

## *The World of Folk Belief*

In agrarian Finland, the existence of the supernatural was an unquestioned fact. Seventeenth-century court records show that everyone – judges, witnesses, and accused witches alike – believed in the existence of supernatural powers. Magic was not always even regarded as magic but merely as normal activities appropriate to particular contexts. With the establishment of public schooling in the nineteenth century, however, this worldview began to be challenged. People's orientation to supernatural

beliefs and procedures began to vary greatly from individual to individual. Some maintained the old convictions while others adopted skeptical or outright disbelieving attitudes. This development occurred at different times in different parts of the country and continued into the first decades of the twentieth century.

The following overview describes the beliefs before the growth of doubt and reflect a worldview in which the supernatural was never disregarded, never ignored. Every unusual event, every turn of fortune was regarded as a sign, punishment, or reward from the supernatural realm, to be interpreted, remedied, or faced with resignation. Disease was seen as the manifestation of supernatural forces, to be cured in turn through supernatural rituals. The line between official church teachings and folk belief blurred entirely in a folk religiosity which was at once fervently Christian and non-Christian. Cataloguing of individual folk beliefs alone cannot convey the complexity and coherence of the agrarian worldview.

Certain deep-seated and widespread concepts underlay much of agrarian beliefs in the supernatural as well as magic procedures. One of the greatest of these was the evil eye (*paha silmä*), which was regarded as a destructive power emanating from another person's gaze. Some people were born with the evil eye (e.g., breach babies; see Omens, Chapter 5). These poor souls could damage the luck of others involuntarily, simply by laying eyes on their animals or property. The evil eye could prove especially damaging to a farm's cattle luck (*karjaonni*), which was one of the most fragile of all the many types of luck known. Success in baking, brewing, fishing and hunting could all be spoiled by the evil eye. All persons guarded their own glances assiduously so as to prevent the unintentional sending of ill effects and monitored the eyes of others for signs of malevolent intent.

If the sending of the evil eye was unintentional for some, it was the product of conscious malice on the part of others. Envy was regarded as one of the principal causes for enmity between neighbors and an envious person might intentionally or unintentionally send the evil eye. Thus, it was important to prevent feelings of envy through acts of generosity or through talking down the virtues of any personal possession, child, or animal in conversation. The merits of a cow or the beauty of a daughter could not be boasted about by any means, otherwise it might well be spoiled in the near future. Visitors coming to see a newborn baby were treated to plentiful drink to prevent their minds from turning to envy and in fishing, too, the first person who passed by after one had caught a salmon had the right to take the salmon with him. Called *orpana* (cousin, relative), the passer by was offered the possible object of his desires even before the thought entered his mind. In this way, the fisherman might forfeit his catch, but not his luck. Better to lose an object than incur the envy and malice of others. These customs have their origins in pre-Christian understandings of luck and evil, yet they were also consonant with Christian teachings about the merits of generosity. As the proverb put it: "Joka köyhää armahtaa, hän lainaa Herralle" ("Mercy to the poor is a loan to the Lord.") In this way, Christian and non-Christian traditions were unified into a consistent folk religion.

Finnish legends and folktales alike are filled with examples of the evil

effects which arise from miserliness toward neighbors, friends, or itinerant beggars. Some people used the fear of the evil eye to great advantage in gaining hospitality. “You’ll remember this when you start seeing blood in your cows’ milk” was the kind of veiled threat which some beggars could use to gain a meal or place to sleep from an otherwise unwilling host. Of course, such threats could backfire in the long run, as occurred in the case of the itinerant healer Maisa, who was convicted of witchcraft in Köyliö in 1652. At her trial, many witnesses reported how she had threatened them with evil luck if they did not give her what she wanted. Those who had disregarded her threats reported losses and Kaisa had become a feared specter in the local community.

