke an emotional response in the reader by offering concrete experiences and intimate details (Ellis 1999: 669; Bochner 2000: 268, 271). But more importantly, autoethnography is founded on personal participation, description, and analysis that results in a higher consciousness of the studied subject when personal experiences are transformed through systematic sociological introspection into understanding regarding other people's feelings and behaviour (Foss and Foss 1994: 39–40; Ellis 1999: 671–673; Furman 2005: 24; Lyons 2013: 624). Existential issues, as my own narrative demonstrates, can also come up and be dealt with using this method (Furman 2005: 35) that – according to a recent review article on qualitative research related to companion animal loss (Kemp et al. 2016) – has previously been used in only two studies (Furman 2005; Lyons 2013).

Figure 11.18. A visit to the 'abandoned' Bohnice pet cemetery in Prague added another, quite an unusual chapter to my personal pet animal necrography, as I literally stumbled across a dead pet rat thrown into the cemetery from the adjacent road. As soon as I had decided to bury the animal, the site seemed to attract surprisingly many human visitors, thus enhancing the excitement related to my clandestine deeds.

From this point of view, an approved construction project – public or private – threatening the future existence of a pet burial site or a proper pet cemetery, both of which act as a focus of memories regarding past animal friends, represents an unstoppable force in itself. It has the potential to induce psychological trauma that is quite comparable to the loss of a pet animal in a natural disaster (see Zottarelli 2010). Therefore, the decision to excavate and rebury the late animal as a preventive measure is not only about dignity shown towards the animal (Fig. 11.18), as the act itself is equally about renegotiating and challenging the conception of a human as superior being (Lyons 2013: 625). As pet animals today are considered increasingly less as property (Zottarelli 2010: 120) and increasingly more as family members (e.g. Ambros 2010), the question of securing a safe place for them after their death is a serious issue for a growing number of people, entwined with ideas of animal afterlife, be it something like the Rainbow Bridge or Christian Heaven (e.g. Brown 2006: 416–418; Royal et al. 2016; Smith and Golomb 2020).

As these pursuits may sometimes be contradicted by economic and logistic realities, it is hardly a wonder that even "abandoned" pet cemeteries are nowadays rather active stages for the insertion and maintenance of clandestine pet burials (see also Davenport and Harrison 2011: 182–183). Even my reaction in August 2019 to a surprise encounter with a dead pet rat that someone had thrown over the fence in the "abandoned" Bohnice pet cemetery in the suburbs of Prague becomes understandable against the background of increased sensitivity gained through previously experienced emotional and physical strains as a pet caretaker (see also Furman 2005: 35). I spontaneously decided to bury the poor animal in secret and felt very good about this deed afterwards.

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Readers who might want to experience *Monumentum gerbillorum ikaheimoense* in person and pay their respects to my late pet animals can find the monument by using the following RTK-GPS-determined coordinates: 7205871.473/437385.319 (ETRS89-TM35FIN), or N 64°58'15.345", E 25°40'24.83" (WGS84).

Janne Ikäheimo works as a lecturer in archaeology at the University of Oulu. While his dissertation focused on ceramic cooking pots produced in Roman Africa, his current research interests include neo-relics and pet burial customs in contemporary society, the Early Metal Age/Bronze Age period in Northern Finland, and the introduction of metallurgy to Eastern Fennoscandia and North-Western Russia. Today, he is the proud owner of three gerbils (Martina, Maisa & Sohvi).

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Discussion

12
Entangled rituals: Death, place, and archaeological practice

Howard Williams

12.1. Introduction

Exploring the archaeological investigation of ritual and religion, this collection tackles case studies from Finland and Sápmi over the last millennium revealing multiple fresh insights into the entangled nature of belief and ritual across contrasting subsistence strategies, social structures, and worldviews and encapsulating both colonial and post-colonial contexts. In particular, multiple chapters tackle fluidity and hybridization between traditional and Christian belief and practice over the long term. In doing so, while archaeological theory and method is the principal focus, many chapters effectively synergize linguistic, folkloric, anthropological, and historical research in decisive ways.

