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“FOR A WITCH CANNOT CROSS
SUCH A THRESHOLD!”

BUILDING CONCEALMENT TRADITIONS
IN FINLAND C. 1200–1950

SONJA HUKANTAIVAL

Turku
2016

How we live our everyday lives has to be the main concern of religion.

– Kodo Sawaki, The Zen Teaching of Homeless Kodo.

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Foreword

Why is this study important? If taken to extremes, this question will lead to a notion that nothing is truly important in a large perspective: there seems to be no purely logical reason outside of our instincts and personal feelings why even the survival of either the individual or the species would be essential. However, when put back into its framework, the question has a good answer. The study of our past can be compared to the psychological method of psychoanalysis: by finding out what happened in the past, we can understand why things are the way they are in the present, and we can assess how things might be in the future. The study of the past is essentially the study of ourselves.

A sense of magical causality has not disappeared from human life. When something unusually good or bad happens we easily think back in order to try to find the cause of this fortune or misfortune in some previous deed. In some cases we find logical connections: I received a big grant since I managed to prepare a good application. Still, just as often we may think that what happened now is connected with some more logically distant but perhaps chronologically closer deed: I received this big grant since I helped that old lady cross the street this morning. Or, to take an example closer to my study, why do we easily expect that an accident is more likely to happen when our home insurance bill is unpaid? Even if we do not recognize this kind of magical thinking in ourselves, it is widely exploited in something quite everyday: the marketing industry. Take a closer look at any advertisement for beauty products or supposedly healthy foodstuffs, and you will see how the use of the product is promised to have magical effects on your whole life: the sun will shine, you will attract the attention of gorgeous members of the opposite sex (note also the heteronormativity), and even your children will be happy and more lovable. The wide use of this kind of marketing implies that it actually works. Thus, understanding this mechanism does not only contribute to understanding past mentalities.

Speaking of past mentalities, the tendency to emphasize mental processes over the material reality of human life has lately been criticized.¹ This critical discussion has not as such influenced this study, since the manuscript was already finished when I familiarized myself with it. However, although maybe not always explicit, as a wider *Zeitgeist* the notion of the importance of materiality alongside mental aspects of human life has been a basic notion throughout the study. Even when the meanings of the practices are discussed through the material finds, the main formula tested in the study (meaning = concealed object + its location) is not meant to imply a hierarchical relationship where the mental aspect is somehow primary to the material aspects of object and context. These all form the phenomenon of building concealments together.

Owing to Bjørnar Olsen's illuminating example of the Norwegian adventurer who skied across the Antarctic alone, but only with the help of a massive cooperation of equipment,

¹ E.g. OLSEN, B. 2010. *In Defence of Things. Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*. Archaeology in Society Series. Lanham: AltaMira.

their manufacturers, and sponsors,² I realize that this study is not my own but the product of a universe. Even at times when it seemed that I worked alone I was supported by numerous people and things: the late 19th–early 20th century collectors of folklore and the archivists, my excavating archaeologist colleagues, the previous academic studies cited here, my computer and programs, and their manufacturers, my university, and my funders. Even the manufacturers of the food I have eaten to be able to keep working and the providers of other basic needs have contributed to this work. This finished study is gratefully offered in return for all these efforts.

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I also wish to thank my family and non-archaeologist friends for reminding me that there are other things in life as well. A special thanks goes to Larri for sharing observations on reality.

² Olsen 2010: 143.

Part I
Foundation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When they were digging the foundation for a new cowshed at Mikkola estate in Saikari village in Rautalampi, they put a horse's head and hooves into the foundation ditch. This I saw with my own eyes as a 10-year-old, but the purpose is unknown to me.¹

Recorded in 1937, the oral account above is archived in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki (FLS FA). If an archaeologist were to excavate the remains of the Mikkola cowshed and find the horse skull and hooves in the foundation, s/he might concur with the ten-year-old eyewitness that the purpose of such an act seems puzzling. When the Mikkola cowshed was built (circa 1900), the traditional customs of ritually concealing objects in buildings were already disappearing. Thus, the young boy had not been acculturated to it. Researchers today are even further away and less likely to be familiar with the customs.

The main purpose of this study is to show the benefits of an “archaeology of folk religion” for increasing an understanding of such past practices as building concealments. More specifically, the study places ritual concealments in buildings in the context of the world experienced by the concealers. Although similar customs have been studied elsewhere in Europe and beyond (see Chapter 4), this study is unique from the perspectives of both methodology and the studied region. The study continues the work of my master's thesis (Hukantaival 2006), which scraped the surface of these customs. The results of that study, based on 21 finds of likely building concealments mainly in the south-western regions of Finland dating from circa 1200–1900 CE, were also published in English (Hukantaival 2007a). In the master's thesis, some published folklore accounts from the late 19th century were used as an ethnographic analogy against which archaeological finds were compared, but it became clear that the vast corpus of previously unstudied material could have much more to offer.

The realization of this study demanded a lengthy period of gathering the sources, since it soon became clear that an awareness of these customs among fieldworkers was crucial for finds of possible building concealments to be properly recorded during archaeological excavations. Going through archived folklore accounts, old museum catalogues, and excavation reports was a time-consuming task as well. The work paid off, however: the material of this study now comprises 234 finds of likely building concealments from all over the country, and an even larger body of folklore accounts (775). The methodology here also differs from that used in my master's thesis. The late 19th-century folklore material is treated now as source material, giving an equally important, but different, perspective on the customs. In addition, a few historical sources offer further insight into practices earlier than the 19th century. The two main source materials of finds and folklore are managed

¹ FLS FA. (g) Rautalampi. 1937. Juho Oksman b) 1554; informant Einar Korhonen, workman, born 1890 (?), translated by the author. See Chapter 6.1 about references to archived folklore accounts.

with a contextual approach, which has been modified to fit their respective particularities (see Chapter 3).

The geographical focus of this study is located mainly within the present-day borders of Finland, but material from eastern areas that were part of Finland before the Second World War, as well as other neighbouring areas on the Russian side of the border (Karelia and Ingria), are also included. The timeframe is broad as well, comprising the whole historical period of Finland, which begins approximately in the 13th century CE with state and church organizations administered by the Swedish kingdom. The endpoint of the research period (circa 1950) is based on the logic that true modernization, including large-scale urbanization and a break with the traditional lifestyle of Finnish society, took place rapidly after the Second World War. This extensive timeframe of approximately 700 years permits a discussion of the building concealments with a long-term perspective.

In previous research, ritual concealments in buildings have often been called “foundation sacrifices” or “foundation offerings”. Since these terms suggest religious activities, they directed my attention towards matters of religion when I began my master’s thesis. This frame of reference has remained, even after it became clear that not all concealments can be defined as offerings. However, such definitions are problematic, and I have been forced to challenge my views on the concept of religion and its limitations during the study process. Since building concealments made by common people were not an obvious part of an institutionalized religion, the concept of folk religion has been employed in the discussion.

Furthermore, building concealments have generally belonged to practices that could also be discussed in terms of customs, without any reference to religion. Nevertheless, the concepts “religion”, “ritual”, and “magic” remain useful (since the practices involve belief in entities such as guardian spirits of buildings and phenomena such as witchcraft, for example). The conclusion of my master’s thesis was that the meanings of the concealments were connected with offerings, fertility magic, and magical protection, with the latter being most pertinent. Magical protection was connected with a belief in malevolent forces, which were caused by malicious or envious neighbours. Because of these threatening powers from outside the household, the borders of a building needed to be strengthened with a ritual concealment (Hukantaival 2007a: 73).

This observation from a quite small body of evidence was my starting point, and it has been refined and expanded in light of the considerably larger material of the current study. Thus, the particular aims here are:

1. First, to map the phenomenon of ritual concealments in buildings in order to discover its extent, manifestations, and possible regional and chronological variations. This type of basic exploration has not previously been done.
2. The more specific hermeneutic aim is to discuss the motives, meanings, and internal logic of the concealments, as well as possible changes in their meanings. The concealment tradition is also studied in its wider contexts of society and worldview.
3. One special aim, from the viewpoint of archaeology, is to introduce a theoretical framework and develop a contextual multi-source method suitable for studying historical folk religion as part of the archaeology of religion.

In Finland, matters of folk religion have previously been discussed mainly within the disciplines of folkloristics and comparative religion, such that its historical and material aspects

have largely fallen outside the interests of study. In this study, this situation is remedied as to the particular case of building concealments. The work contributes to our understanding of past worldviews and the everyday concerns of ordinary people, and it provides a historical dimension to practices known from late modern folklore.

The study is divided into three parts. Part I discusses the backgrounds against which the subject is reflected: the theoretical and methodological frameworks, the research history, and the wider context in which the phenomenon of Finnish building concealments is situated. Part II contains analysis of the research materials, while a discussion and the results of the study are found in Part III.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My theoretical background is based in post-processual contextual archaeology and moderate relativism (see Trigger 2006: 470; Insoll 2004: 76–85). The importance of context is underlined in both a narrow and broad sense, and even though the past has existed as a fact, it is unlikely that this actual past can be reached objectively in the present by any method or any available source. Naturally, there are things that we can be quite sure about, and archaeological data offers limits for interpretations, but as soon as we are interested in understanding more complicated phenomena, the reality is that we have to settle for a well-argued, educated guess (see Geertz 1973: 20; Hodder 1987: 10).

The early, postmodernist-influenced critique on the positivist idea that the past can be accurately known in the present is centred around questions of how the archaeological data is influenced by the subjective choices of the researcher (see Trigger 2006: 444–478). Such questions are still relevant, but the choices made first in the field and later at one's desk are not the only processes that determine what we can know about the past. The archaeological material goes through a variety of different formation processes, affecting the picture that can be constructed of the past before it is encountered by the archaeologist (see Schiffer 1987). This is not only the problem of archaeology; other types of source materials go through formation processes as well. The result is that, even if it was possible for the present researcher to be truly objective, the picture of the past that s/he could (re) construct from the evidence would still be incomplete.

Realizing this should not be cause for despair. It is simply reality and something to be kept in mind. One can choose to only discuss fairly simple phenomena or merely engage in description of finds, but there is no need to settle for that. To make interpretations as well-argued as possible, I have chosen a contextual approach for the study topic (see Hodder 1987; 1995: 10–21, 159–173). Accordingly, the interpretations made in this study do not pretend to offer an exact reconstruction of past traditions, but one that is as accurate as possible in light of the available sources.

This study seeks to observe aspects of culture from a viewpoint of practicality, as understood by members of the respective cultural system (Johnson 2010: 80). Its main interest lies in how the practitioners themselves perceived their actions, as opposed to diving deep into unconscious symbolic meanings (cf. Sørensen 2007: 142–144). However, the symbolic aspects must not be completely disregarded. Moreover, since the subjects of this study cannot be interviewed, there is no way to completely avoid constructing meanings based on the scant data available. The types of meaning given to a ritual action can be classified as follows:

1. meanings in the mind of the individual participant during a ritual,
2. meanings shared by a larger group (community) partaking in a ritual, and
3. meanings constructed by an outside observer (researcher) of a ritual.

The first type is very hard to grasp, even when studying living practices. While generally seen as unreachable for archaeologists, its existence should still not be forgotten. An understanding of the second type is the objective of this study, and it is sought through the available evidence. As discussed above, in reality the third level cannot be completely eliminated.

2.1 KEY CONCEPTS OF THE STUDY

As mentioned, ritual concealments in buildings are generally seen in terms of folk religion.¹ Admittedly, this is not unproblematic. When looking into discussions on the abstract concepts of religion, ritual, and magic (see Appendix 1), it is apparent that following this path is not so simple. All of these terms can be defined with one sentence, but every definition can also be criticized on well-established grounds. Because of the problematic nature of these concepts, they are examined in more detail in Appendix 1 in a discussion that concerns high-level theories (see Trigger 2006: 30–36) used in the archaeology of religion more broadly as well.

The core of the problem of defining such terms is found in the difficulties of satisfactorily dividing and delimiting the complex and dynamic nature of reality (see also Hukantaiva 2015b). The main point of this discussion is to realize that the problems connected with the terminology of religion are inherent in human communication through language; they simply become emphasized when communicating about abstract phenomena (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 25–32). Language, by its nature, always simplifies reality (see e.g. Whorf 1952). The analogy used by the creator of general semantics Alfred Korzybski (e.g. 1951: 189) is illuminating; a map (word) should not be confused with the landscape (reality); it is only a simplified representation of it.² The concepts in this study are used to direct attention towards specific phenomena in the complex reality of human life. They are not intended to be equated with this reality.

In this study, “religion” is understood as beliefs, practices, and institutions which assume the existence of otherworldly agencies³ (see Bruce 1995: ix). “Folk religion” includes these beliefs and practices as they are experienced in everyday life, also outside of more fixed and institutionalized forms of religion (e.g. Yoder 1974: 14; Primiano 1995; Pyysiäinen 2004). As Pyysiäinen notes, folk religion stems from ordinary, everyday thinking and the immediate experience of individuals. It aims at practical usefulness, not at creating general theories, and it seeks evidence, not counter-evidence. This kind of intuitive religion is more relevant from an everyday point of view, compared to fixed theological systems (Pyysiäinen 2004). Still, the relationship between institutionalized religion and folk religion is not dualistic; it is more of a case of different viewpoints than two different systems (see also Johanson & Jonuks 2015).

“Ritual” refers to action that is emphasized by different techniques in order to set it apart from mundane action (e.g. Bell 1992; 1997; Kyriakidis 2007: 294), while “offering” (or “sacrifice”) is understood as a gift presented to an otherworldly agent (e.g. Hubert &

¹ Also called “popular religion” or “vernacular religion” (see Appendix 1).

² Another revealing analogy is “mistaking the finger pointing at the moon for the moon itself” (e.g. Schireson 2009: 233), where the finger is the concept and the moon the reality towards which attention is directed.

³ Such as gods, spirits, demons, or ancestors, and more impersonal forces believed to act with intention.

Mauss 1964 [1899]; van Baaren 1964; van Baal 1976; Oras 2013). In this study, “magic” is not assumed as separate from religion and worldview; magic is a specific understanding of causality. Similar to ritual, it can be religious (including an otherworldly dimension) or non-religious (unconcerned with otherworldly aspects). As a practice, magic is used to control otherwise uncontrollable aspects of life (see e.g. Malinowski 1954: 17–92; Wax & Wax 1963; Hammond 1970; Kieckhefer 1994; Bailey 2006). “Witchcraft” is here used as a sub-category of magic, but limited to malevolent intention (see e.g. Eilola 2003: 50–124).

Magical causality follows (subconscious) reasoning based on specific principles that have been called “laws of sympathy”: an image represents what it portray, similar objects or acts are connected, objects in contact with each other remain connected after separation, and a part of an object represents the whole (e.g. Frazer 1992 [1890]: 11–48; Mauss 2006 [1902]: 78–92, 120–126). In other words, metaphor and metonym are essential in this form of understanding. Metaphor and metonym are not arbitrary, but they are referential devices based on human cognition (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Magical effect conducted through these connections between objects is guided by the intention of the practitioner and certain materials or objects were believed to embody “magical properties” (e.g. *mana*, *orenda*) that could be connected to otherworldly agencies (Mauss 2006 [1902]: 81–83, 92–106, 126–128, 133–149; Hämäläinen 1920: 35).

Another abstract concept used in this study is “worldview”, which is also difficult to define. This concept includes religion, but it is even broader. Worldview includes an understanding of the nature of reality, explanations, predictions, values, customs, and knowledge (Vidal 2008: 3–5). A weakness of this concept is that it is often perceived as something personal, something inside an individual’s mind (see e.g. Nicholi 2004). In this study, however, worldview is understood as “reality as a cultural construct”, meaning a wider comprehension of how the world is structured and how it functions. Ian Hodder (1987: 4) defines worldview as “the content of ideas about the world, including taken-for-granted

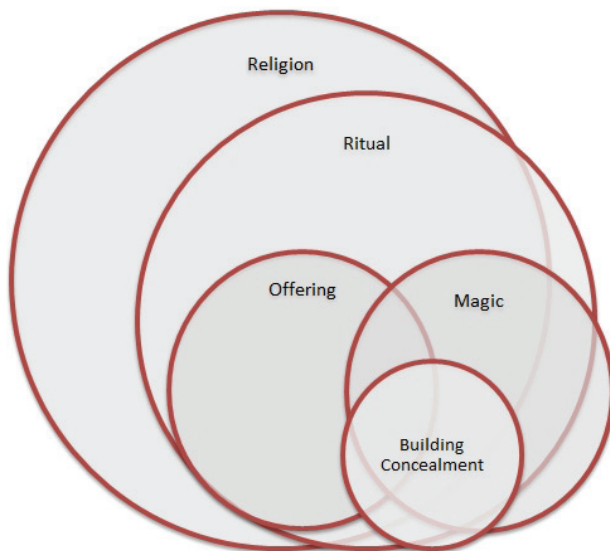


Fig. 1. Building concealments within the concepts (folk) religion, ritual, offering, and magic as defined in this study.

and assumptions about the great unanswerables”. He also reminds us of the important fact that, although members of a culture often share worldviews, it is still expected that not all members of a group perceive the world in quite the same way (Hodder 1987: 4). In addition, all members of a culture do not necessarily share the same opinion of what the ideal society should be. However, keeping this fact in mind, a generalized view of the world that people live in can be discussed.

The relationship between building concealments and

the concepts of (folk) religion, ritual, offering, and magic as defined in this study is illustrated in Figure 1. The broad, abstract term religion includes the category of distinctive action, ritual. As Figure 1 shows, ritual is not always religious; it extends beyond the borders of religion. In this study, offering is a religious action; magic is also incorporated in religion and ritual, but less strictly so. Offering and magic are also partially overlapping, since they may share some elements. In light of the results of previous studies (Hukan-taival 2006: 114; 2007a: 70), Finnish building concealments can be seen as part of a magic ritual, but they can sometimes be defined as offerings as well.

2.2 BUILDING RITUALS: FOUNDATION RITUALS, CONSECRATION, AND BEYOND

When a stable is moved,⁴ the ground should first be cross-ploughed three times. The master and mistress of the household should do this ploughing naked, so that the wife is pulling and the husband is working the plough. Then they take some soil from the middle of the place for the stable, where a fire has been burned. They put this soil and a silver coin inside a linen cloth. They keep this cloth between them, and circle three times around the place while holding hands, as during a marriage ceremony. After the third circumambulation, they put the cloth with the coin and soil under the eastern cornerstone. If someone then tries to do harm, the harm will turn back on him/her.⁵

The anthropologists Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones (1995) remind us that houses are more than physical structures; in addition to having architectural importance, they also hold social and symbolic significance. In fact, in many cultures houses are not seen as static, material structures, but as possessing dynamic, animate qualities. It is also a well-known general idea that the house and human body are symbolically connected. Furthermore, the human body seems to act as an analogy for any bounded entity, which is naturally explained by the fact that the body forms the fundamental basis of experience of materiality in life. Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995: 4) also mention landscape as a connection between the concepts of body and house; this could be a fruitful framework for a broader study (cf. Stark-Arola 1998: 161–162; Stark 2002: 150). Another interesting point, albeit mentioned in passing, is that there is sometimes a symbolic connection between the house and wealth (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 7). These symbolic aspects have mainly been discussed in connection with dwellings, where houses act as metaphors for social groups and inscribe both material and symbolic boundaries and hierarchies.

In her thesis on ancient Greek foundation rituals, Gloria Hunt (2006) gives an overview of what kinds of rituals have been connected with the erection of a building. Foundation rituals in the ancient Mediterranean world are well documented by both literary and archaeological evidence. Hunt herself is interested in rituals that are connected to the initial stage in the building's biography. These rituals are often seen as initiation-rites (*rites-de-passage*) that are comparable to the ones performed in the important life-stages of individuals, facilitating their passage from one status to another (see van Gennep 1960; Turner 1995; also Falk 2008: 45–49). This idea of life-stage rites is linked to the symbolic connection between a house and the human body.

Hunt notes that the elaborate foundation rituals documented in ancient Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia share some common elements: the purification of the building site, the rit-

⁴ See below in Chapter 5.3 about moving log buildings.

⁵ (e) Kivijärvi (SKMT IV, 1: I 231 §; IV, 3: I 57 e2). See Chapter 6.1 about referencing to folklore texts.

ual preparation of building materials, the sacrifice of animals, and the burial of foundation deposits (Hunt 2006: 1–5). She continues with a basic definition of ancient Mediterranean foundation rituals: they are intimately connected with the act of building, they take place at the building site, and they are performed before the completion of the building. The last aspect is explicit in textual descriptions. They show the form of the rituals to be closely related to early or pre-construction activities (purification of the ground, digging of foundation trenches, making and laying of the first bricks, etc.) (Hunt 2006: 3–4).

From this description one can easily classify the example about building a stable (quoted above) as a set of foundation rituals. The ground is “purified” by cross-ploughing, burning a fire, and ritual circumambulation, and materials are buried in the foundation at the beginning of the building process. Since it is evident that some form of foundation rituals as defined above have been known in the research area, this concept is used in the study. However, there are some problems with discussing foundation rituals in connection with archaeological sources.

Hunt formulates the problems as follows: “Foundation rituals are characterized principally by their temporal and spatial link to the occasion of building. It follows that the identification of foundation deposits depends upon a clearly established link to a specific moment in time. This is often a very difficult task, especially when detailed stratigraphic information for the foundation deposit is unrecorded or inadequately published” (Hunt 2006: 18). Identifying a concealment that was made in connection with a foundation ritual may be very hard, if not impossible, during excavation. Naturally, if stratigraphy is very clear, and it can be established that the concealment could not have been added later, it may be possible. Since it is evident from the Finnish folklore that concealments have not been restricted to the “initiation” of a building (as is discussed in Chapters 10.4 and 12.3), unless the evidence is strong I prefer not to discuss foundation rituals when additional sources are lacking.

Another type of ritual connected to the initial stage of a building is “consecration”. Since consecration is usually defined as “making something sacred”, it is natural that it has been discussed mainly in regards to religious buildings, such as temples and churches (see e.g. Hunt 2006: 17; Iogna-Prat 2009). Hunt’s interest lies in foundation rituals, and she finds it important to distinguish these from consecration: “Rites of consecration are conceptually distinct from foundation rituals, however, since they mark the end, and not the beginning, of construction” (Hunt 2006: 17). However, this distinction is mostly artificial. Although consecration may be understood as a final opening ceremony, in its meaning of “making sacred” consecration begins already during the initial stages of building rituals.

For example, the sanctification of a medieval church did not only happen during the final stage of its being consecrated into use. According to Dominique Iogna-Prat, the first mention of the ceremony of consecration of a church in the West is attested in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, a bishop’s liturgical book, composed in Mainz in the 960s. In this text, the ritual is described as beginning by placing a cross on the building site and then marking the future place of the altar with a cross. Finally a lengthy blessing was performed, which among other things was meant to exorcise any demonic powers. Apparently, this was not the only way to consecrate a building site. For example, John Belehth (c. 1150) described the following three stages in the ritual of the laying of a foundation stone of a church: preparation of the foundation, exorcism and purification of the building space, and the laying of the stone with a cross on top. Foundation stones marked with crosses, found from at least the early eleventh century, are connected with the idea that

Christ is considered to be the cornerstone of the ecclesiastical edifice (Iogna-Prat 2009). In the case of churches, the entirety of the building rituals are aimed at sanctifying the space, beginning with sanctifying the ground to be built on and ending in the consecration ceremony of the finished structure.

The rituals performed during a building's initial stages, founding and consecration, have been discussed quite extensively. However, Finnish folklore shows that the rituals connected with a building did not cease when the construction process was finished. These rituals have been discussed much less, although scholars have noticed that renovation or re-building, for example, have sometimes involved rituals of concealment (e.g. Merrifield 1987: 128, 133; Carlie 2006: 206). In addition to changes in a building's physical appearance (or its function), Finnish folklore shows that changes among its inhabitants, some annual events, and different crises could also warrant rituals that included some sort of concealment (see Chapter 10.4).

Some studies also mention rituals being performed when a building was taken out of use, such as the "ritual closing" or "rite of termination". This has mainly been touched upon in connection to prehistoric (and Roman Britain) structures (e.g. Merrifield 1987: 48–50; Carlie 2004: 29–30, 193–194). As I see it, the idea behind the ritual closing of a building (or, for example, a well) is that the formerly important site could not simply be abandoned, since it had been open to otherworldly agencies and could potentially become dangerous when communication with them ceased. Thus, the connection with the otherworld needed to be formally closed. This need for a ritual closing of the "portal" to the otherworld seems to have been especially crucial for constructions dug deep into the ground (e.g. wells and cellars). This can easily be understood in the context of beliefs in otherworldly beings residing underground. It is likely that the ritual closing of structures was also practiced in connection with the buildings studied here, but a thorough discussion of these practices would demand a very different methodology (focusing on the filling layers of structures). Thus, a complete study devoted to these phenomena would be needed.

The building rituals discussed in this subchapter are classified according to when they are performed during the use of a structure. Within these classes, there may be a wide spectrum of ritual types. As discussed below in Chapter 4, the type of ritual traditionally connected with foundation rites is offering or sacrifice. It is, however, fruitful to broaden the view on building concealments, as many studies have lately done (e.g. Carlie 2004: 17–18; Falk 2008: 43–45; see also Appx. 1).

2.3 THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL CHANGE

One of the questions in this study concerns whether the customs seen as a part of folk religion have changed or remained stable in the period being studied. Thus, the issue what causes change in religion must be theorized, as well as which factors are present when religious beliefs and customs remain stable. In past studies, aspects of folk culture have been seen as resistant to change and even completely static. This view was later criticized for being prejudiced and colonialist, and it has been pointed out that folk culture is in fact dynamic (see e.g. Foster 1953; Yoder 1974). Yet it should be noted that the underlying presumption on which this critique is based involves a modern value judgement that change is something positive (e.g. a sign of activity, creativity, intelligence, and progress), while constancy equals passivity, stagnation, unintelligence, and resignation. This fixation

with change as a positive trait is clearly notable in the history of archaeological thought: generally positive atmospheres have led researchers to see the active, innovative abilities of people, while more difficult times have resulted in pessimistic beliefs that cultures are naturally resistant to change (see Trigger 2006). The positive view of change should not blind scholars when discussing circumstances where cultural traits remain more stable.

Compared to many other disciplines, looking at cultural phenomena with a long-term perspective is one of archaeology's characteristics and strengths. However, there is no shared understanding about what causes change and constancy in culture (see e.g. Trigger 2006; Gamble 2008: 153–186; Johnson 2010: 68–88). One thing that is certain is that monocausal explanations are insufficient to address the complex problem of cultural change; it cannot be explained by referring to only one triggering cause. The traditional explanations of cultural change – migration of people, diffusion of ideas, or innovation within the culture – certainly identify important factors, but on their own they do not suffice as explanations for why some new technologies and ideas are easily assimilated while others are rejected.

For this study, it is more effective to see culture as a dynamic whole, made up of causes and effects, whose diverse aspects interact (Johnson 2010: 79; cf. Bohm 2002 [1980]). Its features should not be understood in any way to be autonomous units; it is more helpful to think of culture through the analogy of an organism. Different parts with different functions can be recognized in an organism, but there is little point in trying to understand it by looking at only one part separately. Likewise, religion is not separate from other cultural aspects, such as politics, economics, settlement patterns, and social structures. Even the natural environment affects the way in which religions manifest. Change in one aspect is thus likely to be connected to change in other aspects. Which feature the change was initiated in remains a question, however. This kind of holistic approach has been criticized on this point, for not explaining what initiates cultural change (Johnson 2010: 80–81).

A comprehensive theoretical discussion about what exactly initiates cultural change would certainly demand a study of its own. It can be suggested, however, that a very complex combination of existing cultural systems, changing environmental or other outer conditions, social tensions, and historical particularities can contribute to such a change. The relations between subsystems and the likelihood of change in another system affecting folk religion are significant questions for this study. Since aspects of culture are linked together, discussing any one aspect requires a contextual approach where the studied phenomenon – in this case, ritual concealments in buildings – is observed in a larger framework. This approach is similar to the “tradition ecology” practiced by the Finnish cultural anthropologist Matti Sarmela, in whose work geographical, economic, and social conditions form the environment where all cultural phenomena receive their meanings (Sarmela 1974a; see also e.g. 1974b; 1987; 2009: 18–19).

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND THE FORMATION OF THE RESEARCH MATERIAL

“Archaeology in essence then is the discipline with the theory and practice for the recovery of un-observable hominid behaviour patterns from indirect traces in bad samples” (Clarke 1973: 17).

This chapter explains the selection of the research material, the source-critical issues involved, and the methods chosen to find answers to the research questions on the basis of this material. As mentioned above, this study relies on multiple types of source materials. The physical finds and the folklore material are treated as equally important, though different (i.e. differently biased) sources. These are complemented with a few historical sources, namely court records from witchcraft and superstition trials.

The methodology used here aims to ultimately form a synthesis of understanding from the different types of sources. But first, since the sources are so different, an understanding of their special features and limitations (i.e. biases) is needed. The different types of evidence reflect a varied view of the phenomenon of building concealments, in accord with their distinctive lenses. I would argue that relying on only one type of source material seriously cripples the possibility of a deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

When studying building concealments already in the early 20th century, Kurt Klusemann (1919) wrote his *Das Bauopfer* by using evidence from ethnography, prehistoric archaeology, and linguistics. Since then, a more profound comprehension of the characteristics of different sources has made it possible to refine the methods used in order to reach an improved view of the subject in question. The use of multiple sources in a similar fashion as the work at hand is also being independently refined by at least two other archaeologists working with questions of customs and beliefs in Finland (see e.g. Laakso & Ruohonen 2009; Ruohonen 2011; Muhonen 2010; 2011).

It should also be mentioned that there is a general trend towards interrelatedness and interdependency between different disciplines at the moment: this trend has been called the Post-Disciplinary Sciences (Fahlander & Oestigaard 2004). Simultaneously there seems to be rising interest among scholars of different disciplines in matters of folk religion in Europe. As the historian Stephen A. Mitchell remarks: “Finally, after years of working in relatively atomistic parallel universes, such necessarily interrelated fields as folklore, history, philology, and archaeology are once again recognizing the advantages of a comprehensive approach to such subjects as witchcraft, magic, and religion [...]” (Mitchell 2011: 22).

Moreover, in the field of sociology, utilizing a combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon is called “triangulation” (e.g. Denzin 1978: 291–307). In a sense, the multi-source methodology used here may also be seen as an example of data tri-

angulation (Denzin 1978: 295).¹ A similar method is also utilized by the Swedish economic historian Janken Myrdal (e.g. 2008: 62–64), who calls it “source pluralism”. However, these approaches have not directly influenced this study. It is simply worth noting that within other disciplines, a similar methodology may have been familiar for quite some time. Instead of sociological methodologies, the main influence on this work has been archaeological approaches, especially those connected to the study of historical periods. Of these, the conventional method of historical archaeology called “historical interpretation”, utilizing multiple sources relating to the same period and location (see Trigger 2006: 510), has been particularly important.

In the field of archaeology, other methods that utilize multiple sources are the “direct historical approach” developed within American archaeology, where the distance between the present and prehistory is relatively short (see e.g. Steward 1942; Marcus & Flannery 1994), and the very similar Tight Local Analogy method, which stresses the quality of used analogies (Hill 1994: 88–89). These methods have been used within Finnish archaeology; for example, by myself when working on my master’s thesis (Hukantaival 2006) and by Juha-Matti Vuorinen (2009) in his PhD thesis on the late Iron Age and early medieval buildings of the excavations at Mulli in Raisio, south-western Finland. In addition to these methodologies, the contextual method developed by Ian Hodder (1987) is also used as a basis. These approaches are refined and developed further for the sake of seeking a holistic understanding of elements of folk religion during the shift from more traditional archaeological methods of using interpretations supported by analogies to a truly multi-source analysis.

3.1 METHODOLOGY OF THE “ARCHAEOLOGY OF FOLK RELIGION”

Basis: Contextual archaeology and the direct historical approach

Since the approach to concealments in buildings in this study is an interpretive one, it essentially employs “thick description”. This theory, formulated by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in the 1970s, notes that interpretation must be done in order to gain an understanding of cultural phenomena and, for this purpose, knowledge of context is crucial (see Geertz 1973). In the field of archaeology, Ian Hodder has refined this interpretive approach as “contextual archaeology” (e.g. Hodder 1987; 1995: 10–21, 159–173).

According to Hodder, the context of an object is the totality of its relevant environment: the physical and social environment and the particular situation where meanings have historical content. As he notes: “If it seems that function and symbolic meaning are being blurred within the notion of context, that is intentional” (Hodder 1987: 5). As a matter of fact, contextual archaeology seeks to unite the study of material conditions and the interpretation of meanings. In this approach, understanding of the object² comes from recognizing its place in the larger functioning whole. Archaeological finds are only mute when out of context (Hodder 1987: 1–5).

¹ This methodology has been recently utilized in Finnish archaeology by Riku Kauhanen (2015) in his study on stones in graves, which is based on both finds and archived material.

² Hodder employs an artefact-centred perspective in his paper, but object is here understood more widely as “the object of study”.

A contextual analysis of archaeological material begins with identifying a network of patterns, including both similarities and differences (temporal, spatial, depositional, and typological), in relation to the studied object and questions being asked. A meaningful pattern should show statistically significant similarities and differences. The question to be asked at this point is: how is the cultural world ordered? Or, in other words, where are the boundaries constructed? According to Hodder, it should be possible to grasp variations in meaning in different contexts where the surviving data of the material culture are sufficiently networked. This is based on an idea that the perceivable network is an attempt by the people in the past to construct order. The methods of the approach include comparison and repetition, the construction of boundaries, and similarities and differences (Hodder 1987: 5–8).

Naturally, there are critical viewpoints that must be taken into account when using this type of analysis. First, it can be claimed that the identification of similarities and differences depends only on the subjective view of the archaeologist. Made “from the outside”, such identifications could thus be arbitrary. This is a relevant concern in any kind of archaeological analysis, though. Secondly, this approach’s broad definition of context entails each aspect of the related environment potentially representing a different context (graves, domestic areas, wilderness, etc.). Objects may contain different meanings in these different contexts (see Hodder 1987: 8). However, Hodder is confident that this does not pose an obstacle: “We can discern whether objects and object types do or do not change their meanings in different contexts, and whether the meanings in the different contexts are related, by continuing to follow through the network of associations and contrasts in any one set of data” (Hodder 1987: 8). The practical problem connected with this is addressed below in the next subchapter.

In the study at hand, a contextual approach means an attempt to understand the building concealments by placing them in the wider contexts of social and economic circumstances and traditional worldview. An important way of achieving such an understanding is a careful study of choices made in every aspect of the observed custom. This means choices of object (and treatment of the object, if observable), its location in the building, and the functions of the building (when their identification is possible). In the folklore material as well, the relationship between these choices and recorded meanings is observed.

Following the contextual approach, Clive Gamble first defined meaning as the sum of message and context, where message is contained in choices of style in material culture. He then developed this equation further: meaning = object/style + place/landscape (Gamble 2008: 127, 139). Following this reasoning, the formula would here be: **meaning = concealed object + its location**. If this was indeed unequivocally true, discussing concealments in buildings would be fairly straightforward: the information of what was concealed and where would reveal meaning as well. This might well be the case for someone from *within* the cultural context in question, but for the archaeologist much remains unclear when additional sources explaining the custom are lacking. Still, this formula is tested below in this study. To help interpret the meanings of choices made in times preceding the folklore material, a refinement of the direct historical approach is applied.

The direct historical approach was developed within the field of American archaeology already in the 19th century (Trigger 2006: 183–184). It was a natural development in a situation where the timespan between prehistory (for a long time the main interest of archaeology) and well-recorded historical times was short, and an extensive period of increasingly random historical records was thus lacking. The basic idea of that approach is to

start from the known historical situation and move backwards in time while recognizing patterns of continuity and change. As Julian H. Steward explains: “Methodologically, the direct historical approach involves the elementary logic of working from the known to the unknown. [...] This approach has the crucially important advantage of providing a fixed datum point to which sequences may be tied. But, far more important than this, it provides a point of contact and a series of specific problems which will coordinate archaeology and ethnology in relation to the basic problems of cultural studies” (Steward 1942: 337).

When this methodology is used to examine a data set with a greater distance between well-documented times and prehistory, its nature changes, if only slightly. Even when the path from history to prehistory is not “direct”, the known can be used as an analogy. James N. Hill calls this the “Tight Local Analogy method” (TLA), a label that notes its use of analogies that are both spatially and temporally close to the studied phenomenon. Here a prehistoric phenomenon is compared to a historic one, and “[...] if the unknown (pre-historic phenomenon) looks the same as the known (historic phenomenon), we conclude that their meaning is the same” (Hill 1994: 88).

Hill mentions that critical remarks against using analogy in this way have centred on two points. First, it has been claimed that the past cannot be made understandable from the basis of the present, and, secondly, that the use of analogy like this denies the possibility of cultural change (Hill 1994: 89; refers to Binford 1967; Binford’s comments in Chang 1967: 234–235). Hill’s response to this is that the use of analogy can be plausible and persuasive if done well. He continues that all inferences about the past are based on analogy, and these are rarely more exact than plausible and persuasive, even when properly tested against the archaeological record (Hill 1994: 89). Binford’s critique against the careless use of analogies makes a good point, even though much of the discussion is blurred by the different use of concepts in the writings of Binford and his opponents. For example, Binford seems to understand the terms “interpretation” and “analogy” very differently from those he criticizes (see Binford 1967 and especially the discussion in Chang 1967).

I see much more cause for suspicion in the use of the TLA method than in the direct historical approach, even though both may be used skilfully or carelessly. The latter method, in my opinion, does not transfer a set of meanings into another context, but attempts to follow the changes and continuation of meanings and contexts back in time. Since this study concerns evidence from historical times, the problems of combining different source materials are not quite as severe as when interpreting prehistoric contexts through analogy. However, the further back in time the study moves, the less information the 19th-century folklore sources have on the meaning of the building concealments, because of the possibility of cultural change. Thus, the relevance of folklore must be evaluated carefully when discussing Finnish medieval customs. Given this fact, the direct historical approach is better suited to treat the finds studied here. Discussed first, however, are the problems involved with interpreting meanings by means of patterns in the material.

The problems with recognizing changes and meanings

There are problems with recognizing changes in patterns and drawing a direct correlation between the observed form and meaning. The view of the practice-theoretical approach is that actions create meanings, and thus a changed action also means a changed meaning (see Falk 2008: 57–60). The implicit implication is that a static action thus entails a static meaning. This is what the TLA method discussed above depends on (see Hill 1994: 88). Despite the optimism of Hodder (1987: 8) that changed or static meanings can be observ-

able in the archaeological record, in terms of the material of this study I am not quite as confident.

In addition, Trigger (2006: 465–467) has pointed out that the weakness of Hodder’s structuralist approach is the unclear way in which meanings are assigned to patterns. The relationship between form and meaning has been discussed recurrently in linguistics, as one aspect of morphology (see e.g. Bybee 1985; Taft 2003; Monaghan & Christiansen 2006). Here a form-to-meaning association is built up over repeated occurrences of the same form referring to the same thing (Taft 2003: 113). However, even though it may apply in some cases, I am not convinced that this linguistic discussion is useful in the context of ritual. Moreover, even in the context of language, it is clear that some connections between words and meanings may be stable while others may change rapidly.

My understanding of the problems of drawing a strict connection between form and meaning comes from my familiarity with the Finnish folklore of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This archived material (see the next subchapter below) provides a good overview of the forms and meanings of concealments in buildings during the period when the folklore was collected. As discussed below in this study (Chapters 9 and 10), folklore shows how practices leaving material traces that appear similar can have opposite meanings, while similar meanings may be connected with practices that leave dissimilar evidence. Thus, the connection between form and meaning is more complex than recognized by the practice-theoretical and TLA approaches.

Another fact shown in the folklore is the complexity of the phenomenon of building concealments within *one* timeframe in a fairly limited area. This becomes evident only when the number of records is sufficiently high. The archaeological finds forming the basis from which we are supposed to recognize patterns and changes in patterns are seldom abundant. For example, the concealment finds from 97 southern Scandinavian buildings ranging from a timespan of nearly a thousand years (c. 1000–2000), which comprise Ann-Britt Falk’s research material (see Falk 2008: 10–12, 32–33), are unfortunately insufficient to answer the questions asked about the changes in the patterns (although other results of the study are relevant). If the material was divided evenly, the data would include less than ten buildings per century (less than ten actions over a timespan of a hundred years). If patterns are not sufficiently documented, change and continuation cannot be recognized, since what seems to be a pattern may in fact be random chance. Even 97 records from the same century would still produce an incomplete understanding of the complexity of patterns. Likewise, the 775 folklore records analysed in this study may still leave many possibilities undocumented.

Of course, this concerns the question of the representativeness of the samples by means of which we are trying to gain an understanding of an entire “population” (in this case, the entirety of traditions of concealing objects in buildings). As mentioned above, Hodder (1987: 6) states that a meaningful pattern should show *statistically significant* similarities and differences. The problem is that a truly statistically significant result, meaning the likelihood that a result or relationship is not caused by mere random chance, should preferably be based on a random sample (see Drennan 2009: 82–85, 87). As Robert Drennan (2009: 88–89) points out, however, most archaeological data are produced with non-random sampling procedures, resulting in biased samples.³ This is true also in this study. When we draw conclusions from insufficient or unrepresentative data, we are committing

³ See David Clarke’s (1973: 17) description of archaeology quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

the fallacy of “hasty generalization”, and as it has been pointed out: “Fallacious arguments usually have the deceptive appearance of being good arguments” (Damer 2005: 52).

The material used for this study is not representative enough to reliably observe temporal changes in concealment patterns and discuss definite meanings of these changes. However, this realization helps to assess what *can* be reliably answered in light of the material and also to understand when the discussion relies on speculation. There is no point in trying to give definite answers to questions that have no bearing on the material. Analysing patterns from unrepresentative material may produce results that look very convincing, but unfortunately they may have no correlation with the past reality we wish to understand.

The multi-source approach of the “archaeology of folk religion”

The task of the researcher studying past folk religion is complicated by the fragmentary and biased nature of the sources; it is like looking at a room full of things going on through a few randomly placed peepholes and trying to make sense of what is happening. Finding the contexts for decontextualized bits and pieces of practice and beliefs is a real challenge (see Hodder 1987: 2). Consequently, how can we reach the “practice of religion”, as the historian Euan Cameron (2010: 6) expresses it? In Finland, research on folk religion has traditionally been the interest of folkloristics and comparative religion. As a result, the material culture of folk religion has mostly been left aside, only serving as an illustration if considered at all (see e.g. Issakainen 2006: 1–2). It is up to archaeologists to fill this void. However, this study attempts to do more than fill in the missing material records.

To continue with the analogy of peepholes, the more holes in different places there are, the most possible it is to understand what is being seen. This is why a multi-source approach – where the different sources provide different perspectives on the matter at hand – is used in this study. Naturally, this method calls for great care and a good knowledge of the source criticism and bias involved with each type of source. Special caution should be employed in combining evidence when the different sources are temporally and/or regionally distant from each other (see e.g. Gazin-Schwartz & Holtorf 1999: 13). The idea is not to transfer sets of meanings from one source type and “glue it on” to other contexts, even though there is always a risk of this happening. This is avoided by recognizing that different sources *are* different: they show phenomena from various angles, and no source type alone is better at explaining the practices than others. The amount of available records matters, but any type of material alone will still only give the view of a single “peephole” (with the same bias); the hole is just a bit bigger when there is an abundance of records.

The multi-source method is a laborious one since it requires comprehensive knowledge of the different sources and their respective limitations. As Drennan (2009: 95) points out in relation to the use of statistical methods in archaeology, the first step of analysis is to try to determine all of the likely ways in which the sample(s) at hand may be biased. Another natural limitation of the multi-source approach is that it can only be employed when more than one source type is available. In practice, this means that it is most useful when discussing historical contexts. In the case of folk religion, in addition to archaeological finds, other sources that can be used are, for example, historical sources (such as records from witchcraft trials, legal texts, and “superstition treatises” (see e.g. Mitchell 2011; Cameron 2010), folklore material (for example, accounts of magical practices), and ethnological sources. This list is by no means exclusive, and the possibilities vary in different countries with distinct research traditions and different emphases on the available sources.

Having all of these different potential source materials, one could ask what the role of archaeology is in the research of folk religion. The neglected material culture of folk religion has already been mentioned, but another important point about other sources is made by Cameron: “Nothing intrinsic to the pastoral superstition-treatises proves that any identifiable group of people actually practiced the activities that it condemns” (Cameron 2010: 69–70). The same limitation vis-à-vis folklore material on magic has been noticed by Issakainen (2012: 12), namely that there is no way to be sure if the magic described has actually been practiced or if the folklore is merely describing ways in which certain circumstances have been explained. For this reason, Issakainen chooses not to discuss magic as practice or “rites”. To find out whether practices actually existed, Cameron (2010: 69–72) turns to the surviving physical evidence (i.e. surviving material culture, especially that known through archaeological finds). This is but one example of how another “peephole” can provide a different angle on the object of study.

As Cameron (2010: 6) points out, there is a difference between how people were instructed to think and behave and what the evidence suggests that they thought and did. Archaeological finds reveal what people actually *did* in a very reliable way, compared to many other types of sources, which are often heavily influenced by authorities. To access what people *thought*, other sources may be more informative. In any case, there is no point of limiting the study of folk religion to only one type of source material when a much broader understanding can be achieved from multiple sources.