Agrarian Finns spoke of many different kinds of luck in daily life: *lapsionni* (luck with children), *naimaonni* (luck in marriage), *kalaonni* (luck in fishing), even *voionni* (luck in butter churning). Whatever the variety, however, luck is a limited good concept, meaning that one person’s luck is viewed as deriving from a loss of luck in someone else’s ventures. Luck could be drained away or guarded through magic and sudden changes in one’s fortunes were regarded as sure signs of theft on a supernatural plane. Similarly, a run of good luck was regarded as the likely precursor to a run of bad: either one’s luck would be noticed and stolen away, or in the natural ebb and flow of things, the luck which had come rushing into one’s affairs would soon ebb away. Even mentioning such a turn in luck could start the reversal.

Another concept central to Finnish understandings of the supernatural was *väki*. *Väki* can be defined as the inherent power of things, be they objects, persons, times, or processes. The power of an entity is distributed throughout its physical manifestation, so that even a little piece or product of it may hold inherent power. Some pieces – like bears’ teeth, coal, and dirt from a grave – carried a particularly powerful charge of *väki*, stemming from the cosmic power of the larger entities to which they belonged – the bear, fire, death. Certain moments in the year, too – such as *juhannus* night (Midsummer) – were charged with curative *väki*, arising from the fecundity of nature at the height of the summer. Baths taken on that night, if combined with the right herbs and words, could cure many ailments or ensure luck in marriage. These concepts of the inherent power were mostly unconscious and they were not expressed as verbal beliefs or clear dogma. The concept of *väki* may be compared to the Melanesian *mana* or Iroquois *orenda* and has counterparts in worldviews of many peoples around the world.

## Omens

Reacting to the hardships of life is one thing, but predicting them is another. To know of impending danger, of secret evil, or coming events good or ill is half the work of setting things right. And so, agrarian Finns, faced with untrustworthy weather, periodic famine and epidemics, war and poverty, sought to read messages of the future in the subtle signs of the present. An omen could come as a quiet inkling, a physical sensation, a vision in a dream, a sight or sound in the waking world. Every unexpected

detail of daily life could hold answers to the question of what the future would bring. Unfortunately, sometimes the true meaning of an omen only became evident in hindsight, when the strange occurrence was followed by some unexpected tragedy. Accounts of omens heeded or ignored were frequent parts of daily conversation.

If a magpie comes to the barnyard to cackle, you know that someone in the household is about to receive sad news.

If one's ears ring, it means the death of a distant relative. The right ear for a man, the left means a woman.

If the cat washes its backside in the doorway, it means that lascivious guests are on the way.

An abundance of rowan berries means a winter with little snow.

– Tornio River Valley

Although puzzling at times in their chains of causality, traditional omens are united by common themes and types of events. Death is the most common subject of omens, even more so than is sometimes indicated by the archived records, since the event could be described cryptically as “sad news,” “tragedy,” etc. Even mention of the topic of death could produce ill effects. The weather also figured as a prime topic of omens. Proper forecasting of the coming year's weather was not simply a topic of idle curiosity – improper predictions could spell the demise of a farm, fisherman, or village. The mundane events which held predictive power in omens varied in surface detail but shared in the quality of unusualness. The abrupt and seemingly purposeful interaction of humans and animals, or the marked change in the quantity of a natural resource could very well betoken a change in luck.

Omens concerning other people had their own distinctive features. They might occur as a physical sensation (e.g., ringing ears, a dry mouth) or through perception of the person's front-walker (*etiäinen* or *eellusmies*), a spirit which precedes a person on a journey. In Northern Finland, some farmwives prided themselves on the ability to hear the footsteps of a person's *etiäinen* well ahead of the person's own arrival. This prescience allowed her to have food and drink ready for when the person eventually showed up. Such a gift not only made her a good hostess, it helped ensure that visitors would not have time to grow envious while waiting for a hand out. Human accompanying spirits also might materialize at the home farm when the person had died in a distant land. In an era before telephones and telegrams, news of a relative's death in America or at war might otherwise take weeks to arrive. Through apparitions at the moment of death, the family could learn of the tragedy faster.