The theme of entanglement simultaneously encapsulates multiple planes and registers in this book, including the entangled nature of people with things, monuments, and landscapes, but also the entanglements between the living world and the places and spaces of the dead. Entanglements are considered in temporal terms too, as sites, monuments, and buildings both sacred and secular are built, used, transformed, abandoned, reused, reactivated, and re-imagined through ritual practice. The chapters thus tackle new ways of investigating a range of contexts and material cultures and their material, spatial and, biographical significances from portable artefacts and costume (Hukantaival; Lipkin; Moilanen and Hiekkanen; Piha; Ritari-Kallio), settlements and sacred buildings (Modarress; Moilanen and Hiekkanen), factories (Hemminki), and natural places (Äikäs and Ahola; Piha). Throughout, attention to mortuary environments – graves, cemeteries, and memorials – are a particular and pervasive theme.

Rituals and sacred places are considered as mechanisms and media respectively by which social memories are conjured and conveyed, and by which both continuities and changes are mediated through time. This is shown to apply both for people in the human past through the study of 'the past in the past', and for people today as they encounter and reinterpret ancient monuments and reinvent and reconfigure rituals considered ancient in contemporary settings. Archaeological investigations are demonstrated through chapter after chapter as key to how ritual practices and ritualized places are both investigated and afforded new meanings and significances in contemporary society.

Together, the studies exhibit the high calibre, interdisciplinarity and global significance of Finnish archaeological research. Most significantly, the collection showcases the value of historical archaeological investigations, eschewing the often default focus on prehistoric and protohistorical periods in the archaeology of ritual and religion (cf. Insoll 2011) and the archaeology of death and burial (cf. Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013) to embrace diversity and change from the Middle Ages through the Modern era and the contemporary past.

The introduction (Äikäs, Lipkin and Ahola) effectively encapsulates the book's key themes by focusing on the dynamics, fluidity, and hybridity in the archaeology of ritual and religion. Therefore this discussion does not replicate or expand their review but instead considers the chapters under three subheadings – death and memory, biographies of place, archaeologists and ritual – thus picking out some influential achievements of each and identifying potential for future research building upon their insights. Throughout, I try to cite some of my past research chimes with the topics being tackled in order to draw out further points of consideration.

12.2. Death and memory

Many of the books' chapters are primarily or partly studies in mortuary archaeology, offering a welcome focus on the last millennium. While there have been invaluable contributions which have furthered the investigation of later medieval, modern, and contemporary death in recent years (e.g. Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Williams 2011a; Cherryson et al. 2012; Tarlow 2015; Anthony 2016), it is seldom that studies have incorporated cross-fertilization between those studying the last millennium and earlier periods (although a rare example is Downes and Pollard 1999).

12.2.1. Saami death ways

Many of the chapters challenge ahistorical perceptions of medieval and modern death. I wish to begin with Piha's combination of archaeological and lexical data attempting to seek changing pre-/non-Christian religion among the southern Saami of Scandinavia evolving from prehistoric times into recent centuries. The implications for death rituals and beliefs are particularly revealing. Piha identifies temporal disjunctions between words and things thus showing the challenging task of integrating sources of data into a coherent picture of religious belief and ritual practices; for example, Saami drums are only confirmed by archaeological evidence from the region for recent centuries, but the words for them are presumed to be far, far older. Yet her analysis proposes a similar age of the word *saajve* meaning 'realm of the dead' with the archaeological evidence of 'hunting ground graves' from the early first millennium AD. She thus postulates that these graves were perceived as a 'gateway' to the world of the dead. Conversely, Piha identifies that the phenomenon of 'bear graves' is both late in the archaeological record and in the lexical data. Whilst such inferences are fraught with difficulties, Piha's work promotes the value of interdisciplinary endeavour and challenges a static, thus ahistorical, approach on Saami religion and attitudes to death and the dead specifically.

12.2.2. Bodies and bones in circulation: Medieval mortuary variability

It is important to reiterate that death rituals were varied during the mid-/late first millennium AD across Southern Finland, revealed by cremation, inhumation, and disposal of the dead in watery locations (Wessman 2010; Wessman and Williams 2017). Cremation dominates but inhumation constitutes a far-from-rare intermittent practice (e.g. Wessman 2010: 35). However, during the 11th century AD, inhumation graves are increasingly added to pre-existing cremation cemeteries (Wessman 2010: 27) as well as dominating at newly established burial grounds. Puolakka considers the latter:

inhumation-dominant cemeteries dating between the 11th and 14th centuries AD and traditionally described as 'Christian'. She shows that although most graves were unfurnished and uniform in their west–east alignment, they incorporate considerable variability in mortuary behaviour, including two notable elements of arguably non-Christian/unorthodox practice: (i) cremation burials as a minority, often inserted into inhumation graves, and (ii) the inclusion of additional unburnt bones, articulated limbs and heads, within inhumation graves.