In practice, the multi-source method used here is built on the direct historical approach. The best documented situation in this study, which belongs to the late 19th century, serves as the starting point; here is the place where the past reality is shown most clearly by the sources (both folklore and finds). The purpose of studying this situation, fixed in time and space, is to gain an understanding of how the phenomenon of building concealments looked at that time and what kinds of meanings it had then. Since this is the best documented situation, studying it gives the best possibility of finding the contexts of the customs. Different patterns marking different customs and meanings may also be recognized and discussed, since the records are plentiful.

It is important to note that information is needed from both folklore and finds. It would be a mistake to take evidence from folklore accounts of the 19th century as comprehensively reflecting the situation then, compare it to evidence from archaeological finds from earlier times, and then form conclusions about how traditions evolved. In order to clarify why this course of action would be unjustified, some data from the folklore accounts is compared against data from factual finds from approximately the same time period (late modern). The patterns formed by choices of location (where things were concealed) are chosen to illustrate the problem (see Fig. 2). The relative frequency of the locations is shown as the percentage of all locations in the respective material. Thus, if the roughly contemporary materials were qualitatively comparable, the patterns should be fairly similar.

Because it is apparent that the patterns differ, this example shows that the materials vary in quality. The samples are not equally representative, because they are of different sizes and because they are differently formed. Since the materials have discrete biases, they offer slightly different perspectives on the practices. However, because of the variation in their sample sizes, the data sets must be treated respectively: the vast body of folklore material offers opportunities to discuss general trends within the tradition of the 19th century, while the physical finds and historical records offer “case study” examples of customs at

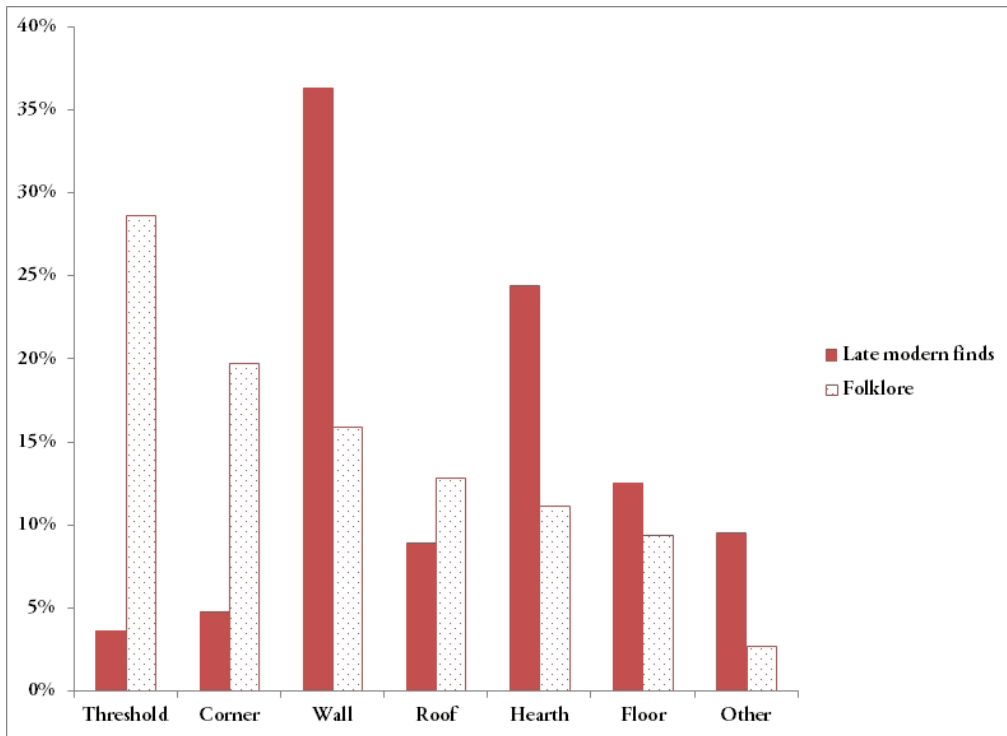


Fig. 2. Comparison of patterns formed by locations in the building shown in the folklore material (n=783) and late modern (c. 1700–1950) finds (n=168).

different times. The focus of the discussion thus shifts between the general view of the folklore evidence and particular cases. Since concealed objects have specific meanings only in their respective contexts, the general overview offers the larger context needed for their understanding.

There is, however, considerable danger with this approach. The general view is firmly based on a given time period, and using it as a larger context may present the illusion of customs remaining static. This is a potentially thorny issue elsewhere in the study as well. The nature of the materials makes them more conducive to exhibiting continuation of traditions than change. Because of the problem of missing information, there is no way in the current research situation to satisfactorily overcome this. One can only say that just as the folklore evidence of the 19th century shows the traditions of building concealments to have been complex and dynamic (see Chapter 9.2), it was likely that way during earlier times as well.

It is generally assumed that changes in folk religion have not usually been very sudden. Based on this assumption, periods close to the late 19th century are likely to show a quite similar picture as this well-documented period. This assumption is definitely the weakest point in this method, and it is difficult to disprove or verify it in the light of scant evidence. Fortunately, our sources of folk religion are not constrained to archaeological finds immediately when moving backwards in time from the 19th century. Here the view shown by records of witchcraft and superstition trials from the 16th and 17th centuries provides another “peephole” against which the assumption of the static or dynamic nature of folk religion can be tested. As these records originate after the Reformation, however, the po-

tential impact of the change in institutionalized religion on folk religion (i.e. at the time of the Reformation) cannot be estimated on the basis of them.

When discussing finds in medieval contexts, the question of how the change in institutionalized religion affected folk religion becomes relevant. At the same time, the sources become even scarcer. Other than archaeological finds, the picture of folk religion can be seen through some rare legal texts and other historical documents (see Chapter 5.2). At this point it is necessary to widen the regional scope of additional sources in order to be able to contextualize how folk religion appears in them. Here the comprehensive study of the historian Stephen A. Mitchell (2011) on Nordic medieval magic provides a helpful perspective on the wider situation at that time.

While trying to identify changes in patterns may be misleading, it may be possible to recognize the continuation of forms of practices (or more precisely, their end results) in cases where a similar end result is apparent in multiple periods. Still, the main procedure of the multi-source method – especially in a case like this, where sources are fragmentary – is to discuss the view as shown by each type of source (each “peephole”) first individually and then as a synthesis of contextual information, combining the data from the different sources.

Thus, the stages of the contextual multi-source method are:

1. Collecting different relevant source types and familiarizing oneself with the limitations and bias of each type.
2. Discussing individually the view as seen by each type of source. This stage includes observing patterns in the material and evaluating the representativeness of these patterns.
3. Combining the data from each source type to reach a synthesis of understanding and contextual meanings. The topic is discussed in its larger context of the studied society.

Ideally, the different sources should be from the same period and the same area, but in practice this is not always possible. However, when there is an attempt to combine meanings of practices from different periods and areas, this should be grounded in the evidence at hand. In the case of fragmentary sources, the picture can never be completely “reconstructed”, but use of the direct historical approach and the contextual multi-source view should provide a view that is as complete as possible. The result is a broad version of contextualism (Trigger 1989: 356–357). To quote Hodder: “There can never be any final, absolute test as to whether the interpretation is correct, but we can at least support the theory by showing how well it makes sense of the data” (Hodder 1987: 6).

3.2 THE SOURCE MATERIALS: FORMATION AND CRITIQUE

The timeframe for the current study is the historical period. In the research area of Finland, this begins in the pan-European late medieval period (c. 1150–1300, depending on the region). Preceded by the prehistorical Iron Age, the phase between c. 1150–1550 in Finland is simply called the medieval period. In this study, the oldest finds are from not earlier than the 13th century, while the most recent finds are from the beginning of the 20th century. This means that the study begins with the advent of Swedish rule and

Table 1. Number of source materials used in the study. See Chapter 6 for geographical distribution of the data.

Material	Amount
Folklore accounts	775
Concealment finds	234
Historical records	7
Total	1016

institutionalized Christianity, spanning until the Second World War and the true modernization of the country. The geographical limits generally follow the modern borders of Finland, but some sources come from areas now belonging to Russia. The geographical situation and historical development of the research area are briefly introduced in Chapter 5. The quantities of the different types of source materials used in the study are shown in Table 1.

Before discussing the specific source-critical issues related to the different types of materials, one “formation process” that affects them all should be pointed out: myself. While browsing through archived folklore, researching literature about superstition and witchcraft trials, reading through excavation reports, and interpreting finds in the field, my subjective interpretation of what to include in the material as a deliberate concealment has naturally affected the outcome of this study. My position as an archaeologist has caused me to pay extra attention to practices that may leave observable traces, while practices probably belonging to the same mental context but not likely to leave traces have been considered less. During the long research process, my understanding also increased, leading me to pay attention to certain things that were ignored in the beginning. Thus, the materials are not uniform. Naturally, the impact of the researcher is not something that is avoidable, but explicitly discussing this impact lessens the illusion of pure objectivity.

The folklore accounts

In Finland, extensive folklore collections concerning folk religion were gathered in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For the largest part, these are stored in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki (abbreviated FLS FA). Some of the folklore accounts have also been published in the *Suomen Kansan Muinaisia Taikvoja* (Ancient Magic of the Finnish People, abbreviated as SKMT) series, but the main part of the folklore material of this study is unpublished archive material. The folklore of the Swedish-speaking population of Finland has been collected in the Folk Culture Archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, also located in Helsinki. Of the Swedish-language sources this study uses material published in the *Finlandsvenska folkdiktning* (Finland-Swedish Folk Poetry, abbreviated as FSPD) series. The folklore located in all these sources mainly consists of short bits of information on different customs known to the informants.

The material has been classified and divided in the archives according to different principles. In the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, for example, information from manuscripts has been copied on index cards and categorized by theme. The theme forming the main source here is “Folk belief” and, within that, “Livelihood” (II). Some material has also been found in “Supernatural beings” (I) and “Life-stages” (III) (see Jauhianen 1979; 1999a). The Finnish-Swedish folklore is classified in a similar manner (see Landtman 1916). Data on objects concealed in buildings is not easily found in a single location, therefore, since it is divided between many different categories.

The strategy used in the archives was to first look through index cards belonging to the categories in which concealments were most likely mentioned. The preliminary idea of where to search came from published folklore (mainly SKMT IV, 1–3). In addition, some

random searches were made among other categories. It is likely that I missed some records in the archives, but I am confident that the great majority was copied into my local database (Microsoft Access). For this study on folklore material, the number of records in my database totalled 775 (Appendix 2). As a point of comparison, the theme “Folk belief” in the Folklore Archives consists of about 100,000 index cards (FLS 2015).

The only records included were ones with mention of something concealed in a building. When beginning the work, I rigorously examined material from the point of view of an archaeologist, and I only copied records with concealed objects that would be possible to recognize in an archaeological context. Later I felt that this limited my understanding of the practices, so I also started to copy cases where, for example, soil from a churchyard or single insects were mentioned. Because I did not return to the copy cards I had already searched through, those cases are not included; however, that material is not particularly large (less than ten accounts).

While browsing through the vast body of material on customs and beliefs connected to everyday life in pre-industrial Finland, I realized that it was artificial to limit my interest towards practices that leave traces in the material record, rituals involving concealing, and concealments made only in buildings. These constraints were formed partly from my archaeological viewpoint and partly from a need to focus the attention of this study. It still should be kept in mind that ritual concealments in buildings are not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a much wider network of household rituals, beliefs, and worldview. However, the basis of this study is in archaeology, so rituals leaving traces in the material record are emphasized. When drawing from the archives, I did not pay attention to the meanings of the described practices; I just copied any practice involving a deliberate concealment in connection with a building.⁴

As I have briefly touched on in a previously published paper (Hukantaival 2013a), naturally there are source-critical issues connected to the use of archived folklore material (see e.g. Gazin-Schwartz & Holtorf 1999; Valk 2006 for archaeological discussions on the subject). As mentioned, most of the folklore accounts concerning Finnish folk religion were recorded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Accordingly, they reflect the period in which they were collected. There are always risks involved when interpretations of folklore are projected back in time, since the preserving and changing of customs and beliefs is a complex matter. It is also important to understand how the material has come to be: its bias, or the “formation processes” of the folklore material, to use a term familiar to archaeologists (see Schiffer 1987).

Recently these questions have been discussed by the folklorist Kaarina Koski (2011; see also Honko 1979). She reminds us that when most of the material was collected, the Historical-Geographic Method (also called the Finnish Method) was prevailing in folkloristics (see also e.g. Krohn 1971). According to the mentality of the time, folklore accounts were understood as a collective “voice of the past”, and individual accounts were detached from their context. Not only did the method have a strong influence on how the material was formed, but the predisposition of the individual collectors was also considerate. Researchers controlled the “authenticity” of the accounts, and collectors were not interested in traditions in central areas (such as towns), since these were not thought to be places where “original” elements had survived in a “pure” form (Koski 2011: 28–39). For these reasons, it is also important to familiarize oneself with collectors’ guides (e.g. Mustonen 1936; see

⁴ It should be noted, however, that a previous selection (bias) of meaning connected to matters of folk religion had been made in the archiving process, since this was the main theme I searched through.

below) for a better understanding of the formation and bias of the folklore material. On the other hand, one strength of the research paradigm was that it required large collections to achieve its objective of finding the “original forms” of traditions. Consequently, there is a vast body of folklore material available for study.

The collectors’ guide for magic practices, the *Taikanuotta* (the Magic Seine), was first published in 1885. In his introduction to the fifth edition, the editor O. A. F. Mustonen gives a good overview of how the practice of collection was conducted. He shows concern about the shame and shyness that informants may feel when asked about practices condemned by the Church and other authorities. He encourages collectors to begin by explaining to informants that those practices are now no longer needed, but they should be recorded as relics of older times. He also advises collectors to read magic practices that have previously been collected, in order to encourage informants to fill in the information. The collectors were told to record the information word-by-word, without editing or adding anything, and then ask additional questions, especially about the *time* and *place* of the practice and *why* it was done (Mustonen 1936: 3–5).

The guide shows that informants have, for example, been asked questions about offerings made in connection with building work, magic practices to prevent house fires, magic practices against vermin, and practices connected to constructing and protecting out-buildings on the farm (Mustonen 1936: 6). Knowing that these questions were asked, it is not surprising why the folklore material came to be as it is now. There was a huge risk of the collecting process functioning in a circular manner: the collectors had a clear idea about what kinds of practices they wanted to record, and they led the informants in that direction. Nevertheless, the requirement to strictly copy what an informant said likely mitigated against this, at least in cases where informants refused to be guided by the collector.

Moreover, the folklorist Laura Stark points out that the system for collecting narratives on magic was quite complex. People in all segments of the population eventually became involved in the effort to record and preserve the knowledge of the traditional agrarian culture. Educated collectors first recorded narratives on folk practices in the 1830s through interviews. Subsequently, in the late 1870s, they were joined by enthusiasts from the ranks of the rural population. These local “writing folk informants” (schoolteachers, students, ministers, farmers, etc.) sent their own notes and memories directly to the Finnish Literature Society. With the exception of the landless or very poor, these amateur folklore collectors represented a rather broad section of the Finnish rural populace (Stark 2006: 116–117). This aspect of folklore collection certainly balanced out some of the problems of systematic interviews conducted by outsiders. Still, the fact that townspeople did not join in this collection effort is clearly evident in the regional nature of the information included in the accounts. The possibility that people did not feel comfortable to discuss some practices at all also remains one issue.

Regarding the archiving of folklore of magic practices, further issues need to be kept in mind. One is the inconsistent classifying of the index cards, which makes it laborious to search through the material and can lead to confusion about the meaning of practices. Because the discipline of folkloristics asks very different questions than archaeology, the problems are also slightly different from its point of view (see Issakainen 2004; also Koski 2011: 36–39). Since folkloristics studies oral traditions, it sees archive records as texts or performance, and not so much as evidence of customs. One extreme example of the different perspectives of archaeology and folkloristics is found in Issakainen’s (2004: 119)

remark that the historical context (including both the context of use and the position of the practice in the worldview of the informant) of the records is not only laborious to unravel, but even trivial and uninteresting.

When aware of the source-critical issues involved, knowledge of folklore material greatly helps our understanding of matters of folk religion and, more broadly, the “mentality of the past” (see Valk 2006: 316; also Stark 2006). The “dead” archive context of the folklore is not the biggest issue for the archaeologist, who is accustomed to studying “dead” material and thus very familiar with the implications involved. The bias that comes during the formation of material is a more critical question than its performance context being lost. In contrast to folkloristics, archaeology is not as interested in the way that the practice is verbalized to the collector, but the way in which the actual practice being narrated can be reached. As Issakainen (2004: 130–134; 2012: 12) also recognizes, this cannot be done in light of folklore material only; physical evidence of practices is needed.

The concealment finds

The physical finds are remains of concealments found either during archaeological excavations or when old buildings have been renovated or demolished. The main problem with this material is how to recognize a deliberate concealment in a fieldwork situation. This has likely been recognized by every archaeologist studying these kinds of finds (see e.g. Hill 1996; Paulsson-Holmberg 1997; Carlie 2004: 19–20; Fingerlin 2005; Hunt 2006: 18–20; Falk 2008: 30–38; Manning 2012: 377–378), as well as by myself (Hukantaival 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2009; 2011). One major problem has been that the phenomenon of deliberately hiding things in buildings has not been widely known about by fieldworkers. This has had a very detrimental impact on the research, since unrecognized concealments have not been recorded and thus remain completely outside of the discussion (see also Paulsson-Holmberg 1997: 163, 173).

Some researchers have chosen to use a list of characteristics that help in the recognition of (ritually) deliberately concealed finds (e.g. Capelle 1987: 189; Paulsson 1993: 51; Carlie 2004: 19). For example, Anne Carlie (2004: 19) uses the following list of criteria for her prehistoric material.

A find should:

1. stand out from the overall find assemblage in the building by its character (material/type/age/symbolism);
2. show traces of ritual treatment (e.g. burning or breaking) or a special way of deposition;
3. have a special location in the building (e.g. by the hearth, passageways, or corners); and
4. have been discovered in a closed archaeological context, which has not been accessible after the building process; alternatively, the type or combination of objects should point to deliberate concealment.

To be included in Carlie’s material, finds needed to fulfil one or several criteria on the above list. The more criteria were met, the higher the probability of a ritual concealment. These types of lists have been criticized by Falk (2008: 37–38), who points out that they can overemphasize the “special” character of the finds as “sacred” objects, which are distinguished from everyday items. By favouring types of ritual treatment that leave traces

on objects, they also omit ritual actions that are not accessible to archaeologists. Lastly, she remarks that the lists are too fixed, being heavily based on understandings of previous finds. This last point is important since it exposes the danger of circular reasoning: the criteria for the lists are based on a small set of earlier finds, and thus there is no room for a new understanding of the phenomenon.

Even though lists (especially the one above) have influenced my own view of how deliberately concealed finds can be recognized, I did not use any specific checklists when choosing finds for this study. Already when going through the folklore material, I realized weak points in Carlie's list. Many of the objects mentioned are very ordinary household objects, most were not handled in a way that leaves traces on them, they may have been concealed in places that were accessible after the building process was finished, and not all were part of foundation rituals. Instead of using a fixed checklist, each find was evaluated individually, taking into account all evidence pointing to deliberate action (or not).

The fieldwork context is where archaeological research material is "born". The choices made there definitely affect the way in which interpretations can be done later, since it is not possible to retrieve missed data. If a deliberate concealment is not recognized and/or recorded in the field, it is truly impossible to do that in retrospect. In some reports that I encountered, however, a likely concealment was not recognized as belonging to a custom, yet the find was still carefully recorded because of its unusual character (e.g. Haggrén *et al.* 2006: 18).

A building concealment is *an object in its context*; without information on the location, the find is only an object (see also Hukantaival 2009: 350). That said, when remains of buildings are disassembled, even when done archaeologically, it tends to be relatively chaotic. This makes recognition of deliberate concealments even more challenging. The main issue in the field is how to distinguish between accidentally lost objects (and refuse) and deliberately concealed ones: the question of "ritual or rubbish" (see e.g. Hill 1995; Morris 2008). When the object consists of animal or plant remains, the possibility of natural formation processes (see Schiffer 1987), such as the activity of rodents, must be taken into consideration. In cases where a skeleton (or mummy) of a smaller animal is found with a building, it is important to keep in mind that the animal may have crawled to that location by itself (see e.g. Merrifield 1987: 129–131; Schad 2005).

To cite an example, a concealment most likely not made by people but by a rodent was unearthed in Turku during archaeological excavations by the Aura river in 2012 (Saloranta *et al.* 2012). A pile of diverse small animal bones was discovered under a 17th-century hearth foundation (unit no. R114), which was made mainly of bricks. The bones were situated between the first brick layer and the wooden base beneath it, piled quite neatly in the southern corner of the square-shaped construction. Some smaller deposits of only a few pieces of bone were found sporadically scattered elsewhere in the foundation as well. When these bones were examined by an archaeo-osteologist, it became evident that they were not only random bone fragments from different species, but they had also been gnawed on (to greater or lesser degrees) by rodents (Bläuer, Auli, pers. comm. 15.8.2012). It seemed highly likely that these were the food deposit remains of rodents that had been living in the hollow section of the hearth foundation, and thus I did not include this find in the research material. Still, it is not completely impossible that rodents had been gnawing on an actual concealment.

The example above shows how the process of recognizing deliberately concealments went in cases where I could be present during fieldwork. When something was found in con-

nection to a building, I carefully considered possible scenarios of how the find could have ended up there. When it seemed likely that the object was deliberately concealed, I recorded it in my database of physical finds (Appendix 3). If there was too much doubt involved, I did not include the case in the discussion.

In cases where I was not present during the fieldwork, I relied on data provided in excavation reports and, when they were explicit, interpretations by the professionals that conducted the work. Ultimately, the decision to include a find in this study was still mine, and I take full responsibility for the outcome. I copied into the database every find whose information on its location drew attention to it being something “special”. When the phenomenon of building concealments was not widely known, such finds are quite easy to spot, since only outstandingly “special” finds raised enough attention for the exact location to be mentioned in the report. This raises a possible paradox about increased awareness of building concealments: while it leads to finds that would have otherwise gone unnoticed, it could also possibly lead to over-interpretation if the person in the field is lacking a critical view.

Some finds discovered in connection with the renovation or demolition of old buildings were discovered from newspaper articles or other random publications, as well as museum catalogues. The information on the exact context of the find is often quite unspecific in these cases, but, as with the recorded finds from older excavation reports, they had to have been “special” in order to warrant mention. Because it was necessary for a find to be outstanding to become recorded, the resulting bias would have meant that less striking finds were doubtless underrepresented.

One large body of the material of this study comes from the main archaeological artefact catalogue (*Pääluettelo*) of the National Board of Antiquities (NBA) of Finland. I have systematically browsed through this catalogue, starting with the initial records from 1829 and continuing until 1986.⁵ The concealment finds recorded there are mainly Stone Age tools and other antiquated objects found in renovated and demolished buildings during the period in question. To begin with, all of the objects collected by the National Museum were recorded in this catalogue, but later, in the early 20th century, the prehistoric, historical, ethnological, and monetary collections were separated. The nature of the interest of this catalogue is one major source of bias in the material: contemporary everyday objects and animal bones were not interesting to past antiquarians, so they are completely missing.

Furthermore, for the prehistoric objects collected by the National Museum and included in the catalogue, their original context of use was of primary interest; therefore, little attention was paid to the secondary contexts in which they were discovered. However, because the circumstances of the finds have generally been recorded carefully, many of the concealed objects can be identified with a good degree of certainty. The actual number of concealed objects delivered to the museum may be considerably larger than studied here, since I have omitted many finds only vaguely reported to have been found “at the site of an old building” or “while an old building was demolished”, if no additional data on exact location is given.

When choosing the archaeological sites to research for this study, I focused on excavations conducted in the 21st century. I also read through the results of some earlier exca-

⁵ Due to the nature of the finds recorded in this catalogue, the amount of concealment finds diminishes rapidly after the 1950s, with only a few additions after that point.

vations, but less systematically. On one hand, this selection was based on a heightened level of awareness of these finds due to their being mentioned in Finnish research (Herva & Ylimaunu 2004; Hukantaival 2006); on the other hand, it offered the opportunity to discuss specific finds with those who had done the fieldwork, which meant that there was a chance that the circumstances could be remembered. I chose sites with a historical date where building remains had been excavated, and I read through the reports. I also inquired about finds on the electronic mailing list for archaeological professionals in Finland (21.10.2013, arkeologi-lista[at]helsinki.fi). The valuable help of my colleagues in the collection and evaluation process of the material cannot be exaggerated.

As was the case with the artefact catalogue, sometimes the language used in the excavation reports caused problems. Finds described as having been found “in connection to the structure” were left out unless more exact location information was included, either in the finds catalogue or on a feature map, or some other reason (like the combination of finds) led me to believe that deliberate action was probable. Also, the description of finds being “under the structure” in some reports clearly meant that they actually had no connection with the structure, other than that their X,Y position happened to be in a soil layer under it (while the Z position could be far removed). Many finds that were simply not documented with the necessary level of precision had to be excluded. However, if roughly documented finds were flagged by fieldworkers as having a high likelihood of being a deliberate concealment, they were included.

Even though I need to point out problems of documentation, this is not done to criticize fieldwork professionals for doing a “bad job”. The conventional method has been to record a find’s position with the accuracy of the grid square and technical layer or stratigraphic unit only. The fact that this type of documentation is not sufficiently accurate for the research demands here could not have been anticipated. After awareness of deliberately concealed finds becomes more widespread, locations of likely deliberate *in situ* finds will surely be recorded with greater precision for further discussion. The repercussions of an awareness of folk religion to field archaeology are discussed below in Chapter 13.

As in my master’s thesis (Hukantaival 2006), I tried to avoid circular reasoning by not letting my knowledge of the folklore constrain interpretation of concealments. I did not give too much attention to the type of object in question or its location in the building. I also did not try to interpret the meanings of concealments at this stage; all I focused on was the evidence of deliberate concealment. For practical reasons, I would have excluded certain objects (such as textiles) that were evidently concealed as filling or insulation material (see Fingerlin 2005; Atzbach 2012), if there was little doubt regarding its function. But apart from relatively common cases of moss, animal hair, birch bark, and wood-chip debris in log buildings and the newspaper insulation of early 20th-century buildings, I did not come across such material. This choice was not due to a division between functional and ritual aspects, since the folklore material had already shown that this would have been misleading. As I have previously discussed (Hukantaival 2006: 29), collecting moss for insulation has sometimes been strongly ritualized. The practice has had magical meanings, for example, as seen in the following account:

Early on the morning of Michaelmas, people go into the woods and come back only after sunset. They collect moss from nine tax-paying estates, and this moss is used to seal the door and window frames of the animal shelters. The stable is also swept with a broom made from nine kinds of

branches. Then the cattle and horses remain healthy, they will not be infected by strangles⁶, or contagion from the earth, or anything else.⁷

Excluding insulation material was due to my choice at this stage to not include cases that were too problematic. Since recognizing deliberately concealed finds is not an easy task, I categorized the material into two classes in the database: finds that were highly likely to be deliberate concealments and ones that were likely to be deliberate concealments but had problematic issues. The classes are thus called “strong” and “problematic”. As mentioned above, possible deliberate concealments that were too uncertain were completely omitted. Since such selection is quite subjective, a short explanation of my interpretation of each find is available in the catalogue in Appendix 3 in order to allow evaluation.

The concealments discovered during archaeological excavations or renovations and demolitions of buildings represent only a very small fraction of the actual number done. There are many coincidences involved for a find to be discovered. First, the concealed object must be of a material that will be preserved or the circumstances of preservation must be exceptional. Then, the part of the building where the concealment is placed must be more or less intact, and this part of the building must be within the excavation area. Finally, the concealment must be recognized and recorded. Due to my critical standpoint, under-interpretation is a bigger problem than over-interpretation in this study. This is especially the case with small objects that can easily be lost. Yet the folklore shows that objects such as coins, needles, thimbles, and jewellery were concealed deliberately. In particular, coins were very popular (see Chapter 7.1). However, finds of these objects were only included if the evidence of deliberate concealment was strong. Thus, the cases involving small objects are surely underrepresented in this study.

Historical sources

In addition to the two main source materials – folklore collected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and physical finds of concealments – a few historical written sources were used in this study, namely records from witchcraft and superstition trials from the 16th and 17th centuries. I did not systematically collect these cases, but I asked historians⁸ familiar with this material if they had come across any cases involving something concealed in a building, and I collected cases that I found in local histories and other publications.

Historical records have their own formation processes, such as the reason why they were written and their intended audience, that influence their outcome. In addition, they go through similar fragmentation processes as material remains: they may be accidentally destroyed in fires, ruined due to poor preservation conditions, or deliberately destroyed if seen as unimportant or inappropriate. Their content can also change if they are subjected to repeated copying. A huge amount of the Finnish historical records, both from medieval and post-medieval times, ended up destroyed in fires; thus, compared to the Swedish material, these are quite scant. The Great Fire of Turku in 1827 was especially devastating, destroying the archives of the cathedral chapter and the Court of Appeal (Oja 1956; NARC 2015), for example.

The historian Raisa Maria Toivo has discussed in detail the formation and bias of Finnish court records surrounding superstition cases. The purpose of these records was to mediate

⁶ An infectious disease of horses, see Chapter 10.2.

⁷ (g) Kiuruvesi, SKMT IV, 2: 129 §. See Chapter 6.1 about referencing to folklore texts.

⁸ I have discussed the issue in different connections with Jari Eilola, Raisa Maria Toivo, Ulla Koskinen, Emmi Lahti, and Miia Kuha.

the dealings of the lower court for the Court of Appeal. Thus, they were constructed in the fixed pattern of the legal genre, and the oral communications of local people were translated both into another language (from Finnish into Swedish) and into another culture (from peasant to elite). Nonetheless, the records were public and open to inspection by the common people. According to Toivo, the fact that they were actively used and reread ensured that meanings and forms remained faithful to the original. The texts themselves were not purely elite or popular productions, but a combination thereof. Their main narrative, which commonly describes court proceedings, is dominated by the voice of the authorities. But the sub-narratives, including testimonies, are usually formed by the populace. Cases concerning witchcraft are special, since they clearly combine the uses of court rulings as a means of overcoming enemies and as an arena to argue about values or social roles that might bring authority and status (Toivo 2008: 94–101).

Whenever a historian pointed me towards a case or I came across an interesting incident in a publication, I looked up the original document in the Digital Archives of the National Archives of Finland (NARC 2010) or in the local archive in question. However, since I am not trained as a historian, this was mainly done to cross-check the reference information and to see if I could notice any details that had been overlooked by other researchers. These few cases form sporadic glimpses into concealments in buildings from the specific viewpoint of the law. The picture of concealments that emerges from these records is biased towards cases of malicious magic; this is especially prevalent in the older cases, when laws emphasized the effect of the deed (e.g. Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 59). Nevertheless, the court records do support the two main sources of folklore and finds, and they give extra depth to the discussion on traditions in early modern times.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH HISTORY OF BUILDING CONCEALMENTS

There is a long history of research on building concealments, since the first discussions on the phenomenon were written already in the 19th century. The subject has attracted the attention of many scholars, and thus a comprehensive discussion of all of the research would extend beyond the scope of this study. Since the interest here is on the historical period, research concentrating on prehistoric contexts (see e.g. Capelle 1987; Therkorn 1987; Paulsson-Holmberg 1997; Henriksen 1998; Beilke-Voigt 2001; 2007; Bradley 2003; 2005; Carlie 2004; 2006; Groot 2012) is excluded. The focus here is placed instead on discussions about concealments made in later times.

The oldest discussions of building concealments are found among scholars in the fields of folklore, ethnology, and religious studies. Purely archaeological interest arose much later, after quite some time had passed from the differentiation of the disciplines. It was only from the late 1980s onwards that archaeological discussions began to take place. I have chosen here to divide the research history into two periods. First, the classic views on the subject (as discussed by scholars from the fields of folklore, ethnology, and religious studies) are introduced. This history starts in the early 19th century and continues up to the 1960s. In this study, it is called the “ballad era”, because of the substantial influence of Balkan folk ballads on the studies of this time.

Secondly, the discussions conducted by historical archaeologists and other professionals dealing with material finds are presented. Since archaeologists first noticed concealments in prehistoric contexts, and only later found historic ones interesting as well, there would seem to be a huge gap between these two stages of research history. The gap is much smaller, though still apparent, when one remembers that discussion about prehistoric finds began in the late 1980s. It is most evident that archaeological discussion on the subject belonged to the post-processual reaction (see e.g. Trigger 2006: 386–483), although the study of historical finds was influenced by other heritage studies as well, and thus it does not always follow the same trends as prehistoric archaeology.

4.1 THE “BALLAD ERA”: CLASSIC RESEARCH ON BUILDING CONCEALMENTS

Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss explain in their book *Sacrifice* (originally published in French in 1898) that a building sacrifice is made in order to create a spirit who will become the guardian of the house, or the sacrifice is directed to otherworldly beings of the locale to compensate for the piece of land where the building will be erected. They also

mention that the comparative study of building sacrifices is one of the most advanced types of studies on rites. They refer to four studies in French and German written between 1882–1898 (Hubert & Mauss 1964 [1898]: 65, notes 376–378). The most extensive of these is Paul Sartori's *Über das Bauopfer* (1898).

The reason why the study of building sacrifices was so advanced at this early period was due to the interests of folklorists. Alan Dundes explains that the initial spark that led to extensive discussions on the subject took place in 1814–1815 when the Serbian father of folkloristics Vuk Karadžić (1784–1864) published a version of the folk ballad later known as the “Walled-Up Wife”. Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) was fascinated by this ballad of human sacrifice, and he translated it into German. This ballad motif is widespread, especially in the Balkan area. The main idea is that an extensive building project requires a human sacrifice to be sturdy and to appease supernatural beings that at night destroy what was built during the day. Often it is the master-builder's wife who serves as the unfortunate victim (Dundes 1996: 185–188).

Dundes writes that from Jacob Grimm onwards, there came a host of studies that used the ballad to illustrate a myth-ritual thesis. According to this theory, the story represents an actual past practice of using human sacrifice to appease otherworldly beings disturbed by construction work. The large work by Sartori mentioned above is one of these studies (Dundes 1996: 188–189). This same view can also be seen in Edward B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (first published in 1871), where he compares ballads and medieval stories to remarks on similar human sacrifice motifs from Africa and Asia. He also notes that sometimes substitutes are used for the human sacrifice: for example, empty coffins walled up in Germany and a lamb walled in under a church altar in Denmark (Tylor 1891: 104–108; see also the discussion about the “church-lamb” in Chapter 12.3).

One idea that stands out in this discussion is the notion of human sacrifice being the origin of building concealments (e.g. Sartori 1898: 1; Tylor 1891: 105). The search for the origin of the widespread and varied practice is not an objective of this study, but it should be mentioned that this idea has not been widely re-evaluated in recent research. As Merrifield shows, human building sacrifices seem to have been present in the pre-Roman Iron Age of the British Isles (Merrifield 1987: 50–52), although, as Ines Beilke-Voigt (2001) has pointed out, it may be difficult to distinguish sacrifices from burials in buildings. One important notion in this regard is that the oldest known Egyptian building concealments, dating to the Old Kingdom in the third millennium BCE, were comprised of food offerings in ceramic vessels (see Hunt 2006: 134), and the (even earlier) oldest known Nordic example from a Neolithic context in southern Sweden consists of a flint axe, a ceramic vessel, and a funnel beaker (see Karsten 1994: 147). Clearly, therefore, no simple origins can be assumed.

In the early 20th century, some scholars started to discuss the folklore material on building concealments more widely, though the discussion was still often grounded in the ballad tradition. The extensive *Das Bauopfer* of Kurt Klusemann (1919) was surely the main work at this time. In addition to discussing the ballads and comparing motifs against similar ones around the world, Klusemann collected folklore on customs in Germany and surrounding areas, and he addressed several actual finds from both historical and prehistoric contexts as well. As much as his work is situated in its own time, the way in which the subject is approached is actually surprisingly modern.

In the Nordic countries as well, early discussions on building concealments were influenced by the ballad tradition (see e.g. von Sydow 1909). It is also visible, for example, in

the work of the Finnish folklorist Martti Haavio (1942: 64–68). It should be mentioned that the human sacrifice motif is not known in Finnish folklore in a similar form as in the Balkan ballads. However, the motif of building work completed during the day being destroyed by displeased otherworldly beings during the night is familiar in stories of church and castle construction. In these stories, the situation is most often resolved by divining the favourable place for the building and moving the construction work there. There are also stories where otherworldly beings are promised a church full of human sacrifices as compensation for territorial rights, but to avoid fulfilling this promise the church is left unfinished (Jauhianen 1999b, types N421, N431, N441, N481, N491, N501, N511, N521, N531 and N611).¹

Although the ballad tradition existed in the background, Nordic scholars were interested in local folklore, and thus the discussion there tended to revolve around records of customs, which are also used as a source in this study, instead of ballads and other artistic types of folklore. Many classic Finnish scholars mentioned the custom of building concealments (e.g. Ax 1898: 9–10; Paulaharju 1906: 22; 2003: 87, 246, 262; Krohn 1915: 70; Haavio 1942: 64–68; Honko 1962: 192–197), but a wider discussion did not begin in Finland until archaeologists became interested in the phenomenon. In Sweden, for example, Albert Sandklef (1949) conducted a more extensive study in connection with the “acoustics or ritual” discussion, a side-path in the study of concealed pots and skulls, where it was debated whether these objects were concealed simply to improve the acoustics of a building or if they indeed had a ritual purpose (see also Ó Súilleabháin 1945; Merrifield 1987: 121–128; Hukantaival 2009: 354–355). Paul Heurgren’s (1925) pan-Nordic review of folk religion connected to domestic animals also contains a great number of examples of building concealments.

Perhaps the last study on building sacrifice purely belonging to the folkloristic myth-ritual phase is Paul Brewster’s article, first published in 1971. Its approach is extremely traditional at a time when most other folkloristic research had moved on to themes of the structure, function, and meaning of folklore. In the preface to a reprint of this article, Dundes explains that a “problem with the myth-ritual theory is that one almost never finds concrete documentary evidence of the alleged ritual actually occurring” (Brewster 1996: 35; see also Dundes 1996). One rarely finds what one is not looking for, and while folklorists abandoned discussing these narratives as truly practiced rituals, the gap between folkloristics and archaeology had grown so deep that it took a while before folklore on building concealment customs was reintroduced into the discussions.

4.2 RESEARCH ON FINDS OF HISTORICAL BUILDING CONCEALMENTS

As mentioned above, the interest of archaeologists in building concealments began during the 1980s within prehistoric (especially Iron Age) studies. However, a few writings on factual finds from historical times were published before the almost explosive rise in interest in the subject in the 21st century. The first sporadic writings were not done by archaeologists, but by other professionals dealing with material cultural heritage. In Denmark, for example, Knud Jensen collected and published records of ceramic pots and horse skulls found when old buildings were demolished between the 1960s and 1980s (see e.g. Jensen

¹ It is tempting to see this as an explanation for the late medieval stone churches left unfinished as a result of the confiscation of Church funds in connection to the Reformation (see Hiekkänen 2003a).

1984). In England, already in 1951 Margaret M. Howard published records of concealed mummified cats found in buildings (Howard 1951), and June Swann began her work on concealed shoes in the late 1950s (Swann 2005: 115). It should also be mentioned that some numismatics studies focused quite early on coins and medals concealed in buildings from that point of view (e.g. Hill 1910; Lindgren 1953; Lindahl 1956).

The detailed book by Ralph Merrifield called *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (1987) became a turning point, although its impact on historical archaeology was delayed. The study shows numerous examples of folk religion in the material record, and historical archaeologists slowly started to notice these finds. The book brought the typical types of concealed objects in the British Isles – shoes, mummified cats, horse skulls, and elaborate witch bottles – into wider awareness. Merrifield's work inspired Brian Hoggard, for example, who has continued research on the material evidence of folk religion in the UK (e.g. Hoggard 2004; 2016a; 2016b). The discussion on concealed shoes has lately been advanced by Ceri Houlbrook (2013). This particular practice was popular in 18th and 19th-century England, where worn shoes were concealed in chimneys, attics, and roofs. Houlbrook's contextualizing approach to the subject, and especially her discussion on the value of seemingly worthless objects, is consistent with the observations of my study. The work by Merrifield has profoundly influenced the English-speaking world, but each country has its own research tradition. In countries speaking Slavic languages, for example, the solid work by A. K. Bajburin (1983) on the rituals and beliefs surrounding buildings in Eastern Slavic areas has been the basic work to build on (see e.g. Vařeka 1994).

Understandably, in countries with a significant number of surviving buildings of considerable age, the research of concealments is not limited to archaeological professionals. One example is found in the Deliberately Concealed Garments Project, which was started by the Textile Conservation Centre in 1998 in the UK. Led by Dinah Eastop, the project's objectives are to encourage reports and documentation of deliberately concealed garment finds in order to raise awareness of the folk practice of concealing textiles in buildings, often with an apotropaic (evil-averting) function. Another purpose is to advance conservation techniques of the finds and to learn more about textile and dress history, as well as folk traditions (Eastop 2006; see also the Deliberately Concealed Garments Project website).

As noted above, the study of finds of concealed objects in buildings has attracted the attention of several scholars. To provide a short overview, it may be mentioned that Rainer Atzbach has published on medieval concealments from Kempten in southern Germany. He uses an approach where archaeological methods of excavation and documentation are applied to the study of cavities in buildings that are still standing. Unlike most researchers, Atzbach finds questions of the primary use and production of the objects more interesting than the meanings of their secondary use in which context they are found (see e.g. Atzbach 2012). Another German researcher is Petra Schad, who specializes in finds of concealed animals (especially mummified cats) in buildings (Schad 2005). Archaeological articles have also been written about the subject in the Czech Republic (Vařeka 1994), Hungary (Daróczy-Szabó 2010), Poland (Baron 2012), and north-western Slavic areas more widely (Schmidt 2001), to mention a few of the studies where questions of “pagan” customs surviving into Christian times have been discussed.

Among the larger monographs on the subject, in the field of classical archaeology one finds the thesis of Gloria Hunt (2006), which examines Greek foundation rituals in a Mediterranean context, and in Nordic research the practice-theoretical licentiate thesis of

Ann-Britt Falk (2008; see also 2006), which concentrates on southern Scandinavian finds from medieval to late modern times (also discussed in Chapters 3.1 and 11). The doctoral thesis by Ian Evans (2010) discusses the traditions in Australia that derive from the UK (e.g. concealed shoes, garments, and cats), and M. Chris Manning's (2012; see also 2014) broad master's thesis on concealments in the eastern US (with a focus on shoes, cats, and witch bottles) also discusses how European customs were transferred to new areas.

In Finland, interest in building concealments awakened independently and almost simultaneously in two different locations. On one hand, in 2004 Vesa-Pekka Herva published together with Timo Ylimaunu some finds from the northern town of Tornio with a short commentary on the possibility of their having been deliberately concealed (Herva & Ylimaunu 2004). Herva has also discussed building concealments in a Minoan context (Herva 2005). On the other hand, I started collecting material for my master's thesis on finds from Turku also in 2004. This thesis, completed in 2006, was the first relatively extensive work on the subject in Finland. After this initial phase of research, building concealments have been briefly discussed in several other connections (Hukantaival 2007a; 2007b; 2009; 2011; 2013b; Herva & Ylimaunu 2009; Herva & Nurmi 2009; Tuppi 2009; Herva 2010; Nurmi 2011: 146–151).

As an overview of these discussions, it can be noted that most scholars discussing these finds connect them with folk religion, especially magic protection of the house. In many studies, folklore accounts or other additional sources are referred to – if only briefly in many cases. Some researchers, like Falk (2008), prefer to keep the interpretation at a more general level, while some, as mentioned above, leave the question entirely open (Atzbach 2012). The view by Herva stands out in this discussion, not so much in practice but in rhetoric. He feels that discussing these finds within the framework of religion is misleading and even “trivializes” their meaning (see Herva & Ylimaunu 2004; 2009; Herva 2005; 2010). This seems to be caused by a different understanding of the concept of religion², not because of a completely dissimilar viewpoint.

The study at hand fits quite naturally into this research history. It supports the observation that concealments were made as part of folk religion, and it recognizes the fact that folklore accounts yield important insights into these customs. However, the truly multi-source approach used here (see Chapter 3 above) has not been utilized in earlier research, even though an “ancestor” of the method was used already by Klusemann (1919). While the current work has also been greatly influenced by the Finnish tradition of folk religion studies, it brings a fresh perspective to this field, since material culture is a significant source of its data.

² For example, Herva (2005: 224–225) states that instead of religion Minoan building concealments should be seen as “an attempt to keep on good terms with the ancestral and other powers perceived to reside in palatial sites and affect human life [...]”.