Along with death and the weather, marriage figured as an important focus of omens. A girl's childhood was filled with omens, observed half in jest, half in seriousness. If the girl spilled something on her apron, it meant she would marry a drunk. If she swept the room poorly, it meant that her suitors would turn away. Girls competed at household activities that boded

well for their futures. If the fastest harvester would be the first married, for instance, one could feel a greater incentive to working hard. In daily life, few people stopped to debate the veracity of the omen or the likelihood of the promised result – it was enough to hear it to believe.

Interpreting omens in a dream posed its own challenges. On the one hand, dream omens were regarded a predictive of future events; as the proverb puts it: “*Mitä päiväl pääs, sitä yöll unis*” (“What happens today was dreamed of last night.”) On the other hand, dreams – and the night in general – were also regarded as the devil’s playground where wrong messages could easily be sent. From the middle of the nineteenth century, dream interpretation was aided by published books, purportedly the translations of Egyptian or Chaldean tracts. These works give long alphabetically arranged lists of dream contents along with explanations of their import. According to the 1857 *Unen-Selitys-Kirja* for instance – a chapbook apparently translated from Swedish – dreaming of a sale meant happiness or luck, unless the item sold was iron or steel, which were predictive of misfortune. Such books were widely available and represented but one of many published works which contributed to folk beliefs in magic and the supernatural.

## Word Magic

Word magic was a central feature and tool of agrarian Finnish healing and the manipulation of one’s luck. Words were not simply arbitrary signs, as modern linguists maintain. Rather, they were entities concretely linked to their referents, sharing in their *väki*, and susceptible to magic manipulation. By controlling words, one could control entities otherwise beyond one’s reach. A name in particular shared in its owner’s *väki* and could be used to compel the entity to behave in the manner desired. The very mention of the devil or hell could make them present, and *väki*-laden animals, such as the bear, were also referred to by circumlocutions.

Cursing – wishing evil on someone in words – was as dangerous an act of aggression as physical assault. On the other hand, when combined with ritual procedures and other objects filled with *väki*, words could be used to cure and help.

One of the primary expressions of word magic in Finland was the incantation (*loitsu*). Performed exactly and with the right accompanying acts (e.g., spitting, blowing), the chant could bring a desired boon or prevent danger. Ordinary people usually possessed only few short commands and exhortations, which they performed during their daily activities, e.g., at the beginning of a hunt or fishing trip, or when starting to milk cows. Professional seers and healers combined far longer incantations with elaborate procedures to help raise or settle the dead, stanch blood, cure snake bites or other ailments, and aid in childbirth. The variety of *loitsut* in existence and the tasks performable through their magic, staggers the imagination. This topic is described in greater detail in Chapter 5.

## Healing

The shamanic *tietäjä* of Finnish epic songs found counterparts in the various kinds of healers common in agrarian societies. Ethnographic evidence indicates that Finnish healers were usually male and often combined magical procedures such as trance and *loitsu* recitation with pieces of current or past medical science. Their duties ranged from finding lost people or objects to discovering the perpetrators of crimes such as theft. Clients also turned to them for help in treating ailments such as mental disease or snake bites. Specialists practiced techniques like cupping and leeching, which had their origins in recognized medical science of the past and remained important in agrarian communities into the beginning of the twentieth century. Others specialized in massage, love potions, blood stanching, and herbalism. The sauna was also used as an important tool in maintaining or regaining health.

Like many forms of traditional healing, Finnish folk medicine tended to be symptom oriented and holistic. Curing involved discovery of the root of an ailment and the performance of magical procedures designed to banish or correct it. In a fusion of Christian and non-Christian worldviews, many healers from Finland's Swedish-speaking coast described their acts in Christian terms. After all, had not Christ himself cured the sick through banishing spirits, laying of the hands, and other procedures? The texts of Finnish *loitsut* may describe the cosmic origins of offending ailments and banish them through magic powers, but they also frequently contain appeals to Christ, the Virgin Mary, or other saints.