While the chronology of these practices has yet to be refined, Puolakka discounts the possibility that they are short-lived 'pagan' survivals, especially as the cremation burials often post-date inhumation graves. Likewise, Puolakka argues that the additional bones found in graves do not appear to have disturbed earlier interments and thus the bones cannot be considered 'charnel'. The data for both practices instead indicates a persistent hybridization in dealing with the dead within what she characterizes as to the borderland status of the region, situated as it was between the emerging Christian power centres of Sweden and Novgorod.

Studies elsewhere in medieval Europe have already warned of characterizing cremation as 'early', 'pagan', or 'low-status'. While their choice is far from arbitrary, it is rarely so simple. Cremation and inhumation practices are frequently discovered in close association and seemingly in use contemporaneously for long periods of time. As such, in addition to charting longer-term trends favouring one disposal method over others, the choice to cremate might have incorporated multiple motivations, including attitudes and perceptions of fiery technologies, but also requirements upon transporting, curating, and integrating the dead within above-ground architectures and cemeteries (see Meyers Emery and Williams 2018). Thus, cremation and inhumation need to be considered in relational, not in *oppositional*, terms. They could be deployed together, be internally diverse ritual trajectories, and negotiate various different social, cosmological, and other distinctions and relationships within and between communities (Williams 2002, 2014; see also Lippock 2020). Equally pertinent to this discussion, archaeologists have long critiqued attempts to read off Christian conversion and Christian theology from complex medieval burial data and identified considerable variability within Christian mortuary ritual (e.g. Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Maldonado 2013; Hausmair 2017). Specifically, medieval archaeologists have only begun to carefully evaluate the various ways in which bodies and bones were circulated within medieval Europe and how they were treated within and beyond funerals. The exhumation and circulation of bodies was not only reserved for the very special dead in terms of Christian saintly relics prior to the Reformation and during the Counter-Reformation (Weiss-Krejci 2013: 292–293), but also as strategies of royal, aristocratic, and episcopal politics (e.g. Weiss-Krejci 2016). Charnel practices were also commonplace and involved ossuary cults which in some cases persisted long after the Reformation (e.g. Kenzler 2015: 150–152). Moreover, archaeologists are increasingly finding evidence of grave re-openings to retrieve artefacts and/or rebury the dead elsewhere as acts of posthumous conversion or to sacralize the burial space (Klevnäs 2015). These might be linked to beliefs in revenant corpses which might prompt post-mortem treatments to burials both within and beyond churchyards, including mutilating and burning bodies (Mays et al. 2017). Crucially, none of these practices and beliefs need to be seen as counter to Christian teaching and some, indeed, might constitute clerical agency, if not clerical sanction at the very least.

This context prompts further reflections on Puolakka's evidence. First, the poor bone survival and limitations on the quality of the field archaeology utilized for Puolakka's study strongly suggests that both cremation and additional unburnt articulated body parts, and perhaps also the inclusion of animal remains in graves (given one instance of a goat skull found in a grave), all remain significantly under-represented. Cremation graves discrete from inhumation graves might have also been regularly missed by investigators, or when found, presumed to be of prehistoric date (see also Wessman 2010: 17–18). Furthermore regarding the interpretation of these ritual traces, might we move beyond seeing this as evidence of a 'borderland' context where Christian belief and practice had varied regulation and localized manifestations to infer commemorative practices linked to the curation, transportation, and above-ground display of the dead, perhaps even necromantic or other magical practices utilizing human remains and the materials placed in graves? For while the circulation of human remains, notably skulls, in settlement contexts is now finally receiving systematic attention for the first millennium AD (Eriksen 2020), their potential diverse roles – burned and in fragments – in funerary environments of the early and middle parts of the second millennium AD has received limited attention. Archaeologists still struggle to consider cemeteries as places of power involving complex textual, monumental, and corporeal dialogues between the living and the dead and the supernatural, both during and between funerals (e.g. Härke 2001; Williams et al. 2010; Semple and Williams 2015; Gardeła 2016; Klevnäs 2016; Wessman and Williams 2017). Hence, 'Christian' medieval cemeteries need to be increasingly considered as unfamiliar and complex burial and commemorative environments with local, regional, and broader variations in the disposal and circulation of bodies and body parts.