CHAPTER 5

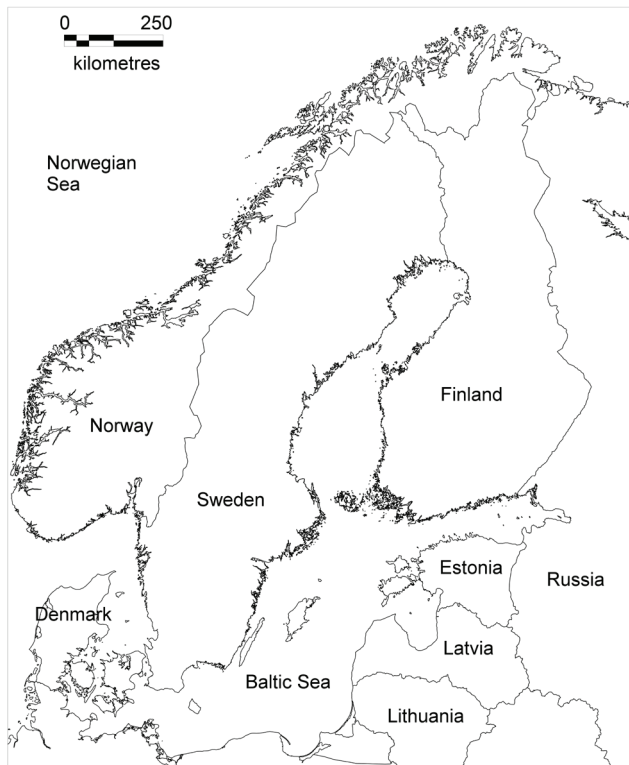
WIDER CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly present the wider temporal and spatial context in which the research subject is placed. In order to understand the practices, it is crucial to have insight into the world in which the practising people lived. Contextual information of how people perceived the world around them, in connection with worldview and religion, is especially important. For the largest part of history, however, this *emic*¹ perspective is seen through the eyes of authorities, whose views were extensively coloured by the institutionalized position on religion. In addition to the context of worldview and the *emic* relationships to magic and otherworldly aspects, a short review of the climate, economy, settlement patterns, and buildings is also in order, as they influence the customs and concerns of the people in many ways.

Turning to the question of worldview in a wider European context, the (Protestant) European worldview was assumed in earlier historical writing to have discarded “primitive” belief in magic and witchcraft in a process of three stages: first the conversion to Christianity, secondly the Reformation, and finally the Enlightenment. In later studies, this view was criticized. Historians have pointed out that even educated Protestants continued to believe in demons and spirits, and the threat of hostile witchcraft was also still relevant (Scribner 1993; Cameron 2010: 10–14; Mitchell 2011: 38; see also Hukantaival 2013a). Even after the decriminalization of witchcraft following the Enlightenment, the majority of Europeans still considered folk magic and witchcraft to be significant in their everyday lives, and the extensive intellectual interest in diabolic intervention in human affairs also continued (Davies & de Blécourt 2004: 1–5). Thus, as Cameron stresses, it is not at all surprising to find evidence of folk religion “long after the supposed ‘decline of magic’” (Cameron 2010: 14; cf. Thomas 1971). Studies on present-day vernacular religion support this observation (e.g. Walter 2011; Bowman 2014).

Davies and de Blécourt (2004: 1) also remind us that the Enlightenment has been simplistically portrayed as a time when the beliefs and worldviews of the educated elite and the people were completely separate. This brings us to the question of “folk” in folk religion. Traditionally, folk has been connected with rural peasant populations (small, isolated, homogenous, “primitive”) and contrasted with urban cultures, or at least a distinction has been made between “elite” and lower class “folk” (see e.g. Foster 1953; Crummey 1993; Christian 2004). It has been pointed out that both “folk” and “popular” share the same connotation (Crummey 1993: 702; Primiano 1995: 39–40). Still, research has also shown that evidence of folk religion can be found from all periods and a range of places, from the centre to the periphery, in urban and non-urban as well as lower and upper-class

¹ *Emic* refers to a culture’s insider view; *emic* concepts are used in living societies, as opposed to constructions of researchers (*etic* categories) (see e.g. Harris 1976; Headland *et al.* 1990).



Map 1. Present-day Finland is a republic in the European Union that borders Sweden, Norway, Russia, and Estonia.

contexts (e.g. Valk 2004: 309; Swann 2005: 116). As Primiano points out, not even the distinction between clergy and laity is completely clear-cut, since some members of the clergy undoubtedly shared the beliefs and practices of their lay followers (Primiano 1995: 702). Furthermore, folk religion is not confined to “profane” contexts. As locations saturated with otherworldly power, for example, churches and cemeteries are central places for folk beliefs (see e.g. Koski 2011: 105–108; Falk 2008: 152–163; Valk 2004: 300). Even though this study concentrates on the period from medieval times onward, it is also clear that, for example, belief in harmful witchcraft and the need to protect oneself against it have more ancient roots (see e.g. Abusch 1974; Gager 1992; Verderame 2013; Boschung & Bremmer 2015).

5.1 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE STUDY AREA

Finland is a country in Northern Europe (see Map 1), situated between the 60th and 70th degrees latitude. Because of its northern location, it has a long winter and a short growing season. Despite the fact that the Gulf Stream keeps Finland warmer than areas of similar latitude, the country is situated at the northern limits of agriculture as a means of livelihood. In spite of this, farming has long been important, though in peripheral areas agriculture was supported by wilderness resources, especially fishing. The boreal coniferous

forest remained a visible part of life during the whole studied period as pastures for cattle² and a source for both food and raw-materials.

After the more favourable climate of the late Iron Age and early medieval period shifted, the area endured a period dominated by harsh conditions and relatively poor and unstable means of livelihood (see e.g. Orrman 2003a: 67–71; Nummela 2003: 133–136; Holopainen & Helama 2009). The periods between c. 1570–1710 and the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century were particularly hard (see e.g. Tornberg 1989; Holopainen & Helama 2009). Finland largely remained a poor agrarian area until the end of the Second World War, after which modernization was rapid.

The history of Finland has been defined by its location between the East and the West. A cultural boundary divides the area into western and eastern Finland, which are distinguished by, for example, different types of cuisine, material culture, and predominant folk beliefs. Genetic studies have also shown differences in the populations of these two areas (e.g. Lappalainen *et al.* 2006; Sundell 2014: 17). The regions of Finland Proper, Satakunta, Tavastia, Uusimaa, and South Ostrobothnia (areas a, b, c, d, and k on Map 2 in Chapter 6.1, page 64) are generally regarded as belonging to the western cultural area, while the eastern area consists of Savonia, Karelia, Kainuu, North Ostrobothnia, Far Bothnia, and Lapland (areas e, f, g, h, i, j, l, m, n on Map 2). The differences between these two areas have been largely based on diverging primary forms of subsistence: open-field agriculture in the western part and swidden (slash-and-burn) agriculture in the east. However, this strict division is somewhat of a simplification (e.g. Stark 2006: 50; Sarmela 2009: 73–77). The historical period in Finland began in the mid-12th century with the advent of Swedish missionaries and the initiative of building an ecclesiastical and political infrastructure (see e.g. Hiekkanen 2002). From that point, there started a long period of Finland representing the easternmost part of the Swedish kingdom, including all of its alliances and wars. This era ended only in 1809 when Finland was lost to the Russian Empire, following the so-called Finnish War, where it remained until Finland gained independence in 1917.

Historically, since the area of Finland was often the subject of political tug-of-war, the border between Sweden and Russia shifted many times (see e.g. Jutikkala & Pirinen 1979: 25, 131). For example, in medieval times only the south-western parts of the country belonged to the Swedish kingdom, while Novgorod governed the eastern parts. As a heritage from the Swedish reign, Finland has a population of native Swedish speakers (the Finland Swedes) in the southern and western coastal areas (areas a, c, k, and å on Map 2). The northernmost part of the country is inhabited by Sámi people. Otherwise the largest part is inhabited by speakers of Finnish. The Finno-Ugric languages (Finnish dialects and Sámi languages) native to Finland are very different from both the Swedish (Germanic) and Russian (Slavic) languages. However, neighbouring peoples in the east and south (Karelians, Ingrians, and Estonians) also speak (or spoke) Finno-Ugric languages (see e.g. Abondolo 1998).

In medieval times, the Swedes established the Roman Catholic Church in the areas that they ruled. However, it has been suggested that the first contacts with Christianity in the area of present-day Finland may have come from the east and the Eastern Orthodox Church (see e.g. Pirinen 1968: 43; critique against this view in Shepherd 2005: 492). The closest areas with Orthodox leanings were in Karelia in the immediate east (see e.g. Stark 2002; about the Christianization process in this area, e.g. Shepherd 2005; Bel'skiy

² Livestock grazed on fields and meadows only in spring and autumn, in the summer pastures situated in the forest and on islands (Bläuer 2015: 59–61).

& Laakso 2012). After the Reformation in the mid-16th century, the official religion of Finland became Lutheranism (see e.g. Jutikkala & Pirinen 1979: 58–61, 70–73). The Orthodox faith also survived in the eastern areas, and it became the other religion to be given official status by the independent nation (see e.g. Laakso 2014: 13–15 for a review of Orthodox Christianity in Finland).

In this study the words Finland and Finnish refer to the geographical area of present-day Finland. It is evident that several ethnic groups have inhabited this area during its history (and prehistory). However, local archaeologists see imposing ethnic identities on past people as extremely problematic (e.g. Taavitsainen 1999; 2013; Immonen 2008: 410–418; see also Jones 1997). Ethnicity is a complex matter and archaeologists prefer not to assume it since material culture may have been shared among several ethnic groups. Moreover, identities may have been connected to kinship affiliation or even groups not formed on the basis of shared language and culture at all. The issue of local ethnic groups and concealments in buildings is shortly addressed in Chapter 11.

5.2 SOCIETY AND WORLDVIEW IN FINLAND C. 1200–1950

Medieval times

After a colder and more unstable period in the 12th century, in medieval times (c. CE 1200–1550) the climate became more favourable in the area of present-day Finland. It seems that the period between the mid-13th century and the end of the 16th century had warm and stable weather, with few years of crop failure. Thus, things were considerably better suited for agriculture than in the next cold period, which began in the late 16th century. It also seems that the epidemics raging across medieval Europe did not cause devastating destruction in the area. These positive circumstances made population growth possible, and it has been estimated that the number of people in Finland quadrupled during the medieval period (Vahtola 2003: 48, 58).

Nonetheless, there was no excess population or scarceness of arable land, at least not in the beginning of the historical period. Technological innovations (e.g. two-field crop rotation and new types of ploughs) made agriculture more efficient, enabling it to spread to new areas. The open-field system and group villages were also established in the areas of Finland Proper (a), Satakunta (b), Uusimaa (c), and Häme (d). Villages were still small, with few farms, and single farms existed as well. Settlement of the eastern slash-and-burn cultivation areas was more scattered, with farms situated singly in loose regional villages. In group villages where the open-field system was utilized, farms were side by side and villagers needed to work the fields together (Orrman 2003a; 2003b).

When discussing the settlement pattern of the area of Finland in medieval times, it should be noted that there is a debate about whether the eastern inland areas were permanently populated before settlements become visible in historical sources from the 16th century onwards. The traditional view is that the inland wilderness areas were visited by western populations that utilized a wilderness economy model, returning with forest resources to their permanent farms in the west. In addition, in these areas there were scattered migratory people with a fisher-hunter-gatherer economy. The region would have been quickly colonized by permanent settlers at the time when settlements appear in the historical records. However, this view has lately been criticized; for example, since paleoecological studies

suggest permanent human impact in the east and north, genetic studies do not support a colonization model, the few archaeological investigations conducted in the area suggest Iron Age permanent settlements, and tax records only show settlements that paid taxes (e.g. Soininen 1961; Pihlman 2004; Korpela 2012). Future archaeological investigations will surely shed more light on this question, but at the moment it is plausible that the areas of eastern culture were at least partly populated in medieval times by semi-sedentary, but non-tax-paying, fisher-swidden farmers, in addition to nomadic fisher-hunter-gatherers.

As noted above, the Swedes established the Catholic Church in the south-western area of Finland from the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries onwards. However, archaeological evidence shows that contacts with the Christian faith were not initiated by this movement, but had been present earlier as well (see e.g. Pirinen 1968: 43; Hiekkänen 2002; Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2004: 350; Ruohonen 2013). The oldest known church and churchyard in the area, Ristimäki in Ravattula (Kaarina in Finland Proper), dates to the 12th century and it fell out of use in the early 13th century; thus, it predates the official Church organization (Ruohonen 2013; forthcoming). Unfortunately, the worldview of the medieval people in the Finnish area must be interpreted from very fragmentary sources, and thus only a very general picture can be achieved. The main interests for this study are the evidence of folk religion and a view of what kind of magic practices were familiar at that time. Traditionally, discussions on these aspects in Finland are based on late modern folklore material (see e.g. Kuusi 1982). This approach relies on the idea that folk culture is static, and thus it is not particularly reliable.

Christianity surely affected the views of people from the point when contact with it became frequent. But what did Christianity mean in medieval times? As Robert W. Scribner (1993) reminds us, it has been common to portray medieval (pre-Reformation) Christianity as a mixture of religion and magic (often defined in terms of a strict distinction between the two; see the discussion in Appendix 1). Even the core act of medieval Christian worship, the Mass, had at its heart a form of magic, according to disapproving Protestants. The sacramental system also involved magical qualities and consecrated sacramental objects (e.g. holy water, salt, the crucifix, and saints medals), which became a popular part of European folk religion for their blessing and evil-averting properties (Scribner 1993: 479–480). Scribner remarks that the magical elements of medieval Christianity have often been interpreted as residues of pre-Christian practices, the idea being that the Church allowed some compromises in order to appeal to the masses (Scribner 1993: 479, 481–482). However, as the studies of Cameron (2010) and Mitchell (2011) show, this could be a misconception. It is more likely that there was no conscious compromise, but the worldview of the medieval Church authorities simply involved these elements, and thus no conflict was experienced. As Cameron's work demonstrates, there was constant discussion about where to draw the line between true religion and false magic. The main concern involved rituals performed by laypeople, rather than rituals inside the Church. It would appear that the Church authorities were especially worried about laypeople assuming power which belonged to the Church, and they battled this with charges of demonic contact (see e.g. Cameron 2010: 77–139; Mitchell 2011: 43–51).

John van Engen has shown how the view of medieval Christianity has changed over the course of its research, and he points out that few historians currently portray medieval Christianity as a uniform phenomenon that was constant in terms of time, place, and orders (van Engen 1986: 533). At the same time, showing concern for the radical shift of balance in understanding medieval religiosity, van Engen calls for a way of getting at

the truth about medieval religious life by avoiding both the extreme of a mythical golden age of Catholic Christianity and an equally mythical millennium of pre-Christian Indo-European folk religion (van Engen 1986: 537). According to van Engen, even though personal belief and confession were important, it was typical of medieval Christianity that it usually followed rather than preceded the liturgical practice that was taken for granted (van Engen 1986: 545–546). Accordingly, the Christian religion was initially spread as a practice. One interesting but seldom asked question connected to the discussion of medieval Christianity and Indo-European folk beliefs is how much folk religion was spread together with Christianity (or other forms of contact). This issue is touched upon below in Chapters 11.2 and 12.3. The fact that many elements of folk religion are very widespread may well be linked to the possibility of their being spreading through the same channels and contact networks.

One feature typical to Finnish research on medieval religion is its strong emphasis on the effect that the spread of Christianity had on the forming of the administration and power relations in the area (see e.g. Pirinen 1968; Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2004). It is far more challenging to find research on how the religion was perceived and how it affected the everyday life of common people. The bull *Gravis admonitum*, sent by the pope to the archbishop of Uppsala in 1171, is often mentioned in connection to the early stages of the religion in the area. In this bull, it is stated that the Finns always asked the Church for help and promised to keep the Christian religion when they were harassed by an enemy, but as soon as the threat was overcome they would deny the faith and persecute the Church (e.g. Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2004: 352). This surely speaks of some conflict, but it also leaves many questions open.

The main problem, of course, is the lack of written sources on the common people's perception of religion. The study of other sources (material evidence) is still quite new, and no coherent research has yet been published on this subject. The church historian Kauko Pirinen notes that the effect of the medieval Church on the Finnish people is hard to evaluate, but he does point out that the importance of Christian practice was most likely emphasized in the early phase, just as van Engen pointed out about Europe in general (Pirinen 1968: 46–47; van Engen 1986: 545–546). However, the misconception that medieval common people did not understand any of the Church's services has also been touched upon by some Finnish scholars, and the fact that the Church offered teachings and services in the vernacular languages is now widely understood (e.g. Hanska 2000; Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2004: 359). Thus, the idea that medieval Christianity would have been only an empty, incomprehensible practice for the public can be discarded.

It has been put forward that in Finland, in particular the friars of the Dominican Order familiarized rural people with the new religion (e.g. Haavio 1967: 445–456). The Dominican convent of Saint Olaf was established in Turku at the end of the 13th century (e.g. Gardberg 1973: 84–87; Hiekkänen 2003b; Knuutila 2003; Immonen *et al.* 2014), and it played a vital part in the town's establishment. The influence of wandering friars on folk culture was surely significant. The Catholic mythology still visible in late 19th-century Finnish folk culture, especially in healing practices, has been seen as the result of the Dominican Order's activities among the people during medieval times (Haavio 1967: 445–456; see also Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2004: 360–364). For example, the ritual circling while chanting a spell often present in folk magic has been connected with medieval Catholic traditions. It has been supposed that mimicking the prayer tradition of the monks, and especially their use of benedictions, made this tradition popular (Eilola

2003: 63; refers e.g. to Scribner 1993: 481–482). However, Scribner (1993: 481–482) discusses these practices as simply Christianized forms of pre-Christian healing charms. The question of whether certain traditions have a pre-Christian or Christian origin can perhaps be debated endlessly, but because this problem is not relevant for the study at hand, it is sufficient to note that the prayers and rituals performed by monks were highly likely to have affected the observers' traditions.

Another aspect of medieval Christianity that has been seen as having concrete, practical effects on the everyday life of people is the cult of the saints. The saints were present in the daily life of Finns as well. They were asked to bless the growth of the fields, protect the cattle, help in sickness, and protect from all harm. Thus, the cult of the saints has been seen as a mediator between Christianity and older beliefs of guardian spirits. The saints were also adapted to local conditions. For example, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, who was especially the patron of scholars in Western Europe, became a protector of cattle in Finland, like many other female saints (Katajala-Peltomaa 2000: 175–176). The cult of the saints is still visible in 19th-century folklore, where the connection between the saints and all aspects of life is evident. The most common saint in later folklore, especially in incantations, was the Virgin Mary. She was addressed especially for healing magic and during childbirth (Krohn 1915: 214–245; Viljakainen 2005). According to Laura Stark, however, references to saints in Finnish folklore are usually due to the influence of Orthodox Christianity (Stark 2006: 51). This is certainly true regarding Karelian folk religion, but it should be re-evaluated when discussing beliefs in western Finnish areas.

The importance of the Virgin Mary in everyday life of local people is also visible in medieval sources. For example, Janne Harjula (2016) discusses two archaeological finds from Turku of early 15th-century wooden stave vessels with inscriptions on the base. The texts, written in runic characters, can be read *Ave Maria gratia* and *Ave Maria gratia plena Domi-*



Fig 3. The early 16th-century painting on the western wall of the antechamber of Lohja Church depicts two devils giving assistance to milking and churning women. The cat likely represents a *para*. Photo by Auli Bläuer.



Fig 4. Milk-stealing witch flying on a pentagram depicted in a late 15th-century German woodcut (Schön 2004: 164).

nus. These words are the beginning of the popular Catholic invocation *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary). Harjula comments that most likely the primary purpose of the texts on the two vessels was apotropaic, meant to protect the content of the vessel. Wooden stave vessels were locally produced, everyday household objects of low material value; thus these finds are examples of religion in domestic settings.

Wall paintings in medieval churches are another type of source that served to communicate popular beliefs. As Mitchell (2011: 136–145) has discussed, the milk-stealing witch was depicted on the antechamber walls of several medieval Scandinavian churches. This theme also appears in Finnish churches, and it is still visible in Lohja (c), Espoo (c), and Kalanti (a) (Bläuer & Lempiäinen-Avci manuscript: Figs. 23–25): the Devil assists by holding the cow steady, while in Lohja the cat-shaped helper of the witch, most likely belonging to the *para* tradition, is also depicted (Fig. 3) (Nervander 1923: 33–34; Riska 1990: 168). The *para*, well-known in late modern folklore (see Holmberg [Harva] 1928), was a helper-spirit that could be created from textiles, branches, and such household objects as spindles and shears. It was usually brought to life by a few drops of its maker's blood, after which it would serve its master or mistress by carrying milk, grain, or other riches from neighbouring farms. The *para* could variously manifest itself as a whirlwind or small animal, such as a cat or hare (cf. the troll cat or milk hare of Scandinavian tradition, see e.g. Nildin-Wall & Wall 1993). The milk-stealing witch is also depicted in a German woodcut from the 15th century (Fig. 4), again leading to speculation if it could actually have spread as a result of images distributed by authorities.

Since the medieval sources from the area of Finland alone are very scarce, it is worth looking at folk religion and magic practices more widely in the neighbouring areas. One aspect of late modern traditions that is relevant to the discussion on building rituals is the belief in guardian spirits (*haltia*) of the earth. Local records of belief in these beings are lacking from medieval times, but similar beings do appear in other Scandinavian sources. These spirits of the land (*landvættir*), which were responsible for the “luck” of numerous en-

deavours and were thus persuaded with offerings, appear in medieval Icelandic texts, and 13th-century Norwegian law codes forbid their veneration (Mundal 2013: 13–14). These records depict such a strikingly similar phenomenon as that seen in late modern Finnish folklore (e.g. Krohn 1915: 68–85) that it is justifiable to argue that spirits of the earth were familiar also in the Finnish area in medieval times.

Scandinavian sources also depict other aspects of folk religion. The historian Stephen A. Mitchell has studied magic in the medieval Nordic area, and his work gives a general impression of the role of these practices and beliefs. In particular, medieval Norwegian laws denounced magic in a very detailed way, reflecting a need to distinguish between “true” religious activities and forbidden ones. For example, the law condemned the use of poppets of dough and clay in magic, while similar wax figurines were perfectly eligible to be used as votive offerings in pilgrimage culture (Mitchell 2011: 44–45). Attributes of the Church were common elements in the everyday magic of the Nordic Middle Ages; for example, numerous protection amulets with religious writings in Latin or the vernacular have been found. Several amulets with inscribed wishes have also been discovered, such as a whetstone-shaped amber amulet with the inscription *contra omnia mala* (against all harm) from the later Middle Ages in Denmark (Mitchell 2011: 48–49, 63–64; the amber amulet is published in Kiær 1982: 684; see also Jones 2009). Some sources describe means of protection against witchcraft in more detail: Mitchell mentions a medical treatise which recommends fish gall placed in a juniper pail and covered at bedtime with glowing coals, whose stench should repel witchcraft and devilry. A similar effect was said to be achieved with the gall of a black dog, whose stench is so great that witchcraft loses its power (Mitchell 2011: 51). These examples show that the idea of foul-smelling substances, such as “stinking gum” (asafoetida), known from late modern folklore for their evil-averting properties, has medieval (if not earlier) roots.

In contrast to the medieval Norwegian and Icelandic laws, which condemned magic more exactly, the Swedish laws at the time are less detailed (see Mitchell 2011: 146–174). Both the Law of King Magnus Eriksson from the 1350s and the later modified Union King Christopher’s Law from 1442 insist on the death penalty for killing someone by witchcraft. However, a fine was sufficient for the crime of poisoning or bewitching someone if the victim did not die. In the case of bewitching or poisoning someone, the poison or magic objects involved had to be brought before the court for inspection, and for a conviction the defendant needed to be found guilty by a twelve-man jury (Huitu & Riska 1977: 184–185; Ulkuniemi 1978: 133, 135–136).

Even though only harmful witchcraft was mentioned in the law as punishable, this does not mean that all authorities were indifferent about more everyday magic. For example, in her writings from the 14th century, the Swedish Saint Bridget disapprovingly lists the purposes for which counsel was sought from magic specialists: in order to conceive children, win love, discover the future, and be healed of illness (Mitchell 2011: 52; Klemming 1861: 292–293). Also the statutes of Bishop Conrad Bitz (bishop of Turku between 1460–1489) mentioned the following as grave sins: the casting of lots, magic, divination, the interpretation of dreams, means to discover thieves, and all writings with letters and words not appearing in holy texts that are said to be effective against water and fire, swords and other perils of death (Hertzberg 1889: 1).

The brief survey of the medieval worldview given above suggests that Christianity played an important role, both publicly and more personally (see also Webb 2005 about private devotion in medieval times). However, even though the shifting border between true and

false religion was discussed by authorities (see Cameron 2010: 77–139), it perhaps had little meaning to most people. Harmful witchcraft was punishable, just like any form of harm, but other types of magic were perhaps seen as a problem only to more devout individuals.

It is apparent that the medieval worldview involved a universe filled with otherworldly powers and personal experience of these powers' workings on earth. Life was full of uncertainties and dangers, which needed to be dealt with through rituals. As Scribner (1993) points out, means to address these forces did exist within the institutionalized religion: the cult of the saints, protective and healing sacramentals and amulets, prayers, blessings, votive offerings, and so forth. However, as the examples of the disapproving Saint Bridget and Bishop Conrad Bitz show, people still felt a need to use methods outside of the official practices as well. Tradition must have been one important factor, but perhaps the difficulty to draw a clear line between permitted and forbidden practices also played a role.

Before moving on to discuss post-medieval times, it is fitting to point out one viewpoint on medieval religiosity in Finland from when that world was only just passing into posterity. The reformer and first translator of biblical texts into Finnish, Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557), published his translation of the Book of Psalms in 1551. In the foreword of this work, he draws a line between the Christianity mixed with popular beliefs in late medieval Finland and the new, reformed religion. In the last part of a list of things that were worshipped, one can clearly observe a fusion of Catholic sacramentals and elements of non-Christian folk religion (Anttonen 2012: 187, translation by Ellen Valle):

*“[...]Many other things were worshipped,
stones, tree stumps, stars and the moon.*

*Like recently, under the Papal order,
In place of God, bowed to in public and private
were objects of nature without number, like
relics deemed sacred:*

*So also fire, water and earth,
boughs and trees, bones of the dead,
salt, eggs, grass and meats,
were held ritual sites of the Lord.”*

Early modern conditions

From the above passage by the reformer Mikael Agricola, it is natural to move on to a discussion of how the Reformation affected the worldview. In the Swedish kingdom, the Reformation was initiated by King Gustav Vasa during the 1520s. However, the transition between medieval and early modern times was not a radical change. A true disengagement from the Catholic traditions did not take place until the 17th century with Lutheran orthodoxy, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and new academic institutions³ (Lehtonen 2002: 227).

The Reformation has been seen as a process of secularization, rationalization, and even the “disenchantment of the world”, but that view is strongly criticized (see e.g. Scribner 1993; Cameron 2010). As the historian Scribner states, the world of the Reformation was highly charged with sacrality, meaning that all secular events – social, political, and economic – could have cosmic significance. The claim that the Reformation created an anti-ritualistic form of religion which dispensed with sacred time, places, persons, and things is incorrect

³ For example, the Royal Academy of Turku was founded in 1640.

as well, according to Scribner. Indeed, after initial attempts to abolish or reform life-cycle rituals, many of them reappeared in another form after the Reformation (Scribner 1993: 483). However, Scribner adds, this was due neither to mere survivalism nor to a misunderstanding of people incapable of accepting the fact that sacred power did not exist in the profane world. Protestant belief did not claim that the sacred did not intrude into the secular world, only that it did not do so as a result of human will. Thus, there was no contradiction in holding the Word of God as the most potent manifestation of the sacred in the world and regarding the Bible as an especially sacred and potent object. This also led to the importance of other objects that expressed the sacred Word of God, such as hymnals, prayer books, and catechisms. Scribner even claims that it is justifiable to speak of a distinctive Protestant form of sacramentalism, even though it was far weaker than the Catholic one (Scribner 1993: 484).

A further consequence of Protestant belief was what Scribner calls the “moralized universe”. Alongside belief in a sacramental world, pre-Reformation religion also held that human actions could cause supernatural intervention in the natural world, either as a sign or a punishment. Protestant belief in a weakly (rather than strongly) sacralized universe made it possible for this idea to become stronger, especially since it fit with the belief in the sovereignty of God. Protestants also broadened this notion with the belief that the consequences of moral failures affected the whole population, not only individuals (Scribner 1993: 485–486). The Protestant elaboration of the moralized universe had the effect of increasing anxiety among those it affected, Scribner continues. Indeed, anxiety may even have been increased by awareness of the omnipresence of a sacred order in and among the secular. Here Scribner not only refers to the activity of God, his Word and his Spirit, or even of the Devil. Protestant belief allowed for a whole range of otherworldly beings to be active in the world, in particular angels, demons, and various kinds of spirits (Scribner 1993: 486).

The activity of otherworldly agents was accepted as possible because such beings were mentioned in the Bible, although there was a tendency to explain such occurrences as trickery of the Devil, Scribner explains. Indeed, as reflected by the popularity of Protestant demonology, it may have seemed to many observers that demonic spirits had become nastier and more numerous. However, since the protective means inherent in the Catholic sacramental system were discarded, Protestants found themselves without ritual and sacramental means of dealing with the activities of such beings. The boundaries between sacred and secular remained highly unstable and the seepage of the one into the other was highly unpredictable. According to Scribner (1993: 485–487), it was for this reason that Protestants were tempted to turn to Catholic means of protection, as well as forms of popular magic.

In the Swedish kingdom, folk religion was persecuted by authorities in the 17th century due to the Lutheran orthodoxy. Among others, the Finnish historian Jari Eilola has studied legal processes concerning magic in the area in this period. He explains that the Lutheran orthodoxy resulted in the criminalization of all magic, not just harmful witchcraft. The text of the laws themselves did not change, but some new statutes were added: folk religion and magic were now seen as a misuse of the Lord’s name, which was pronounced a crime against true belief. In statutes of war, magic was declared a threat to the kingdom’s military success, reflecting how the actions of individuals were seen as potentially having consequences for the whole population. The criminalization of folk religion was mainly

conducted by the state, as the statutes of the Church were merely concerned for the safeguarding of the sacramental host, so that it could not be used in magic (Eilola 2003: 55).

Yet this does not mean that the Church was tolerant of folk religion or the use of vestigial Catholic traditions. The sermon given by Bishop Isaacus Rothovius at the opening ceremony of the Royal Academy of Turku in 1640 is famous for its attack against superstition. He complained that Finns were superstitious when it came to fishing and the changes in seasons, and he blamed them for seeking help from the Devil when ill, and for offering thanksgiving by means of wax images, candles, squirrel skins, and other things set on the altar. Furthermore, they sacrificed sheep and offered coins on certain saints' days (e.g. Bartholomew, Olaf, and Jacob), hung heads of oxen, calves, and sheep on their walls, erected crosses by roads, circled the church counter-clockwise on their knees, etc. (Rothovius 1990 [1641]: 13, 31). Especially in the remote areas in eastern Finland, where the distance to the nearest church could be considerable, there were conflicts between the authorities and common people about church attendance and the line between true Lutheran religion and superstition (Kuha 2012). As noted above, the concern about superstition was very real, since there was a general belief that the wrong actions of individuals could bring misfortune to the entire kingdom.

A collection of sermons given by the priest Laurentius Petri Aboicus (*Selityxet joca-päiväisten huomen- ehto- ia ruokalucuin eli siunausten, yxinkertasil saarnoill edespannut*, printed in Turku in 1644) is a good example of how authorities also saw the world as a hostile place and how sermons instructed Finns to protect themselves from the Devil. The priest explains how the Devil uses any means possible to harm people: causing sickness and need, as well as destroying property by storm, fire, water, war, robbery, thieves, and witchcraft. Meals should be blessed, for the Devil tries to poison the air, the ground, the water, and the food. Because no one is safe from the Devil, not for a moment, Aboicus explains that one should start every morning with prayer and blessing, as it prevents harm by the Devil or witches during the day; prayers in the evening are meant to keep the Devil at bay during the night (Hertzberg 1889: 8–11).

As Scribner (1993) remarked, the official abandonment of Catholic means of protection left the people defenceless against evil forces. However, this may have become clear to the person protecting him/herself only when charges were pressed. As Eilola has discussed, understandings of acceptable and forbidden magic did not change as quickly among the common people as the authorities would have hoped. It is clear from many court records that the accused believed they were practicing perfectly acceptable customs, as long as they were not involved in malicious witchcraft (Eilola 2003: 60–101). The use of Christian elements in magic practices was also believed by the common person to be proof that they were assisted by God and not the Devil (Eilola 2003: 92). Court records further show that the name of Jesus and prayers such as the *Pater Noster* (the Lord's Prayer) were frequently used in folk religion as magical formulas (see e.g. Hertzberg 1889: 104–105). In addition, a wide selection of non-Christian practices and objects were used: for example, coins, knives, magic stones, red woollen thread, a chicken's head, the skin of a viper, and a human skull (Hertzberg 1889). According to Eilola (2003: 92), the difference between the people's and authorities' opinions regarding the acceptability of everyday magic is especially visible in the records of the 1640s and 1650s.

Finnish historians agree that the early modern witchcraft and superstition trials conducted in the area did not follow the common image of witchcraft trials in Western Europe. Cases involving pacts with the Devil and witches flying to the Sabbath were rare; most trials

instead concerned personal problems (stolen goods, spoiled luck or love, illnesses, fires, or other misfortunes) believed to be caused by someone in the community. Most often both the accused and the accusers were neighbouring peasant farmers of average wealth. Rumours and accusations of witchcraft accompanied quarrels over property or other conflicts, and both men and women had to answer to these charges. Overall, the trial records reveal that witchcraft was a real and common concern, which originated in local communities instead of being introduced “from on high” by authorities (e.g. Nenonen 1993; 2004; Eilola 2003; Toivo 2008).

Modern research estimates that in the area of Finland, over 2000 people were accused of witchcraft and superstition between 1500–1750 (Nenonen 2004: 262). Until the middle of the 17th century, the accused were most commonly men, and the charge was generally malignant magic. After the 1660s, the authorities turned their attention towards everyday magic practices, and women became accused more often (Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 248–249). The historians Marko Nenonen and Timo Kervinen (1994: 248) suggest that since the everyday magic practiced by women took place within the household, it was witnessed more easily than the magic of men, which was presumably done in more private settings (such as the forest). This explanation is questionable, however. It is possible to form a completely opposite interpretation as well. For example, Emmi Lahti (née Tittonen 2007: 176–177) notes in her master’s thesis that the contrast between public and private in the late 18th century was the reason why men were accused (and not women). The shifting condemnation of the sexes must have had more complex origins than the public or private context of the rites.

The procedures against witchcraft and superstition show that such misfortunes as death and sickness of livestock, fire, harm done by wild animals, and even falling and hurting oneself were commonly thought to be caused by witchcraft. In an outbreak of cattle disease, even someone whose own livestock had been affected could be accused as the cause. Explanations for sudden misfortunes, like sickness of people or animals, were found in prior disagreements or confrontations with neighbours (see e.g. Hertzberg 1889: 18–19, 25–33). Any neighbour harbouring envy or ill will was a potential witch. It was commonly believed that disruptive emotions (e.g. envy, anger, jealousy) and even malevolent thoughts could harm others, not to mention when they were voiced out loud as curses (Vuorela 1960: 9; Nenonen 1993; Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 39–41, 60–61; van Gent 2009: 197).

Worrying about evil devils and witches may seem strange to Westerners today, but it made sense in the worldview of the past. As mentioned above (Chapter 5.1), the main livelihood of agriculture was practiced at its extreme limits. Uncontrollable elements of the seasons and weather meant the difference between starvation and survival for large groups of people. Additional forms of sustenance, such as fishing and small-scale hunting, also depended on favourable conditions. An outbreak of cattle or crop disease was no small matter, but a question of life or death. When some neighbours were struggling with problems but others were more fortunate, questions of witchcraft could easily surface.

The 17th century was an unstable period in Finland. There were several years of crop failure in the beginning of the century, the worst being the “Great Straw-Year” (*suuri olkivuosi*) of 1601, which was followed by plague. The beginning of the 1630s was again a difficult time, but the 1670s were even worse, accompanied by a repeat of the plague in the 1680s (see Tornberg 1973: 44–46; Jutikkala 2003). By far, the worst period was the “Great Famine” (*suuret kuolonvuodet*) of 1695–97, a catastrophe that killed about

one third of the population (see e.g. Jutikkala 1955; 2003; Lappalainen 2012). The crop failures were caused by severe weather conditions, which were connected to the cold climate spell known as the “Little Ice Age”. In Finland, it was especially strong between c. 1570–1710 (Tornberg 1989; Holopainen & Helama 2009; Lappalainen 2012: 23–35; see also Mann 2002).

The harsh conditions fuelled belief in divine punishment for sinful living, which was preached by the priests of Lutheran orthodoxy (Lappalainen 2012: 27–28, 35, 128). It has also been suggested that heated sermons against Devil worship and witchcraft strengthened the people’s concerns and fear of possible witches in the neighbourhood (Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 198–199), thus reinforcing the need for protective magic practices. This issue is briefly addressed below in Chapter 11.2.

Late modern developments

While current research generally does not support the Enlightenment as being a time of radical change concerning matters of folk religion (see e.g. Davies & de Blécourt 2004; van Gent 2009), the changes that did occur led to a gradual decriminalization of witchcraft and magic (Davies & de Blécourt 2004: 1–5). It was a slow process. In the Swedish kingdom, the first law that officially criminalized everyday magic was issued as late as 1734, and the punishment was severe: the death penalty was still given for witchcraft if the victim died, compared to a fine or imprisonment with only bread and water for practicing ordinary magic (divination or other magic, and seeking help from a cunning person) (Salenius 1984: 153–154). Clearly the Swedish legislators of the early 18th century still saw witchcraft and magic as serious crimes, even though no death penalties were actually pronounced anymore (Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 194; see also Tittonen 2008: 3–4). This law remained in effect in Finland after the area became a part of the Russian Empire in 1809, but the part about witchcraft had been removed in 1779. Seeking help from a cunning person remained a criminal offense in the law of 1889 (Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 195).

The folk religion of the 18th century has been studied considerably less than that of both the preceding and the following centuries. The folklorist Matti Kuusi has discussed a few trial cases from North Ostrobothnia (Kuusi 1985). More recently, the historian Emmi Lahti (née Tittonen) has studied this subject also within a limited area of North Ostrobothnia and Kainuu (areas l and m on Map 2 in Chapter 6.1, page 64), also using legal proceedings as source material. The cases Lahti investigated centre around magic practised by men in churchyards in order to heal someone or to discover stolen property. She suggests that the logic behind the magic practices was the same as in the preceding century, but the important role of rituals performed in the churchyard was a new feature (Tittonen 2007; 2008; see also Lahti 2016). Because the churchyard was a focal point earlier as well (see e.g. Hertzberg 1889: 44, 51, 53; Kuronen 2009: 56–58), it is possible that the cases Lahti investigated tell more about the emphasis of the prosecutors in that particular area than a novelty in folk religion.

The 18th century brings a new type of source material to the study of Finnish folk religion, since the first academic studies on the subject are from this time. The oldest comprehensive study on the subject is the *Dissertatio de superstitione veterum Fennorum theoretica et practica* (Dissertation on ancient Finnish superstition in theory and practice) defended by Kristian Lencqvist in 1782. This work presents many of the practices that are well known in later folklore, showing that the wish of the educated elite that these beliefs and practices

would be relegated to the past would not be fulfilled for at least another hundred years. As seen in works from the following century, the objective of the dissertation was to reconstruct the old Finnish pagan religion from the contemporary folk religion. Most relevant for the study at hand is the remark that people would protect their buildings against fire with “thunderbolts”⁴ or by painting a cross with plaster on the outside wall at the place of the fireplace (Lencqvist 1782: 84).

The romantic nationalism of the 19th century triggered wide intellectual interest in folk culture, first in Kalevalaic poetry and later in other folklore as well (see e.g. Mead 1962; Siikala 2006: 161–164). The large archives collected as a result of this interest form an extensive body of source material on the worldview and folk religion of the late 19th century. In spite of the great efforts made by authorities, it is clear that people had not abandoned their traditional worldview. Especially in the remote rural areas where the folklore was collected, numerous non-Christian elements were included in folk religion (see e.g. Varonen 1898; Krohn 1915; Virtanen 1999: 230–280; Talve 1997: 222–236). Beliefs connected to the dead and different guardian spirits (*haltia*), the notion of luck, the everyday use of magic, and fear of witchcraft were still present, even though some examples from oral histories show that these elements were beginning to be a part of older people’s lives. This worldview is briefly discussed in the following subchapter in connection to 19th-century *emic* views on magic and the otherworld.

The general elements of folk religion have been strongly connected with everyday concerns and especially livelihood (see e.g. Sarmela 1974b; 1987; 2009). Magic was a practical means to ensure success in farming, animal husbandry, and any other vulnerable endeavour (see also e.g. Cameron 2010: 31–40; Mitchell 2011: 52–73). It seems that the shift in institutionalized religion and the gradual adoption of a scientific worldview may have only caused minor changes in the traditional worldview, at least in terms of the elements focused on here, insofar as the insecure aspect of life remained (see e.g. Stark 2006). This is to say, 19th-century Finland was still primarily a poor agrarian country with crop failures caused by frost. Regarding weather, the 18th century had been a more favourable time, but it was only temporary (see Tornberg 1989). The worst catastrophe of the 19th century belonged to the “Great Hunger Years” (*suuret nälkävuodet*) of 1867–68, when famine was again caused by extreme winters and rainy summers (see e.g. Häkkinen 1991; Jutikkala 2003).

During the early 20th century, technical and scientific developments made agriculture more effective and epidemics less deadly, and at the same time fewer people relied on agriculture as a means of livelihood. Furthermore, the human body and property gradually became more protected by law, which diminished the need for individuals to guard themselves magically (see Stark 2006: 455). This process of modernization brought about a change in folk religion, as many traditional elements were forgotten and later replaced with new forms (for example, New Age ideas and shifting trends regarding health and diet) (see e.g. Lindeman & Aarnio 2007; Aarnio 2007; Hänninen 2009; Svedholm 2013). However, it does appear that basic forms of magical thinking remain the same, being a form of reasoning that is inherent in human cognition (see e.g. Rozin *et al.* 1986; Nemeroff & Rozin 2000).

⁴ These were mainly edged Stone Age tools believed to be lightning bolts (see Chapter 12.2; also e.g. Blinkenberg 1911; Carelli 1996; 1997; Muhonen 2006; Johanson 2009) .

Magic as custom and foreign as otherworldly – 19th-century emic views on the other-world, magic, and witchcraft

The traditional worldview of 19th-century rural Finland has been widely discussed, especially by folklorists (e.g. Krohn 1915; Apo 1995; Stark-Arola 1998; Stark 2002; 2006; 2015; Koski 2003; 2008; 2011; Issakainen 2002; 2005; 2012). Laura Stark stresses that even though the traditional worldview was still observable in rural Finland up to the 1940s, since then modernization has changed the worldview so considerably that it is not easy for us to understand the world people lived in. However, this world is accessible through the vast collections of folklore in the Finnish archives (Stark 2006: 31, 47, 50–79).

According to Stark (2002: 42–44), the division between this world and otherworldly existence is one of the central mental schemas in Finnish-Karelian folk religion. However, as the folklorist Kaarina Koski (2003: 6) points out, the complex ideas of these spheres of existence do not coincide perfectly with the Western (*etic*?) dichotomy of sacred and profane (see Appendix 1). As Veikko Anttonen has discussed, the otherworldly “sacred” is above all a territorial definition. Beyond the borders of the profane, familiar, and safe is the uncontrollable, dangerous, foreign otherworld (e.g. Anttonen 1996; 2003).

Koski has continued Anttonen’s discussion about the ambivalent nature of “sacred” (*pyhä*) in Finnish-Karelian folk religion: “sacred” is not only good and pure, but also dangerous and scary. Koski points out that while Christianity’s clear-cut view of holy (godly) and unholy (satanic) has influenced folk religion in some aspects (especially in connection to the deceased), the ambivalent nature of sacred in folk religion was also transferred to churches. Outside of its ritual context (especially at night), the church was inhabited by dangerous devils and aggressive spirits of the dead (Koski 2003: 8–9; see also Douglas 1966; Anttonen 1996; 2000; 2003). In addition to the ambivalent nature of sacred, Koski sees two other aspects that are important to the Finnish-Karelian folk religion’s notion of the otherworld: 1) the idea of separation and 2) the dynamistic quality of beings and powers. The first involved keeping otherworldly aspects separate from the profane, everyday life. This idea of separation is particularly linked to the agency (*väki*) of the dead, and Koski (2003: 9) assumes that it shows the influence of the Lutheran Church. However, the otherworld was a source of potential danger even when not connected to death, as studies on household magic have shown (see e.g. Stark-Arola 1998; Eilola 2004). Stark (-Arola) has listed three areas that, in light of Finnish-Karelian household magic, form the dangerous outside world: 1) the forest, 2) other households, and 3) the village with its social relations. Protective magic was needed every time a border was crossed, in order to keep dangerous influences outside. There were also borders inside the household: for example, in the relations of the mother-in-law and the outsider daughter-in-law (Stark-Arola 1998: 156, 161–162). This idea of the vulnerable borders of a household has also been discussed by Eilola in connection with 17th-century magic: the borders of a household were constantly crossed by people, animals, and goods, and since any foreign influence posed a potential threat, these crossings demanded protective measures (Eilola 2003: 187–198, 315; 2004: 155–161; Eilola & Einonen 2009: 233).