Official medicine had only begun to make a foothold in rural Finland during the nineteenth century. The first licenses for pharmacists were issued in Turku and Viipuri in 1689, and professionally produced and marketed drugs had become available even before then. But professional doctors were few in number well into the nineteenth century. Elias Lönnrot tried to bridge the gap between medical science and the folk through his work *Talonpojan Koti-Lääkäri* ("The Peasant's Home Doctor" 1839), largely a translation of a similar text in Swedish. He also took a strong interest in the traditional healing methods of agrarian Finns, of which he was less condemnatory than were many European doctors of his day.

Infectious disease and epidemics beset the Finnish population up into the twentieth century. Only with the development and use of vaccines in the present century have mass outbreaks of disease become a thing of the past. As late as the eighteenth century, bubonic plague wiped out two-thirds of Helsinki's population, and in the nineteenth century, infectious disease accounted for roughly half of all deaths in Finland. Deafness was also a common reminder of past disease in those who survived such scourges as scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, and smallpox. Smoky fires and the use of candles for lighting led to frequent eye irritation, which could in turn lead, when the eyes were rubbed, to serious eye infections. Blindness as an outcome of eye infections or other diseases was also far more common than today.

It is difficult to generalize about Finnish concepts of disease due to the

variety of differing beliefs and viewpoints current in the agrarian era. Some people, such as the Karelian informant Marina Takalo, classified diseases in two broad categories: those sent by God (*Jumalan taudit*, against which no medicine or magic could prevail) and those sent by evil people or forces (*tekotaudit*). The latter ailments, which included the cold, fevers, skin diseases, boils, fatigue, and aches, could be cured if an effective healer were found. As with modern medicine, healers specialized in particular areas of the trade: some were accomplished cuppers, travelling from village to village, while others were adept in massage, snakebite treatments, skin care, herbalism, and love potions.

Understanding a disease involved discovering its cause. Folk beliefs attributed disease sometimes to an accidentally ingested worm or to a dart shot at the person unawares. It was also important to discover whether the evil eye or other malevolent forces were at work in any illness. Some ailments were seen as *kirot* ("curses"), caused by another person's ill will or verbal curse. The cursed person might feel listless or tired or develop a hunched back. Symptoms of epilepsy or mental disturbances were also viewed as the products of curses. Some informants reported that a person could cause another to go insane by stealing some of the victim's hair and casting it into the turbulence of a waterfall or rapids. Such understandings of health, like views of luck, were based on a limited good concept: only so much prosperity existed in the world. Magic was motivated sometimes by simple ill will or the desire to wreak revenge, but it also sometimes derived from the desire to steal some good fortune away from another whose portion in life seemed sufficient.

## *Incantations (Loitsut)*

The belief in the power of words to control events and entities is a central tenet of magic. In traditional agrarian society, a word or name was seen not as a mere arbitrary sign (as modern linguists would have it) but as an integral element of the signified, sharing the entity's essence, inherent power (*väki*), and intent. The belief in the power of words affected Finnish customs in myriad ways. Tabus concerning the mention of the names of deceased people or supernatural beings (e.g., the devil) were widespread and even the names of human reproductive organs (items of intense concern in farm society) were avoided in daily speech. Greetings were seen as more than simple opening formulas – wishing someone well was viewed as contributing to the recipient's good fortune just as wishing someone ill (or cursing) was understood to contribute directly to a person's downfall. Misfortune, illness and accidents of all kinds were understood as arising out of human interpersonal relations: having the good will of others thus ensured a happy and prosperous life. Conversely, incurring the anger, envy, or hatred of others led inevitably to sorrow. Many customs of generosity and politeness arose not as genteel manners but as practical defenses against the potential threats of envy or the evil eye.

Magic incantations share in this concept of the magical efficacy of words and feelings. Incantations gave Finns power over the vast array of beings, forces, and events which impinged on daily life but remained outside of human control otherwise. Magic words were a link to the *väki*, power, of the things described – power which could be compelled by speech to follow human commands. Incantations also take the form of direct communications between the human performer and supernatural interlocutor. Through such formulaic speech, the human could bully, threaten, or cajole the being into

leaving the human community alone or granting it some boon. Incantations made up the Finnish arsenal against the unknown.