12.2.3. Vital bodies and substances: Post-medieval mortuary practices

Moving to the post-medieval period, archaeologists frequently have to consider the complex factors affecting mortuary practices alongside religious organization and theological frameworks, including the social, emotional, and mnemonic dimensions to disposing of and commemorating the dead (see Tarlow 1999, 2015; Cherryson et al. 2012; Mytum 2004). Moilanen and Hiekkanen touch on aspects of these interpretative challenges in their report on the 71 graves excavated in 1984 within the church at Renko. This constitutes a rare case for investigating 15th–17th-century burials in Finland undisturbed by later interments due to the abandonment and rebuilding of the structure in the late 18th century. They identify considerable uniformity in the treatment of the intact inhumation graves, orientated west–east and supine, likely to reflect the high-status families of the parish. Yet grave B had no coffin and the knees and elbows were flexed, possibly related to burial whilst rigor mortis was still in effect. There was also a grave of the late 17th or early/mid-18th century showing signs of autopsy: the skull cut in half. Most distinctively, three graves, two of them infants, were buried with a distinctive north–south alignment (this practice is known in Continental Europe for Catholic priests to ensure they are orientated on the high altar (Kenzel 2015: 154)). The authors justifiably struggle to find an explanation for this in the Finnish context, suggesting it represents a possible sign of punishment, or else perhaps a distinctive placement to articulate sympathies to a revivalist movement, neither of which fully make sense in the context of burials within such a prominent church context. They conclude that it might 'convey feelings, ideas, and ideologies', but we could consider more specific possibilities and solutions to these aberrant alignments. One dimension not considered in reflecting on the position and orientation of the graves might be the desire to associate them with specific intramural tombs or other church furnishings and fittings, such as pews or the font: associations now lost.

While grave goods are relatively rare across Europe after the 8th century, archaeologists repeatedly challenge the assumption that there was a Christian prohibition against clothing and furnishing the dead, and there is an upturn in their frequency in the 17th century across Europe among both Catholics and Protestants (Cherryson et al. 2012; Kenzler 2015: 158–159). Moilanen and Hiekkanen deliver one of a series of chapters reporting on the roles of artefacts in church rituals and mortuary practices. In addition to 48 medieval coins, 38 post-medieval coins were uncovered, although they lack confirmed associations with specific graves (see also Cherryson et al. 2012). Four graves interred after abandonment contain beads and rings reflecting broader patterns of lavishly clothed high-status burials despite regulations forbidding exquisite garments and accessories. The authors suggest these represent 'respect and remembrance', but one might also suggest they could constitute evidence of devotion (rosaries would, however, make more sense in a Catholic context: Cherryson et al. 2012; Kenzler 2015: 159–160), commemoration through the provision of family heirlooms (cf. Costello and Williams 2019), or an expression of emotional attachments linking the living with the dead during the burial process (Cherryson et al. 2012). A further dimension lacking consideration in the literature to date is the possibility that these items operated in dialogue with the representation of the elite dead upon portraiture or, indeed, church monuments, where idealized representations of the deceased's body was frequently posed in elaborate clothing among the uppermost echelons of society (Llewellyn 2001).

The interpretation of portable artefacts and the body's clothing is taken up by Lipkin for Northern Ostrobothnian Finland. She revaluates dress in death rituals, seeing costume as an inseparable part of social identity in life that is transformed and renegotiated in the emotive and intimate washing and dressing of the cadaver for burial. Considering the immediately dead body as *abject* as Lipkin does has theoretical merit, although it harbours a potential inherent ahistoricity of transposing a modern anxiety regarding the 'failure' of the individual body onto past times. Moreover, the abjection of the dead might relate to a very short duration within the funeral, and the work to clothe and position the dead might be not only serve to counter this but also to prepare and transform the deceased into a new social, spiritual, and ontological status. Thus, rather than turning bodies into stable things as Lipkin suggests, clothing mediated a more complex rite of passage for body, soul, and survivors through the ritual process. Here, a more direct and effective use of the anthropological work of van Gennep and Hertz might be constructively adapted for archaeological interpretations (see Williams 2006: 20–22) while respecting the variability in the data, no doubt in part reflecting Fenno-Ugric folkloric traditions and different competing Christian Orthodox and Lutheran influences.