The second aspect mentioned by Koski, the dynamistic nature of otherworldly agency (called *väki*, cf. *mana*, *orenda*), has been widely discussed in Finnish research (e.g. Apo 1995; Issakainen 2002; Koski 2003; 2008; 2011; Stark 2006: 254–262). This agency, which could manifest itself either as an impersonal energy or as a group of beings, was thought to exist in specific locations, materials, objects, animals, and even the human

body. It could cause harm and illness by contagion, but it was also a source of otherworldly power that could be manipulated through magic to heal and protect. In addition to impersonal *väki*, a person possessed *luonto*, a potent quality of a more individual character (Stark 2006: 257).

The dynamistic nature of beings and powers is connected to the notion that otherworldly agency was actualized in certain times and/or places or in certain situations (Koski 2003: 10). For example, the *väki* of iron was actualized only when an otherwise everyday iron tool was used ritually, or if an accident happened and someone was hurt by the tool. Another feature of this dynamistic thinking is that the same otherworldly influences could be harmful in one context but helpful in another (Koski 2003: 10). This is also an example of the ambivalent nature of the otherworld: on one hand it was a source of potential danger, and on the other it was the source of protective power against such danger, when skilfully approached with the appropriate rituals.

As is typical of features of folk religion, *väki* is not easily confined in a strict definition, and Issakainen (2002) has criticized its being used as an *etic* concept. Issakainen sees it as a problem that the word was used in *emic* language to describe both mundane and otherworldly, personified and impersonal types of agency. This point is closely linked to the overall discussion of religious concepts mentioned above in Chapter 2 regarding the problems of dichotomies and intangible, abstract categories (see Appendix 1). Such ambiguity is only natural, and it is not perceived as an obstacle in this study.

Nevertheless, Issakainen (2002: 116, 120) makes two important points: first, *väki* was especially connected to movement and change (perceivable activity); secondly, a thing was not seen as distinct from its agency (agency here not being something external contained within an object, but one of the object's qualities). It is notable, though, that Issakainen (and other folklorists) discuss the concept as it appears in narratives, not how it was related to the material world. From the viewpoint of objects and other material aspects, the concept is given a slightly different emphasis, as is shown in Chapter 10.3. In this study *väki* is understood generally as agency, but the (*etic*) concept is used specifically in connection to the otherworldly and other symbolic active qualities of materials and objects.

The most relevant otherworldly beings from the point of view of this study are the guardian spirits (*haltia*) mentioned briefly above in connection to medieval beliefs. Late modern folklore gives a more detailed picture of beliefs, not only in guardians of earth and nature, but also buildings and other human-made structures (see e.g. Lukkarinen 1912; Krohn 1915; Haavio 1942; Honko 1962; Sarmela 1974b). It has been theorized that the origin of these guardian spirits lies in an ancestor cult, in which the deceased buried underground were believed to have become otherworldly guardians of their new environment (see e.g. Varonen 1898: 43). Although this may not be the only explanation for these beings, and it is still likely that guardians of nature could also have other origins, late modern folklore does offer evidence that this was one existing idea (see e.g. Haavio 1942: 60–64). In any case, the guardian spirits were formidable agents that held the rights to both territory and natural resources. Thus, people needed to maintain good relations with them and provide compensation for used resources.

In addition to belief in otherworldly agency the idea of the “limited good” was also an important part of the pre-scientific worldview. According to this view, the total of good things in the world was limited, and one could not improve one's own situation without taking something good from others. In Finnish folk religion, this idea of limited good is often found in relation to the notion of “luck” (*onni*). Luck could be stolen or spoiled

through witchcraft, and thus everyone needed to protect their own share of luck. A sudden improvement in someone's luck was likely to cause suspicion in less fortunate neighbours. Another person's or household's luck could easily be ruined by envy, which was believed to be a truly potent power. (See e.g. Vuorela 1960: 15; Foster 1965; Stark-Arola 1998: 116–117; Stark 2002: 32.)

Intentional magical harm was connected with a scarcity of resources and the notion of limited good. For example, Stark (2006: 46, 66, 69) stresses that belief in magical harm was strongly grounded in the risks of life and especially the ever-present threat of poverty. Still, according to Stark (2006: 44–45), magical harm was seen as something outside the category of “natural” or “normal”. It was a sign that the normal course of life had been disturbed. On the other hand, apotropaic magic practices were taught to children as the proper way to act in certain situations, as is evident in this folklore account recorded in Orivesi ([b] Satakunta) in 1953 (Stark 2006: 71):

In former times, everyday magic was taught by parents to their children already when they were small, for example always put mittens on the right hand first, put socks on the right leg first. When you open the door to a room where a person is, always listen first whether someone is about to come out of the room. When you begin to eat a meal, cross your fingers before you touch bread, and take off your cap when you begin to eat if you are a man, but a woman's head should always be covered while she is eating.

In situations like this, where magical actions were learned in the context of everyday life, they became largely an unconscious habit. Stark's discussion focuses on the worldview of 19th-century rural Finland, since the folklore material was collected mainly from rural areas. However, historians studying the witchcraft and superstition trials of the 17th and 18th centuries in Finland have noticed that there are no observable differences between cases in towns and cases in rural areas (Eilola 2003: 42; Tittonen 2007: 76). Of course, the material that historians have to work with is much sparser than that of the folklorists, but this similarity supports the possibility that the magical worldview may have prevailed for a long time in towns as well.

To summarize, otherworldly presence was defined in Finnish-Karelian folk religion by different borders of time and space, on both vertical and horizontal levels: otherworldly elements were vertically present in the heavens and underground, while horizontally they existed outside the everyday sphere, especially in foreign lands. Any passage through these spaces or crossing of borders opened the possibility for otherworldly influences to pass into this world. Inappropriate behaviour (aggression, cursing, immoral action, etc.) or sudden emotional distress (like being startled) could “open” the boundaries of the body (see e.g. Stark 2002: 99–110; 2006: 146–162) or actualize the “dormant” otherworldly agencies existent in this world.

Even though it may seem that the world was perceived as a hostile place and people were in constant fear of otherworldly powers threatening their livelihood and health, this does not necessarily mean that everyone was more or less neurotic. People in the past were certainly able to live their lives, even though their daily worries were on a different scale than those today. Fear of witchcraft and other evil influences most likely arose at times of personal or greater crisis, but the protections used against them in normal circumstances

may perhaps be comparable, for example, to the routine precautions that modern people take, such as locking the door and buying home insurance.⁵

Furthermore, even though it seems that the general features of folk religion and worldview have been connected with overall lifestyle and the means of livelihood, this does not mean that details could not have varied. The medieval Catholic religion surely brought new elements to magic practices, such as candle magic, votive wax figures, and Christian amulets (see e.g. Cameron 2010: 77–139; Mitchell 2011: 43–51); many elements belonging to Indo-European folk religion and occultism were most likely also spread with Christianity, as mentioned above. If the initial shift from Catholicism to Lutheranism did not have such a large impact on folk religion, the era of Lutheran orthodoxy perhaps had an effect on how people perceived the world. As the historian Miia Kuha (2012) has noted, this period at least witnessed some conflict between the authorities' and the common people's views on religion. One of the questions I had in mind when initiating this study was whether any changes connected to the shift in institutionalized religion could be observed in the custom of concealing objects in buildings. This issue is briefly discussed in Chapter 11.2.

In this study, the influence of Eastern Orthodox religion is relevant mainly in connection to the late modern material from Karelia and Ingria (areas [h] South Karelia, [i] Ladoga Karelia, [j] North Karelia, [p] Dvina, [q] Olonets, and [s] Ingria on Map 2, page 64). The earlier material of this study derives almost exclusively from areas belonging to the Roman Catholic and Lutheran faiths due to the research situation (see Chapter 6). Thus, the above discussion focuses on these religious institutions. Traditionally, the Orthodox Church has been seen as more favourable towards folk practices than the Lutheran faith (see e.g. Laakso 2014: 135), but this does not mean that there was no conflict. There are records of attempts to root out superstitions in Eastern Orthodox areas as well (see e.g. Crummey 1993: 711; Laakso 2014: 135; Toivo 2016: 131). However, Laakso (2004: 136) points out that the local Orthodox clergy appears to have been permissive towards folk practices; even participating in the traditions.

In connection to buildings in the Eastern Orthodox areas, one aspect that is worth mentioning is that the back corner of the house was considered a sacred area where icons were kept (e.g. Paulaharju 1983: 146–148). However, as Harva (1948: 336–338) has pointed out, the tradition of the back corner being sacred is quite widespread. It is, for example, also known in Roman Catholic areas in Central Europe. Harva argues that the tradition of the sacred back corner is likely to be a widespread pre-Christian notion that was assimilated into Christian domestic devotion. This tradition is likely to have been known in medieval Catholic Finland as well, Harva states.

5.3 THE BUILDINGS AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS

Since the type and technology of buildings affected how and where building concealments were made (see e.g. Falk 2008: 133–147), it is important to briefly discuss what was found in the study area. In terms of architecture, Finland has largely been quite uniform. The horizontal log construction with a cross-notch corner technique (Fig. 5) dominated in rural areas up to the 17th and 18th centuries, when masonry cellars and cowsheds also began to be built (Talve 1997: 34–35). The old type of log dwelling was the smoke cottage

⁵ Compare with the ideas of low-intensity and high-intensity rites discussed in Appendix 1 (see van Baal 1976: 168–169).

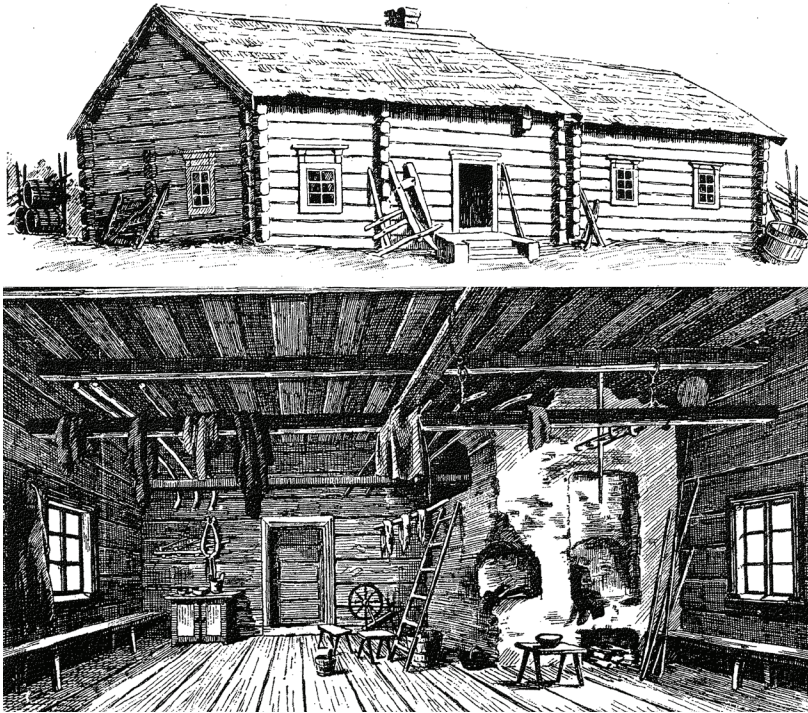


Fig. 5. A late 19th-century residence building in Ylikiiminki (Oulu) in North Ostrobothnia (1). Below is the view from inside the building's older part (on the right in the picture above) as seen from the gable wall, facing the door leading to the entrance hall (from Heikel 1887: 254, 260).

(*savupirtti*), which often had only one room. This type of building did not have a proper chimney, so smoke from the stove situated in a corner was let out through an opening in the roof. Instead of windows, the smoke cottage often had small openings in the walls, which were closed from the inside with wooden shutters. Smoke cottages were in use in remote rural areas until the late 19th century, even though buildings with chimneys, especially the symmetrical two-roomed cottage (*paritupa*) had slowly been gaining in popularity in the countryside from the 16th century onwards (Talve 1997: 32–43).

Naturally, the architecture in towns was more complex, even though log buildings were common as lower-class homes long into the 20th century in towns as well. In the medieval town of Turku ([a] Finland Proper; see Map 2), some prosperous merchants and other upper-class people lived in masonry buildings at least from the 14th century onwards (Uotila 2006: 352–353; 2007: 25; Ratilainen 2010). However, the oldest stage of the town was dominated by log buildings (Saloranta 2010: 57). Liisa Seppänen's studies concerning medieval Turku show that the symmetrical two-roomed cottage (*paritupa*) was known at least from the 1430s onward and that there were also some two-storey log buildings already at this time. In fact, from her studies it appears that the wooden types of buildings known in Turku in the 17th century came into use during medieval times (Seppänen 2012: 813–819).

In addition to the main residence, other buildings in the yard included the cowshed, stable, and storehouses, while the sauna (bath house) and barn for drying grain (*riihi*)

were situated further away because of the danger of fire (Talve 1997: 33). The number of buildings in the yard reflected the wealth of the household, but in some areas horses were kept together with cattle or even in the main residence during the winter (Valonen & Vuoristo 1994: 41). Especially in the eastern parts of the country, all animals (cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses) were often kept in their own compartments under the same roof (*karjakartano*) during the long winter, while in the western parts there were often separate buildings for each species (Valonen & Korhonen 2006: 42). Separate buildings for horses, cattle, sheep and goats, pigs, and fowl were known at least in some rectories during the 17th century (Sappinen 1985: 84–92; Valonen & Korhonen 2006: 20–22), and it seems that wealthy farmers in the western part of the country also kept each type of animal in their own respective buildings at that time (Bläuer 2015: 62, 73–74, 102–104, 123–124, 142–143, 148).

Yards also differed in various parts of the country. In south-western areas and on the Karelian Isthmus (areas a, b, c, d, k, and h on Map 2 in Chapter 6.1, page 64), where villages were densely laid out, buildings were situated around the yard, forming an enclosure. In central, eastern, and northern areas, plots were larger, and buildings were scattered more irregularly over the plot. The enclosure yard (*umpipiha*) was usually divided into the men's yard and the cattle yard (*miespiha*, *karjapiha*), and these were separated by a fence (Talve 1997: 33–34; Valonen & Korhonen 2006: 46–47). The special status of horses can be seen from the fact that some rectories still kept them in the men's yard in the 18th century, even though a statute in 1681 ordered that the stable be situated in the cattle yard (Sappinen 1985: 84).

Both villages and single farms existed during the whole research period. Single farms were more common in the eastern parts of the country, while dense villages were more common in the western parts. However, this division is not exclusive. Traditional dense villages could have farms in clusters or in rows. There was often a passage that ran through the village, and it was not uncommon for it to even pass through the yards of households. After the huge land reform (*isojako*) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries directed at eradicating the medieval open-field system, most traditional villages were dismantled and households moved further away from each other (Valonen & Korhonen 2006: 15–19).

Seppänen's studies show that in towns, buildings started to be differentiated already during medieval times, even though it long remained the case that the same building could be used for several purposes. In addition to the main residence, the yard usually had at least one building to shelter animals and possibly some storage buildings. The stable was most likely differentiated from the other animals' shelters quite early, and some possible medieval stables can be seen in Turku. Saunas were most often common ones, as only wealthy households had their own sauna building. Yards in towns could also have different workshop buildings, even though many types of handicrafts were done outside in the yard or in other buildings (Seppänen 2012: 810–848).

The few Finnish medieval towns (Turku, Naantali, Porvoo, Rauma, Ulvila, and Viipuri) had a close relationship with the surrounding rural areas, and only Viipuri (Vyborg) had a town wall. The plots in towns were small (about 400–500 m²), narrow strips that often extended through the block from one street to the next (Hiekkänen 2001: 66–67). Some new towns were established during the 16th century (Tammisaari, Helsinki, Pori, Vaasa, and Oulu), and 14 more were built the following century. By 1900, there were 37 small towns in the country. In the 17th century, the poorest townspeople still lived in smoke cottages, although most ordinary folk lived in a log building with an oven and chim-

ney. Wealthy merchants and officials lived in masonry buildings or at least in two-storey wooden houses (Niukkanen 2001; see also Kallio 2005a about a 17th-century smoke cottage in Oulu).

The buildings in the Sámi areas in the northernmost parts of the country differed from this general picture, due to the mobile lifestyle of the people. However, timber buildings were also known at least from the 18th century onwards, as sedentary Sámi families had a timber dwelling, cowshed, and storage building. The more migratory fisher-hunter-gatherer and reindeer-herder lifestyles called for easily movable huts and slightly more stable turf or timber huts for winter camps. Storage buildings for meat and fish were built on high poles to prevent bears and other predators from raiding them. (Itkonen 1984a: 174–245.)

One question for the study of building concealments in Finland is whether the concealment was situated in a log building or a masonry building. Newer types of wooden buildings may also have different types of spaces in their construction, making the choice of locations for a concealment wider. The folklore material tells mostly of concealments made in log buildings: these are clearly evident in descriptions of concealments made, for example, “in the corner between the timbers” or “in the third timber layer of the wall” (see Chapter 8). However, many of the actual finds come from masonry buildings. The relationship between different building types and concealments is discussed in Chapter 8.5.

There is one major difference between masonry and log buildings. Today we may easily think of a building as something fairly permanent. When something has been built, it generally stands for decades or even centuries until it is finally demolished (cf. Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 36–42). This was often true of masonry buildings, though alterations were also made to them during their lifetime and building materials were re-used whenever possible. The fairly static nature of the masonry building is the most likely fact to lead many researchers to exclusively think about foundation rituals when they discuss concealments (see above in Chapters 2.3 and 4). However, since many of the concealments discussed in the folklore material were made during the buildings’ lifetime (see Chapter 10.4), the more dynamic nature of log buildings needs to be discussed as well.

The folklore example cited above in Chapter 2.2 (page 8) concerned moving a stable. As the architect Hannu Puurunen observes, the log building is actually designed to be mobile. For example, during the division of an inheritance, buildings could be dismantled and the logs divided between the heirs. The log building can also be dismantled in order to be reassembled in another location (Puurunen 2000a: 3; Rautelin 2010). Even if the building was not moved, it was generally necessary to replace the lowest timbers after a few decades, since these started to rot. This procedure is called “shoeing” the building in Finnish (*kengitys*) (Paulaharju 1906: 126; Puurunen 2000b: 11–13). Thus, to the chagrin of archaeologists using dendrochronological dating methods, the preserved lowest timbers of a building could well be the youngest ones (e.g. Kallio 2005b: 39; Seppänen 2012: 124).

As Seppänen points out, however, the average use time for a wooden building was not very long, at least in medieval towns. This was because fires frequently destroyed buildings, and necessary alterations could often be made after a fire had raged, re-using timbers whenever possible (Seppänen 2012: 816). Nevertheless, there is also evidence of relocated log buildings with marked timbers (to aid in the reassembly process) in the archaeological record (e.g. Seppänen 2012: 154, 182, 221, 387, 479–480). To add the dimension of worldview to this discussion, it should be noted that folklore exists about a building’s guardian spirit moving along with the timbers of a dismantled building to thus become the new building’s guardian (Haavio 1942: 166–177; Simonsuuri 1975: 322). This is a good example

of how rational, functional behaviour (saving resources and labour by re-using materials) and beliefs are inseparably intertwined.

Part II
Material

CHAPTER 6

OUTLINES OF THE EVIDENCE ON FINNISH BUILDING CONCEALMENTS

This section of the study presents the research material. First, this chapter offers general remarks on the two main types of sources. Next, the cases from historical sources are presented. After this, the analysis of the main data begins with a division of the practice into objects, locations, and buildings. Although these are presented separately, the act of concealing should be understood as a whole: the object should not be detached from its location, and vice versa. This issue of separation is remedied in Chapter 9 by showing examples of the complex relationship between objects, locations, and their meanings. Following the direct historical approach, the discussion begins with the largest bodies of material: extensive folklore material dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries and late modern finds, which comprise the majority of the physical finds. The study then moves backwards chronologically to examine the more scant body of evidence of these customs. This approach follows the logic of an archaeological excavation, starting with the most recent remains and proceeding towards older layers.

The final chapters in this section end with a discussion on the connections and differences between the sources. As discussed above in Chapter 3, comparing data of different quality as if it were uniform is highly questionable (see e.g. Damer 2005: 164). Because of the dissimilar formation processes of physical finds, folklore accounts, and historical records, these materials are all biased in different ways and thus show varying aspects of the custom of concealment. The comparison made here is intended to simply point out similarities and differences, and possible reasons for patterns are briefly discussed below (see also Chapter 12).

6.1 THE FOLKLORE

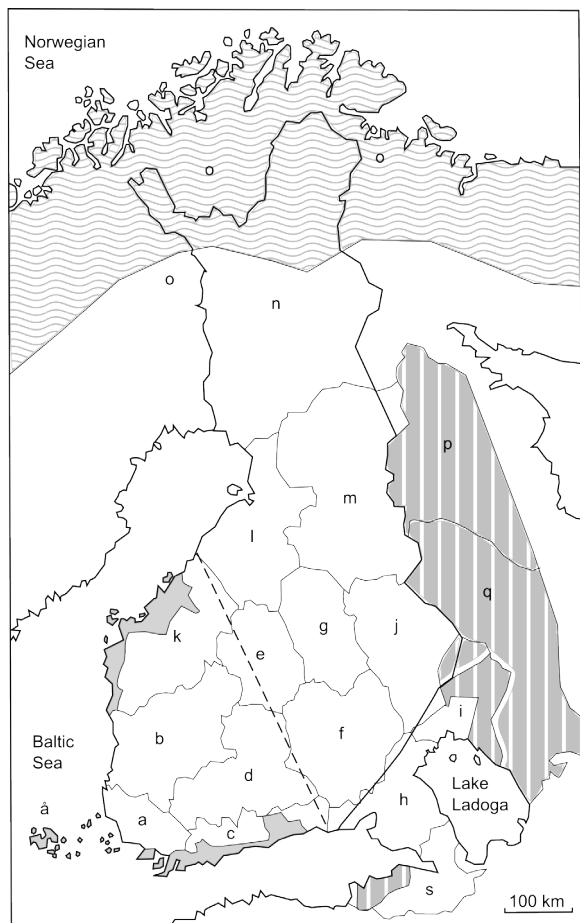
The vast corpus of collected folklore on everyday magic practices stored in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki provides unique insight into customs still known in rural Finland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is important to understand that concealments comprise only a small part of magic practices connected to buildings and households. Since the primary focus of this study is on rituals including some sort of concealment, accounts of other rituals, such as circling the building, sweeping floors, and displaying magic objects (see Chapter 10.4 for a discussion of displaying versus concealing) have been excluded. As a consequence, the customs discussed here are artificially taken out of context of a larger corpus of household magic.

The accounts from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society are identified with the abbreviation FLS FA. This abbreviation is followed by the location where the folk-




lore item was collected, the year it was recorded or received by the archives, the collector's name, and the code under which the item is stored in manuscript form. After these, some references may contain selected information concerning the informant. Published folklore accounts in source publications, such as the *Suomen Kansan Muinaisia Taikvoja* (Ancient Magic of the Finnish People) series, are referred to by an abbreviation (e.g. SKMT), the number of the book in the series, and the *signum* of the account. The accounts quoted in this study are translated into English by the author unless otherwise noted.

Both in the archives and in publications, folklore accounts are traditionally divided by culture areas based on historical provinces identified with a lower-case letter (Map 2). This type of presentation is common when discussing the regional distribution of both ethnological and folklore material in Finnish research (see e.g. Vuorela 1976; Jauhianen 1999: 53; Sarmela 2009). The tradition is continued in this study, since it facilitates a more detailed discussion of areal distribution than merely referring to compass points.

It should be noted that the names of locations are used as they appear in the folklore accounts. Many municipalities have been recently combined into larger units, but the names



Map 2. The Finnish-Karelian Culture Area in 1900. The dashed line indicates the approximate boundary dividing the area into western and eastern Finnish cultures (modified from Sarmela 2009: 665). The lower-case letters indicate the respective culture areas: a) Finland Proper, b) Satakunta, c) Uusimaa, d) Tavastia (Fin. Häme), e) Central Finland, f) South Savonia, g) North Savonia, h) South Karelia, i) Ladoga Karelia, j) North Karelia, k) South Ostrobothnia, l) North Ostrobothnia, m) Kainuu, n) Lapland and Far Bothnia, o) Finnish settlement areas in northern Sweden, Norway and Russia, p) Dvina, q) Olonets, s) Ingria, and å) the Åland Islands.

-  Swedish-speaking tradition areas in Finland
-  Greek Catholic (Orthodox) areas
-  Sámi areas

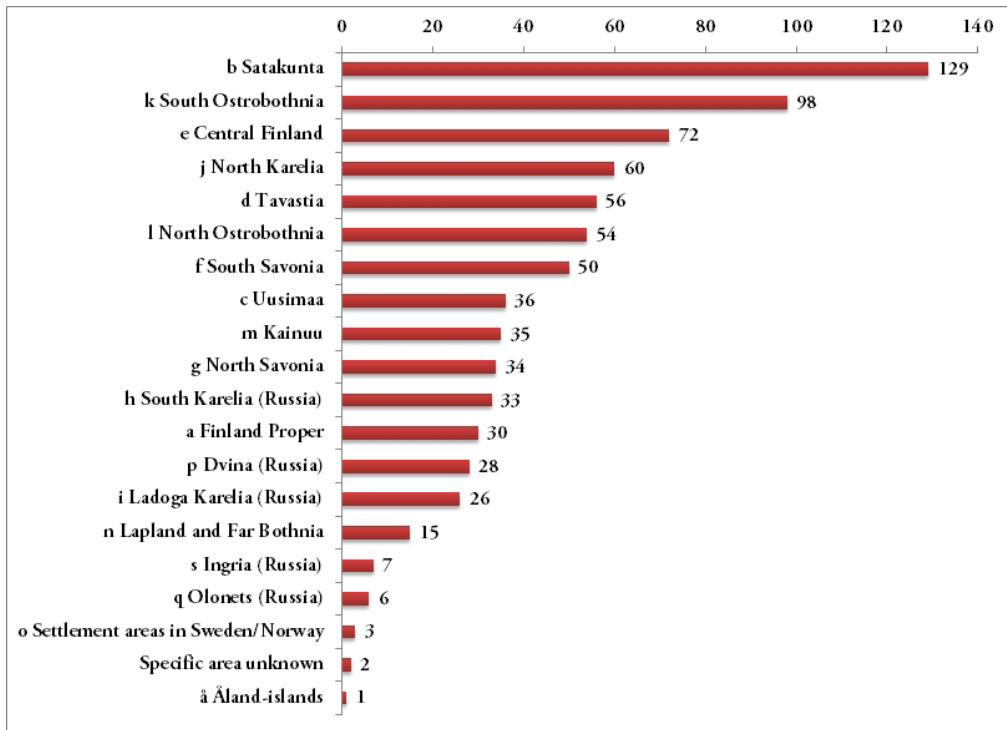


Fig. 6. Distribution of folklore accounts in the study material (n=775) from different culture areas (see Map 2).

here are left as they were. It is not always clear which present-day municipality locations would belong to, and using the original name provides more specific information about the place where the account was recorded. In addition, the culture areas indicated by the lower-case letter follow the traditional division found in the *Folklore Atlas* (Sarmela 2009: 660–667), even though some localities close to the border may today be situated in a different province than listed in that work.

There are a total of 775 folklore items included in the database of this study (Appendix 2). Of these 51 (7%) are collected from Swedish-speaking informants and 160 (21%) from Karelian areas and Ingria where Eastern Orthodox influence is relevant (areas h, i, j, p, q, and s). The distribution of the accounts from different culture areas is shown in Figure 6. Here it can be seen that 350 items are from the western culture areas (a, b, c, d, k, and å) and 425 items are from the eastern culture areas. This is a fairly even amount (45:55%), and as can be seen in Figure 6, the folklore material covers the study area relatively well. Folklore has been also collected and stored in the Finnish archives from areas not situated within the borders of present-day Finland. South Karelia (h) and Ladoga Karelia (i) were within the Finnish border before the Second World War, but folklore was also collected from peoples speaking Finnic languages (closely related to Finnish) in the neighbouring areas of p) Dvina, q) Olonets, and s) Ingria. Map 2 also shows areas in northern Sweden, Norway and Russia (o) where old Finnish settlements (e.g. Tornedalians) exist(ed). The accounts collected outside the present borders of the country and stored in the Folklore Archives are included in this study in order to make these materials available for international discussion as well.

Figure 6 also illustrates the relative number of folklore accounts from the respective areas. Here it is apparent that the neighbouring Satakunta, South Ostrobothnia and Central Finland (b, k, and e) have contributed the greatest number of accounts on building concealments to the archives. The information from Satakunta comes from 58 individual collectors and three institutions (schools). Most of these only recorded between one and five different items, with the exception of Martti Mattila, a collector who sent 32 different items on building concealments to the archives between the years 1904–1938. The accounts from South Ostrobothnia were collected by 30 different individuals and two institutions (one school and one youth association). Of these, the most active ones sent between five and seven items on building concealments. The 28 accounts from the Swedish-speaking area in South Ostrobothnia (see Map 2) do not include information on their individual collectors (FSFD VII, 3).

The accounts from Central Finland were sent to the archives by 21 individual collectors and two institutions (one student nation and one literature society). Of these, Kaarle Krohn contributed the largest number (17 items) in the 1880s. The second largest number (11 items) was sent to the archives by the Pihtipudas Literature Society in 1893. The collector Otto Harju was also active with nine items on building concealments. The activity of enthusiastic collectors is surely one reason why folklore on building concealments was recorded abundantly from these regions. However, the numbers also show that these customs were well known in these areas in the early 20th century. The realization that the customs had not merely “survived” in the most peripheral areas is significant, and this aspect is discussed later in the study (Chapter 11.3).

In 466 of the folklore cases, the informant’s sex is either given or inferable by gender-specific names. Figure 7 shows the proportions of male and female informants. As can be seen, the majority (67%) of informants are male. This can perhaps be explained by the more active role that men had in socializing with outsider collectors during the time that the folklore was collected. It is also possible that since builders were mostly men, the concealment tradition was slightly better known among men. However, the difference is not terrifically significant, indicating that concealment practices were not exclusively limited to either sex.

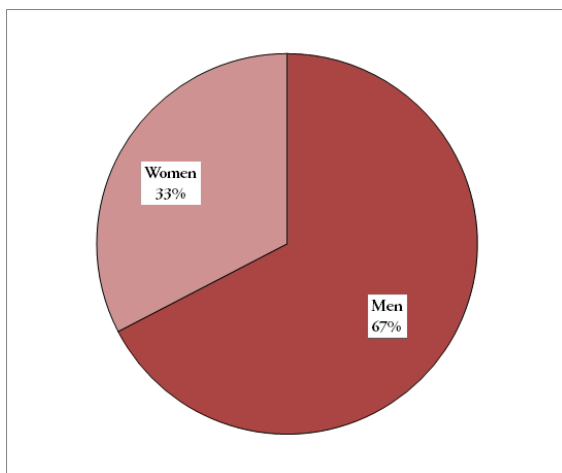


Fig. 7. Proportions of male and female informants in the folklore material (n=466).

6.2 THE FINDS

In contrast to the vast body of folklore material on these customs, it is considerably more difficult to gather material evidence of the practices. This reflects the state of research and documentation. Practical problems in both recognition and documentation frequently make it impossible to interpret finds as deliberate concealments, and this has heavily influenced the outcome of the current study. The result is that the material is not suitable for analysing changing patterns:

it cannot be used as a representative sample of the custom(s) (see Chapter 3). Because the data is comprised of more random indications of practices, it is better suited to show examples of continuity than change: existing evidence is more informative than absent or missing data, which can equally be an accident or a sign that the practice did not exist.

The evidence at hand consists of 234 concealments from 212 buildings over a time span of 750 years. There are several ways to count the cases, but in this study it has been done by “concealment events”: multiple objects placed in the same location at the same time are counted as one case. However, the miniature coffins containing frogs found in churches form an exception to this rule for practical reasons, since their exact number is unfortunately undocumented; here each church is counted as one case, even though up to a hundred individual coffins could exist in one church (see Chapter 12.3; also Hukantaiva 2015a). In this study, the finds are referenced by the catalogue numbers of Appendix 3, which contains detailed reference information for each find.

As mentioned above in Chapter 3, the finds are divided into two groups on the basis of their likelihood of being deliberately concealed objects. All finds included in this study have been interpreted as *likely* deliberate concealments, but the ones belonging to the “problematic” group include some concerns that make interpretation less certain. At this point, a ritual interpretation is not stressed; the notion of deliberateness is more relevant. Even though problems of recognition are a major issue, finds with a “strong” interpretation are predominant (175 cases, 75%). The majority of finds (58%) were not recorded during archaeological excavations, but when taken from renovated and demolished buildings. These types of finds generally had to have been striking in order to be recorded at all, and this is one reason for the high percentage of “strong” finds.

The regional distribution of the material is illustrated in Figure 8. In order to make comparison possible, it is divided into the same cultural areas as the folklore material (see Map 2 and Fig. 6 above). The majority of the material is from the western Finnish culture areas (73% of the cases) due to the intensity of research conducted there. Surely the main reason for the high amount of finds from the south-western part of the country ([a] Finland Proper) is due to my own location and participation in fieldwork (town archaeological projects in Turku), as well as the number of discussions I have conducted with other fieldworkers in this area.

The find material is not evenly divided over the studied time period and region. Late modern finds from c. 1700–1950 dominate, forming 71% of the data. Within this period, the 19th century stands out, comprising 69% of the period’s finds. This is mainly caused by numerous Stone Age and other antiquated objects concealed in buildings, which were recorded during the early days of antiquarian interest in the country; thus, the picture of 19th-century concealments strongly tends towards these finds. Early modern finds from c. 1500–1700 form 17% and medieval finds from c. 1200–1500 comprise 12% of the material.

Figure 9 shows a more detailed chronological overview. The medieval period is not divided into centuries, since few finds are dated that precisely. The small number of 16th-century finds is also due to dating problems.¹ In the case of post-medieval date estimates spanning several centuries or other instances of uncertain dating, as a rule the find is included in the latest century (*terminus ante quem*). Thus, some finds may in fact be older than shown on Figure 9.

¹ The 16th century is often difficult to distinguish from earlier and later times due to a continuity in fashions.

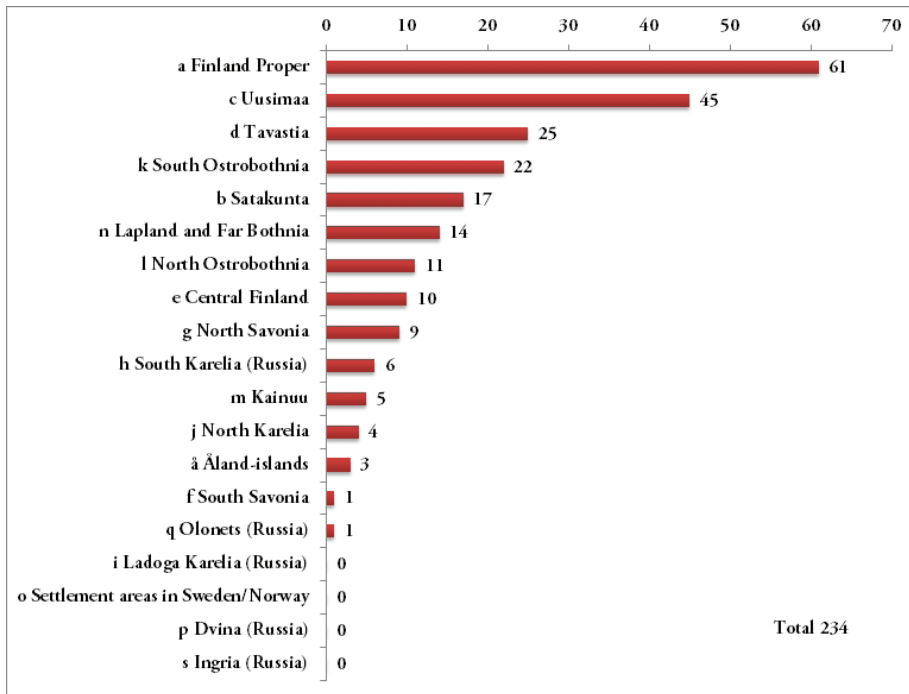


Fig. 8. Distribution of finds in the study material (n=234) from different culture areas (see Map 2).

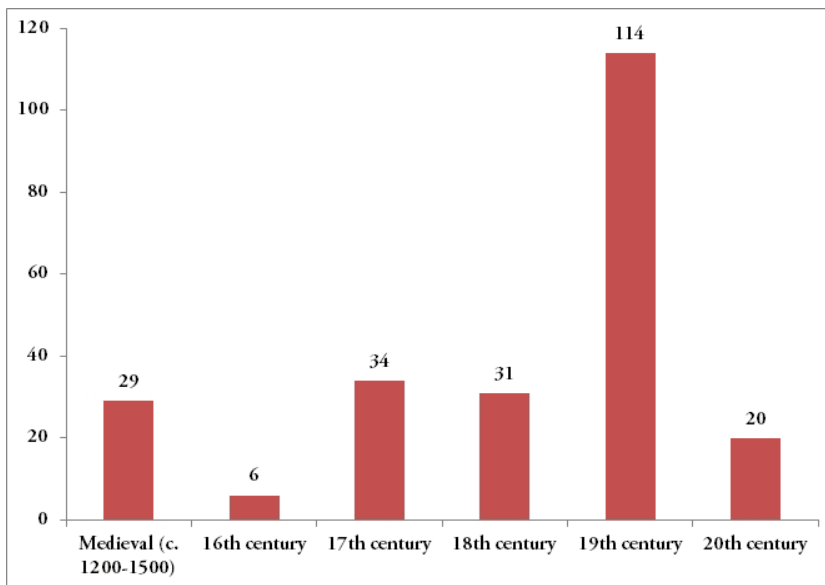


Fig. 9. Chronological distribution of the find material (n=234): 165 late modern cases, 40 early modern cases, and 29 medieval cases.

The regional distribution of the finds from each period reflects the research situation as well. The largest body of material, from the late modern period, covers the study area quite well, even though finds from the western culture areas are predominant (Map 3.1). Except for the seven cases from Tornio (n), all the finds in the early modern material are from western culture areas (Map 3.2) and the medieval material includes only two cases from eastern culture areas: one in Liminka (l) and one in Kurkijoki (i) (Map 3.3). Finnish historical archaeology has traditionally focused on towns and villages in the more densely settled western areas, and sites in the eastern areas have only recently been included in research (see e.g. Taavitsainen *et al.* 2013 about current Finnish historical archaeology).

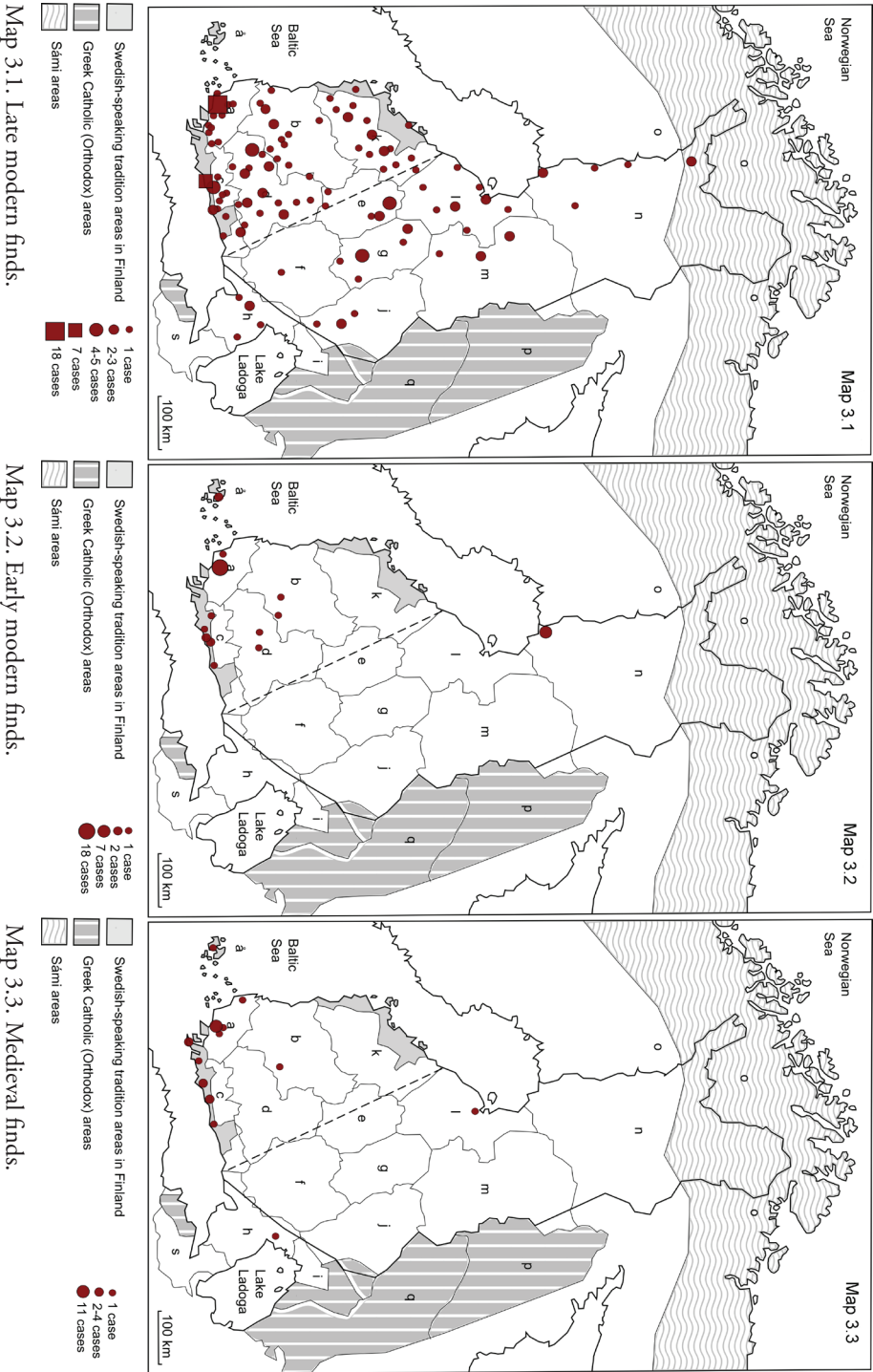
6.3 BUILDING CONCEALMENTS IN WITCHCRAFT AND SUPERSTITION TRIALS

As mentioned in Chapter 3.2, records of concealments in legal records are skewed towards cases of malicious magic, due to the context of the evidence. My discussions with historians familiar with witchcraft and superstition trials revealed, however, that cases involving concealments in buildings were not particularly common. The nature of the practices themselves suggests a probable reason for their not attracting more attention: common customs not aimed at harming others were not a cause for villagers to accuse each other, and authorities might have simply never heard of them. Most cases that ended up in court involved concealments suspected to have been done for malicious purposes. I have come across six early modern cases and one late modern case in the study area.

In an article discussing the use of human remains in magic, based on legal records from Stockholm, the historians Jari Eilola and Piia Einonen (2009: 186) note that the old Swedish province laws passed down from the 13th century already forbade concealing human hair and nails in animal shelters and under thresholds in order to cause harm. They cite Bengt Ankarloo's (1971: 35) longer list of objects known in the 16th century to have been concealed under roof beams or thresholds in order to bewitch: human bones, hair or nails; dried and pulverized toads and snakes; and cat's brains.

Eilola and Einonen noticed that in witchcraft trial cases from the late 16th and early 17th centuries in Stockholm, mentions of borders of plots and buildings, especially gates and doorways, occur recurrently. For example, the widow of the provost Jonas was accused of concealing the foot of a rooster and some "witches' balm" at the doorway of the house of provost Hans von Mönster in 1595 (Eilola & Einonen 2009: 224–225). Ankarloo also presents one case from Östergötland County in 1606 where a man named Nils Håkansson came to the authorities, stating that he had found some bones, two ox heads, and three jaws under the threshold of his cowshed. The former owner of the farm, a man called Måns, confessed that he had put them there in order to heal his cattle. Since Nils' cattle had been suffering, Måns needed to present twelve people to testify that he had not intended any harm with this concealment (Ankarloo 1971: 51).

The oldest case (to my knowledge) in the study area also involves a concealment under a threshold. In this case, tried in 1552 on the Åland islands (å), a man named (Mickel) Henrik Pederson was accused of secretly concealing a human arm bone under the threshold of the entrance hall of the dwelling house of a man named Peder Tytting. According to the records, Henrik had concealed the bone in order to manipulate a third man, Mons Gotte, into a real estate deal. He had succeeded in this: after stepping over the bone, Mons had become favourable towards the deal. The case was brought to trial after a horrible tragedy



Map 3. Areal distribution of finds from the late modern period (3.1), the early modern period (3.2), and the medieval period (3.3) included in the study (base map showing cultural areas in 1900 from Sarmela 2009: 661; Sámi areas from Asp 1965: 17, 25).

happened at the house in question, when Peder Tytting accidentally killed his own son. Peder was convinced that the witchcraft (*trulldom*) practiced at his house was the cause of this incident. He then took the bone in question to the sacristy of Jomala Church and exposed Henrik (Hausen 1894: 376–377; 1926: 7–8, note 3).