The oldest recorded Balto-Finnic incantation is a fourteenth-century birchbark text, discovered in archeological excavations in Novgorod. Composed in Karelian, it contains references to the sky and Christian God, referred to by a Russian name. Later examples crop up as testimony in court trials or as marginalia in clerics' texts. Such is in the case with the incantation below, recorded by an unknown cleric in the pages of an account register for the royal estate at Korsholm and dating from 1564:

Benedicite Dominus	God bless
Tyydy sille kuin sinä ottanut olet	be content where you have
anna jäädä jotka sinä jättänyt olet	been taken
pyhän hengen väki olkohon minun kanssa. --	stay where you have been left
	may the force of the Holy Spirit
	be with me.--
Kaikki tuskat, kaikki vaivat	All pains, all troubles
mene Ruskian kallion rakoo(n)	go into a hole in brown rock
kuin sinäkin tullut olet.	from which you also emerged.

The incantation, made up of both Finnish and Latin formulas, addresses a disease, commanding it to remain in the place to which it has been banished, presumably through some healing ritual. Short incantations of this kind, some limited to a single poetic couplet (e.g., the fishing charm *Anna Antti ahvenia, Pekka pieniä kaloja*; "Give, St. Andrew, perch; give, St. Peter, little fish") were widespread elements of daily life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and often survived into the twentieth century as well. Clearly, however, performers varied over the centuries in the degree to which they took their incantations seriously: later performers often used incantations half in jest, continuing the tradition out of a sense of custom or habit or viewing the charm performance as a means of preventing ill luck rather than as a means of guaranteeing good.

The incantation could be performed in a voice ranging from a soft murmur to a loud, commanding declamation. In any case, it was marked by a strong rhythm and rapid recitation, signalling its word-for-word memorization. It could be performed before an undertaking, in reaction to some event or accident, or in preparation for some eventuality. It was seldom performed publicly. In fact, healers and seers (*tietäjät*) generally recited their formulas so rapidly that not even the patient could make out the words. Many incantations were performed in the privacy of daily activities, as at the beginning of a hunt, when going out fishing, or when starting to milk the cows. In any case, proper performance generally required an animated use of voice and body, a summoning up and display of powerful emotion coupled with the words for full effect.

The ability to enter a trance state also enhanced the effectiveness of the incantation. A *tietäjä* was a trained practitioner of magic, usually male, who had committed many incantations to memory and was able to use them effectively in healing or performing magical tasks. A trance could be induced

by rapid hopping and hyperventilation, possibly in conjunction with the sauna, alcohol, or pain. The *tietäjä*'s art finds parallels and explanations in the ancient Kalevalaic songs of great seer-heroes. Whereas the average peasant of the nineteenth century possessed a few incantations for common needs (e.g., for fishing, safety when lighting a fire, luck in cattle), the *tietäjä*'s long and involved incantations could raise the dead, stanch blood, cure snake bites, or ease childbirth. Some recorded texts reach lengths of one to two hundred lines. The variety of incantations in existence and the tasks performable through their magic is nearly endless.

Although the contents and structure of incantations vary greatly, certain regularities emerge. They are often addressed to a spirit, saint, or God. In contrast to a prayer, however, incantations accomplish their ends not by entreating the addressee to help but by compelling the entity through a magic formula. The line between prayer and incantation becomes fine, however, when we examine texts such as childbirth incantations addressed to the Virgin Mary. These invite Mary to bring a golden axe and silver battleaxe with which to widen the mother's thighs, letting the little-fingered one drop to the ground. The vivid imagery of the formula and the forcefulness of its instruction makes it seem more a compelling injunction to Mary than a plea, although it can be seen as such.