If clothing and charms were emotive and facilitated the cadaver's transformation to facilitate Resurrection, one wonders how this related not only to metaphors of sleep (see Cherryson et al. 2012) but also to portrayals of the dead found upon church and churchyard monuments. Again, relating this funerary and folkloric evidence to above-ground monuments, both inside and outside churches, seems a missed opportunity for further consideration. Indeed, given the evidence of coins in the Hailuoto church and Oulu Cathedral's graveyard, mirroring the coins found in the excavations at Renko by Moilanen and Hiekkanen, there is clearly considerable potential for thinking further about votive and funerary depositions in churches and churchyards during and between funerals (cf. Cherryson et al. 2012).

The theoretical insights of Lipkin regarding clothing the dead are enhanced and extended by Ritari-Kallio who surveys 17th- and 18th-century graves and compares this with 19th-century folkloric data. The grave goods found in archaeological data are rings, smoking equipment, and books, which contrasts somewhat with the folklore data. This difference is hardly surprising given differential survival (cf. Kenzler 2015: 164–165). In the folklore, which is 19th-century in date and therefore not directly comparable, rings and religious books are confirmed as common offerings for the dead. Yet, alcohol, money, and food, as well as body parts lost in life (limbs, hair, teeth) appear more frequently than tobacco. Notable in their absence are items of 'taboo' cited by Kenzler (2015: 161–162) including washbowls (particularly in Protestant regions), medicines, scissors, razors, and combs (see also Cherryson et al. 2012).

Again, the role of coins is cited, although once more the challenge remains in identifying how many were once placed in or upon graves as opposed to deposition at other times as votives. Trying to identify precise motives for individual grave goods might not be as easy as for earlier periods (Härke 2014; see also Valk 2015), but their possible roles in mnemonic transformation might be a profitable avenue for further research: thus considering not only the clothing of the dead, as Lipkin indicates, but also other items as mediating the new ontological, spiritual, and social identity of the deceased (cf. Williams 2006). The emphasis on continuing bonds and exchanges/dialogues between the living and the dead, in which the items reveal care and comfort, might help us to explain these items in more nuanced fashions, connecting seemingly disparate items that comfort and 'nourish' the senses of the dead spiritually and corporeally. None of these need to be interpreted in terms of material transmittance to the afterlife as the aspiration or expectation of the survivors. In particular, this might explain items linked to the body's surface and its management, but also objects that mediate between the living and the dead, including rings and items as diverse as Bibles, smoking equipment, drink, and food (cf. Williams 2006: 79–116; see also Valk 2015). Again, more careful consideration of above-ground funerary monumentality might assist in considering these items in graves, but the combination of folkloric and archaeological data is shown to be effective in both Lipkin's and Ritari-Kallio's research.

It is at this point that we might discuss the 'vital scrap' in Hukantaival's discussion of pre-modern perceptions of material agency. While burial archaeologists have tackled non-human agency in various fashions for at least two decades (e.g. Gilchrist 2008), Hukantaival's survey identifies the synergies between folklore and archaeology to reveal 19th-century worldviews that regard 'objects and materials [...] as potentially alive'. Exploring the *väki* concept in which the elements and materials have power, this has multiple potential applications for rethinking the significance of far-older ritual practices, including fire rituals (including cremation as an agent for transforming cadavers and commemorating the dead by distributing their remains into communal cemeteries-under-level-ground, see Wessman 2010). Likewise, it might contribute to understanding later historical treatments of material culture in mortuary contexts as evaluated by Puolakka, Moilanen and Hiekkanen, Piha, Lipkin, and Ritari-Kallio. Hukantaival foregrounds the potential use for understanding the power of objects of unknown origin, reflected perhaps also in the use of old objects in prehistoric and early historical graves (Eckardt and Williams 2003). Yet again we return to the potential power of cemeteries and churchyards in a tangible sense: places where objects placed within and retrieved might then be invested with a socially recognized potency: the väki of the burial site. This affords archaeologists the potential to revisit and reconsider not only grave goods but also cemeteries as environments of material and spiritual exchange between the living and the dead.