The next case that came to my attention was tried 113 years later, in 1665 in Janakkala, although the incident took place in Hausjärvi (d). A man named Johan Mattsson² from the village of Lavinto was accused by an eyewitness named Mats Simonsson of taking three chips carved from a coffin and a piece of a cloth used for washing a dead body (and was still wet). Apparently his intent was to conceal them under the house of a certain Lieutenant Schmidt, in order to enact revenge and cause him harm. When Johan realized that he had been discovered, he offered Mats some salt, grain, money (1 daler), and a pair of shoes in exchange for not exposing him. It was rumoured in the village that Johan blamed his brother-in-law for getting him to do the deed. The accused was absent during the trial (Keskitalo 1964: 169; FNA 1665, October 24). Johan had to answer to witchcraft accusations later as well. He was first sentenced to running the gauntlet (i.e. passing between two rows of men and receiving blows with sticks), but he escaped and remained in hiding for several years until finally being caught and sentenced to death in 1674 (Keskitalo 1964: 169–175).

A defamation case was tried in Eurajoki (b) in 1666, where the vicar accused some parishioners of spreading a rumour that he had ordered the sexton to take the key from the door of the church and put it under the (entrance hall?) floor (orig. *under kyrkio-trossgålf*). This was supposedly done in order to make parishioners who stepped over it die the following year, so that the church would receive many inheritances (SSHY 2009: 66–67, 23 and 24 March, 1666). Even though no key seems to have actually been concealed in this case, it still shows a belief that such an action could harm people.

In February 1685, a man named Bengt Mattsson³ from the village of Leppälampi was put on trial in Karkku (b). Two of his neighbours, Hindrick Andersson and Marcus Larsson, accused him of witchcraft (*trulldom*). Specifically, they claimed that he threw a witch's pouch containing churchyard soil under an outbuilding belonging to a certain Oluf Carlsson Huida, summoned bears to maul their horses, and caused other sorts of harm. During the trial it was revealed that Bengt served as a healer in the community, and his mother had earlier also been accused of witchcraft by Hindrick's father. The court had to eliminate most of the witnesses as either relatives of the accusers or enemies of the accused. The remaining witnesses did not speak against Bengt, and the case was dropped. The accusers were sentenced to pay a fine for making a false accusation, but this was rescinded in the Court of Appeal, since Bengt had in fact used some spells or other spoken magic (*signerie*) in his healing practice (Piilonen 2007: 497–498; FNA 1685: 1667–1672, February 12–14).

A man named Christer Olofsson⁴ from the village of Otamo was put on trial in Ulvila (b) in 1689. The case had been initiated in 1683 by a neighbour, Mats Sigfridsson, who accused Christer of causing him severe sickness after the men had quarrelled over some marten traps. To back up this accusation, Mats gathered other men from the community who

² In Finnish historiography, the names and patronyms of clearly Finnish-speaking individuals are conventionally written in their Finnish form (e.g. Johan Mattson = Juho Matinpoika). Here the Swedish forms from the original records are used.

³ In Finnish, Pentti Matinpoika.

⁴ In Finnish, Risto Olavinpoika.

had stories of Christer's fortune in hunting, fishing, and farming, which was suspiciously better than that his neighbours, and other incidents suggesting unapproved practices (Perttula 2011: 45–61, 78–104). One man named Thomas Larsson testified that when Christer had once visited him, he had noticed some calves suffering from the “circling disease”.⁵ He had then shared with Thomas that when the affected animal is burned on the forehead with a branding iron, or alternatively its head is cut off and buried under the kitchen hearth,⁶ the rest of the cattle will remain healthy. However, the lay judges affirmed that this was actually a common practice in cases of circling disease, and not something suspicious (Perttula 2011: 94–95; FNA 1689: 164, March 1–4; see also Hertzberg 1889: 51). The court ruled that Christer was not guilty of superstition and magic (*widskiappelse och löferi*), but the case was still submitted to the Court of Appeal for review. The conditional⁷ verdict of “not guilty” was announced at the Ulvila court in 1695 (Perttula 2011: 102–104, 115–119; FNA 1689: 161–167, March 1–4; 1695a: 367–368, November 4).

In 1694 and 1695, a man named Mårten Mårtensson and his wife Margeta Hindersdotter from the village of Tomasböle were put on trial in Pohja (c). The case was brought by a man in the community named Mårten Obnär, and the couple was accused of practicing many kinds of tricks to increase their own luck and destroy that of others. Margeta was accused of taking a broken knife, a rusty coffin nail from the churchyard, and some bristles of a swine, wrapping them in a cloth and placing the bundle under the roof of her sister-in-law Karin's cowshed, thus causing the death of the cattle. The sister-in-law confirmed that this bundle was found by her children, but she did not know who had put it there. The court ruled an acquittal in this case as well (Koskull von 1966: 273; FNA 1694: 606–607, October 25–26; 1695b: 151–165, March 7–8).

The most recent case to come to my attention was tried in 1886 in Saarijärvi (e). A man called Juho Kyyrä from Kiimasjärvi village faced trial for quackery and magic (*puoska-roimisesta ja loihtumisesta*). Juho Kyyrä was a widely known folk healer, but many of the witnesses complained about his inappropriate behaviour (namely, loud and disrespectful drunkenness). Concerning the topic of this study is the testimony of a man named Juho Talvilahti, who explained that the defendant had asked him to shoot a white-throated dipper, take the bird to the Uurainen Church, and conceal it under the steps of the “stretcher building” (*paarihuone*), a mortuary-type building where stretchers (for carrying the deceased) and bodies waiting to be buried were kept. An interesting detail in this testimony is that, even though the record is in Finnish, the scribe (or someone else) has marked in the margin the species of the bird also in Swedish and Latin: *Iströmstar!* (*Cinclus aquaticus*). The defendant claimed that he did not remember this incident, but added that if he had given such instructions it must have been done on behalf of someone who was seeking help for sick farm animals (JyPA 1886: April 19, case 176).

In terms of the attitudes of the common people towards magic, this last case also shows an interesting connection with the early modern cases, which reflect the oldest laws concerning magic: when being interrogated, the defendant emphasized that he never practiced

⁵ Originally *Ringgående Calfivar*. This most likely points to a bacterial infection of the brain called listeriosis, called “circling disease” since it sometimes causes the animal to walk in circles (Merck Veterinary Manual 2012).

⁶ Originally *eldstaan i kiöket*. In his book about Christer, Antero Perttula (2011: 94) has interpreted this as meaning the hearth of a cooking shed (Fin. *keittokota*), probably since the smoke cottage usually did not have a separate kitchen.

⁷ Christer needed to swear an oath that he had nothing to do with superstition.

witchcraft (*noituutta*), but only worked for people's benefit by healing sicknesses. He said that in his dreams, he received information about the nature of a sickness and advice on how it should be healed. This dreaming skill was something he always had, but it had intensified a year earlier (JyPA 1886: April 19, case 176). Even though the authorities were no longer particularly interested in superstition (unless defined as quackery), the defendant felt a need to stress that he did not practice malicious magic. This information must still have been important for the community.

To summarize the examples presented above, it can be noted that of the seven cases, six of the accused are men and only one is a woman. All early modern cases are situated in the western culture areas (namely, [b] Satakunta, [c] Uusimaa, [d] Tavastia, and [å] Åland islands), and the late modern one is located in the border area of Central Finland (e) between the western and eastern cultures. Two of the cases concern dwellings, one possibly a cooking shed, one a cowshed, and one an unspecified outbuilding, while two cases involve church buildings. The (believed) meanings of the concealments differ: four of them are obviously malicious, two are connected to healing practices, and one is manipulative (Table 2). It is also evident in these cases that the accusations originated within the community, which is in accord with what has been noted about Finnish witchcraft trials more generally (e.g. Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 200, 202; see Chapter 5.2).

Table 2. Trial record cases involving concealed objects in buildings (n=7).

Location	Dating	Building	Location	Object	Meaning
Åland islands (å)	1552	Dwelling	Threshold	Human bone	Manipulation
Janakkala (d)	1665	Dwelling	Floor?	Objects connected to death	Malice
Eurajoki (b)	1666	Church	Entrance? Floor	Key	Malice
Karkku (b)	1685	Outbuilding	Floor?	Magic pouch (death)	Malice
Ulvila (b)	1689	Cooking shed?	Hearth	Calf's head	Curing illness
Pohja (c)	1694–95	Cowshed	Roof	Magic bundle (e.g. death)	Malice
Saarijärvi (e)	1886	Ecclesiastical	Steps	Bird (white-throated dipper)	Curing illness

CHAPTER 7

CONCEALED OBJECTS

Classifying concealed objects is not a straightforward task. The *etic* categorization made by a researcher differs considerably from the *emic* classifications on which the choices of objects to conceal are based. Merely translating the categories from Finnish to English already caused a need to modify some categories that could not be directly applied in a different language. Thus, the categories presented in this chapter, which are largely based on the mundane function of the objects, do not conform to the *emic* systems; these are discussed in Chapter 10. The purpose of this chapter is to present the different types of concealed objects to an outsider audience. It is also important to remember that even though the objects have here been classified into groups, one deposit may contain several objects belonging to different categories.

7.1 OBJECTS IN THE FOLKLORE

A small bottle with quicksilver has been kept inside or under the threshold of a stable and cowshed, for a witch cannot cross such a threshold ([a] Askainen; SKMT IV, 1: I 256 §).

A copper coin, a coin of the crown, was put under each corner when building a cowshed; then witchcraft could not affect it (FLS FA. [k] Alavus. 1936. R. Hemminki 17).

Two types of concealed objects significantly stand out in the folklore accounts: mercury (quicksilver) and coins (Fig. 10). Combined, these compose more than half (53%) of all mentioned objects. Mercury is often described as being put inside the quill of a bird feather or a small bottle, and sometimes mixed with flour or grain (especially barley).¹ Coins are often mentioned as being either silver or copper, and sometimes it is specified that the coin should be old. In some cases, three coins are preferred; seven accounts further explain that these three coins should be minted by different kings or kingdoms. A few accounts specify larger amounts of coins, and in three accounts a coin is split into four pieces.

When building a hearth in a new home, one should hide a horse skull in the foundation; then cockroaches will not come to this building (FLS FA. [l] Oulu. 1892. A. Leino b) 608).

When building a cowshed, or also when it is already built, a hole is drilled into the threshold and the head cut off of a living snake is put inside; the hole is then plugged with a rowan wood plug. Then envious eyes cannot harm the cattle and luck is ensured ([k] Laihia; SKMT IV, 1: I 123 §).

¹ Mercury, together with its container and possibly flour or grain, is only counted one time: in the “mercury” category. Thus, the containers are not included with the artefacts or animal remains, and the flour/grain is/are not counted in the “other” category.

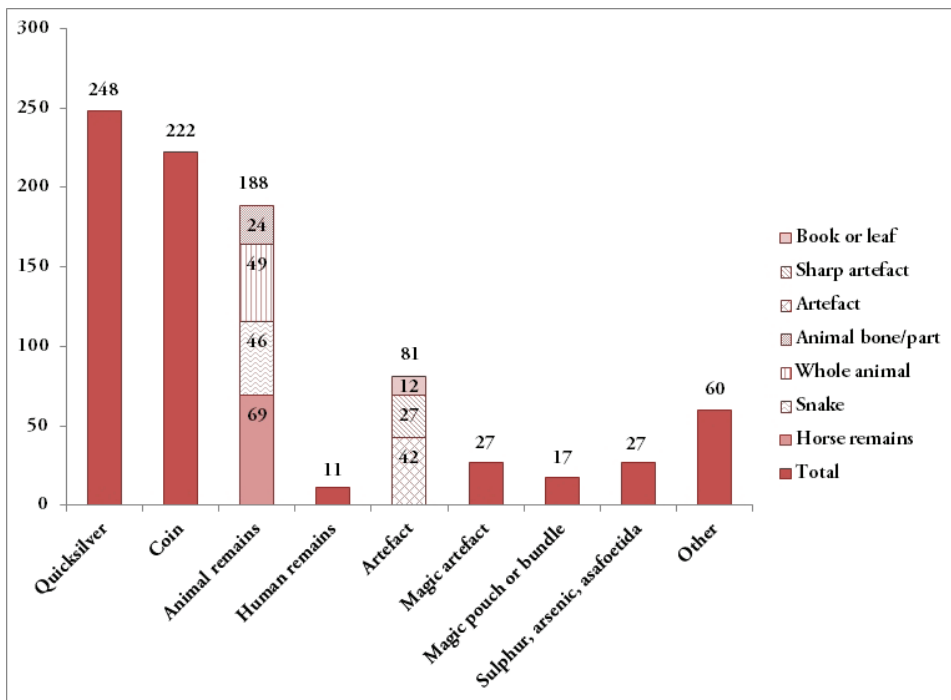


Fig. 10. Concealed objects mentioned in the folklore material (n=808). The “animal remains” category is divided into the subgroups horse remains, snake/part of snake, whole animal, and animal bone/part of body, and the “artefact” category is divided into books or leaves of books, sharp metal objects, and other artefacts.

The next largest group (21%) is formed of animal remains. Figure 10 shows this category divided into subgroups. Two species stand out here: horse and snake (viper) (see also Hukantaival 2009; 2013b). Most of the horse remains (80%) concern the skull, while half of the snake remains concern the head. In addition to these, whole animals (cats, sheep, dogs, and small wild mammals, birds and fish) and parts of additional animals (other than horses and snakes) have been assigned their own subgroups. Half of the cases in the latter subgroup concerns skulls or heads (e.g. of cows, dogs, cats, bears, and seals). The species mentioned in the folklore are presented in more detail below (Chapter 7.5) in Figure 15. Human remains occur in 11 cases. Two of these include a human skull, one the hand of a corpse, and one a foetus, while the other cases simply mention human bones.

When a fire-striker is put under the threshold of the drying barn, no one can spoil the grain-luck ([b] Tyrvää; SKMT III: 832 §).

In many places they put a scythe under the threshold of the cowshed; then no evil eye has an effect, no evil eye of the neighbours (FLS FA. [c] Kymi. 1889. Vihtori Alava IV A 125).

If there is misfortune with the cattle, a religious book should be taken to the cowshed, and it should be put in the middle of the ceiling, between the central beam and the ceiling; then success will follow ([c] Lohja; SKMT IV, 1: I 329§).

In 13% of the accounts, a human-made artefact was chosen for the concealment (coins are excluded here since they form their own category). From these, books and leaves of books and sharp metal objects (knives, axes, scythes, sickles, nails, and needles) are distinguished

in Figure 10. The “book or leaf” artefact category includes writings that most often are religious by nature; these are mostly psalm books, but also almanacs. The latter were not completely unreligious, however, and surely they were more affordable to conceal than an actual Bible or hymnal. Other artefacts include, for example, wooden household tools, metal objects (e.g. horse shoes, copper thread, keys, fire-strikers, bullets), and textiles (e.g. socks).

Artefacts used exclusively in rituals are divided into their own group in Figure 10. All everyday objects and other elements presented here were magic objects when used in a ritual context, and thus the name of the subgroup “magic artefact” is misleading. As opposed to everyday tools and personal objects, this group includes objects such as “thunderbolts” (mainly re-used Stone Age tools; see Chapter 12.2), and objects manufactured specifically for ritual use, such as figurines (human and horse) carved out of alder wood and miniature coffins (see e.g. Issakainen 2006; Hukantaival 2007a: 67, 69; 2009: 353; 2015a).

When a cowshed was demolished, a small pouch was found under the stall. It contained churchyard soil, bones of corpses, rusty iron, and other scraps. Someone had tried to harm the cattle with it. ([k] Perho; SKMT IV, 2: XIV 242 §.)

The “magic pouch or bundle” category could have been included in the “magic artefact” category, but given the specific nature of these small pouches as containing a wide variety of substances and small objects or their fragments (often nine different things), they comprise their own group here (see also Klemettinen 1997: 106–109). As in the above example, the exact content of these pouches is usually left unspecified.

One should put arsenic, quicksilver, and devil’s dung under the first back stone of a sauna stove. Then nothing would infect from the sauna – on the contrary, even a man suffering from scabies would surely leave healed. (FLS FA. [h] Kurkijoki. 1935. Kyytinen, Pekka 198.)

In addition to mercury, other substances that are poisonous or have a strong odour were used in Finnish building magic, though considerably less often. These include arsenic, sulphur, and asafoetida. The latter (also known as stinking gum or devil’s dung; *hajupihka*, *pirunpaska*) is an odoriferous vegetable substance that was used as both spice and medicine (see e.g. Issakainen 2012: 53–54). The “other” category contains a wide variety of objects that recur only a few times in the accounts. These include such products as bread, milk, eggs, salt, and wool; natural objects such as so-called witches’ brooms (deformed growths on trees; *tuulenpesä*), natural stones, chips of wood, and nests of rodents or insects; and communion wafers. This category includes things that are unlikely to be preserved or recognized during an archaeological excavation or the demolition of a building.

Livestock will thrive if a communion wafer is put in a wall-crack when an animal shelter (stable, cowshed, pigsty, sheep house, etc.) is built. The wafer should be taken when attending the Eucharist in a church. ([c] Vehkalahti; SKMT IV, 1: I 327§.)

7.2 OBJECTS IN LATE MODERN FINDS (c. 1700–1950)

In the late modern finds, which are roughly contemporary with the folklore, the predominant concealed objects are various human-made artefacts, especially re-used Stone Age objects (Fig. 11). While most of the categories of objects are the same as presented above in connection to folklore, some distinct types of artefacts are assigned into their own respective groups in the graphs. Perhaps partly due to issues of preservation, objects made

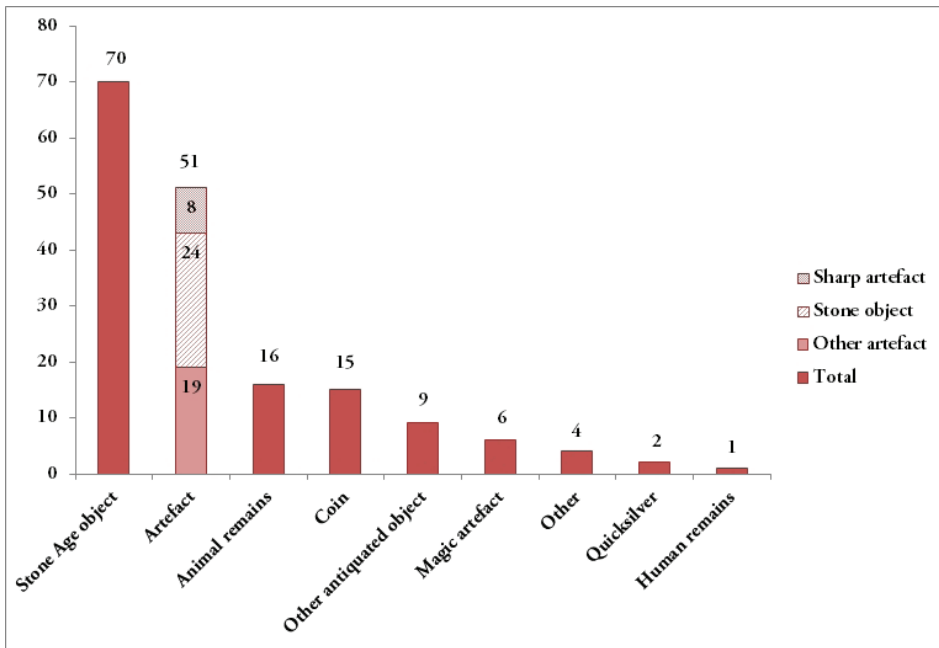


Fig. 11. Concealed object types in finds from late modern times (n=174).

of stone (such as whetstones, quern stones, stone moulds, and Stone Age tools) form a significant part of the overall material of finds.

The Stone Age tools mainly consist of axes, chisels, ice picks, spearheads, and arrowheads, which can be connected with the tradition of thunderbolts (see Chapter 12.2). However, grindstones used for sharpening stone tools, stone mauls or clubs, and different smaller perforated stones with an uncertain function have also been found in locations suggesting deliberate concealment. The material also includes a few objects that have been interpreted as imitations of Stone Age axes.

Other undoubtedly antiquated objects are Iron Age sword blades and spearheads, Iron Age brooches, an elliptic fire-striking stone, a Bronze Age axe, a Roman coin, and a 17th-century commemorative medal in a 19th-century context. Additionally, several objects with uncertain dating in the “artefacts” category may in fact be antiquated objects: in particular, two spindle whorls (one stone and one ceramic) and five stone hammer heads. It is also possible that at least some of the seven stone moulds (for casting small metal objects like buttons) were also already out of fashion when concealed.

Other concealed artefacts include horse shoes, a runic calendar, a redware pipkin pot, an ox yoke, a padlock, pieces of weighing scales, and personal objects such as shoes, the bowl of a clay pipe (together with a piece of a grindstone and some slag), a silver spoon, a small cross pendant, the silver stem of a goblet, and possibly a corset (11 metal strips interpreted as corset bones). Cannonballs occur in three cases, and the windlass of a crossbow cocking mechanism (a part consisting of two hooks and pulleys) (*vekara*) occurs in two cases. One special case is a milestone marked with the insignia of King Gustav III,² which was found in the hearth foundation of a dwelling house in Nousiainen (a) in 1903 (Appx. 3: 7).

² King Gustav III reigned in 1771–1792 (e.g. Jutikkala & Pirinen 1979: 137–149).

The sharp metal objects – here artificially excluding clearly antiquated swords, axes, spearheads and arrowheads – include five axes or axe heads, one sickle blade, and one iron hoe. More exclusively magic artefacts³ appear in two cases involving a hare's foot and four cases involving miniature coffins. The latter (with the remains of frogs, squirrels, or a cat inside) have been preserved from four eastern Finnish churches ([g] Kuopio, [g] Tuusniemi, [g] Nilsjä, and [j] Kiihtelysvaara) of this period. The animals contained in these coffins were not included in the category of animal remains, but listed as their own group due to their special nature (see Chapter 12.3; Hukantaival 2015a).

No concealments of horse skulls are known in the find material of this period. However, two cases of complete horse skeletons, both from South Ostrobothnian (k) residences (Appx. 3: 181–182), reinforce the idea that only remarkable finds may have been recorded. A third, possibly concealed full skeleton of a horse was unearthed during archaeological excavations in Lahti (d) in 1997 (Appx. 3: 137). It may have been placed under the floor in front of a late 18th-century hearth, but unfortunately the upper layers of the location had been destroyed and the stratigraphy could not be confirmed. The fourth case of a whole animal involves the skeleton of a lamb found in the church of Rantsila (l) (Appx. 3: 208). This find is discussed in more detail below in Chapter 12.3.

In addition to the three whole skeletons, horse bones also appear in three other concealments. First, some leg bones of a horse were found under the hearth of a croft in Renko (d) in 1892 (Appx. 3: 131), and a birch-bark packet containing a vertebra, a horse tooth with a piece of jawbone, and a piece of flint-stone was found under the southern corner of an old building in Perho (k) in the 1930s (Appx. 3: 197). During archaeological excavations in Hartola (d) in 2009, an eroded but whole leg bone⁴ of a horse was discovered in an 18th-century hearth foundation, together with a worn and possibly rounded (worked) leg bone⁵ of a bear, eight fragments of a pig skull (and teeth), teeth and the fragmented left jawbone⁶ of a sheep, another⁷ of a goat, and a third⁸ of a bovine, two fragmented leg bones⁹ of a bovine, three unidentified fragments of mammal bone, and some perch and pike scales (Appx. 3: 127). The exact locations of the individual bones within the hearth were not recorded, but the assemblage certainly points to deliberate action.

Another case involving animal bones was discovered during the Hartola 2009 excavation: a piece of bovine skull was found together with two pieces of flint-stone, a copper coin, and a piece of burnt bone in a structure interpreted as the hearth of an 18th-century drying-barn (Appx. 3: 126). Two additional cases involve the remains of a bear: during archaeological excavations in Turku (a) in 2005, a bear claw was found in the sand layer under the cobblestone floor of a town building's cellar (Appx. 3: 34), and a piece of a bear's spine is preserved in the local museum of Vilppula (d) with the information that it had

³ As mentioned above, this notion is quite problematic since there is no clear line between mundane and magic objects. The distinction is often context-based (see Chapter 10) or simply indivisible (e.g. using a hare's foot to wipe flour off a table is a practice that can be seen as practical but also symbolic).

⁴ *Radius, dex.* The bones found at this excavation were identified by Kristiina Mannermaa (Pesonen 2009: Appx. 1).

⁵ *Ulna, sin.*

⁶ *Mandibula, sin.*

⁷ *Mandibula, sin.*

⁸ *Mandibula, sin.*

⁹ *Humerus, dex and femur, sin.*



Fig. 12. A split calf skull found in the filling of the attic of a farm house in Urjala (Appx. 3: 145). Photo by Sanna-Liisa Mattila (2013).

been concealed under the foundation stone of the hearth of a croft in Suluslahti in 1862 to protect the building and bring good luck (Appx. 3: 140).

In one case where a Stone Age object (a perforated rhombus-shaped stone) was discovered in a hearth foundation in 1952 in Kitee (j), it was delivered to the museum with the information that the bones of a large mammal had been found with the artefact (Appx. 3: 177). However, these bones were not kept, and it remains uncertain to which animal they belonged. The most recent case of animal bones in the material involves a split calf skull, which was found in the filling of an attic floor (by the stairs leading to the attic) in the main building of a large farm in Urjala (d) (Fig. 12). The building was erected in 1925. Other concealments were discovered during renovation of this building in 2013 as well: the hare's foot under the entrance hall floor mentioned above, and a coin under the threshold (Appx. 3: 145–147).

7.3 OBJECTS IN EARLY MODERN FINDS (c. 1500–1700)

The early modern finds were mainly discovered during archaeological excavations, with the exception of only five finds. Since there is no similar spike of Stone Age objects in the early modern find material as in the late modern material, the 50 objects from 29 buildings are more evenly spread between the categories shown in Figure 13. Still, the main categories are different kinds of artefacts: coins and whetstones stand out while other artefacts occur singly.

Finds from Turku (a) include a wooden piggin with four 17th-century Swedish coins (Queen Christina)¹⁰ found during an excavation in 2011 under the floor of a smithy (Appx. 3: 52). A copper coin of Queen Christina was found in the same building, deliber-

¹⁰ Queen Christina's reign was 1632–54 (e.g. Jutikkala & Pirinen 1979: 93–96).

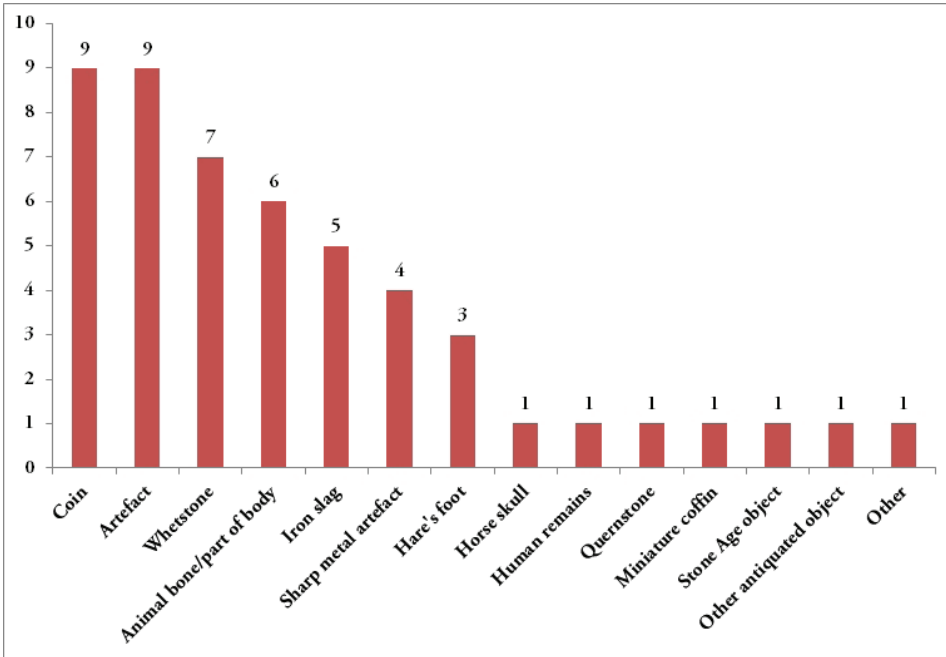


Fig. 13. Types of concealed objects in finds from early modern times (n=50).

ately concealed in the hearth foundation, along with a curious concentration of iron slag in the eastern corner, which may also have been a deliberate concealment (Appx. 3: 51, 53).

The sharp metal artefacts are two axe heads and two knife blades. The one Stone Age object is a gouge acquired by an antiquities collector in 1883. According to the find catalogue, the object was found in the “soil bench”¹¹ of an old, dismantled building in Vihti (c) circa 200 years earlier (Appx. 3: 122). The age of the oral history regarding this find’s location makes it quite problematic. Also somewhat questionable is the other antiquated object: a late Iron Age or early medieval penannular brooch found in the filling under a brick floor in the south-western corner of the sacristy of the 16th-century Hämeenkoski church ruins during an excavation in 1998 (Appx. 3: 129). There were no signs of a burial at the exact location of the brooch, but some loose human bones were also found in the filling (Ratilainen 1998: 6; 2005: 97), making it possible that the object could have belonged to a disturbed grave. Still, the location of the brooch points to deliberate action.

The only horse skull in the find material was found during an excavation in Helsinki (c) in 1993 under the northern wall of a late 16th to early 17th-century outbuilding (Appx. 3: 89). Additionally, one of the artefacts is a worn ice skate made of a horse leg bone, which was found when a 17th-century hearth was excavated in Kokkola (k) in 2008 (Appx. 3: 185). There are also two cases involving cow skulls in the early modern material: one was discovered in a 17th-century hearth foundation during an excavation in Vantaa (c), where it had been placed upside down, facing the ground (Appx. 3: 121); the other, from Turku (a), is presented below in Chapter 12.1. The one case of human remains consists of

¹¹ An insulation structure of soil by the walls (*multapenkki*).

a jawbone discovered in the wall foundation of a town building during an excavation in Turku (a); this is also presented in more detail below (Chapter 12.1).

As can be seen in Figure 13, there are several cases of iron slag in the early modern material. However, this category, which also occurs in the other periods, is quite problematic. Iron slag seems to have been found in numerous sites, but its exact location is seldom explicitly identified, due to its being regarded as mere waste material by archaeologists. As is discussed below in Chapter 10.3, iron slag had a special role in later folk beliefs, and some interesting aspects could be revealed if more careful attention were given to the occurrence of this material during future excavations.

The one case of “other” concealed objects was found during archaeological excavations in 2008 in Kangasala (b). A small pit that was lined with stones was found under the foundation of a 16th–17th-century hearth. Inside this pit was a piece of iron slag, two fragments of burnt bone, and eight fragments of brick. Additionally, some uncharred seeds of raspberry,¹² some charred spruce and shrub remains, and charcoal were found in a soil sample taken inside the pit. The plant remains were identified by Mia Lempiäinen(-Avci).¹³ The raspberry seeds are mentioned in this macrofossils report as probably being recent, but the closed context of the soil sample (unknown to the specialist at the time) makes this unlikely (Appx. 3: 66; Mia Lempiäinen-Avci, personal communication 2013).

7.4 OBJECTS IN MEDIEVAL FINDS (C. 1200–1500)

All but two of the 29 medieval cases from 26 buildings in the material were discovered during archaeological excavation (or monitoring). This material is already extremely scarce, since the time period covers 300 years. However, many factors of the research situation and preservation may be the cause of this rather than an actual lack of practices. As can be seen in Figure 14, diverse artefacts also predominate this material. Excluding the sharp metal artefacts and coins, there are no recurring artefact types, only single finds.

The one Stone Age object is an adze found during archaeological excavations at the Lopotti fortified settlement in Kurkijoki (h) under the south-eastern corner of the foundation of a late 15th-century wooden house with a stone stove (Appx. 3: 172). Another antiquated object, a bronze Roman Iron Age eye brooch of Estonian type, was found in 1933 at the late medieval Herrankartano manor ruins in Paimio (a) by the large south-eastern corner stone of the main hearth. The following summer, the site was excavated archaeologically to find out if the hearth was founded on an Iron Age grave cairn. However, it became evident that the structure had originally been built as a hearth, and no signs of an Iron Age structure were found (Appx. 3: 8).

An interesting collection of finds was unearthed during an archaeological excavation in 2006 in Porvoo (c). A circa 19 cm long wooden object with a carved animal head (most likely a bear) on one end (the other end being carved in a tapering form) was found in a pit under a structure formed of small stones. Other finds from this same pit included a shard of stoneware ceramics, a piece of burnt clay, a piece of iron slag, and an unburnt animal bone (Appx. 3: 105). This case is discussed in more detail below in Chapter 12.1.

¹² *Rubus idaeus*. (68 pieces).

¹³ Luoto Ka. 2009a: Appx 10.

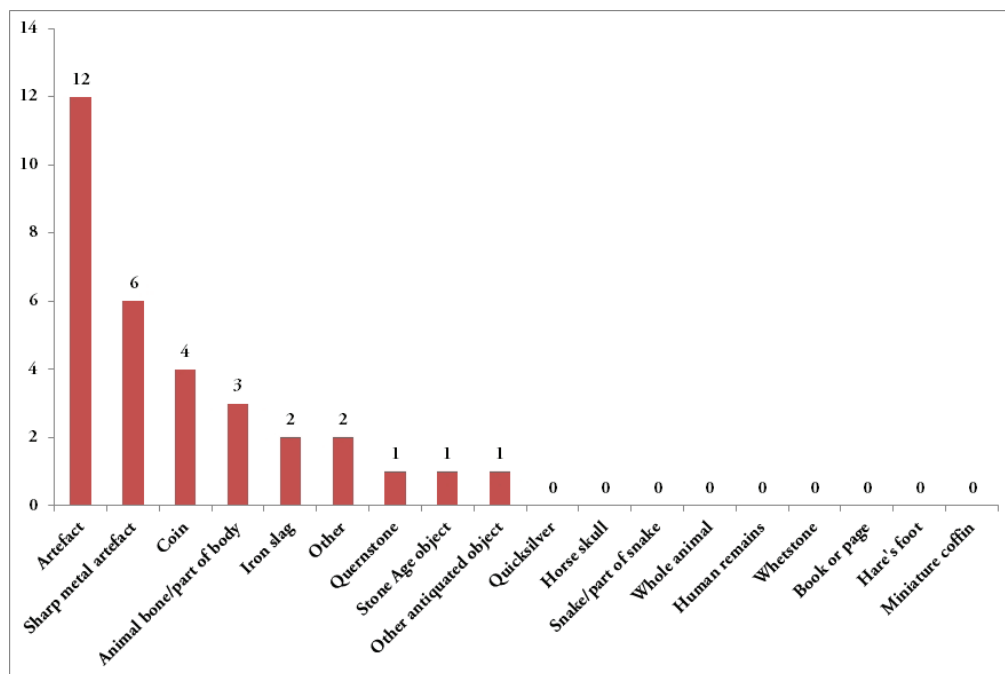


Fig. 14. Types of concealed objects in finds from medieval times (n=32).

Another striking find is the antler hammer of a Sámi shaman drum, which was found in the floor layer (close to the southern corner of the north-western room) of a late 14th–early 15th-century two-roomed log building during town excavations in Turku (a) in 1998 (Appx. 3: 24). In addition to the object's special nature as a Sámi shaman's ritual item, other intriguing aspects in connection to this find are its obvious detachment from a Sámi context, the proximity of the cathedral (i.e. institutionalized religion) to the site, and the act of concealment as the last phase (before its rediscovery) in the object's undoubtedly eventful biography.

7.5 COMBINING EVIDENCE ON OBJECTS

The picture of late modern practices involving concealments in buildings differs significantly between the find material and the folklore material from approximately the same time period. The difference is not only due to the huge discrepancy in sample size (165 finds versus 775 folklore accounts), even though this is naturally an important factor. The case of Stone Age objects illustrates the different emphasises of the materials clearly, as is discussed in more detail below in Chapter 12.2.

When looking more generally at the concealed objects in the sources, both connections and differences are noticeable. Mercury, the most commonly recorded type of concealed material in the folklore, does not stand out in the other sources: concealments of mercury are only reliably reported in two cases in the whole find material, and both of these are from late modern times. When an old stable in Mäntsälä (c) was demolished in the 1920s, a small bottle with mercury inside was discovered under the threshold. The bottle was

kept and later shown to the folklore collector Ritva Junttila in 1961, who described it as a small pharmacy bottle that was closed with a cork and contained a fingertip-sized ball of mercury (Appx. 3: 102). The other case involves two small pharmacy bottles containing c. 100 ml of mercury. These were found during a renovation in 1998 among the straw filling of an attic floor of a wooden house built in 1908 in Turku (a) (Appx. 3: 23). It is likely that the different formation processes of the materials are behind this difference, at least in the case of the late modern period. Furthermore, because mercury concealments were a common practice in late modern times (at least according to the folklore), they may not have been seen as particularly remarkable when discovered during the demolition and renovation of houses; accordingly, they may have remained undocumented.

When mercury is concealed in a small bottle, at least the bottle should remain as evidence. However, if it is broken at some point, it may be difficult to distinguish the shards from other rubble in the building remains. For example, one case discussed in my master's thesis involves three shards of a small glass bottle discovered between the stones of the foundation of an 18th-century town building excavated in Turku in 1982 (Pihlman & Ikäheimo 1982: 14, TMM 18831: 184; Hukantaival 2006: 92). If all pieces of this bottle were found, it might still be difficult to determine what it contained, even with expensive analyses.

The next most common concealed objects in the folklore are coins. Despite the fact that coins must be underrepresented in the physical find material (as has been noted above), it is still evident that these were chosen as concealable objects during the whole studied period. As is the case with mercury, the popularity of horse skulls depicted in the folklore material is also not visible in the other sources. Again it is likely that the picture of the physical finds is distorted at least in the late modern cases: in the past, animal bones found during demolition or renovation were likely not perceived as interesting enough to document, unless the find was extraordinary. The two certain cases of reported full skeletons of horses (Appx. 3: 181–182) reinforce the notion that only outstanding finds were announced. This is also evident in a newspaper article from 1892, which reports bones being found under the hearth of a croft in Renko (d) (Appx. 3: 131). It was first suspected that the bones were human, so a police investigation was opened; however, when it turned out that they were leg bones of horse, the case was dropped and all interest in it was lost.

The horse skulls so outstanding in the folklore material are only represented by one find (from 17th-century Helsinki; see Appx. 3: 89), but the horse is still predominant among the recognized animal species (Fig. 15). This may partly be a result of my focus when collecting the material. It is notable, though, that horse bones are not common finds on historical dwelling sites and in towns, since these animals were not consumed. Moreover, both slaughter of the animals and the remains of dead horses have largely been treated as taboo (for example, door posts were washed after the visit of a horse skinner) (see e.g. SKMT IV, 2: XIV 159 §–161§; Egardt 1962; Tourunen 2008: 42, 108, 143; Puputti 2010: 12, 44). This well-documented special role of the horse gives a good reason to pay extra attention to the find locations of horse remains at archaeological excavations.

Snakes occur in two late modern cases, both of which involve dried whole vipers found inside a hole drilled into a wall timber. The one found in the wall of the old governor's building in Heinola (d) during demolition in 1898 was reported in a newspaper when it was discovered (Appx. 3: 128). The other viper, kept in the Satakunta Museum, was found in 1908 during the demolition of a late 18th-century building in Kyläkarvia (b) with an eventful history of changing function, moving, and being rebuilt. The museum catalogue

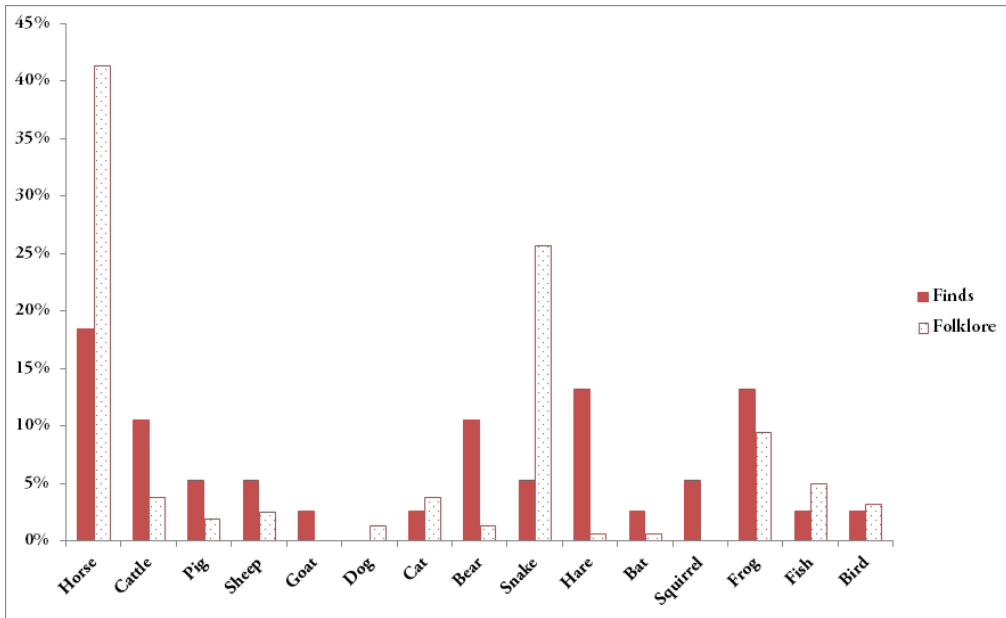


Fig. 15. Recognized animal species in the find material (n=38) compared to the folklore (n=160) as percentage of all species in the representative material.

mentions that the snake was thought to have been concealed to protect the residents against the evil eye, thieves, and other misfortunes (Appx. 3: 67). Both cases are perfectly compatible with the folklore about snake concealments.

When comparing the identified species of animals in the finds and those in the folklore (see Fig. 15), it is immediately apparent that apart from horse and snake (viper) occurrences, other animal species appear only sporadically in the folklore. However, it should be noted that the folklore also includes some other species of animals not present in the find material: aside from dogs, these are all wild animals and fish. The mammals are shrews¹⁴ (eight cases), stoats¹⁵ (two cases), and a seal. In the eight cases where a (wild) bird is concerned, two cases specify a grouse,¹⁶ one a capercaillie,¹⁷ one a crane,¹⁸ and one a white-throated dipper.¹⁹ The latter bird species is also found in the Saarijärvi trial case of 1886. The fish in the folklore are pike²⁰ (seven cases) and whitefish²¹.

The hare’s feet and animals in miniature coffins earlier classified as “magic artefacts” are also included in Figure 15. Animals in coffins appear both in the folklore and in the find material (see Chapter 12.3; Hukantaival 2015a). As already mentioned, these finds are calculated by buildings, since the coffins (possibly up to a hundred) were not properly

¹⁴ *Soricidae*.

¹⁵ *Mustela erminea*.

¹⁶ *Tetraoninae*.

¹⁷ *Tetrao urogallus*.

¹⁸ *Grus grus*.

¹⁹ *Cinclus cinclus*.

²⁰ *Esox lucius*.

²¹ *Coregonus lavaretus*.

documented or counted before being disposed of. The hare's feet are an example where the folklore and finds differ: all five cases of hare remains in the find material are post-medieval bones of hind legs (usually the left one), while the sole mention of a hare in the folklore accounts is a whole young specimen buried under a sheep-house floor to increase the fertility of the flock ([j] Rääkkylä, SKMT IV, 1: I 99 §).

Two species appear in the physical finds that are not mentioned in the folklore material: goats and squirrels. In general, goats are seldom mentioned in connection to 19th-century folk religion; I have come across only a few examples, and only one of these involves a goat bone: the skull of a buck is used to spoil the ritual porridge meant for Saint Catherine in an anecdotic story recorded in South Savo (f) (SKMT IV, 2: XII 139§). The reason for the lack of the occurrence of this species in Finnish folk magic is most likely based on the fact that goats were not particularly common in most regions of the country (Tourunen 2008: 41–42, 140–141; Bläuer 2015: 136). Squirrels, on the other hand, are often mentioned in 19th-century folk magic, especially in connection to hunting magic (see SKMT I).

If whole animals are not concealed, skulls or parts of the skull (e.g. jaw, teeth) are predominant in both the folklore and the finds. The Ulvila trial case of 1689 also involves the head of a calf. However, since proper osteological analysis has not been conducted in many of the find cases, it is not possible to draw a conclusive report of the anatomical preferences. Furthermore, in the folklore one finds cases where simply bones or even bones from any part of any animal are mentioned. Generally it seems that leg bones follow after the clear preference for skulls, but vertebrae (e.g. tails) and ribs were also concealed. In any case, the trend was for less meaty parts of the animal. This is discussed further below in Chapter 10.1.

The folklore seldom mentions if the bones were handled in some way before concealing. One account explains that if livestock is dying, a tarred cow's head should be concealed as an offering in the ceiling space of the drying barn (FLS FA. [l] Pyhäjärvi. 1951. Sirkka Anttila 271). It is also apparent in some accounts that a horse skull could be kept in the village until it was needed. For example, one informant explains that when he was a young farmhand he was sent to fetch the skull of a stallion (that had died some time ago) from a neighbouring farm so that it could be put under a new hearth (FLS FA. [l] Vihanti. 1954. M. A. Junttila 686). One account quoted below in Chapter 9.2 (page 113) explains that some quicksilver should be put in the eye socket of a horse or cow skull when concealing it under a hearth (FLS FA. [b] Virrat. 1938. T. E. Maunula 172).