Incantations often contain narratives about either the origin of the entity or its past dealings with Jesus or some other powerful being. By demonstrating knowledge of the being and reminding it of its defeats, the performer asserts dominance over it, strengthening the efficacy of the words themselves. The snake bite incantation below tells of the supernatural origin of the snake, its banishment from the Garden of Eden, and its subjection to human will today. The fire incantation below – recorded in a sung version in 1905 in the earliest sound recording of any Finnish folksong – tells of the origin of fire in Ukko's lightning, its penetration into the earth, and the performer's surety of protection from fire, bears and wolves. The narrative (historiola) portions of such incantations often relate to epic songs in the Kalevalaic meter, incorporating the same characters (e.g., Väinämöinen), similar exploits, or similar images. The narratives contained in incantations are also often explicitly Christian in content, however.

One tradition of incantations survives among modern Finnish children. On Palm Sunday, children may go about their neighborhoods with decorated branches, reciting a luck-bringing incantation (included below). They are often dressed as witches or trolls. In return, the children are given treats on Easter morning, often today chocolate or liquorice. This custom represents an interesting fusion of eastern and western influences. In 19th-century eastern Karelia, poor old women performed the ritual in the hopes of alms. The custom was linked to Orthodox celebrations of Palm Sunday, as the word *virpominen* (from Old Church Slavonic *verba*) indicates. It spread to Finland largely through the activities of displaced Karelians. In Finland, it lost its explicitly religious connotations and became fused with Swedish – Finnish customs of going door to door dressed as witches or trolls in pursuit of treats. Folk belief held that witches and trolls were active on the eve of Easter, while Christ lay behind the stone in his grave.

## A Healer's Opening Words

En puhu omalla suulla,  
puhun suulla puhtaalla,  
Herran hengellä hyvällä,  
läikyttelen lämpösillä,  
läpi luun, läpi jäsenen,  
läpi lämminten lihojen.

– Kiihtelysvaara, 1895

### Go now, evil one

Lähe nyt, liika, liikkeelle,  
pois, paha, pakenemaan.  
Jo nyt on liian liike-aika,  
pois pahan pakennu-aika,  
ristitty rikkomasta,  
kastettu kaatamasta,  
tehty telomasta.  
Ei tässä sinun sijoosi  
sijankaan tarpeella.  
Saat nyt muuttoo majjoo,  
ehsiä elo-sijjoo.

Mäne tuonne, jonne käsken,  
mäne tuonne, jonne lähetän,  
ilman tietäjän kitaa,  
Lapinmaahan laukeesen.  
Siellä on muutki murhamiehet,  
ikuiset pahantekijät.  
Siellä on luutonta lihoo,  
siellä on päätöntä kaloo,  
suonetonta kynnäspäätä  
syyä miehen nälkäsen.  
haukata halun alasen.  
Siellä on hirvet hirsipuissa,  
otsissa metän otukset.

– Juuka, 1885

\*liika: a term used in incantations for disease, surplus, superfluous

### For Trapping Squirrels

Oravainen, värtäjäinen,  
metsän valkie vasanen,  
puun puria puhtahainen,  
korven kirjo lähtemäinen,  
ojennaite oksaselle,  
levitäite lehväselä.  
Lapsimies on ampumassa,  
pentukoira haukkumassa,  
pärejouset, puikkonuolet,  
ei ne tietä kannattane.

– Uhtua, Viena Karelia, 1888.

I do not speak with my own mouth;  
I speak with a pure mouth.  
with the good spirit of the Lord  
I splash with warmth  
through bone, through member,  
through warm flesh.

Go now, liika\*, on your way  
away, evil one, be off!  
Now is the time for the liika to leave  
time for the evil one to flee,  
from hurting the baptised,  
from upsetting the christened,  
from injuring the born.  
There is no place for you here  
even if you need a place.  
You can move your home now,  
look for your own dwelling place.

Go where I bid you;  
Go where I send you,  
into the jaws of the wizard of the air  
into the expanses of Lapland.  
There are other murderers there,  
ancient evil-doers,  
there is meat without bone  
there is fish without a head  
an elbow without sinew  
to eat the hungry man  
to bite the one who wants.  
There the moose are on the gallows  
beasts of the forest on the beams.

Little squirrel, little jokester  
little white calf of the forest  
clean biter of wood  
calf with mottled ear  
stretch upon this little branch  
extend yourself upon this leafy twig;  
a young man is shooting  
a whelp is biting  
shingle bows, pin shafts  
may not carry you far.