12.2.4. Human-animal relations in death

So far the discussion has focused on human cemeteries, but in many periods of the past, animals had multiple roles in funerals and cemetery space (e.g. Williams 2001, 2006: 133–135). Piha's chapter touched on the Saami practice of burying bears, and Ikäheimo takes up the theme of animal death from multiple fresh perspectives. For while contemporary death has attracted some attention (e.g. Williams 2011a; Anthony 2016; Williams and Wessman 2017; Williams and Williams 2019), human-animal relationships have only begun to be explored in terms of cemeteries and funerary commemoration (e.g. Davenport and Harrison 2011; Williams 2011b). Ikäheimo's auto-archaeological approach reflecting on the exhumation, reburial, and memorialization of family pets is insightful in itself. Moreover, his own interactions with a pet cemetery during this process and also within field archaeology provide multiple original new insights into the complexity of ritual and practice in relation to disposing of and commemorating non-human agents in death. The wider exploration of animal commemoration practices is a field ripe for future research, exploring new perspectives on animals materialized and represented within human cemeteries, as with the goat skull mentioned in the Illinsaari medieval cemetery by Puolakka, through to the role of animals in contemporary deathways and mortuary environments including both clandestine and formally sanctioned disposals and commemorative practices. The past, present, and future of pet cemeteries fits into this emergent field of archaeological enquiry.

12.3. Biographies of places

I have steered the discussion of death and memory towards identifying the importance of burial sites as places of power, considering not only what goes into graves but also the relationship between graves, above-ground monuments, sacred architectures, and funerary spaces (see also Semple and Williams

2015; Williams 2016, 2017). I have identified how further attention to place and memory might have enriched them (cf. Valk 2015). The flip side are those chapters that focused instead on sites, monuments, and locales and the social memories that accrue to them through both ritual practices over the longer term and during modern-day processes of fieldwork and heritagization.

A logical starting point is the insightful chapter by Äikäs and Ahola. They explore the long-term biographies of two archaeological sites from prehistory to today. Contrasting an urban environment in Southern Finland with a Saami sacred natural place, they argue that 'heritagization' is a process we can trace from at least the 10th century AD at the Taatsi offering site through to present-day Pagan and touristic engagements. Meanwhile, the Jönsas cemetery is considered in regard to its multiple uses and reuses from the Stone Age through the Bronze and Early Iron Ages and its rediscovery through archaeology and manifestation in street names, a below-floor display in the museum, and a second reactivation within urban planning. While it would be easy to see this as a 'continuity' of ritual practice linking the pre-Christian past or a post-Christian/secular present, there are other ways of reading this evidence that take into account both social memories and ritual practices over the long term. I refer here not to an evolving 'tradition' or a series of unrelated events and processes, but to staged and ritualized processes of engagement with these locales, involving very different processes of remembering and forgetting: mnemonic palimpsests (cf. Holtorf and Williams 2006). In such a framework, incorporating Lash's (2018) approach to taskscapes for understanding ritual practice, Jönsas might have already experienced multiple mnemonic disjunctures and re-engagements before it was 'slowly forgotten' after the Early Iron Age. This interleaving of remembering and forgetting certainly seems to apply to the 20th- and 21st-century story of the site's excavation and significance in contemporary society. Meanwhile Taatsi and Taatsinkirkko's offerings need not constitute the persistence of a singular tradition by a specific group, but perhaps competing and interleaving rituals performed with various motivations in relation to a sacred soundscape and the visual opposition between offerings and the Taatsinkirkko cliff. A specific analogy can be found in the reactivation of early medieval *leachta* in 19th-century *turas* rituals on Inishark of the western coast of Ireland (Lash 2018). Specifically, the associations of these ritual sites with watery and coastal locations might be considered part of a broader present-day revitalization of interest in wells, springs, streams, and rivers (particularly bridges and fords) connecting multiple faith groups and traditions including Pagan and Christian pilgrims, as well as secular visitors and tourists (e.g. Houlbrook 2017).

Returning to Moilanen and Hiekkanen's chapter reporting on excavations of the Renko church, one aspect that needed further consideration concerns the specific *biography* of churches and other sacred architectures. Notable is the tenacity of burial after the place of worship had fallen out of use in the mid-17th century because of structural issues and the building had been robbed by locals until 1783 when the stone church was rebuilt. The fact that the church remained a prestigious – expensive and respected – location for burial by wealthier families shows the mnemonic power of sacred architecture to operate as 'timemarks' even as a ruin (Ingold 1993; see also Holtorf and Williams 2006). This prompts me to remark on the need for studies of death, burial, and commemoration to pay closer attention to the installation and citations between graves, funerary monuments, and church architecture (see Williams 2017), as well as other furnishings and fittings with potential memorial dimensions, from windows and doors to flooring and pews.