The physical finds show evidence of split skulls in two cases.²² It is also clear that fragments of bones were included in concealments. First, the birch-bark packet with bone fragments and a piece of flint-stone found under the southern corner of an old building in Perho (k), the so-called “magic treasure” (Appx. 3: 197), demonstrates that concealed bones needed not be whole. This concealment was recorded with the information that it had been made in order to repel pests from the building and to divine if the building location was favourable. In addition to this, other cases presented above include bone fragments. Also, clearly deliberately concealed clusters of bones found between stones in the foundation of a storage building built in the 1830s in Turku (a) (Appx. 3: 60) show a peculiar mix of fragmentary kitchen refuse (bones split and cut with an axe) and whole bones not typical of cooking refuse, such as phalanges.

²² The splitting of the skull was not necessarily done as part of the concealing event, but it could have been performed in connection with butchering if, for example, the brain was removed for use.

Although scarcer, human remains follow the same anatomical pattern as animal bones in both folklore and finds: skulls or parts of the skull occur most often. The only other body part specified in the folklore is the case of a human hand concealed under the furnace of a smithy to protect it from thieves (FLS FA. [k] Perho. 1930. Samuli & Jenny Paulaharju 13042), as otherwise it seems that any human bone would serve. When included in magic pouches, human bones are small or fragmentary. The Åland trial case of 1552 concerned a concealed human arm bone.

Furthermore, concealed artefacts (other than coins, already discussed above) show both similarities and differences in the source materials. Sharp metal tools such as axes, knives, scythes, sickles, and so forth occur in all studied periods in relatively small numbers (20 folklore accounts and 16 finds, of which six are late modern, four early modern, and six medieval). Other household tools occur as well, but these show a wider range of objects not easily grouped together. The folklore mentions wooden tools, such as bread peels and washing bats, but also harrows, which may be associated with sharp metal tools, since they are spiked. The log scribe may also belong to this group, since it has spiked ends. The steel-yard balance is made of metal and usually has hooks, but it is difficult to assess in the only account mentioning it if it should be connected with sharp tools ([k] Mustasaari, FSFD VII, 3: III A 9:2). One find in the National Museum corroborates this account: an iron lever with hooks on both ends and a support for scales were found in the “soil bench”²³ of the main residence at Pytty estate in Sippola (nowadays [c] Kouvola) when it was torn down in 1897 (Appx. 3: 99).

Of the other household objects mentioned in the folklore, only spoons and fire steels occur also in the find material. One of the two folklore examples concerning a fire steel is presented above in Chapter 7.1 (SKMT III: 832 §). The other example describes a ritual against house fire, where one of the concealed objects is a fire steel (as part of a tinderbox) (FLS FA. [m] Suomussalmi [Kianta]. 1883? H. Meriläinen I 535). A fire steel was found under the south-western corner stone of a medieval hearth foundation during an archaeological excavation at the Gunnarsängen village site in Hanko (c) in 2006 (Appx. 3: 85).

The only folklore account mentioning a spoon is recorded in Ingria (s). It explains that when a cowshed was built, a protective concealment including quicksilver, wool from a black sheep, a spoon, and butter was put under the threshold (FLS FA. [s] Estonia’s Ingria. 1940. Lauri Laiho 5976). A silver spoon was found under an early 18th-century wall timber in Oulu (l) (Appx. 3: 205), and the decorated antler handle of a spoon was found in a 17th-century hearth foundation in Tornio (n) (Appx. 3: 225).

Compared with the folklore, a wider assortment of household tools and other objects occurs in the find material. Unlike in southern Scandinavia (see e.g. Jensen 1984; Falk 2008: 173–183), for example, the folklore does not mention concealments of ceramic pots in Finland. However, two post-medieval finds of concealed redware tripod cooking pots from very different regions ([a] Turku and [n] Tornio) show that they could have been chosen for concealment at least in the 17th or early 18th century (Appx. 3: 18; 223). Everyday tools that do not fit easily in the category of sharp tools are a wooden shovel, a pair of tongs, a hammer, and an iron bar. Other objects include an iron candle holder, a padlock, a horse bone ice skate, an ice grip for a shoe, a rune staff, and spindle whorls. Objects connected to farm animals are horseshoes, a horse’s bit, and an ox yoke.

²³ Insulation structure by the walls (*multapenkki*).

As mentioned above, objects made of stone occur frequently in the find material. In addition to references to thunderbolts, discussed below in Chapter 12.2, the folklore recognizes the use of unworked, natural stones (see also Muhonen 2013): for example, a stone from a sauna stove, a stone retrieved from rapids, and a “raven’s stone” (small round pebble; Rantasalo 1956). The find material, on the other hand, shows for example 15 cases involving whetstones (all post-medieval), six cases involving stone moulds (all late modern), and three cases involving quern-stones (one from each period). The use of whetstones is known in 19th-century Finnish folk magic: for example, three old whetstones could be used while hunting bear to force the animal to return on its track, thus preventing it from escaping the hunters (SKMT I: 306 §). Quern-stones also occur in folklore about magic practices, the focus often being on their hole (e.g. SKMT IV, 1: IV 1169–1172 §). Based on this, it may simply be a coincidence that no whetstones, grindstones, or quern-stones are mentioned as building concealments in the folklore material.

More personal objects mentioned in the folklore are socks, a garter, worn shoes, mittens, and clay tobacco pipes. Two cases where a sock is concerned specify things that should be put inside it: one case describes a found or stolen tubular key with ants inside (collected from three different anthills, nine ants from each) and stubble taken in secret from three fields of tax-paying farms, put inside a found sock and buried under the back wall of the cowshed to protect the cattle from disease ([m] Sotkamo; SKMT IV, 1: I 135 §); the other case is similar, but without the key: anthill debris and pieces of wasps’ nests from three different places were put in the stolen left-foot sock of a girl from a tax-paying farm and buried under the floor of the sheep house to increase the fertility of the sheep ([l] Kestilä; SKMT IV, 2: XI 58 §).

The case of the garter suggests that it should belong to the mistress of the house and concealing it under the cowshed threshold brings luck to the cattle ([c] Kymi; SKMT IV, 1: I 68 §). Otherwise the personal objects are mentioned as being old, lost (having an unknown owner), or stolen. For example, the two cases that involve shoes mention old, badly worn ones put together with other objects under the hearth to prevent pests (FLS FA. [p] Vuokkiniemi. 1900. I. Marttini b) 141; [p] Vuokkiniemi. 1900. I. Marttini b) 495).

There are three cases involving shoes in the find material: one of them is medieval and the other two are late modern. The late modern cases are similar to the concealed shoes tradition, which is widely known in the British Isles (see e.g. Merrifield 1987: 131–135; Hoggard 2004; Swann 2005; Houlbrook 2013): old shoes are concealed in the attic or roof construction. The woman’s shoe found during renovation of the old wooden main building of Meilahti manor in Helsinki (c) in 1983 actually seems to have a direct connection with this tradition. This building, which was built in the early 19th century, was owned during 1905–1945 by the Campbell family from Great Britain. The shoe was most likely concealed in the roof construction when the attic of the building was renovated in 1913 (Heino, pers. comm. 2013; Appx. 3: 88). The medieval case involves the sole of a shoe, which was found between two wall timbers of a 15th-century building in Turku (a) (Appx. 3: 26).

Pieces of clay tobacco pipes are common finds at post-medieval sites, and I have considered the possibility of concealed pipe fragments in several cases. However, since these are small objects that form common “rubbish material”, only one case was convincing enough to be included in this study: the bowl of a clay tobacco pipe with a crown stamp, which was discovered when an early 19th-century hearth was excavated at the Klaukkala Gunnari village site in Nurmijärvi (c) in 2008 (Appx. 3: 103). The context unit included a piece

of a used grindstone (sharpening stone) in the western corner, which I have interpreted as having a high likelihood of being deliberately concealed. However, the deliberate concealment of the pipe bowl and iron slag found while excavating the hearth is more debatable. The only folklore account mentioning pipes is simply a statement that “while building, it has been the custom to conceal coins or clay pipes under the roof beam” (FLS FA. [m] Vuolijoki, Käkilahti. 1957. Artturi Railonsala 6511).

Notable in the physical finds material are pistol balls, and especially cannonballs, which are less connected to everyday household activities. Two of these cases are early modern (17th century) and three are late modern (18th century). The folklore material includes two cases where a firearm projectile is mentioned. The account recorded on the Swedish-speaking Åland islands (å) explains that in order to protect one’s house from evil, one should put three lead balls in the threshold (FSFD VII, 3: I C 32:27). The other account describes a ritual where a bullet is shot into the lowest timber in the back wall of the cowshed after the ritual cleaning of the building for Michaelmas ([c] Anjala; SKMT IV, 2: XI 163 §). Two of the found cannonballs were in hearth constructs (Appx. 3: 120; 159), and two cases connected to military activities – Kastelholm Castle (å) (Appx. 3: 233) and the naval officers’ building at Kotka (c) (Appx. 3: 95) – have cannonball concealments with multiple balls connected to the wall. The case with pistol balls involves four pistol balls and 13 copper jettons under the corner of a 17th-century building excavated in Helsinki (c) (Appx. 3: 91).

Of other more special objects, the folklore mentions concealed items connected to the dead (a corpse-board²⁴, a needle used for sewing clothes for the dead, pieces of graveyard crosses, and churchyard soil), religious objects (religious books and the communion host), thunderbolts, and wooden objects or figurines carved specifically for the ritual (miniature coffins, horses out of alder, and human figurines). Objects connected to the dead also occur in the witchcraft trial cases (Janakkala 1665, Karkku 1685, and Pohja 1694–1695). Naturally, it is impossible to know if a found object was in direct contact with a deceased person unless it was something not used in other situations (or in fact the remains of a human body). Because the communion host and leaves of books are only preserved in exceptional conditions, it is unlikely for them to be discovered during archaeological excavations in Finland. However, a concealment involving two complete Bibles in the attic filling of an early 20th-century house in Turku (a) has been recorded (Appx. 3: 35).

In addition, the find material shows some cases with unusual objects; perhaps by coincidence, all of these are from medieval contexts. First there is the shaman’s drum hammer, which was found concealed under the floor of a late 14th–early 15th-century town building in Turku (a) (Appx. 3: 24); secondly, the head of a pipe clay female figurine found under the floor of Messukylä Church (d) (Appx. 3: 144); and lastly, a wooden object with a carved animal head (bear?) found in Porvoo (c) (Appx. 3: 105). The latter is discussed in more detail below in Chapter 12.1.

All in all, the physical finds and folklore materials enrich each other’s views of concealed objects. The folklore shows how popular a few choices of objects (i.e. mercury, coins, and animal remains) were during late modern times, but it also gives the impression of a wide variety of possible choices. In spite of the smaller volume of the physical finds, that material adds even more possibilities, such as whetstones, quern-stones, iron slag, fragmentary bones and artefacts, and it gives an even more profound picture of the significance of

²⁴ The wooden board (bier) where the dead body was placed on the homestead to be washed and kept before the funeral.

CHAPTER 7

antiquated objects (see Chapter 12.2). The few historical records from trials are perfectly compatible with the other materials.

CHAPTER 8

LOCATIONS AND BUILDINGS

8.1 LOCATIONS IN THE FOLKLORE

When a farm's main building is built, in order to prevent evil wishes and maliciousness against the household, one should put a silver coin (preferably one not in use) in every corner and under every threshold while saying: "What is mine I want, but what belongs to another I do not care about" ([k] Mustasaari; FSFD VII, 3: II A 3, 4).

Categorizing the different locations for concealments was a simpler task than categorizing the objects. Some accounts give several possibilities, and others do not specify any location, but most accounts that do give this information are fairly straightforward. The locations can easily be divided into six main categories. These are shown in Figure 16, where the relative number of accounts for each of these categories is illustrated. The most common location is the threshold (28%), after which come the corner (19%), the wall (15%), the roof construction (13%), the hearth (11%), and the floor (9%). The seventh category, "other", includes permanent structures inside a cowshed or stable (such as the feeding trough and partition structures), stairs, attics, permanent structures inside a church (benches, pillars), and so forth. This category also contains concealments in door frames and windowsills. Only 5% of the mentioned locations do not fall into the six main categories.

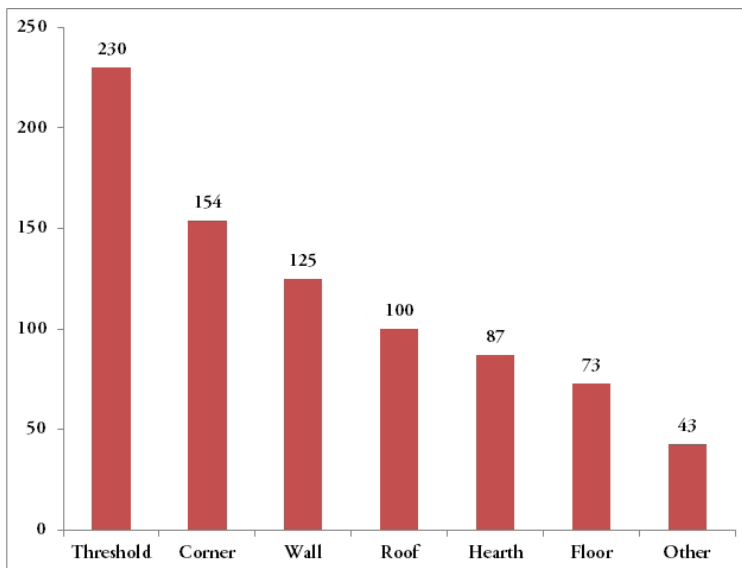


Fig. 16. Locations in buildings mentioned in the folklore (n=812).

The custom was that a silver coin was put as an offering between the timbers of the third timber layer when a new dwelling building was made. The coin should be put in the northern wall (FLS FA. [e] Karstula. 1938. Otto Harju 1326).

Some accounts mention a preference for specific compass points. In ten of these, the preferred direction is north: the concealment should be put in or under the northern corner or the northern wall. In addition, one account specifies that a concealed horse skull should be aligned towards the north (FLS FA. [l] Tyrnävä. 1891. E. F. Rautell b) 322–23). The southern corner is preferred in two accounts and the eastern corner in two accounts (one of them is quoted above in Chapter 2.2). The west is chosen in only one account, where an maleficent concealment of human bones is mentioned as being put under the cornerstone “on the sunset side” of a cowshed ([d] Joutsu; SKMT IV, 2: XIV 240§). Ordinal points are not mentioned at all. Eight accounts specify that the concealment should be made in the back part of the building, while one favours the front corners ([k] Mustasaari; FSFD VII, 3: III A 9, 3).

Buildings with living inhabitants stand out in the folklore accounts (see Fig. 17). The different kinds of animal shelters combined make up 61% of all buildings, and the residence building is also common (32%). Especially the cowshed seems to have been chosen for a concealed object. Other mentioned animal shelters than the cowshed and stable include the sheep house, pigsty, and henhouse. Following these buildings, other oft-mentioned buildings are the church (or chapel), the sauna, and drying barn (*riihi*). The two last ones have a hearth, and the sauna was occasionally used as a temporary dwelling. Storage buildings are mentioned only in six accounts. The five accounts in the “other” category include two concerning a cooking shed, one a smithy, one a main building for an ironworks, and one a forest cottage used for temporary lodging.

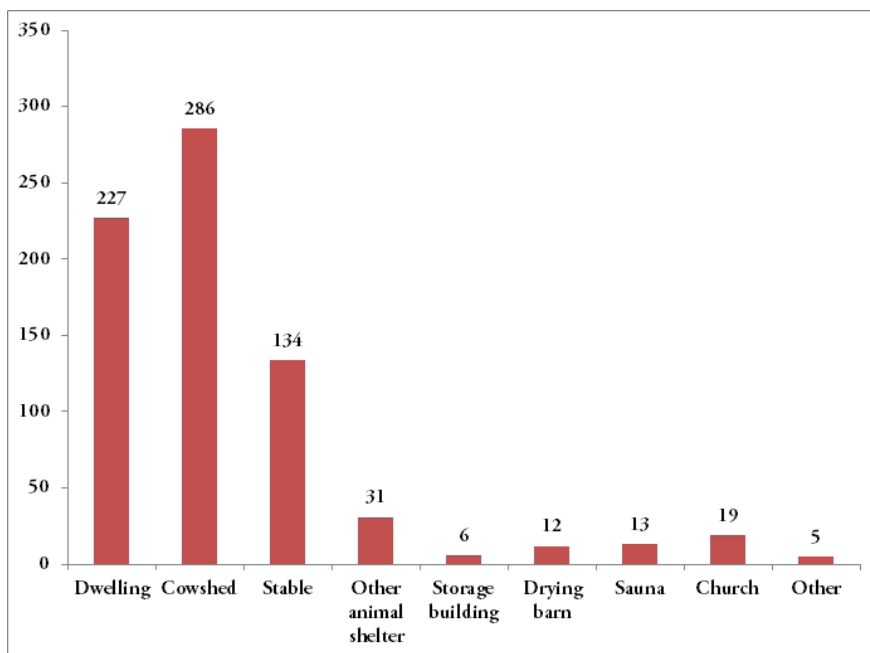


Fig. 17. Types of buildings mentioned in the folklore concerning ritual concealments (n=733).

8.2 LOCATIONS IN LATE MODERN FINDS (C. 1700–1950)

The locations occurring in the find material from late modern times are shown in Figure 18. Here it should be noted that in a large number of cases involving Stone Age and other antiquated objects, the find location is often reported to be the “foundation”. These have been included in the “wall” (wall-foundation) category, thus leading this category to stand out. In reality, some of these finds were perhaps under corners or the threshold, but this information has simply been lost. The other categories are more explicit, but the “threshold” and “corner” categories may be less represented because of inclusion in the “wall” category. The roof location (including enclosed ceilings) is present only in the late modern finds due to the nature of find circumstances: because wooden buildings tended to be short-lived, only the lowest layers of the older structures usually exist.

As can be seen in Figure 18, the “other locations” category forms a quite large portion of the overall number in the late modern finds. The largest group in this category is the attic (with six cases). These are cases where the concealment was discovered in the filling of the attic floor, which naturally also forms the ceiling of the room below. These could have been included in the roof/ceiling category, but I have chosen to make the distinction according to accessibility; attics are more easily accessible than closed ceiling spaces. Attic floor filling is a somewhat problematic location, since there is often no plank floor above it: This makes it a place where stored items could easily be lost and forgotten. For this reason, I have left out objects found in attics that may simply have been stored there. The attic cases of concealed bottles with mercury inside and the two concealed Bibles are presented in Chapter 7.5. The remaining four cases all involve Stone Age tools.

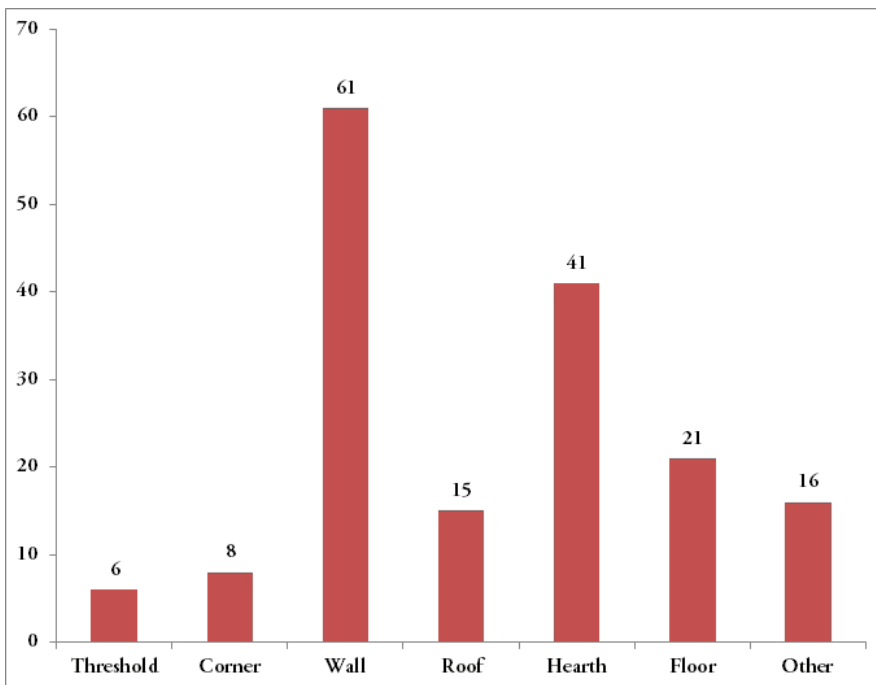


Fig. 18. Locations of late modern finds in the material (n=168).

Two cases in the “other locations” category include Stone Age tools concealed under steps ([e] Keitele, Appx. 3: 150; [h] Vyborg, Appx. 3: 174). While this entrance location is connected with the threshold, I decided to keep it separate at this point. One case from Akaa (d) involving a metal box containing tallow and ashes found inside the doorpost beam of a storage building is problematic because the timbers were re-used from a church (Appx. 3: 123). It is possible that the beam was not originally part of a door structure and the concealment may have been done in either building. One Stone Age chisel from Pudasjärvi (m) was found concealed “by the chimney” (Appx. 3: 214), which can be seen as an extension of the hearth. Two of the Stone Age tools are recorded with such vague location information that it is impossible to assess their position within the house: one was found “in the filling of a stable” ([c] Vantaa, Appx. 3: 112) and the other “on top of a timber” ([c] Kouvola, Appx. 3: 97).

Only two of the cases in the “other locations” category were found during archaeological excavations, and these were both from Turku (a): one is a hare’s foot found on the bottom of a storage pit in 2011 (Appx. 3: 48), most likely a concealment made in connection with the filling of the pit (see also Hukantaival 2013a: 106–107); the other is a small whetstone found on the same excavation in the filling between two cellar vaults (Appx. 3: 50). The remaining two cases in the “other locations” category are both from under the altar in churches: the lamb from Rantsila Church (l) and a coin concealment from Kuopio Cathedral (g) (see Chapter 12.3).

The function of a building is not always easy to interpret in an archaeological context, and not all cases found in other connections include this information. The buildings that are identifiable in the late modern material are shown in Figure 19. Dwelling buildings clearly dominate the material, while other buildings occur less frequently. The four buildings of the “other” category are the old governor’s building of Heinola (d) with a viper conceal-

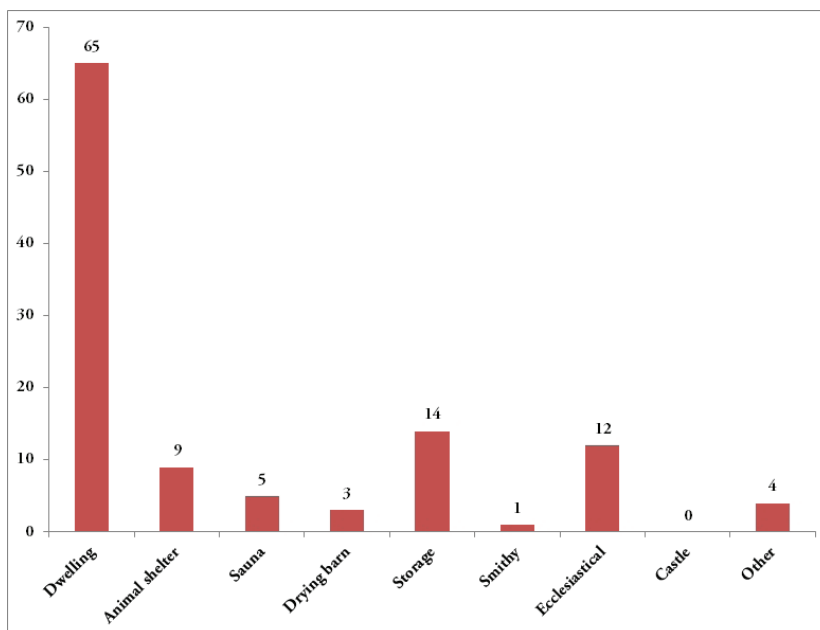


Fig. 19. Buildings occurring in the late modern find material (n=113).

ment in the wall (mentioned above), the Old Town Hall of Porvoo (c) where three shoes were found concealed under a support beam of the attic floor (Appx. 3: 109), a late 18th-century naval staff officer building excavated in Kotka (c) where three cannonballs were found in a pit by the southern wall (Appx. 3: 95), and a large multi-functional masonry town building in Helsinki (c) where in 1929 a Stone Age axe was found in the filling of the floor (Appx. 3: 93).

8.3 LOCATIONS IN EARLY MODERN FINDS (C. 1500–1700)

The locations occurring in the early modern material are shown in Figure 20. As mentioned above, the absence of the roof/ceiling location is simply due to the nature of the building remains, and it should not be seen as reflecting the actual choices made by early modern concealers. All in all, the early modern material is more evenly divided among the different locations than the larger – but more obviously biased toward Stone Age objects – late modern material. While the rareness of the threshold location stands out, the two cases in the “other locations” category belong to an entrance: the coins and hare’s foot under the cellar steps and the coin inside the staircase post, discussed in detail below in Chapter 12.1.

The older the material, the harder it is to assess the functions of the remains of buildings. Furthermore, the possibility that buildings had different functions during their period of use makes it difficult to assign any one function to a structure. For example, four pistol balls and 13 copper jettons were found during archaeological excavations in 1999 in Helsinki (c) under the corner of a building that was interpreted to have originally been a dwelling but later re-used as a cowshed (Appx. 3: 91). It is difficult to assess whether the

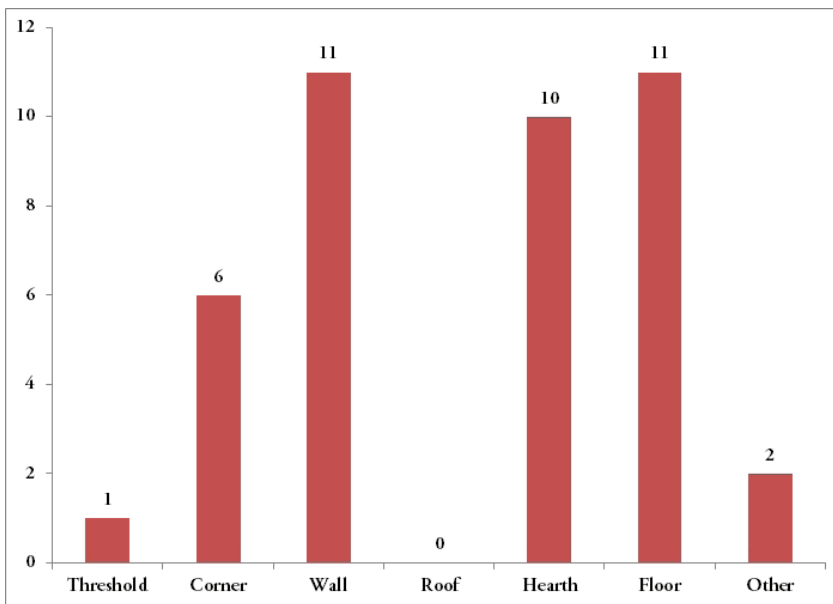


Fig. 20. The locations of early modern finds in the material (n=41).

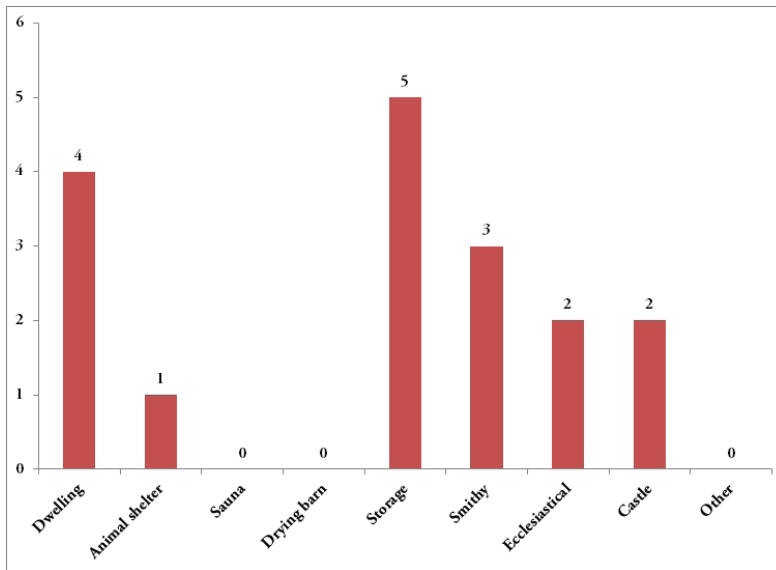


Fig. 21. Buildings occurring in the early modern find-material (n=17).

concealment belonged to the original dwelling phase or the later cowshed phase, since the corner of a log building is in fact accessible (for example, during “shoeing” of the building) (see Chapter 5.3). In Figure 21, this case has been counted in the “animal shelter” category, since it is the last known function of the structure.

As can be seen in Figure 21, the building’s function has been interpreted in only 17 of the early modern cases. The large amount of storage rooms is mainly due to the number of masonry cellars in towns (four cases), most of which likely had dwelling rooms above them. The two cases in a castle are both from the same place: Kastelholm on the Åland islands (å), where a Swedish silver coin (Johan III) minted in 1572 was found inside a wall between two rooms in one of the bailey’s wings during renovation work in 1908 (Appx. 3: 232), and a concealment of 11 small cannonballs discovered inside a walled-up scaffolding hole during architectural history research of the castle in 1984 (Appx. 3: 233).

8.4 LOCATIONS IN MEDIEVAL FINDS (C. 1200–1500)

As can be seen in Figure 22, the hearth is the most common location in the medieval material, and there are no cases in connection to the threshold (the roof/ceiling must again be disregarded, as discussed above). The three cases in the “other locations” category involve a bracteate coin in a posthole of a late 14th-century building in Espoo (c) (Appx. 3: 81), six 14th-century bracteates concealed in the foundation of the baptismal font of the Koroinen Church ruins in Turku (a) (Appx. 3: 15), and an axe found under the altar of the 15th-century Kalanti (a) Church (Appx. 3: 61).

The medieval buildings whose function it was possible to discern are shown in Figure 23. Archaeologists are often careful about discussing the possible function of fragmentary building remains, and this tendency is visible here as well: only 12 of the 25 medieval buildings with concealments have an interpretation about their possible function. Most

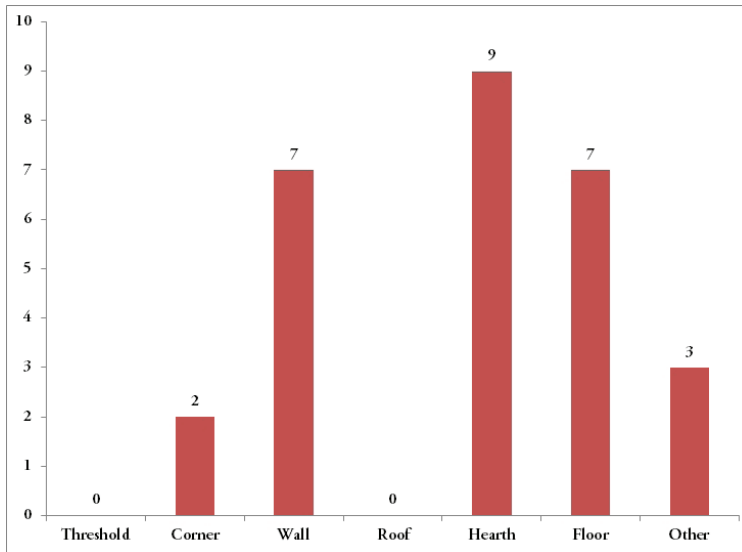


Fig. 22. Locations of medieval finds in the material (n=28).

were interpreted as residences unless located in easily distinguishable ecclesiastical contexts. There is also one smithy in the material, which was excavated archaeologically in Vantaa (c) in 2010. A pit lined with charcoal and filled with clay and 1022.8 g of slag was discovered under the hearth/furnace of the smithy remains. The pit was interpreted as possibly being a foundation structure of the furnace (Appx. 3: 116).

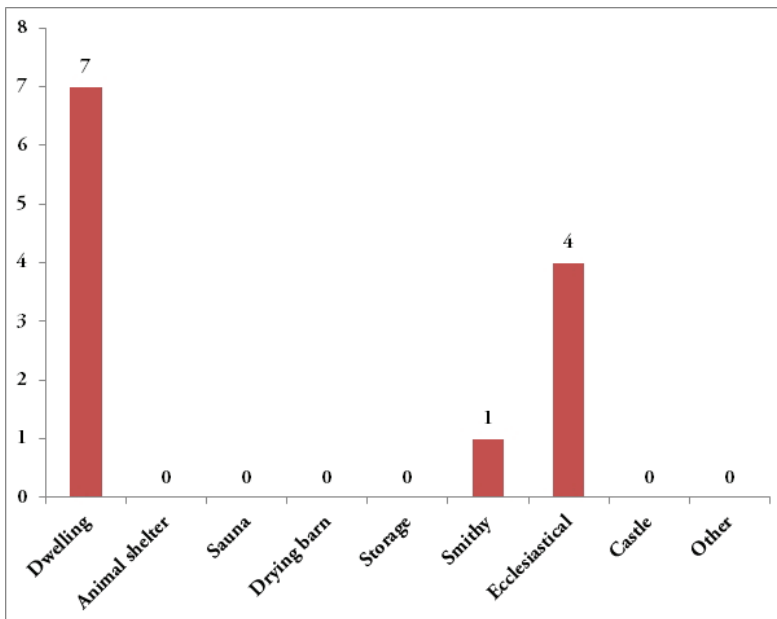


Fig. 23. Buildings occurring in the medieval find material (n=12).

8.5 COMBINING EVIDENCE ON LOCATIONS

When comparing the locations mentioned in the sources, there is a striking difference in terms of the threshold: this most common location in the folklore material occurs only sporadically in the find material. This is likely at least partly due to preservation issues and the research situation (discussed below in Chapter 9.3). There is only one find from a threshold location from the early modern period and none from the medieval period, but the oldest trial case ([å] Åland 1552) involves a threshold. As pointed out above, the roof is unrepresented in the older find materials because of the nature of the building remains. In all three periods, the wall, hearth, and floor are the most commonly occurring locations. Thus, the second most common location in the folklore, the corner, is not well-represented in the finds. This is possibly due to documentation issues as well. As was shown above in Chapter 3, the patterns of locations also differ greatly when only the late modern material is compared to the folklore (Fig. 2, page 20). This comparison was used to illustrate the qualitative differences of the materials: Since the materials are approximately of the same period, the pattern should have been similar if the materials were equally representative.

The folklore hints that, when specified, the northern direction was favoured when choosing the location for a concealment. However, when analysing points of the compass in the find material (where documented), it is apparent that, with one exception, there are no significant preferences (Fig. 24): Even though north-east, south, and south-east occur most often the other directions do not fall far behind. The exception is west: only two finds have been documented in that direction. This matches the folklore, which has only one case of a location in a western point (for a maleficent concealment). Moreover, both of these finds concern the western part of a hearth: a piece of a worn grindstone was discovered in the western corner of a late modern hearth foundation during archaeological excavations at the Klaukkala Gunnari village site in Nurmijärvi (c) in 2008 (Appx. 3: 103) and two sets of three whetstones (or pieces of raw material) were found in the middle and

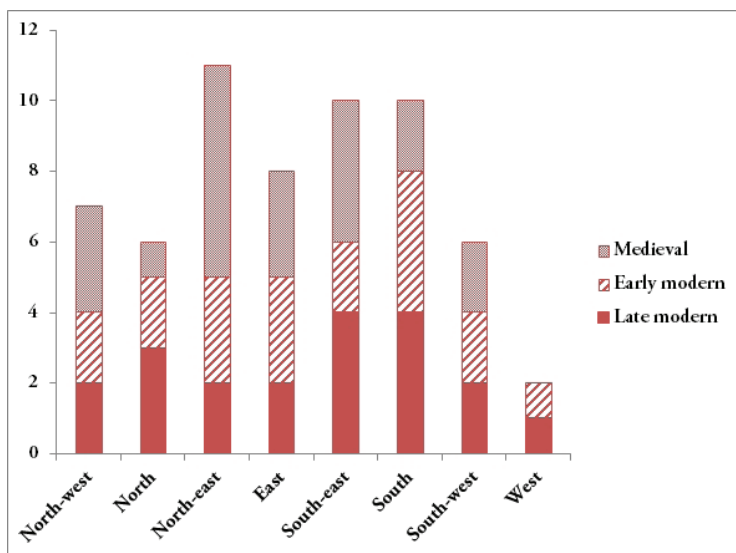


Fig. 24. Compass-point locations documented in concealments in the find material (n=60).

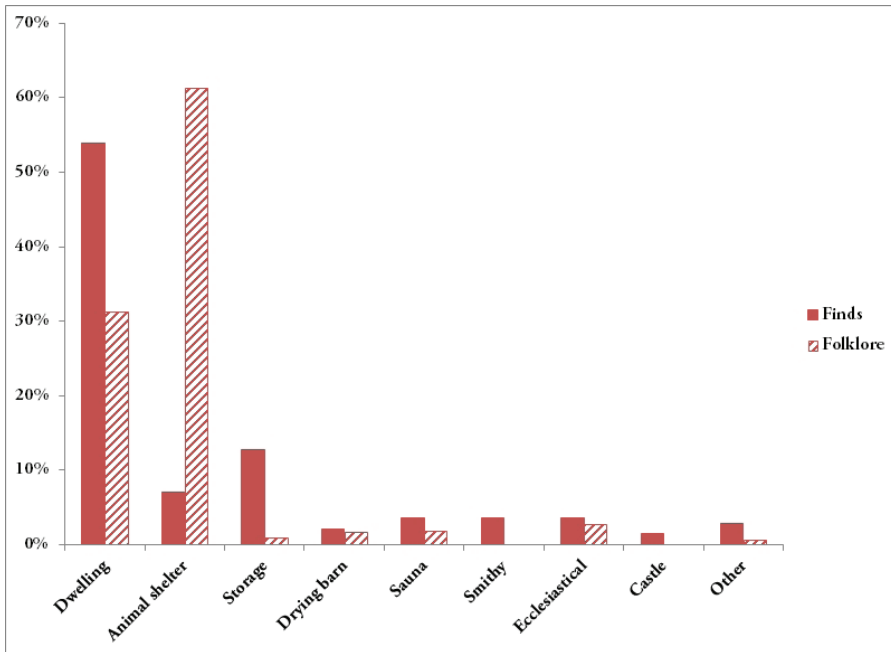


Fig. 25. Buildings with concealments in finds (n=141) and folklore (n=723) as percentage of buildings in each material.

western sides of an early modern hearth foundation during an archaeological excavation in Turku (a) in 2012 (Appx. 3: 56).

A comparison of the folklore and buildings with a clearly identified function in the physical finds shows one remarkable difference: while animal shelters predominate in the folklore, dwellings stand out in the find material. In Figure 25, the chronological information of finds is ignored; to make the patterns more comparable, the quantities are shown as a percentage of the identified buildings in each material. Furthermore, the difference in sample sizes should not be forgotten. Since dwellings are also common in the folklore, the main difference in the materials is in the popularity of animal shelters.

The functions of buildings where only the lowest layers have remained, sometimes in a highly decomposed condition, are not easy to interpret. Still, the low number of animal shelters seems to correlate with the low number of threshold finds. As shown in Chapter 9.2 there is in fact a connection between the two. The difference in the folklore and find materials may be based on a combination of two factors: animal shelters (or the part of them where the threshold was) may not have coincided with excavation areas and threshold concealments may have consisted of materials not easily preserved and thus not observed in the archaeological record (see Chapter 9.3). Additional evidence is needed to assess whether a preference for placing concealments in the threshold was connected specifically with animal shelters over the whole historical period, but in light of the folklore this connection should be present at least in the late modern period.

As noted above in Chapter 5.3, different types of structures (i.e. log buildings versus masonry buildings) may be a cause for differences in the concealment patterns. This is perhaps most visible in churches, where structures (like pillars) not present in farm buildings also contained concealments. Nonetheless, when analysing the physical finds ma-

terial, where many concealments in town contexts are found in masonry buildings, no remarkable differences in the concealment locations were observed. For example, while concealments inside walls in log buildings were placed between timbers or inside a drilled hole, in a masonry building they could be between stone or brick layers or inside walled-up niches. Structurally complex buildings could include concealments between floors, in staircase structures, or in connection to chimneys, as has been noted elsewhere in Europe. However, except for the 17th-century cellar staircase in Turku (Appx. 3: 45–46) and two mentions of a “thunderbolt” by the chimney (Appx. 3: 2; 214), there are no such finds in the material of this study.

CHAPTER 9

MEANINGS AND PATTERNS

9.1 MEANINGS IN THE FOLKLORE

When a new house is built, one should put a coin under the joint of the ridge beam, so the house will have good luck and favourable guardian spirits (FLS FA. [I] Rantsila. 1954. Raili Hyvärinen 352).

In addition to the objects themselves and their locations, folklore accounts quoted in this study reveal reasons why concealments were made. Such information is included in 616 of the 775 folklore accounts included in the database. Some of these accounts offer multiple explanations, and the total number of reasons for making concealments is 710. Categorizing these again caused some problems, and it was necessary to find a balance between *emic* and *etic* types of understanding. The various meanings of the concealments given in the folklore are shown in Figure 26.

The most commonly occurring meaning (in 32% of the accounts including such information) is protection against some sort of evil (so-called apotropaic practices). More than half (59%) of these are specified as protection against witchcraft and witches (*noita, kade, trulli*) (see Fig. 27). Other specified concerns are the “night hag” and the evil eye. Though

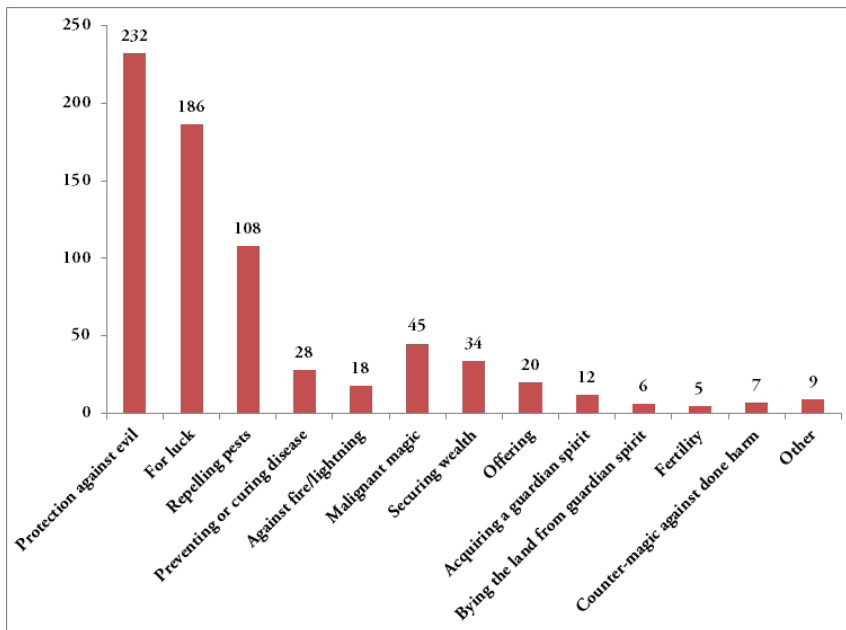


Fig. 26. Meanings given to the concealments in the Finnish folklore (n=710).

related to witchcraft, the evil eye can also be regarded as its own phenomenon (see Chapter 11.3, as well as e.g. Vuorela 1960; Dundes 1992). The night hag (*painajainen, mara*), also known as “the Old Hag” or “Nightmare”, was often believed to actually be a witch or sent by a witch (see above in Chapter 10.3). Thus, protection against witchcraft served to ward in both cases. In 11% of the accounts in the “protection against evil” category, the type of evil is not explicitly specified, although four of these accounts use words that are connected to the Devil or some other malevolent spirit (*riena, riivö, pahahenki, rietas henki*). Three accounts that are directed against forest predators are also included in the category of protection against evil. This choice was influenced by the *emic* belief that forest predators preying on livestock and people were often summoned by a witch (see e.g. Stark 2006: 55).

Following explanations that clearly pertained to protection against evil, the second most common reason (26%) for concealment was to make the building “lucky” (Fig. 26). As discussed above in Chapter 5.2, “luck” is an important aspect of Finnish folk religion. Since luck was something that could be stolen or spoiled by witchcraft, this category can also be seen in terms of protection against evil. On the other hand, good luck was connected with the guardian spirits of the building. At this point, it is kept separate, and the connection between luck, guardian spirits, and apotropaic practices is discussed below in Chapter 10.

The third most common type of reason is repelling pests (15%). This includes accounts similar to the example quoted above in Chapter 7.1, where the horse skull in the hearth foundation was believed to be able to repel cockroaches. The specific pests mentioned are bed bugs, fleas, lice, cockroaches, house crickets, rats, and mice. Of these, especially bed bugs and cockroaches were prevented by means of concealments. The practices directed against diseases (4%) concern either illnesses of the livestock or scabies (*syhy*). The most often identified disease is the horse illness known as strangles (*pääntauti*). A small group of concealments, also belonging to the larger category of protective practices, were made as protection against fire and lightning (3%). This group is identified separately, since concern for fire could be expected in a culture where most buildings were made of wood.