## For Snakes

Matoseni, mammaseni,  
 maan siika, sileä siika,  
 kulon kultaisen alainen,  
 lehen lemмен juurehin,  
 letti raunion alainen,  
 kieppi kannon juurehin!  
 Sykerräte sykkyrahän,  
 käperräte käppyrähäm.  
 käypäs tälle kämmenelle,  
 tälle sormelle sovitte.  
 Sule suusi, peitä pääsi,  
 kätkie kielesi käpeä;  
 villa suusi, villa pääsi  
 villaiset sinun vihasi  
 villainen sinä itsekin.  
 Tunge pääsi turpesehen,  
 mätä pääsi mättähäsen.  
 Jospa tuolta pääsi nostat,  
 Ukko pääsi särkeköhön  
 pilvisillä pisaroilla,  
 rakehilla rautaisilla!

My little worm, my little mother  
 Whitefish of land, sleek whitefish,  
 creature of golden fire  
 rootling of a beloved leaf  
 braid, creature of the ruins  
 bundle, rootling of a stump  
 knot yourself into a tangle  
 curl yourself into a coil  
 come here to my palm  
 rest on this finger.  
 Melt your mouth, cover your head  
 hide you swift tongue  
 woolen your mouth, woolen your head,  
 woolen your hatred  
 woolen you are yourself.  
 Thrust your head into the turf.  
 Press your head into a hummuck.  
 If you raise your head from there  
 Ukko will crack your head  
 with cloudy drops  
 with iron hailstones.

– Kesälahti. Collector Elias Lönnrot 1828.

## Birth of Fire

Phonographic recording of Petri Shemeikka, Suistamo, 1905.  
 (*The Kalevala Heritage*. Helsinki: SKS and Ondine. 1995)

Tuiskaht on tu-li so-ro-ni Tuiskahti tu-li so-ro-ni

lä-pi moan läpi Ma-nu-lan läpi moan lä-pi Ma-nu-lan

lä-pi tuost on tuuran putken lä-pi tuost on tuuran putken

hal-gi kir-ve-hen ha-ma-ran halgi kir-ve-hen ha-ma-ran

Song Text: (each line repeated twice, except for the above two, in which the repetition was not exact)

Iski tulda ilman ukko  
välähytti Väinämöini  
viiel on vivuts' imella  
kuuvella kokon sulalla  
eläväl on ennuksella.  
Tuiskaht on tuli soroni  
Tuiskahti tuli soroni  
läpi moan,  
läpi Manulan  
Läpi tuost on tuuran putken  
halgi kirvehen hamaran.  
Kasvo rautaiset orahat,  
suten suurilla jälillä,  
karhun kämmenen sijoilla.  
En minä sure susia,  
pelkää en metsän petoja:  
Kaik on suet suitsipäissä,  
karhut rautakahlehisssa.

– Juuka, 1885

### Blood Stanching

Herkii pois hevo kuselta  
maho lehmä lypsämästä!  
Ei se maito muahan jouva  
punatilikka tippumaan.  
Syvämmes on sinun sijas  
maksas on majas  
keuhkolois on kellaris  
munusis on muu kotis.  
Ja pthyi!  
Seiso veri niinku seinä!  
Ja nyt se loppu.

– Joensuu; collected from Antti Parkkonen 1970.

### When Leaving the Sauna

Persons departing the sauna say:  
Kiessau saunast.

Ukko of the sky struck fire  
Väinämöini made a flash  
with five tail feathers  
with six eagle plumes  
with living auspices.  
A spark shot down  
A spark shot down  
through the earth,  
through Manula (realm of the dead),  
from there through an ice pick shaft,  
cleaving an axe head.  
Iron shoots grew up,  
in wolves' great tracks,  
in the bear's palm spots.  
I don't worry about wolves,  
fear forest beasts:  
All the wolves are bridled,  
the bears in iron chains.