Modarress also addresses a sacred building in exploring the biographical relationship between place and the Turkansaari chapel. This was a prayerhouse built in the mid-/late 17th century. The chapel was established in the centre of an island to serve salmon-fishing communities and traders east of Oulu, but it also acquired a distinctive afterlife of multiple translations and reuses. It was removed to serve a warehouse in the early 19th century, but in the 1920s it was acquired and transferred back to the island where it was rebuilt on its original spot, later becoming an outdoor museum. Modarress reviews the finds from archaeological excavations before considering the broader pattern of chapel construction as more than providing convenient places of worship but part of the infrastructure of the Lutheran church institutionializing the faith in the Finnish landscape. There is potential for taking this approach further by considering how the architecture reflected the strength, status, and self-esteem of communities, but also in considering how the island chapel had not only a practical significance in relation to the communities served, but a link to sacred geography. One dimension of this observed by Modarress is the association with burial islands known from elsewhere and used for temporary and (at least sometimes) permanent disposal of the dead for dispersed fishing and trading communities. There is considerable potential for also investigating the quotidian environments of these buildings, including associations with dwellings but also markets and other public gatherings, much akin to the recent flood of recent archaeological research looking at the socio-political and sacred geographies of medieval assembly places and practices (e.g. Murrieta-Flores and Williams 2017). Specifically, the sensorial environments, including viewsheds and soundscapes, of chapels might be profitably investigated. Likewise, their comparative biographies from building to abandonment and (in this case at least) reuse might help to situate the Turkansaari chapel in the context of shifting ritual uses through time.

We next move to non-sacred architecture. The fascinating documentary archaeology of Hemminki explores literal and pictorial representations of the Devil and devilish caricatures in discourses relating to metalworking, masculinity, and architectures before and during the industrial revolution in Finland. As well as reviewing the dangerous and magical qualities perceived for metalworking in pre-industrial societies, which has importance for understanding relationships between fiery technologies, including those with overt ritualized dimensions, Hemminki takes the discussion forward to evaluate the factory as demonic hellscape and the portrayal of both mill owners, scabs, and strikers, in opposing narratives, as in league with the Devil.

There is considerable potential for extending this approach to evaluating the perceived fickle, both benevolent and hazardous, agencies of factories and their environs, particularly their machinery, when in operation and thereafter. The personification of industrial landscapes through naming practices, from steam engines to mineshafts, might be regarded as a rich avenue of further investigation into how these spaces were perceived as in some ways ‘animated’ with spiritual forces. Furthermore, are abandonment and ruined post-industrial landscapes also perceived as inhabited by material agencies?

If factories might be perceived as ‘haunted’ by ghosts of former devilry, we next turn to the German POW camp of Kankiniemi by Herva and Seitsonen. Again, the dead are part of this landscape, with exhumations for reburial taking place in the 1950s. This reveals that all archaeologies of entangled beliefs and rituals have emotive qualities and how archaeologists working with local communities must be sensitive to the sense of places haunted by bad memories, if not actually by ghosts.

12.4. Archaeologists doing ritual

This leads us to our third theme: a crucial dimension of the book is how the chapters tackle not only how archaeologists interpret the traces of past ritual practices and the material evidence of entangled and hybridizing belief systems but also how archaeologists are themselves ‘ritual practitioners’ in various ways. This has serious ethical considerations regarding how our field practice and heritage interpretations are implicated in contemporary communities, politics, and popular culture linked to the ritual practices conducted at specific sites, sacred buildings, monuments, and landscapes.

This is pertinent to field archaeologists digging up and reporting on church burials. Notably, Moilanen and Hiekkanen report on the ethics of uncovering, recording without exhumation, and then covering over the graves. This reflected both limitations in storage and also a strong feeling from the parish that the remains should not be moved. However, the right clavicle of each grave was removed and stored in the archaeological collections of the Finnish Heritage Agency for future study. Archaeologists here are mediators of mortality in ethical and sociological terms (cf. Giles and Williams 2016).