The aforementioned categories of reasons for concealment are more or less subsumed under the larger umbrella of protective practices. However, the “malignant magic” category

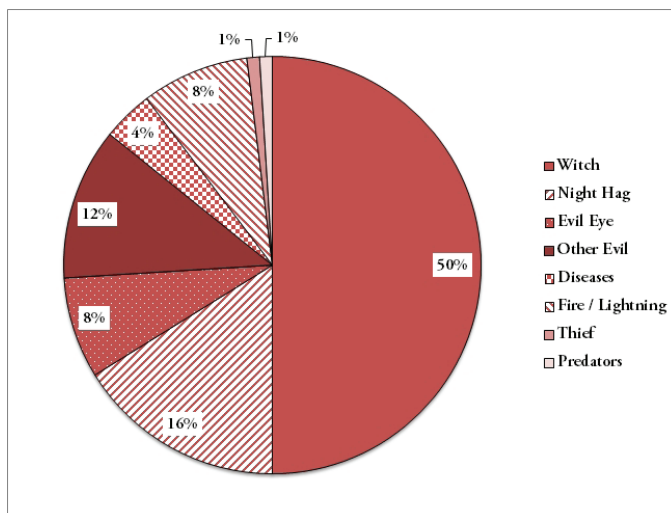


Fig. 27. Concerns that have been prevented with an apotropaic concealment as a percentage of accounts including such information (n=204).

(6%) stands out as its own distinct group. These concealments were made with the intention of spoiling another person's luck or otherwise causing illness and harm, even death. A significant difference between this category and all of the other categories is that these concealments were made in a neighbour's building, while the others were made in one's own buildings.

In 5% of the accounts, the concealment was made for the purpose of securing wealth. In all but one of these cases, the object concealed was a coin (or several coins), which appeared to act as a "nest egg" so the household would never be short of money. The one differing account concerns concealing bread with a drop of mercury between the first and second timber layers of the dwelling's wall so the household would never be short of bread (FLS FA. [i] Impilahti. 1935. A. V. Rantasalo 441). However, as discussed in Chapter 10, the meaning of securing wealth is also closely connected with the next group of practices directed at communicating with guardian spirits.

As mentioned at the beginning of this study (e.g. Chapter 4), making an offering or sacrifice was seen in earlier research as the main meaning of building concealments. In this study, accounts which either explain the meaning of the concealment as an offering (*uhri*) or as a gift/compensation are included in this category (3%). It should be noted that no accounts in the material use words that could be translated as "gift", but some specify the recipient in this manner: "When a new building is made, coins are put in the corner-joint for the guardian spirit" (FLS FA. [b] Viljakkala. 1935. Martti Marttinen 3043; Haavio 1942, 66). Another important point in this connection is that the use of the word "offering" is not as strictly defined as in scholarly language. The nature of the offering may be hard to distinguish in an example like this:

When a cowshed was built, an offering was made; for example, mercury was put under one corner when the cowshed was wished to be protected from the envy of others ([d] Lampi; SKMT IV, 1: I 249 §).

In cases like the example above, it is also possible that the informant was influenced by the collector's use of vocabulary in his/her questions. The collector's guide *Taikanuotta* does give as one point of interest "offerings made when building" (*uhrit rakennettaissa*) (Mustonen 1936: 6). Excluding all accounts where the meaning of the word "offering" is not clear, only twelve accounts (2%) have a definite meaning of the concealment as a gift to an otherworldly being (see Chapter 2 and the discussion in Appendix 1). The being in question is always either the guardian spirit of the earth or the building. However, these are not the only accounts where the concealment is part of communication with guardian spirits. In twelve accounts, the concealment is made in order to acquire a good (instead of an ill-tempered) guardian spirit for the building, and in six accounts the piece of earth needed for the building is bought from the guardian spirit with a coin concealment. Combined with offerings, these form a "communication with guardian spirits" category, which covers 6% of all the accounts that include information on the reasons for concealment.

"Fertility" is among the less frequently occurring reasons, as only five accounts include it. This category is shown here primarily since some studies on prehistoric building concealments discuss fertility as one important aspect (e.g. Westberg 2003: 19–21; Carlie 2004: 192), but Figure 26 shows it does not play a visible role in this particular material. However, because fertility may well have been included within luck, the matter is not quite that simple. It should be noted that all five accounts here involve fertility of livestock (especially sheep).

The last reason, shown in Figure 26 as its own category, is “counter-magic against witchcraft”. The seven accounts in this group involve concealments made as part of a ritual performed when misfortune was believed to have been caused by magic. Most of these belong to the phenomenon of “sending back the dog”, discussed by Stark. These rituals were often performed by ritual specialists (“cunning folk”; *tietäjä*) asked for help in directing malicious magic back at its original sender (Stark 2006: 180–186). Thus, while the magic in the protective category is pre-emptive, the practices in this group are reactive.

Only nine meanings mentioned in the accounts do not fit neatly into the categories discussed above. Three of these concealments were made to ensure that the building would be warm and two were made so that it would remain clean (or pure?; *puhdas*). One account about a small bottle of mercury in the threshold of a cowshed explains that it helps cattle come home in the evening ([k] Närpes; FSFD VII, 3: III C 1, 2). This may comprise a type of protection against witchcraft causing “forest cover”, where livestock (or people) unnaturally become lost in the forest (see Stark 2006: 357–380); that bewitching could also be caused by the forest’s otherworldly agents (see Stark 2002: 111–117). One account explains that human bones put into the foundation or wall of a building will make anything that the actor wants happen in the building (FLS FA. [b] Nakkila, Leistilä. 1936. Porin tyttölyseo, Helmi Bärlund 4048). It is likely that this manipulation is an example of malicious magic, but that is not explicit.

One account from Lapland is exceptional, since it tells that copper coins wrapped in a leaf of a psalm book concealed in the roof construction ensures that religious gatherings will be held in the house (FLS FA. [n] Kittilä. 1949. Päiviö Alaranta 441). It is likely that the informant (an 83-year-old man) was influenced by local sectarian religiousness (i.e. the Lutheran revival movement of Laestadianism). This is an example of how elements of folk religion may be adapted for a worldview in which these elements may seem surprising (see the discussion in Appendix 1). In the remaining account in this category, a small bottle with mercury found under the threshold of a stable is simply mentioned as being “magic” (*taika*) (FLS FA. [c] Mäntsälä, Sääksjärvi. 1961. Ritva Junttila TK 27:31).

When looking at the percentages of the different categories, it can be seen that the three largest categories comprise nearly three quarters (73%) of the total. Even though concealments may be made for various reasons, protection against evil, ensuring good luck, and repelling pests are the most important ones in the Finnish folklore material. Quoting one account, the foremost concern was “protection against the evil of neighbours and strangers” ([b] Pyhäranta; SKMT IV, 3: I 291 b). Since questions in the collectors’ guide booklet (Mustonen 1936; see Chapter 3) did not especially focus on protection against evil, but more on offerings and repelling pests, this result is quite interesting.

Of the folklore accounts, 63% (478 items) include information on when in the building’s life the described concealment should be made: concealment rituals can be roughly divided into foundation rituals and rituals made later during the use of the building. The latter can include “crisis rituals”, annual rituals, and sometimes also ill-willing concealments. Figure 28 shows the proportion of different types of rituals apparent in this material. Foundation rituals made during the initial building stages or before the building was taken into use clearly predominate. Concealments made when building a new hearth are also included in this category, even though a new hearth could be built in an old building as well as a new one.

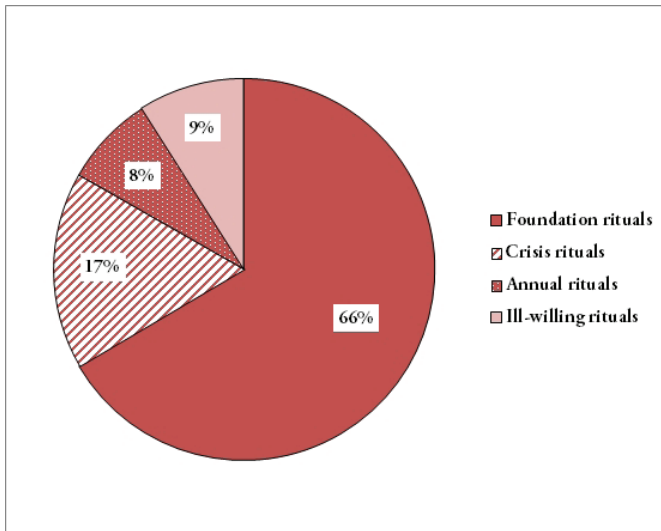


Fig. 28. Proportion of different types of ritual in the folklore material (n=478).

9.2 PATTERNS IN THE FOLKLORE

The extensive body of folklore material shows evidence of recurring patterns that point to regional traditions, as well as correlations between choices of object, location, building, and meanings. An analysis of these patterns reveals that the act of concealing is a complex whole, where focusing on only one aspect gives a very partial understanding. As mentioned above in Chapter 3.1, patterns found in scant data can also appear due to bias in the material. Thus, extra attention is paid to the possibility that patterns may not represent the actual situation. In some cases, however, it is highly likely that apparent patterns have a correlation with reality, and it is thus justified to point them out.

Relationships between choices of object, location, building, and meanings

As shown above (Fig. 17), the three most commonly mentioned buildings in the folklore material are the residence, the cowshed, and the stable. When the concealment locations mentioned are divided into these three building types, it can be seen that some locations are more common in some buildings. This is illustrated in Figure 29.

In the folklore material, the threshold shows a clear connection with the cowshed. This location is also the most common one for the stable, but it is not as popular in the residence. Of the other buildings not shown in Figure 29, the threshold is also the most frequently occurring location in the drying barn. It is also popular in other types of animal shelters, as well as in the sauna. However, these other buildings occur in such small numbers in the material that it is risky to draw generalizations from them. This is why they are excluded from Figure 29 (the complete data is found in Appendix 4.1).

To make the location preference in different buildings more comparable, Figure 30 shows it as a percentage of the accounts concerning each building. When viewed from this perspective, the difference between the cowshed and stable is less pronounced. However, a small difference can be seen that was not visible in Figure 29: stables have more concealments under the floor or in other locations than cowsheds. Most of the other locations in the stable are connected to the feeding trough. It is still clear that threshold concealments

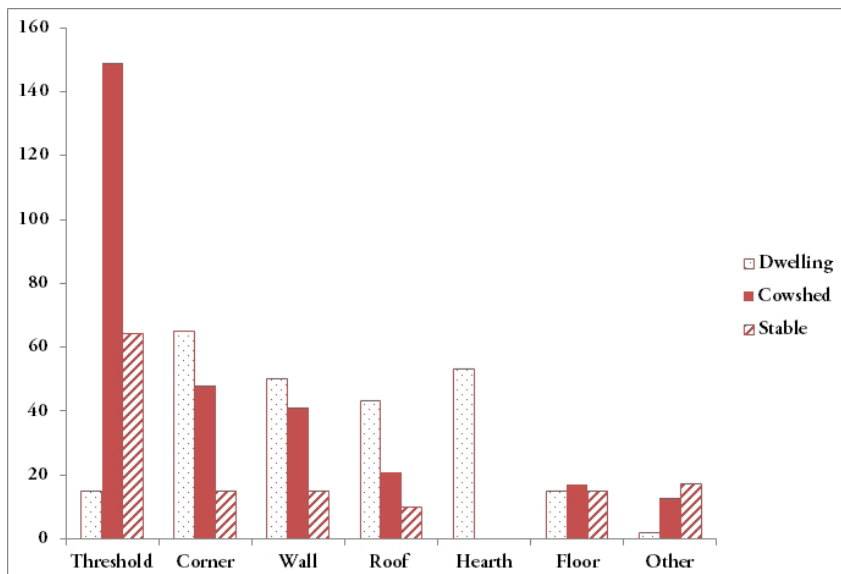


Fig. 29. Relationship between the three most common building types and concealment locations mentioned in Finnish folklore (n=668). Complete data in table form is available in Appx. 4. 1.

are especially connected with animal shelters, while concealments in residences are concentrated in corners, hearths, walls, and the roof.

The corner is the most common location in residences, followed closely by the hearth. The importance of corners is visible in the cowshed and stable as well. All of the building types shown above in Figure 17 (Chapter 8.1) also have some examples of a concealment in a corner. In fact, the locations of corner, wall, roof, and floor do not show a specific connection with any particular building type, even though small differences are present. The hearth is a special location, since not all buildings had this structure, but it was a very common choice for concealments in residences and saunas (in the latter the hearth occurs in 8 of 13 cases, or 62% of the time). However, the third building type to have a hearth, the drying barn, does not show any concealments here in this material. In both cases where the building is a cooking shed the concealment situates in the hearth.

The most examples of the “other locations” category appear in churches. This is understandable for two reasons: first, churches are structurally different from ordinary farm buildings, and secondly, the folklore involving concealments in churches differs slightly from folklore involving farm buildings. Accounts about farm buildings have examples of concealments made in connection both to the building work and to practices made while the building is standing (see Chapter 10.4). Churches were not built as often as farm buildings, so folklore about concealments made while building churches is less common. Thus, the folklore about churches primarily involves concealments made in a finished structure (see Chapter 12.3).

Furthermore, when looking at the relationships between object types and locations, some interesting points are apparent. Figure 31 shows the relationships between the three most common objects and the choices of locations in the buildings. As discussed above, the three most commonly concealed objects in the folklore are mercury, coins, and animal

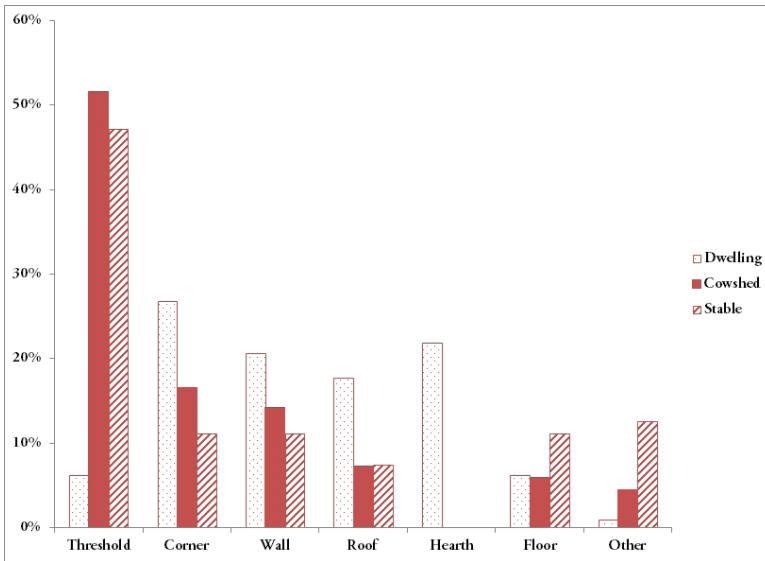


Fig. 30. Locations chosen in the three most commonly mentioned buildings in the folklore as a percentage of accounts mentioning the building in question (n=668).

remains. Since this third group is heterogeneous, it is divided below into subgroups in Figure 32. The pattern formed when this group is undivided is shown in Figure 31.

There is a visible connection between the threshold and mercury, while coins are most common in corners or the roof construction. Animal remains are most often connected to the hearth. It is also interesting to note that walls do not show a particular preference for any one of these three object types. The floor is a location that shows a slightly larger number of animal remains than the other two object types. When looking at the “animal remains” group a bit closer, it is apparent that its strong correlation with the hearth is based on one particular subgroup: horse skulls (Fig. 32).

If horse skulls are excluded, the animal remains are more evenly spread across the locations of hearth, floor, and wall. Remains of snakes stand out as having a pattern with the threshold and walls, as well as the hearth (see also Hukantaival 2013b), while whole animals are most often concealed under the floor. It should be noted that the subcategory of whole animals not only includes domestic animals (e.g. cats, sheep, and dogs), but also small, wild mammals (hares, stoats, shrews, and bats), wild birds (western capercaillies, cranes, white-throated dippers) and fish (pike) (see Fig. 15 in Chapter 7.5). The only whole animal in the threshold location is a pike, and the only two in the roof construction are bats.

When divided into its subcategories, the “animal remains” category is already a very limited body of material, and thus the patterns visible here should be considered with caution. This is also the case with the objects from the other categories; the material is so scarce that patterns may be random. The locations of these other object types can be seen in Appendix 4.2. However, one pattern appearing in the material that is likely to correlate with reality is sulphur, arsenic, and asafoetida sharing a connection with the threshold, similar to mercury.

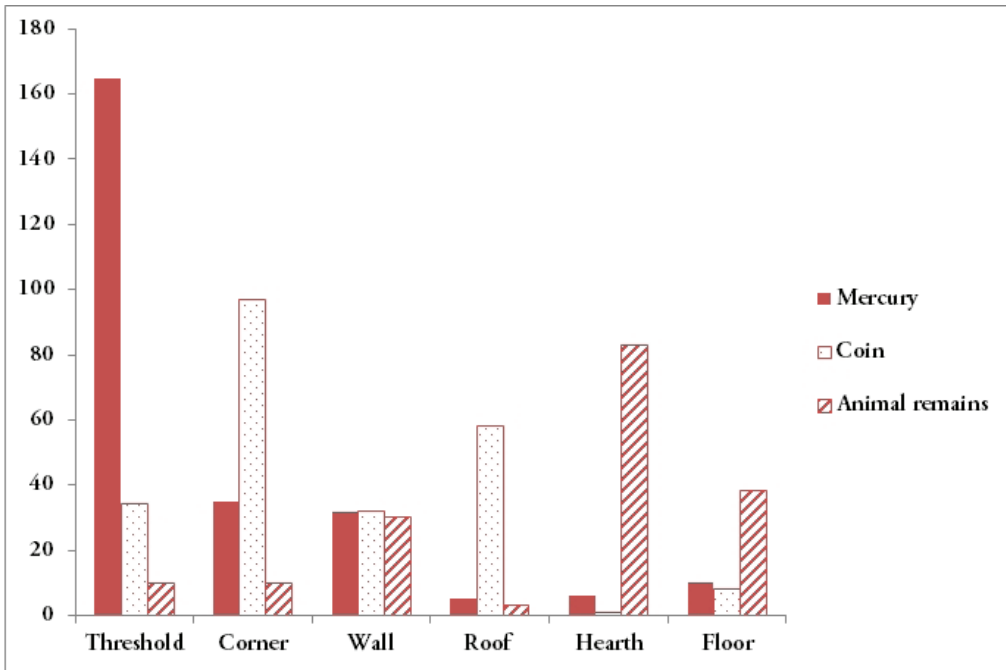


Fig. 31. Relationships between the three most common types of objects and choices of locations in the folklore (n=657).

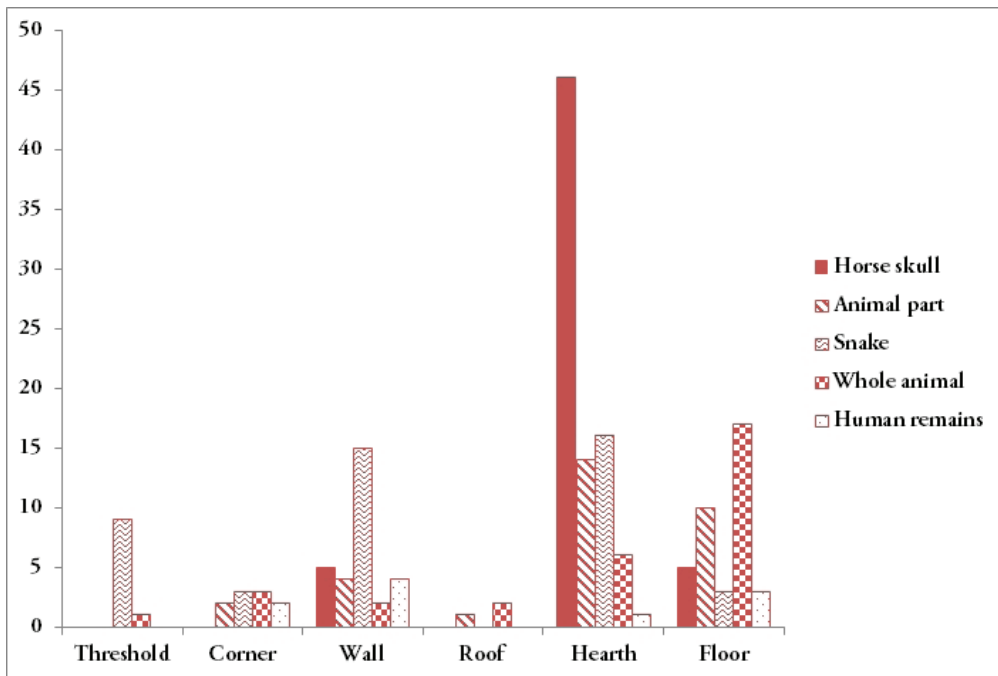


Fig. 32. Relationships between the subcategories within the “animal remains” group and locations in the building in the folklore (n=174).

The meanings of the concealments are also connected with the type of building, the location in the building, and the object in question. The relationships between meanings and locations are shown in Figure 33. When keeping in mind the connections shown above between location and type of building (Fig. 29), as well as location and type of object (Figs. 31–32), some inferences about the correlation between these aspects and meanings can also be made. This matter is discussed further below after discussing the relationships shown in Figure 33.

In Figure 33, the meanings are grouped into somewhat broader units than above in Figure 26: Protective magic against evil, misfortune, and disease are collected into the same category; and offerings are combined together with other ways of interacting with guardian spirits. The very tiny groups of fertility and counter-magic are excluded (for complete data, see Appx. 4.3).

Figure 33 shows a clear connection between the threshold and protective magic. A concealment for luck is also often connected with the threshold, while other meanings are sporadic. The connection between luck and protective magic was briefly mentioned above (see also Chapter 10). Another clear relationship is between the hearth and repelling of pests. The differences in other locations are smaller, even though some correlations are visible here as well. Malicious practices differ slightly from benevolent ones, since those concealments were made secretly and often while the building was already standing. Any accessible location was possible, however, and it is likely that the lack of malicious concealments in the hearth is at least partly due to reasons of accessibility.

When the locations of the explicit foundation rituals are analysed (see Fig. 34), corners stand out most strongly. This connection is even greater when compared to the other types of rituals, which are more seldom mentioned in relation to corners. While foundation rituals are also often connected to thresholds, walls, hearths, and the roof, thresholds and walls in particular were chosen for other types of rituals. Floors and “other” locations were

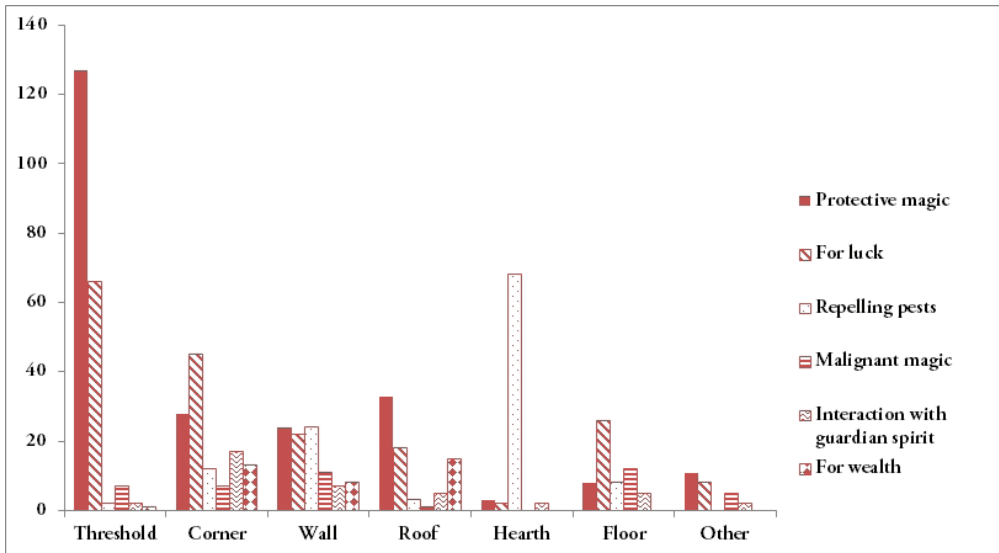


Fig. 33. Relationship between the choice of location and the meaning of the concealment in the folklore (n=658). Complete data in table form is available in Appx. 4.3.

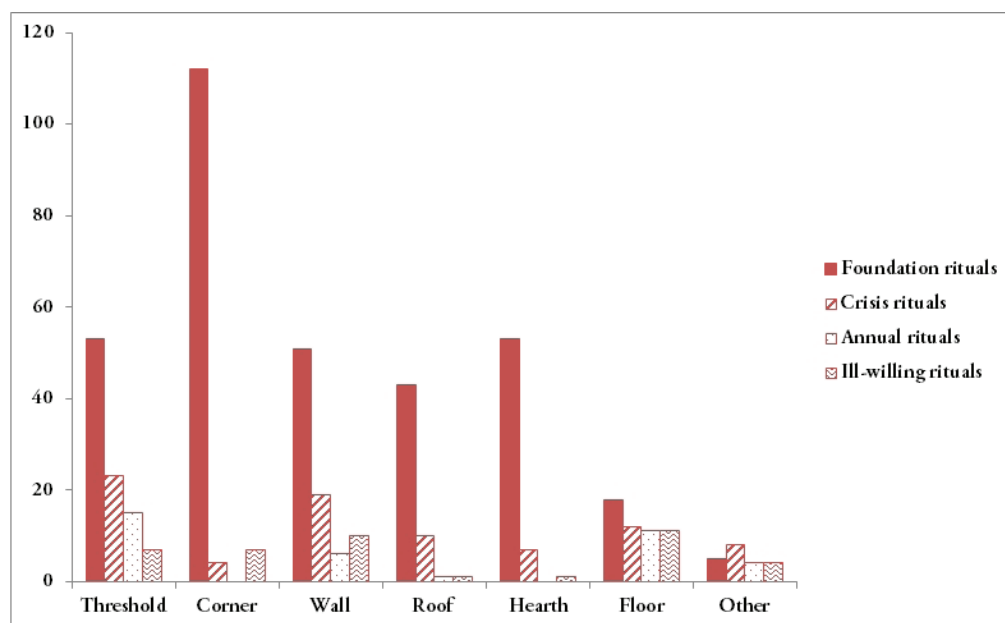


Fig. 34. Correlation of different types of rituals with locations in the folklore material (n=496).

also used for all types of rituals. Concealments made as part of crisis rituals were most often put in accessible places, such as a drilled hole in the threshold or cracks in the walls.

The relationships between types of objects and meanings of the concealments are presented in Figure 35. For easier comparability, the figure shows the relationships as a percentage of each concerned object type. Here it can be seen that even though mercury (n=209) has an apparent connection with protective magic, other meanings (especially luck) may still occur as well. The same must be noted about the relationship between animal remains and repelling pests. Coins (n=167) have a noticeable connection with luck, protection, wealth, and good relations with guardian spirits. Artefacts (n=38) generally seem to be part of protective magic, thus this is not only the case with sharp, metal ones (n=23). Human remains (n=9) differ from the other types of objects, since the material (albeit limited) shows them mainly in connection with malicious use. The only case in which human remains have a protective function involves a human hand (*ruumiinkoura*) in the foundation of the hearth in a smithy (quoted below in Chapter 10.2; FLS FA. [k] Perho. 1930. Samuli & Jenny Paulaharju 13042).

Regional aspects of the folklore material

In addition to the general patterns presented above, some regional characteristics are evident within the Finnish folklore material. However, the data presented here should not be seen as displaying the actual distribution of the practices. The maps and graphs merely show where the folklore in the material of this study has been collected, and thus they give an idea of where these practices were definitely known at the time of the collection of the folklore (see Sarmela 2009: 15).

Maps of the areas where accounts of the three most common object types (mercury, coins, and horse skulls) and snakes have been collected are presented below. Again, patterns

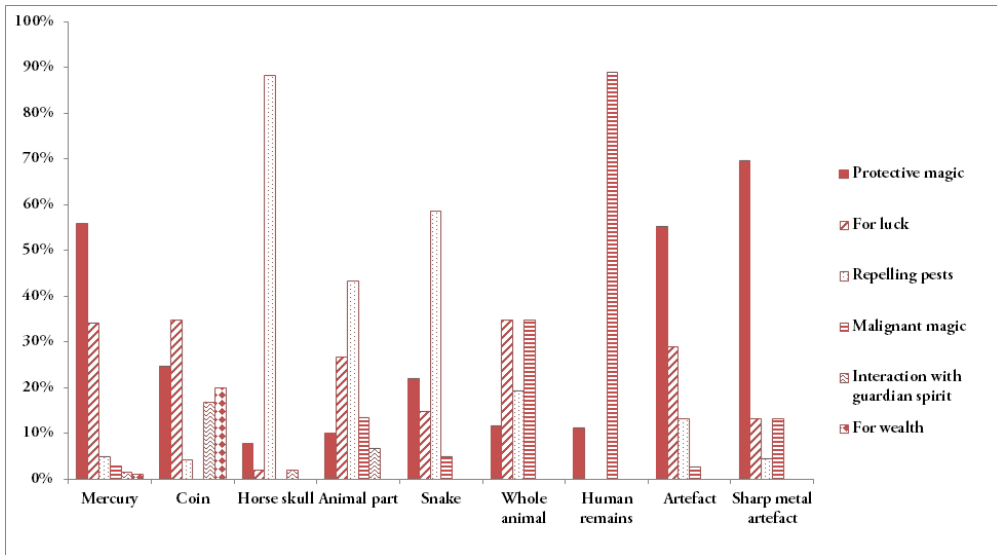


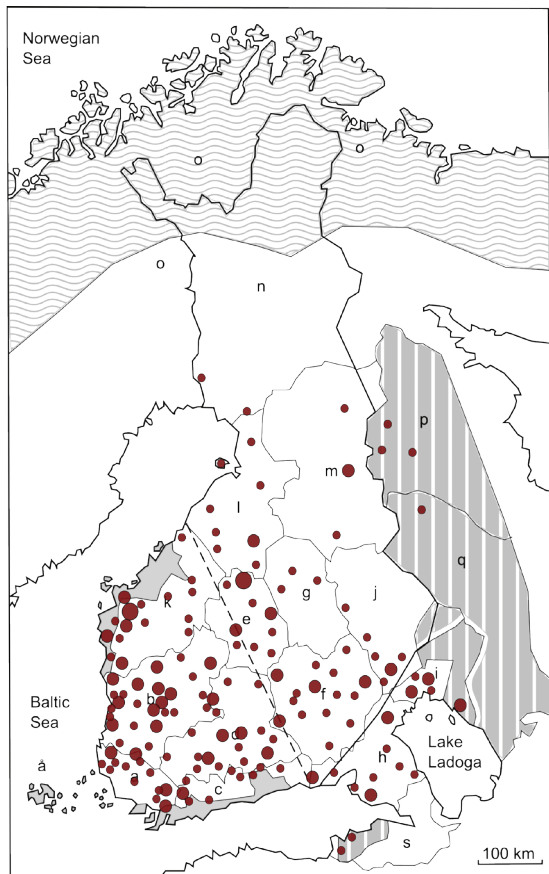
Fig. 35. Relationship between types of objects and meanings of concealments in the folklore as a percentage of respective object types (n=594). Complete data in table form is available in Appx. 4.4.

formed from the smaller groups are less informative. Of these four maps, the last two (Maps 6–7), showing the locales where accounts of horse skulls and snakes were collected, should be considered with caution for this same reason. The two maps showing the more common types of objects are revealing, but their information should still be compared to the overall number of accounts from different locales in the material (see Fig. 6 above in Chapter 6.1).

Map 4 shows the locales where concealments involving mercury were recorded. A few records only give a more general area as the regional information, so not all locales in the material can be identified specifically. The main impression is that accounts of mercury concealments were recorded mostly in the southern and western parts of the country, and the records get more sporadic when moving to the northeast. There are no accounts of concealments with mercury in the northernmost areas in the material of this study. However, before any interpretations can be made from this pattern, it is important to look at the difference in the amount of material, especially in relation to the size of the areas, from the north and south (see Fig. 36).

The largest number of concealments involving mercury were collected from the Satakunta (b) area. This is also the area where the largest body of accounts was collected overall, and that could be one reason for the pattern. However, Figure 36 shows that the number of records involving mercury does not follow the total amount of records; in other words, the ratio varies. Even though it is possible that this may be partly based on the interests of collectors in specific areas, it is likely that it also at least somewhat reflects reality.

Map 5 shows where accounts concerning coin concealments were collected. The largest number of these were recorded in South Ostrobothnia (k), closely followed by Satakunta (b). The overall picture of Map 5 shows that accounts of coin concealments were collected over a more evenly distributed area than those of the mercury tradition. The northernmost parts of the country are represented here, although its total of accounts is consider-



Map 4. Locomes where folklore accounts of concealments involving mercury (n=248) have been collected, plotted on the base map of cultural areas in 1900 (base map from Sarmela 2009: 661; Sámi areas from Asp 1965: 17, 25).

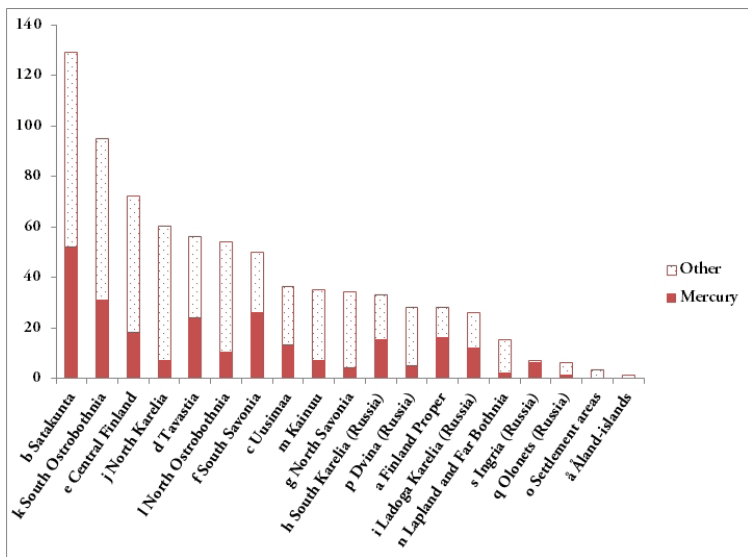
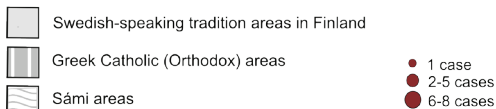


Fig. 36. Portion of folklore accounts involving mercury compared to the overall amount of accounts collected from each culture area.

ably smaller than that of more southern areas. Figure 37 shows the relationship between accounts involving concealed coins and the overall number of accounts from respective culture areas.

A comparison of Maps 3 and 4 gives the impression that there was some regional difference between the traditions of mercury and coin concealments. It seems that coin concealments were known fairly evenly throughout the area, while mercury concealments had a slightly more restricted distribution. Each of these two object types are included in more than 200 accounts. This amount of data gives the pattern some strength, but the less intensive history of collection from the sparsely populated northernmost parts of the country still presents a possible bias.

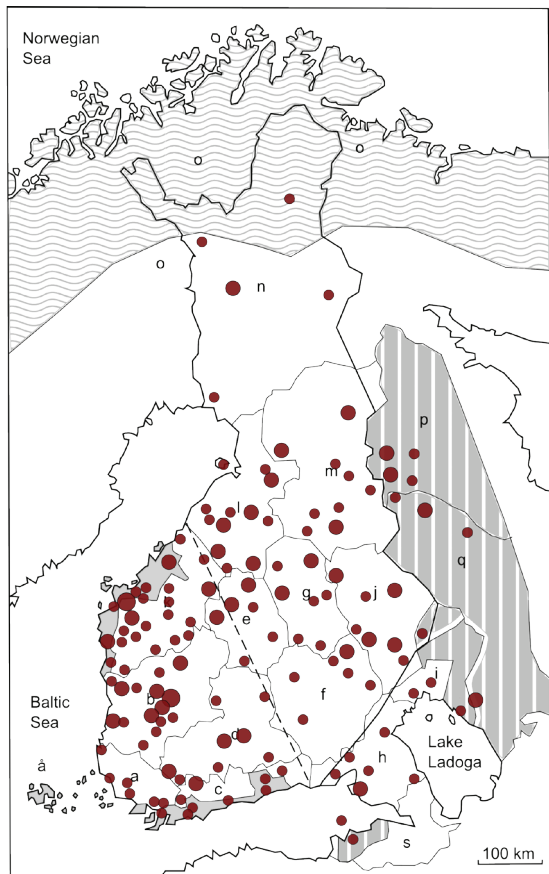
Map 6, which shows where the horse skull accounts were collected, is based on only 55 cases. These seem to point to the tradition being strongest in the western cultural areas of Satakunta (b) and Ostrobothnia (k and l) with an eastward “bridge” through Central Finland (e), North Savonia (g), and North Karelia (j), and further north through Kainuu (m). This reveals that the tradition was certainly well known in these areas at the time when the folklore was collected. However, because it is difficult to evaluate how much of this pattern is caused by the process of collecting, the blank areas on the map should not be stressed too much. The relationship between concealed horse skulls and the overall amount of accounts is shown in Figure 38.

Concealments involving snakes (the whole snake, its head, or skin) are shown on Map 7 (see also Hukantaival 2013b). This material is also relatively small (46 cases), but it shows a fairly even distribution of records from the southern half of the study area and some sporadic accounts from the northern half.

The per capita appearances of the types of objects discussed above in the respective culture areas are shown in Figure 39. Here the culture areas represented by less than 15 accounts (s, q, o, and å) have been left out. The purpose of this illustration is to compare the relative quantity of common object types to each other. The complete data in table form is found in Appendix 4. It is also important to remember that some of the concealments contain several objects together, as seen, for example, in this account recorded in Satakunta in the late 1930s:

In Äijänneva-village, as well as in surrounding areas, it is still customary to put the skull of a horse or cow, with a drop of quicksilver in its eye socket, in the foundation of the dwelling building's hearth. The skull prevents vermin from thriving in the house. Quicksilver is also put in the threshold of the cowshed inside a drilled hole while it is said: "Guard here, Clear-Eye, so the evil eye does not look at my cattle!" The hole is plugged with a wooden plug. (FLS FA. [b] Virrat. 1938. T. E. Maunula 172; informant Onni Tammi, born 1900.)

Even though these types of accounts are uncommon in the material, they still may distort the picture shown in Figure 39. The fact that some of the categories overlap in reality but are separated in the figure reflects that some accounts were counted in more than one group. Thus, the case in the above example was counted in both the “mercury” category and the “horse skull” category. Furthermore, the “other” category shows only those cases where no mercury, coins, horse skulls, or snakes are present. This means that “other” objects that are concealed together with one or several of the aforementioned objects do not appear in this figure at all. The main value of Figure 39 is that it gives an idea of the diversity of concealed object types in respective culture areas in the material. It is evident that the areas of North Karelia (j), North Savonia (g), and Central Finland (e) produced a more



Map 5. Locales where folklore accounts of coin concealments (n=222) were collected, plotted on the base map with cultural areas in 1900 (base map from Sarmela 2009: 661; Sámi areas from Asp 1965: 17, 25).

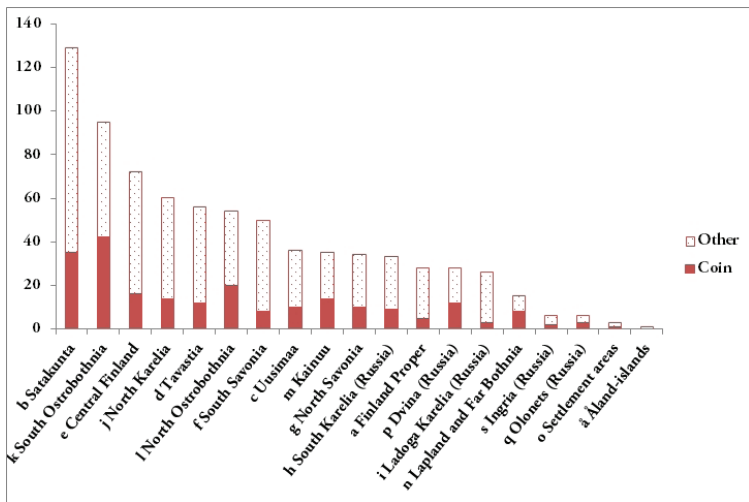
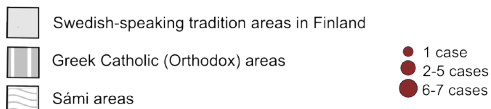


Fig. 37. The portion of folklore accounts involving coins compared to the overall amount of accounts collected from each culture area.

Map 6. Locales where folklore accounts of concealed horse skulls (n=55) were collected, plotted on the base map with cultural areas in 1900 (base map from Sarmela 2009: 661; Sámi areas from Asp 1965: 17, 25).

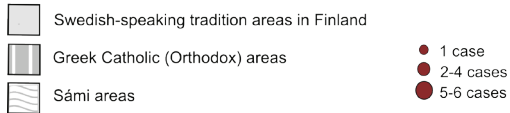
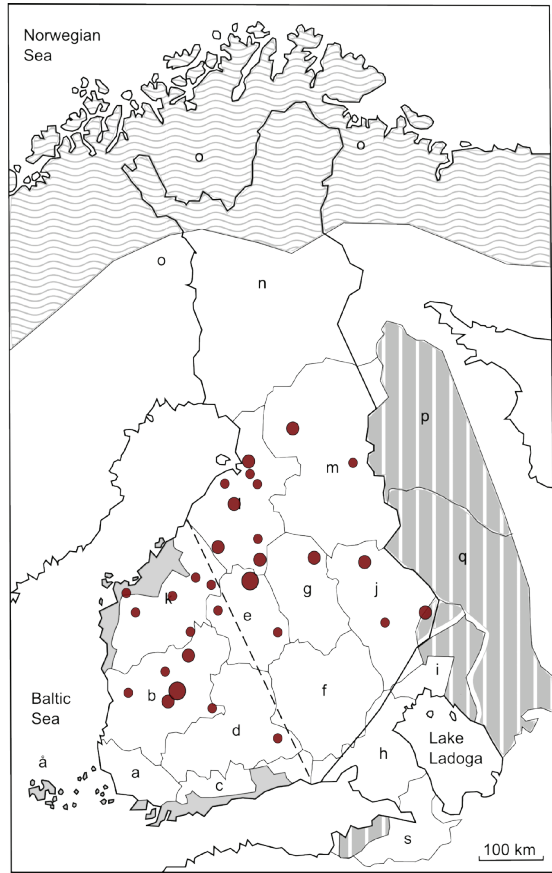
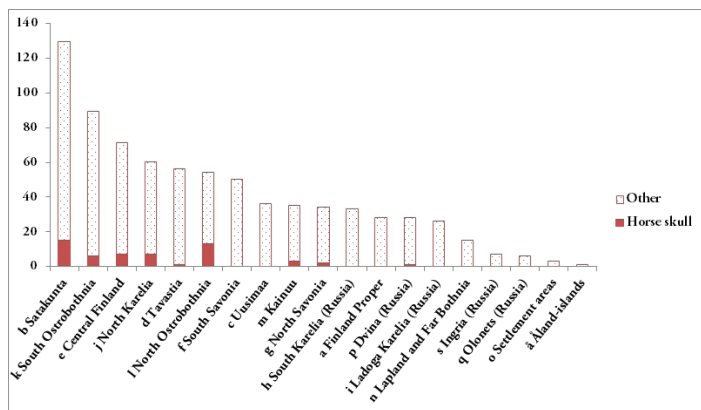
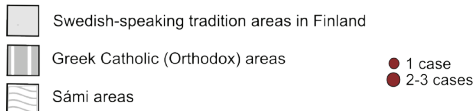
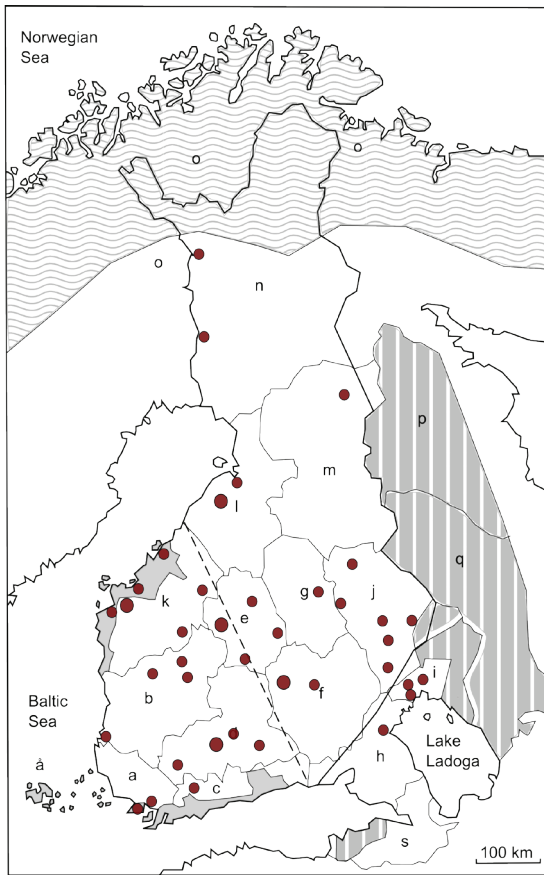


Fig. 38. Portion of folklore accounts involving horse skulls compared to the overall amount of collected accounts from each culture area.





Map 7. Locales where folklore accounts on concealed snake-remains (n=46) were collected, shown on the base map with cultural areas in 1900 (base map from Sarmela 2009: 661; Sámi areas from Asp 1965: 17, 25).