Stop the horse from pissing  
the farrow cow from giving milk!  
The milk will not flow on the ground  
the red drop drip.  
Your place is in the heart  
your house is in the liver  
your cellar is in the lungs  
another of your homes is in the kidneys.  
And ptui! (*spits*)  
Stand, blood, like a wall!  
And now it will stop (*said while knocking*).

Jesus help us from the sauna.

The persons remaining inside the sauna answer:  
Kies hyvä, kies hyvä.

Good Jesus, good Jesus.

– Paimio

### Lying Down Outside

When lying down on bare ground one says:

Terve maa, maan haltija,  
suo mun rauhassa maataksen

Hail land, spirit of the land,  
let me lie here peacefully.

– Tyrvää

## Greeting the Moon

When one first sees the new moon, one must say:

Terve, terve, uusi kuu:	Hail, hail, new moon:
sinä täydeksi,	Let you become full,
minä terveeksi!	let me become healthy!

If this is done, one will remain healthy for the whole course of the moon.

– Töysä

## When Fishing

Anna Antti ahvenia	Let Antti [St. Andrew] bring perch,
Pekka pieniä kaloja	Pekka [St. Peter] bring little fish,
porohousu porsahia.	Buckskin pants bring piglets.

– Viitasaari

## Wedding Luck

The first time you splash water on a child you should say:

Miestä levveähartiijaista!	A broad-shouldered husband or
Vaimo levveälantioinen!	A wide-hipped wife!

Hold the wedding ring in the bath water and say while washing:

Että kuuna kuumottais,	That you may shine like the moon,
tähtinä tirottas!	glitter like stars!

– Pihtipudas

## Account of a Failed Marriage Spell

In the village of Salokylä, in Kirjavalta at the Honkanen farm there used to be five daughters. Their mother started to worry because none of them had gotten a husband, although they were all of marrying age. So the mother asked the magician Olli Laamanen (the gelder of Vääräjoki), who promised to perform such magic that certainly sons-in-law would appear. The sauna was heated up and the ritual went as follows:

The five sisters sat in a row on the sauna benches, and then the main procedure began. Olli took a well-soaked and softened sauna whisk in his right hand and incanted:

Nouse, lempi, liehumahan,	Rise, ardor, into a flutter,
kunnia kumajamahan,	honor, come settle upon them
näiden piikain pimpin päälle	atop these girls' cunts
lihaville lantioille!	onto their plump pelvises.
Jos ei tulevana kesänä	If not in the coming summer,
ni ei kuuna kullan valkiana.	then never at all.

But the girls' mother had stayed at the door of the sauna to listen and said: "Please, good gelder, don't marry them all off in one summer – we couldn't handle all the ceremonies." And this woman's words spoiled the whole spell.

– Saari

### **If You Are Too Much in Love**

If you are too much in love, you have to spit three times through the wedding ring of a married person, saying:

Menkөөn pois liika rakkaus minusta!    Let the extra love leave me.

– Juva

### **Making Someone Fall in Love with You**

One night put some blood on the clothes of the person you want to have love you and say:

Seuraa sinä minua,  
niinkuin tuo veri seuraa sinua!

You follow me  
as this blood follows you!

– Kankaanpää

### **Guarding against Envy**

When one says backbiting things about another, say in return:

Se kun sun suustas tulee  
se sun povees menkөөn  
ja ei minuun sattuko.

That which comes out of your mouth,  
let it affect your fortune  
and not touch mine.

– Somero

### **Wishing Good Luck on Palm Sunday**

On Palm Sunday night, everyone gets palms. Then these are bound into little bundles with paper wound around them. Then the children go into the village and start striking the older people with the whisks, and this is called *virpominen*. While doing this, they say:

Virpoi, varpoi  
tuoreeks, terveeks!  
Tulevaks vuodeks saunaan  
seitsemän lasta kaulaan!

Bless you, make you  
hale and whole!  
In the sauna in the coming year  
let seven children be born here!

Then the children go home and return on Easter morning to collect their reward. Then they are given some money or food, etc.

– Tyrvää