Likewise, the biographies of ritual sites are discovered and transformed through archaeological interventions. For the Jönsas cemetery and Taatsi offering site, Äikäs and Ahola reveal the potential influence of archaeological work upon contemporary perceptions: can we always be objective bystanders when our work is physically and conceptually altering how visitors understand and experience these environments? The same question most certainly applies to archaeological work at Neolithic monuments in the UK, as recently exemplified by public archaeological investigations at Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey, Wales (Hijazi et al. 2019) and the Cochno Stone rock art site, West Dunbartonshire, Scotland (Brophy and Sackett 2019).

Regarding investigation of pet cemeteries, Ikäheimo hints at the potential role of extending the long tradition of community projects involving graveyard survey to these environments of animal commemoration. This rightly recognizes the long tradition of volunteer involvement in graveyard survey as a positive and versatile mechanism of community engagement (Mytum 2004). Similarly, latent in Hukantaival's study is the potential for museum collections to inform and enrich public understandings of pre-modern perceptions of material agency.

A further instance of archaeologists' ethical practice is their role in working with volunteers and negotiating their emotive and spiritual entanglement with material culture, as addressed via investigating 'haunted' abandoned POW camps by Herva and Seitsonen. Their case study sheds light on how archaeological projects often mediate uncomfortable dark memories for local communities, but is archaeology unleashing or helping to exorcize past horrors?

These studies together reflect on how and when archaeologists should themselves serve as death-dealers and ritual specialists, mediating community engagements with dying, death, and the dead (see Williams and Williams 2007; Sayer 2010; Brown 2016; Giles and Williams 2016; Sayer and Sayer 2016; Büster et al. 2018; Goldstein 2018). As well as through our formal reports, there is considerable potential for thinking further about how we might profitably use dialogues with folklore and fiction to promulgate our theories, methods, and techniques within public archaeology projects. At present, there is a hardening of the boundaries between archaeology and faith groups, with a particular tendency to regard all spiritualities and stories not grounded in rational scientific understandings of the past as 'fake news' (cf. Gazin-Schwartz 2011). Certainly archaeologists must work hard to denounce and distance themselves from racist and white supremacist fantasies about the past, as well as all manner of interconnected pseudoarchaeologies (e.g. Anderson 2019). Yet equally, this need not involve a retrenchment away from working with local indigenous communities and stakeholders to fashion new insights into ritual and religion past and present. In doing so, however, we should question whether we should be content with conducting and writing anodyne parables that cause little or no offence and respect local sensitivities? Alternatively, should our responsibilities as archaeologists extend to uncovering and touching upon troubled pasts and disturbing narratives in our narratives for diverse publics?

12.5. Conclusion

Together, the chapters in this stimulating and successful edited collection explore the long roots of contemporary ritual practices. The collection tackles changes and continuities, as well as the fluid borders between quotidian and ritual spheres. The book engages with how archaeologists work in the field, at museums or heritage sites, and through our publications, public outreach, and digital engagements as mediators in the ongoing entanglement of people with sacred places and ritual practices past and present.

There is striking potential here to inspire future research. There are also inevitable lacunae. From my perspective, there is an underlying tendency to still try to disentangle that which is fully entangled, including 'Christian' from 'folklore', people from place. Also, what I perceive as a limitation is the lack of integration with archaeological approaches into the rich mnemonic above-ground terrains of cemeteries and churchyards (see Tarlow 1999; Mytum 2004; Williams and Williams 2019). Furthermore, this is connected to a bias in the collection towards below-ground traces whilst above-ground funerary monuments and ritual traces receive less consideration. Richer investigations into the fabrics, furnishings, and fittings of sacred architectures, including memorials integrated into church doors, windows, walls, and floors, is surely an important trajectory for future work. More extended and critical reflection is also required regarding the roles archaeologists take in mediating between field investigations, museum collections, and storytelling. If these research topics are tackled alongside the rich strands of enquiry reflected in this book, archaeologists will be able to develop fresh and rich directions in the study of entangled rituals and beliefs.

Howard Williams is Professor of Archaeology at the University of Chester and researches mortuary archaeology, archaeology and memory, the history of archaeology, and public archaeology. He founded and currently co-edits the *Offa's Dyke Journal* and regularly writes an academic blog: *Archaeodeath*.

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