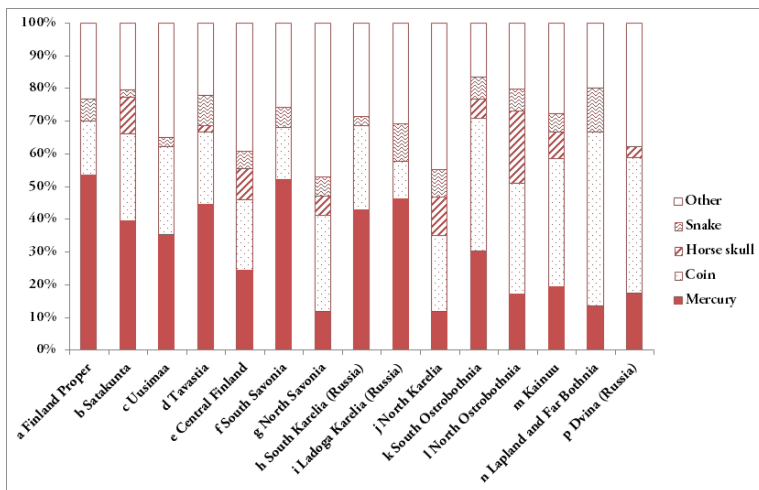


Fig. 39. Per capita appearance of the object types in relation to the total of the folklore accounts from each culture area. Complete data in table form is available in Appx. 4.5.

diverse collection of object types than, for example, Satakunta (b) or South Ostrobothnia (k). Slightly different patterns in different areas are present.

This observation is corroborated when the material is reviewed from the perspective of locations, as shown in Figure 40. Since a remarkable pattern is present in terms of the threshold location, the culture areas in Figure 40 are ordered according to that aspect. As shown above (Fig. 31), certain object types have a correlation with certain locations, so the patterns of Figure 40 can be at least partly anticipated from the patterns of Figure 39. Because this connection is not absolute and exclusive, however, Figure 40 provides additional information.

Figure 40 shows that the threshold as a location for concealment was more important in the western culture areas: Finland Proper (a), Satakunta (b), Uusimaa (c), Tavastia (d), and South Ostrobothnia (k). South Savonia (f) is the only eastern culture area where the threshold stands out. Central Finland (e) seems to be a transition zone, and the location's importance was less in all areas to the east or north. While other location patterns are not as evident in Figure 39, there is a tendency for there to be more emphasis on floor and hearth locations in the areas where thresholds are less significant.

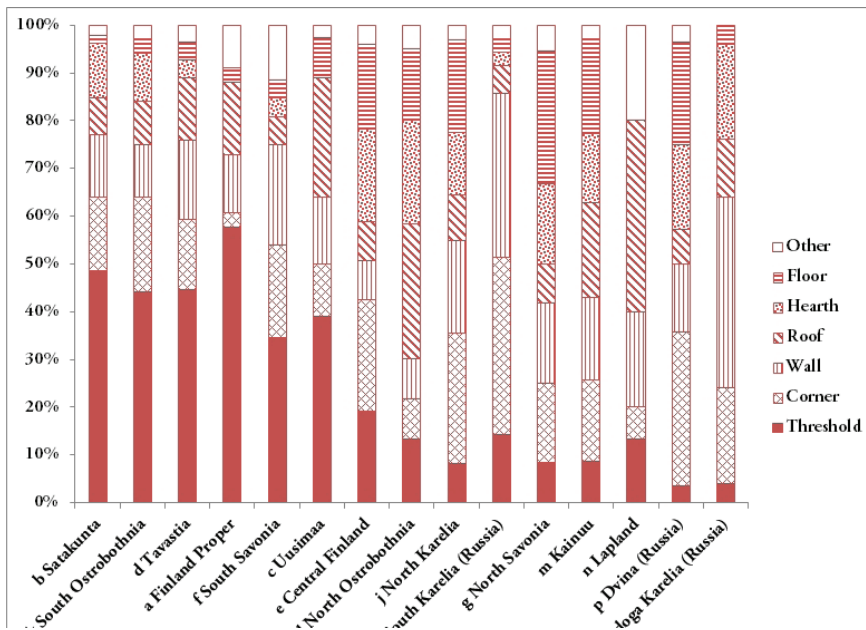


Fig. 40. The percentage that the respective locations contribute to the total of the folklore accounts from each culture area. The areas have been ordered so that the importance of the threshold (based on the actual number of accounts) diminishes from left to right. Complete data in table form is available in Appx. 4.6.

9.3 COMBINING EVIDENCE ON PATTERNS

Mercury, the most common object in the folklore, appears in only two finds. However, the locations of the next most common objects – coins and animal remains – can be compared in terms of the different materials. In the folklore material, the most popular locations for coins are corners and the roof structure; thresholds and walls are also common, but floors – and especially hearth structures – are less popular (see Fig. 31 above). As seen in Figure 41, the physical finds are divided between the locations in a slightly different way. Only one of the coin concealments was discovered in a corner. This late modern case was found during an archaeological excavation in Enontekiö (n) in 2001: two Swedish coins minted in 1760 and 1761 were found between the foundation stones of the south-eastern corner of Markkina Church (Appx. 3: 217). The most common late modern location for coins is the wall, which matches the folklore material.

On first glance at the find material, one might get the impression that, in contrast to the folklore, the hearth was a common location for coins in all periods. However, it is important to note that the evidence consists of only five cases; thus, the finds do not offer any information about the popularity of this location, but only that it has been present in all periods. The reason for the relatively high level of “other” locations is partly due to coin concealments in churches: the late modern concealment of 11 coins under the altar of Kuopio Cathedral (g) (Appx. 3: 164) and the medieval case of six bracteates in the foundation of the baptismal font of Koroinen Church (a) (Appx. 3: 15). The other medieval case is the bracteate found in a posthole in Espoo (c) (Appx. 3: 81). The two early modern cases involve 17th-century coins in connection with a cellar staircase in Turku (a), discussed in detail in Chapter 12.1.

In the folklore, animal remains are concentrated in hearths, floors, and walls. Thresholds, corners, and roof are less frequent (see Fig. 32 above). The physical finds are very con-

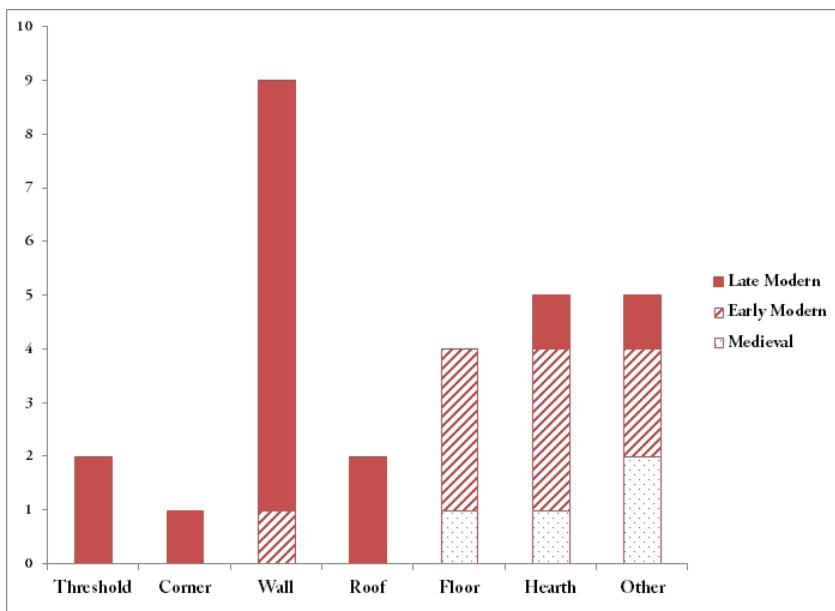


Fig. 41. Locations of coins in the physical finds material (n=27). Compare with folklore shown above in Fig. 31.

sistent with this picture, as can be seen in Figure 42. The hearth and floor locations are present during all periods, and the wall in the post-medieval ones. The threshold, corner, and roof each appear in one case. Cases with other locations are the late modern Rantsila Church (l), with a lamb under the altar (Appx. 3: 208), and the attic filling in Urjala (d) with a split skull of a calf (Appx. 3: 145, Fig. 12 in Chapter 7.2). The hearth location also appears in the historical records: the Ulvila case of 1689 describes concealing a calf's head under the hearth. The other court case where animal remains are concerned involves a white-throated dipper concealed under the steps to the mortuary building in the churchyard (the Saarijärvi 1886 case). Human remains occur most often in wall or floor locations, but overall this material is scant (11 folklore accounts, 2 post-medieval finds, and 1 historical record), so any apparent location pattern can easily be an accident of the data.

As noted above in Chapter 8, a clear difference stands out in the visibility of the threshold in the folklore as opposed to the finds. The relative lack of appearance of this location in the finds may be explained by the fact that in the folklore, the threshold is closely connected with mercury (see Fig. 31 above), which preserves poorly. Mercury (Hg) evaporates slowly at room temperatures (Chemicool 2012a), so if it was concealed without a container, in a decomposable feather quill, or if a bottle were to break, it would be unlikely for any visible mercury remains to be discovered. To evaluate this assumption, the patterns shown in the different materials are compared as a percentage of all respective locations when all cases involving mercury are excluded. I also decided to exclude the other large category that is underrepresented in the find material, namely coins, and the seldom visible roof location. As can be seen in Figure 43, the patterns in choices of location between the different materials evens out as a result of these exclusions, but the difference between the materials in terms of the threshold location is still visible.

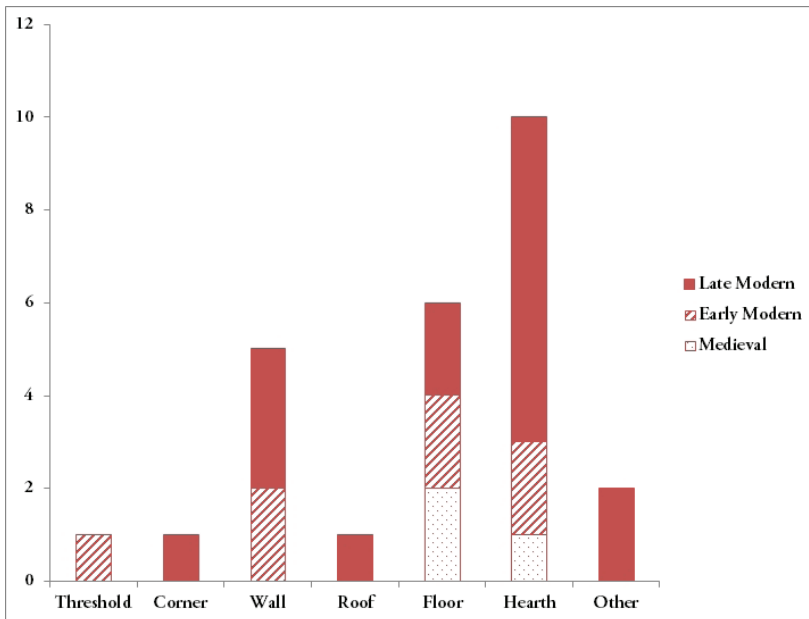


Fig. 42. Locations of animal remains in the physical finds material (n=25). Compare with folklore shown above in Fig. 32.

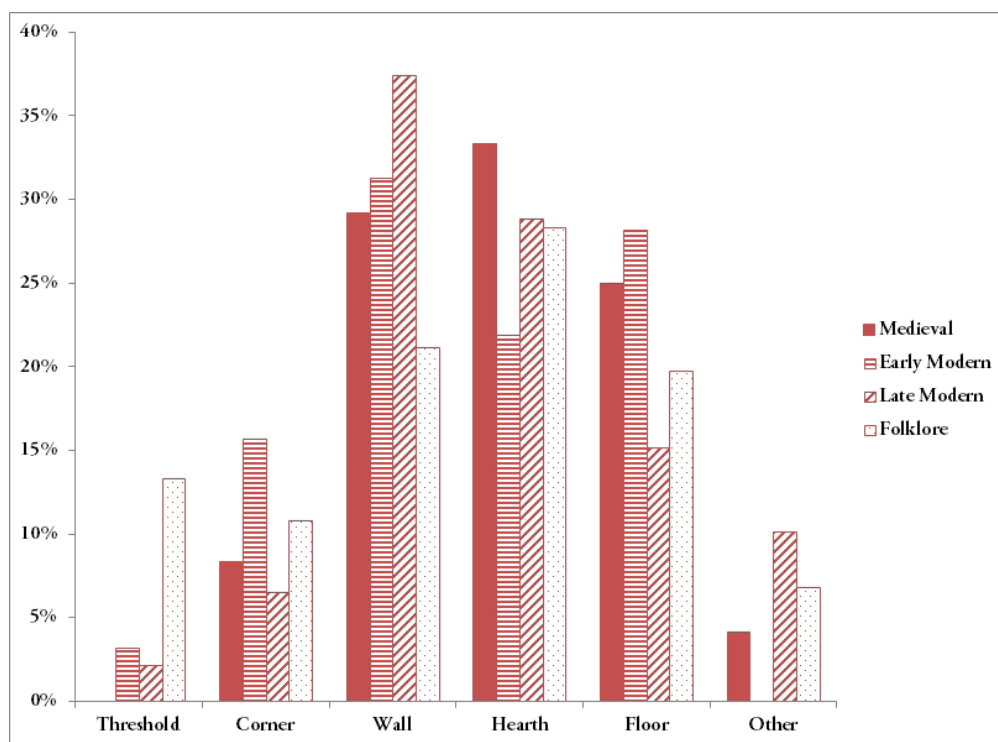


Fig. 43. Patterns formed in the choices of locations in the main materials (folklore $n=279$, finds $n=195$) when cases involving mercury and/or coins are excluded.

Of the 37 remaining folklore cases with a concealment in connection with the threshold, the largest part are made in a cowshed (70%), while only a few cases mention a stable, residence, or drying barn. The object types included in this material are shown in Table 3. As can be seen, some of the objects would be detectable in the archaeological record (if the threshold coincides with the excavation area), while other materials require more special conditions to be preserved and observable to the excavating team. Thus, the observed difference in the threshold location may still be due to formation processes instead of reflecting actual tradition.

Table 3. Objects (excluding mercury and coins) concealed in connection to the threshold in the folklore material.

Object type	Quantity	Detectability in archaeological contexts
Remains of snake	7	Preserved only in favourable conditions
Sulphur	6	Detectable (if large piece)
Sharp metal tool	5	Detectable
Other metal artefact	6	Detectable
Organic remains	5	Preserved only in favourable conditions
“Thunderbolt”	2	Detectable
Magic pouch	2	Preserved only in favourable conditions
Other	4	Depends on material

Part III
Construction

CHAPTER 10

WORLDVIEW OF THE CONCEALMENTS

This chapter focuses on the worldview reflected in the concealment traditions. This aspect has been repeatedly mentioned in the course of the study, but is now examined in more depth. This worldview is most accessible through the late modern folklore material, where the reasons for concealing are often mentioned. Since the physical finds usually lack this type of information, the interpretations must be made on the basis of the appearance (form) of the finds in their locations (see Chapter 12). This brings us back to the problem of the relationship between form and meaning, mentioned above in Chapter 3. In order to test the nature of this relationship, a thorough analysis must be made of the material where both form and meaning are explicit. This is one of the aims of this chapter.

Since a synthesis of the materials has already been initiated, the other sources are not excluded at this point. Instead, observations regarding them are added to the discussion whenever relevant. The different parts of the concealment practices are again first treated separately, in order to be able to focus on their respective complexities. At the end of the chapter, the parts are viewed holistically to present an understanding of the overall picture.

10.1 MEANINGS OF OBJECTS

In Chapter 7, the objects occurring in concealments were discussed from an *etic* point of view based largely on their mundane functions. Here an attempt is made to understand the *emic* classifications that made objects suitable for these practices. This task is not simple, since an explanation why a particular object was believed to be potent is not included in most of the accounts. Some accounts do offer this information, but in many cases the inner logic must be deduced from a wider knowledge of the tradition. First, it is clear that the objects mentioned in this connection do not differ from objects occurring in Finnish folk magic practices in general (see e.g. Sirelius 1906; 1921; Manninen 1933; Vuorela 1960: 39–82; Issakainen 2006; 2012; Piela 2011; and the SKMT series). Although many of these objects were also everyday items, they were believed to possess a specific agency, which was actualized in a ritual context. This agency could manifest itself, for example, in hardness, sharpness, silveriness, redness, or fieriness. The agency of objects is discussed in more detail below in Chapter 10.3.

The powerful substance **mercury** was seen as even possessing a life-force: several folklore accounts explain that mercury, called “living silver” (Fin. *elohopea*, cf. Lat. *argentum vivum*, Eng. quicksilver), was believed to be truly alive, and it needed grain or flour (often specified as barley) for sustenance (see e.g. SKMT IV, 1: I 277 §). A few accounts even specify that mercury would live for three years when given flour (e.g. SKMT IV, 3: I 258c). It is

easy to understand the fascination with the dynamic, liquid silver element. This substance was widely used as medicine (known already by Hippocrates) throughout Europe at least from the medieval times onward (Pedersen 1964; Forsius 2002; Parsons & Percival 2005: 8–9), so it was commonly known to be a potent material.¹ In Finnish folklore, a recurring theme is that evil forces could not pass over it. One account specifies that if someone with evil or envious intentions stepped over a threshold containing a mercury concealment, *s/he* would immediately involuntarily urinate ([k] Laihia, SKMT IV, 1: I 265 §). A similar idea is presented in another account:

Quicksilver has in folk belief had a great power of resistance against witches and dark powers. A hole was drilled in the threshold of the cowshed, and quicksilver, sulphur, and barley flour were put inside. The witch's power was not supposed to be able to cross it. If quicksilver was placed inside the threshold of a dwelling, one could know which of the girls were still virgins. (FLS FA. [a] Nousiainen. 1936. Frans Leivo b) 2097.)

Even though it is not stated in the account that an unmarried woman who was not a virgin would need to urinate when crossing the threshold, this appears in another account where a bat placed under the threshold would cause a non-virgin girl to urinate when stepping over it ([e] Vesanto, Issakainen 2012: 15). Moreover, this quality of mercury is also known in Icelandic folk belief (Albína Hulda Pálsdóttir, pers. comm. 7.5.2013), which points to a widespread tradition. The notion of involuntary urination is connected both to the “open body schema” (see Stark 2006: 146–162) and to the (female) *väki* agency concentrated in the genitalia (Apo 1995: 22–39; 1998). The first of these relates to the cultural body image discussed by Stark (see Chapter 5.2), which holds that one’s own effectual force (*luonto*) is projected through the porous boundaries of the body. Thus, a person with ill intentions has bodily boundaries that are opened (like a woman who has had intercourse), and stepping over a powerful substance further breaks these weak boundaries, completely revealing the malicious (or immoral) person.

Apart from this indication of throwing a malicious person off-balance by a humiliating loss of bodily control,² there are no straightforward explanations of why mercury protected against evil powers. However, it is evident that mercury concealments were believed to hinder evil powers projected from further away as well. One possible explanation can be sought in the mental connection between mercury and **snakes**: it was locally believed that vipers produce mercury ([a] Houtskär; [å] Sottunga, FSFD VII, 3: B III C 1). There are two common native species of snakes in Finland: the viper³ and the non-venomous grass snake⁴. The few accounts that specify the species of snake used in the concealments mention only the viper, so it would follow that this species was preferred. The grass snake was regarded as a manifestation of the guardian spirit of the cowshed, and it was cared for with offerings of milk (see Haavio 1942: 532–570; Sarmela 2009: 128–132), but there is no evidence of it being used in concealments.

As I have discussed in an earlier paper (Hukantaival 2013b), the apotropaic qualities of a snake are twofold, and both are connected with its venomousness. First, it is important to

¹ Mercury (named after the Roman messenger of the gods) played an essential part in alchemy and occultism as well (see e.g. Parsons & Percival 2005).

² This notion could well be based on real-life observations of elderly women suffering from urinary incontinence struggling to climb over the high threshold that especially the cowshed used to have. As mentioned in Appendix 1, folk beliefs were usually based on empirical experiences (see Honko 1964).

³ *Vipera berus*.

⁴ *Natrix natrix*.

realize that the concepts of poison and magical harm were closely connected. This is visible in medieval Swedish legal texts, where poisoning and bewitching are associated (see e.g. Ulkuniemi 1978: 135–136; Eilola 2003: 57). Snakes (and other crawling animals) were believed to gather their venom from the ground;⁵ thus, they had the important role of cleaning the soil, which would otherwise be too poisonous for other life. This same characteristic enabled the snake to absorb all kinds of dangerous forces, including magical harm (see e.g. Lehtikoinen 2009: 195). Therefore, it could make sense that a snake concealed under the threshold would absorb the magic power of the witch stepping over it, leaving the person powerless. In light of the folklore material, however, it seems more likely that the aggressive quality of the snake – the agency contained in its venom – led to its use in apotropaic concealments. If the mercury that vipers were believed to produce was indeed condensed venom gathered from the ground, the power of mercury would be based on earth agency.

When studying the various uses of mercury in folk practices, it often seems that there was no understanding of the toxicity of the material, even though that was already widely reported in 16th-century sources in Europe (Parsons & Percival 2005: 9–10). Since the substance was believed to be produced by venomous snakes, however, perhaps the common people did know that it was dangerous. This point seems plausible, especially as other poisonous substances, like arsenic, are also mentioned in the concealment tradition. However, the understanding of toxicity differed from how it is perceived in the scientific worldview. Toxins were like any potentially dangerous power: they needed to be handled skilfully with proper rituals in order not to “anger” them into harmful action. Toxicity was simply seen as a powerful agency.

Explanations of why an object protected against evil are most often found in relation to **sharp metal artefacts**. Even in these cases, the explanation is usually brief: for example, that the night hag is afraid of sharp objects ([d] Somerniemi, SKMT IV, 3: I 216 d). Still, it is evident that the same attributes that made the objects potentially dangerous in mundane contexts were also the basis of their use in protective rituals. This supports the idea that metaphor and metonym are not arbitrary, but based on experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35–40; see the discussion in Appx. 1). Therefore, explicitly apotropaic objects were hard, sharp, or otherwise imbued with strong power (cf. Stark 2006: 284–285).

As in the case of vipers mentioned above, the characteristic of aggressive agency can also be observed in other **animal** concealments. This point has been discussed, for example, in connection with depositions of dogs in Iron Age Denmark (Henriksen 1998: 202–205, 208; see also Paulsson-Holmberg 1997: 172). Remains of dogs are only mentioned in two of the folklore accounts in the material of this study, but one of them confirms that a dog was concealed in order to act as a guardian for the house, as if it were alive ([p] Pirttilahti, SKMT IV, 1: I 97 §). It is easy to also consider the similar idea of a powerful otherworldly guardian when discussing the remains of a bear, for example. Furthermore, teeth or claws reflect aggressive apotropaic attributes of an animal, and these were clearly preferred in many rituals (see e.g. Sirelius 1906: 34, 39; Sarmela & Poom 1982: 63).

When discussing domestic herbivores, such as horses, cattle, and sheep, the association with aggression becomes less obvious. In particular, the important role of the horse is intriguing. The importance could naturally be connected with its qualities of strength and speed, but of the 59 folklore cases that state the reason for concealing horse remains, 54 cases involve preventing or repelling pests, such as cockroaches, bedbugs, fleas, mice,

⁵ This suggests that the power of the snake was earth *väiki* (see Chapter 10.3 below).

and/or rats. The remaining five cases concern protection against evil, bringing good luck, and protection against fire. What could possibly be the connection between horses and vermin?⁶

The horse has been seen as an animal that is closely connected with the otherworld. This connection was revealed, for example, by its ability to see invisible beings (e.g. Klemettinen 1997: 82–83; Koski 2011: 200–202; also Schön 2004: 108). Until some more detailed evidence on the matter is brought to light, the usefulness of horse remains in repelling pests must be sought in terms of the relationship between vermin and malicious otherworldly beings. Harmful insects and rodents have traditionally been seen as manifestations of demonic activities (e.g. Valk 1997: 96–97; Jolly 2006). A notion supporting this aspect is that in some accounts, the direction of the horse skull is specified: it should be looking to the north (the compass point connected with the otherworld, especially the realm of death) or towards the door. The protective power of the look is also mentioned in other accounts concerning animal remains.⁷ Naturally, the power of looking is also the basis of the widespread belief in the evil eye (see Vuorela 1960; Dundes 1992).

The observation mentioned above in Chapter 7 that animal heads and legs seem to have been preferred for concealments is visible also in the ritual handling of animal remains in other contexts (see e.g. Wilson 1999; Carlie 2004: 135–136; Monikander 2006: 146–150; Groot 2012: 142). Heads, legs, tails, and teeth have even been called the ritual or sacrificial parts of animals in some studies (Bliujienė & Butkus 2009: 149). This aspect is clearly a classic example of *pars pro toto*, the metonymic concept of the “part [taken] for the whole” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35–40). Even though any part could suffice to represent the whole, certain ones were preferred. This is how metonymy allows focusing on certain desired aspects of what is being referred to, as discussed in Appendix 1. As pointed out above, especially active or aggressive parts of the animals were chosen. The point that these were also less meaty parts of the body can be seen as a convenient coincidence: when species that were part of the diet were used in rituals, their meat could still be consumed. While it is hard to know which of these came first, it is likely that choosing active, key parts of the animals was the more important point, since the same parts were also preferred in species that were not consumed (such as humans).

The folklore material suggests that the reason why the remains of horses were perceived as potent might not have been conscious knowledge to the practitioners. The accounts simply mention their use as something obvious, and no explanations are even attempted. Only one of the accounts questions why a horse skull was good for concealment:

When a hearth was built in old times, a horse skull was put in its foundation. Since the horse is a good animal, a mild animal, so it is good. The house becomes peaceful. If a horse skull was not available, a cow skull was used. In that house, the cattle thrived. (FLS FA. [e] Karstula. 1930. Samuli & Jenny Paulaharju 13034; informant Jalmari Tamminen, 49 years old.)

It is evident that the informant is explaining here about a practice that already belonged to the past when the account was recorded in 1930. This account was titled “Guardian spirit of the house” (*Tuvanhaltia*) and classified under “offerings for guardian spirits” in the archive, which might reveal what the collectors had asked to bring this practice to the

⁶ Incidentally, remains of horses were also used to repel pests in Japanese folk magic (Hildburgh 1915: 86, and footnote).

⁷ For example, see the account quoted in Chapter 9.2 (page 113) where a drop of mercury was put in the eye socket of the skull.

informant's mind. In other words, it seems that the informant of this account understood that skull concealments were made in order to transform the animal in question into the guardian spirit of the building. Since this is a single account, it is difficult to assess how much of this interpretation was caused by the guidance of the collectors. However, animal-shaped guardian spirits of domestic buildings seem to have been rare, if excluding the tutelary animals called by the same name (*haltia*) that were actual living animals (e.g. a cat, grass snake, frog, lizard, or mouse), which were fed and protected in order to ensure good luck for the household (Haavio 1942: 131–147, 501–570; Sarmela 2009: 128–132).

Still, it is possible that animal bones could also be connected with guardian spirits in some areas. This is supported by another account involving concealed bones in hearth locations, which were said to be connected to a human-shaped guardian spirit (recorded in the same municipality of Karstula in Central Finland as the previous example):

Offering-bones are here common in hearth foundations. The one who built the house put the offering-bone in the foundation of the stove or hearth of the smoke cottage with special offerings. This first resident with his offering-bone became the guardian spirit of the earth. (FLS FA. [c] Karstula. 1939. O. Takala 378.)

It must also be considered that concealments of traditional sacrificial domestic animals (especially sheep) could have been meant as offerings to earth-guardians. An offering of food could be strongly suspected if parts rich in meat were concealed. Still, possible sacrifice cannot be excluded when only less meaty parts are present because of the *pars pro toto* phenomenon. However, all of the other 27 accounts where guardian spirits are mentioned differ from the ones presented above. Most commonly, the concealment made to acquire or please a guardian spirit involved one or several **coins** (in 23 of the cases):

When a new house is built, coins are put under the cornerstone, an “offering” is made, so that the house would always remain rich, “as an offering to the guardian spirit of the earth” (FLS FA. [d] Lammi. 1929. Juvas, Maija [SS], quotation marks in the original).

When a building is moved, the coin – the old and unrecognizable coin that had been put under the first cornerstone in order to get a good guardian spirit into the house – must also be taken along, and then the same spirit also comes along (FLS FA. [n] Inari. 1910. K. Teräsvuori b) 546; informant Leppänen, from Lammela village in [b] Merikarvia, c. 30–40 years old).

In addition to these coin offerings, offerings of food are also mentioned in a few cases. One account recorded in Ingria (s) describes concealing a chicken egg under the threshold of a cowshed in order to ensure that the guardian spirit would take good care of the cattle ([s] Soikkola, SKMT IV, 1: I 354 §). Even though the guardian spirit tradition was strong in the western Finnish areas (Sarmela 1974b: 343), the more detailed accounts concerning concealments for these beings were recorded in the Karelian regions on the Russian side of the border:

When a new cowshed is built, one should take the three first chips from the first three timbers and put them under the back corner in the soil and three coins on top of these chips. The coins must be all of different kings. Then the forest will not hate the cattle, they will find food and have good luck in all ways, since the guardian spirit of the earth lives on the treasure and is pleased by such a rich treasure that has coins of three kings. ([p] Kostamus, SKMT IV, 1: I 232 §.)

Coins were a pleasing offering for guardian spirits, but this is not the only reason given in the folklore for concealing them, as seen in Figure 35 above (in Chapter 9.2). The most commonly recurring meaning was to ensure good luck for the building, but protective

magic, ensuring wealth, and pleasing a guardian spirit were also common goals. A few accounts also explain coins as pest repellents. Naturally, all of these meanings can be connected: good relations with a guardian spirit ensure good luck, which includes wealth and protection against misfortune (including vermin) (see Sarmela 1974b: 340). The possible connection between these different meanings and different locations is discussed in the next subchapter.

The question of whether coins could be seen as having a power of their own or if they only worked as compensation for caretaking is very interesting. Most likely it was not a matter of either/or, and both meanings co-existed. The preference for old, worn, or otherwise distinctive coins points to the importance of special properties in them (see below in Chapter 10.3). Moreover, since money is considered even today as possessing agency, it is likely that it was seen like that in the past. In any case, the use of coins as compensation to otherworldly beings for favours and acquiring territorial rights from earth-guardians (see also Stark 2002: 53–54) shows that once again, as noted in connection with sharp apotropaic artefacts, the mundane properties of the object were also relevant in the ritual context.

This notion is also evident in the ritual use of **whetstones**. These occur in 16 cases in the finds material. Some of them are used, others lack marks of use, and some are simply unfinished pieces of slate. Even though whetstones are not mentioned in the folklore involving concealments, it is evident from other folk practices that their use in sharpening tools was one basis of their usefulness in rituals. For example, the teeth of a horse could be ritually ground with a whetstone to improve a stallion's potency or to protect it before letting it out to pasture (SKMT IV, 1: II 56 §, VI 1023 §).⁸ The value of the tool was already known by Pliny the Elder: the whetstone “on which iron tools have been often sharpened” is one of the magical objects listed in his *Natural History* from circa 77 CE (Plinius Secundus 1963: 35). In this sense, concealed whetstones can be classified together with the apotropaic sharp tools, even though another source of their power comes from their being made of stone, as discussed below in connection to *väki* agency.

Many artefacts used for concealments had a more explicit source of power, such as religious objects (e.g. books, crosses, communion wafers) and thunderbolts, while the potency of other objects is less obvious. What made common **household objects** (other than sharp tools and sharpening stones) suitable for concealing? It has been suggested that these objects, especially shoes or other pieces of clothing, being connected with the individuals at the household that had used them, would create a personal connection between the house and its inhabitants (Swann 2005: 117–118; Eastop 2006: 247). This might well be true in some contexts, but the Finnish folklore material does not support it in this particular study area. The “personal” objects that were concealed are usually specified as being found or stolen: they should have an unknown maker and/or user (see above in Chapter 7.5).

In many folklore cases, the source of the potency of the object can be deduced through a good general knowledge of Finnish-Karelian folk magic, as the following example illustrates:

Good sheep-luck is obtained when a washing bat that is very worn and found in a lake is hidden under the floor of the sheep pen while building ([p] Kostamus, SKMT IV, 1: I 177 §).

In this case, the power of the object comes from its connection with water: the connection that is present already in the function of the object is boosted by its lying for a long time in a lake. This observation is understood in light of the belief in *väki* discussed below, and

⁸ Sharp teeth can be seen as a metaphor for (aggressive) effective, capable behaviour.

it explains why virtually any kind of object might be suitable for concealing: Even though some objects were traditionally favoured, any object could become “charged” with agency that would become activated in the ritual context. Still, it is evident that the ordinary function of the object influenced what kind of agency it could embody.

As with other objects, understanding the use of **human remains** also requires knowledge of the belief in special agency. Human remains belong together with objects connected with funerals or graveyards (corpse-boards, coffin nails, pieces of grave-crosses, churchyard soil, etc.) or deliberately brought into contact with a dead body (e.g. a needle stuck inside a body and left there for a certain period of time). Everything that was connected with funerary practices could be used as a potent magical object: for example, the needle with which the funeral clothes for the deceased were sown. All such objects became charged with the potent agency of the dead (*kalmanväki*). Accordingly, everything connected with death required ritual treatment. As discussed below, this power required especially skilful handling or it could turn against the practitioner.

Human remains were not the only powerful objects which needed to be used with caution. Many of the accounts include warnings explaining that concealments could be dangerous for infants or if made incorrectly. This is especially apparent with concealments made to repel pests, for example:

Three skulls of dogs should be put under the hearth so that bedbugs and other vermin will not breed, but it is not healthy to keep unbaptized children in that room (FLS FA. [m] Suomussalmi, Juntunranta. 1888. H. Meriläinen II 384).

If quicksilver is put under three corner-joints in a new house, cockroaches and bedbugs will not live; if it is put under the fourth joint, even a cat would not live (FLS FA. [h] Muolaa. 1952. Kyllikki Karppinen 357; informant Tahvo Rämö, 76 years old, in exile in Kalvola).

Repelling cockroaches from the house. One must kill a snake and, when the foundation of the hearth is laid and the masonry is started, the snake is put – in the spring before the cuckoo calls – in the foundation. If this does not happen before the cuckoo calls, every living creature that is not baptized will die before sunset. (FLS FA. Savo. 1909. Lauri Merikallio b) 96.)

A snake is put between the hearth and the wall; then no kind of vermin can come, no fleas, or anything. But then one should not bring any small animals inside, no piglet, lamb, or newborn calf. It will not thrive. (FLS FA. [f] Kangasniemi, Tiihola. 1932. Oskari Kuitunen b) 1613; informant Topia Pynnönen, 67 years old.)

These warnings bring to mind the warnings on a modern pesticide bottle; it is as if the concealments were believed to be toxic. The notion about concealing a snake before the cuckoo calls supports this idea: snakes were believed to start collecting venom from the ground in the spring after the cuckoo started calling (Lehikoinen 2009: 195), and thus they were less dangerous before this. As discussed above, there was a connection between toxicity and magical power; both were agencies that needed careful handling.

Still, the dynamic agency of objects was context-based: a knife could be used in everyday woodworking where its effectiveness was mundane. However, if one accidentally cut oneself with it, it was a sign that the agency of the tool had been disturbed and proper rituals to appease its power were needed in order for the wound to heal (for example, chanting the Origin of Iron spell, see Hako 2000: 35–36). When the tool was used in apotropaic rituals, the agency was deliberately activated. The difference between “sacred and profane” in connection with objects thus seems to have been a question of active or dormant agency.

10.2 SPATIAL ASPECTS

It was shown above that certain types of buildings and locations within these buildings were preferred for concealments. As Falk (2006: 202; 2008: 135–147, 192–199) has discussed, the locations within buildings can be divided into those on the borders of the building (thresholds, corners, walls, roofs) and those inside the building (hearths, floors). Earlier, however, I have also added the floor to the border category in cases where the ground floor is concerned (Hukantaival 2006: 112). Being inaccessible to larger natural enemies, the border between the building and the ground may not immediately seem a particularly vulnerable spot. Still, when floors are not made of solid concrete, external influences such as cold, moisture, and insects can more easily penetrate this boundary. It is also important to realize that guardian spirits and other otherworldly beings were believed to live below the ground. Thus, a building should be seen as having borders in all directions. Still, the border of the floor is different from the other borders of the house, as revealed below. In this sense, the floor can be grouped together with the hearth, even if only hearths are truly located inside the borders of the building.⁹

Borders are naturally a key concept when considering protection against outer threats, and as the largest part of the concealments in the folklore material are connected with such protection, it is not surprising that borders are a recurring theme. As mentioned in Chapter 5.2, it has been noted by several researchers that the concept of weak borders needing protection was a common element in the pre-industrial Finnish worldview (e.g. Eilola 2003; 2004; Issakainen 2005; Stark 2006). This aspect affected the human body, social relations, and attitudes towards space. Stark points out that the ritually approached boundaries between the safe inside and the dangerous outside (foreign “otherworld”) were “...expressed as a series of ever-expanding circles like rings in a pool of water, proceeding outward from the embodied self, locus of consciousness, and embracing home/farm, community, as well as the human-made culture represented in human dwellings and hand-crafted offerings” (Stark 2002: 150; cf. Tarkka 1994: 93; 1998: 134).

The rings of protectable borders started with the individual, who could wear amulets or otherwise ritually protect him/herself (e.g. with morning prayers, strengthening spells, or carefully planned behaviour, including taboos). The next ring was the building, which is the topic of this study, and after this the borders of the farm, which were also ritually protected. The fourth ring was the border of the village, and so forth. Each outer ring was always a little closer to the dangerous wilderness, which equalled the otherworld (Stark 2002: 150; Tarkka 1994; 1998). However, unlike the rituals discussed by Stark and Tarkka to protect cattle grazing in the forest, the dangers mentioned in the folklore on building concealments did usually not come from wilderness agencies. The most common theme in protecting the ring around the building was against threats already within the fourth ring: the neighbours in the village community (and perhaps also threats from neighbouring villages). This aspect is discussed in more detail in the next subchapters.

As Eilola (2003: 315) has pointed out, the reason why borders were perceived as weak is that they were constantly crossed in everyday life: people, livestock, and goods were mobile. This was potentially dangerous because of the dynamic agencies connected with material. A foreign object inside the sphere of the household could cause severe harm. Strongly protected boundaries diminished this threat. For example, the need for strong

⁹ Intermediate floors between rooms were also locations inside the building, but these do not occur in the material. The attic floor is seen as a border location since it is above the living space.

borders between households is clearly visible in an account that explains that if livestock of two different owners are kept in the same building, a sickle should be placed as a border between the herds ([l] Haapavesi; SKMT IV, 1: I 220 §). Strong boundaries would also keep good influences from escaping the inside, or from being stolen or spoiled:

When a cowshed is built, one must put a silver coin under each corner and put quicksilver inside the threshold, and put nails of rowan wood above the door and every hatch, and also put a steel nail inside both jambs of the door and hatches; then luck will remain with the cattle (FLS FA. [k] Teuva, Karijoki, Jurva. 1889. S. Korpela 266).

This account clearly shows the special need to protect the openings in the borders: doors, windows, and hatches. The doorway, where people crossed the border of the building, was an especially vulnerable spot. Even though some apotropaic practices were concentrated on the jambs or above the door, the threshold stands out when discussing concealments. As seen in Figure 33 above (in Chapter 9.2, page 109), the apotropaic meanings have been strongly connected with this location. The most striking difference in meanings can be observed between the threshold, the most explicit border location, and the hearth. Figure 33 shows that the other locations have less specified meanings. It is, however, observable that the floor was less important to protect with an apotropaic concealment. The reason for this is connected with the agents that the buildings needed to be protected from, as is revealed below.

The concept of weak borders noticed in other connections is thus supported by the folklore material on building concealments. In particular, the accounts describing a threshold concealment recurrently include mention of the potential danger caused by people crossing this border, for example:

When some quicksilver is put inside a small bottle and this bottle is put under the threshold of the cowshed, the ones that step over it cannot cause any harm (FLS FA. [f] Kangasniemi, Rauhajärvi. 1933. Oskari Kuitunen b) 2023; informant farm mistress Ruusa Laitinen, 63 years old, from Rauhajärvi village).

Quicksilver was put in a small bottle, and some chips were carved from three copper coins and also put in the bottle. Then the bottle was put under the threshold. Then no person stepping into the cowshed could by envy cause the cows to milk badly, become thin, etc. (FLS FA. [b] Luvia, Peränkylä. 1936. Aino Nummela KT 27:18; informant Marjaana Nummela, farm mistress, born 1864.)

As noted above, stepping over the threshold exposed the vulnerable bodily borders of the individual crossing it, and this aspect was useful for apotropaic practices. The same idea also made the threshold a suitable place for a manipulative or otherwise malicious concealment. The trial cases where the human bone was put under the threshold to manipulate the victim to agree to a land deal ([å] Åland islands 1552) and the rumoured key under the church entrance that was supposed to cause death resulting in inheritances being given to the church ([b] Eurajoki 1666), are examples of how magical agency was believed to be able to penetrate the bodily borders of people stepping over the powerful object. The intention of the concealer guided the effect (see Appendix 1); thus, threshold concealments were not dangerous for persons belonging to the household, benevolent neighbours, or other unintended victims. Nonetheless, as the trial case concerning the concealed human bone ([å] Åland islands 1552) shows, constraining magical power was not always believed to be successful (see Chapter 6.3).

As is visible in Figure 33 in Chapter 9.2 (page 109), the corners and floor differ from the other border locations, not being most commonly used for apotropaic purposes. Instead

the idea of luck stands out. As previously mentioned, the notion of good luck can be connected to protection against misfortune, but it has been suggested that the good luck of the building was especially connected with maintaining good relations with guardian spirits (Sarmela 1974b: 340). Interaction with guardian spirits was mentioned in all locations in the folklore, but corners in particular were associated with these beings. In some of the belief traditions about guardian spirits of the house, the person who laid the first cornerstone of the building would become its guardian after death (Haavio 1942: 59). This shows the oft-noted connection between guardian spirits and ancestors (e.g. Varonen 1898: 43; Krohn 1915: 86; Haavio 1942: 60–64).

To gauge the relationship between protection, luck/wealth, and guardian spirits, I analysed the meanings of coin concealments in different locations (Fig. 44). When comparing this pattern to the general pattern of meanings by location in Figure 33 above (Chapter 9.2), both similarities and variations can be observed. Coin concealments were especially connected to luck, wealth, and interaction with guardian spirits. Securing wealth has solely been connected to coins in the material of this study with only one exception: a piece of bread with a drop of mercury should be put inside the wall to ensure that the new house will never run out of bread (FLS FA. [i] Impilahti. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 441).

Figure 44 confirms that the corner location had the most significant role in connection with coins. Here the four aforementioned meanings are all quite strong, even though luck stands out. The threshold location displays protection, together with luck, while wealth and interaction with guardian spirits are less significant. The roof location shows a connection with luck and wealth. Still, as also observed in the general pattern, the only

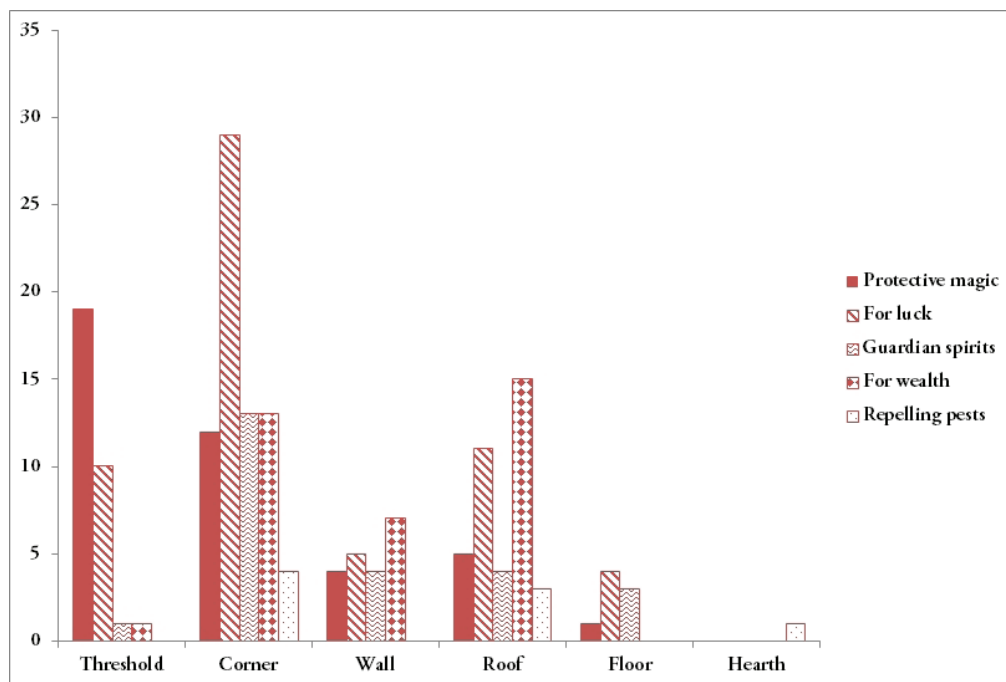


Fig. 44. Relationship between meanings and locations of the coin concealments in the folklore material (n=167). Compare with general pattern shown in Fig. 33 in Chapter 9.2.

completely clear differences in the meanings of locations can be observed between the threshold and the hearth. In other locations, the meanings are dynamically connected.

One curious aspect connected with corner concealments in the folklore is that some accounts specify that a concealment should be placed in three of the corners, leaving the fourth empty. This was the case in the example quoted above, which advised putting a mercury concealment to repel pests in three corners, but warned against adding a fourth (FLS FA. [h] Muolaa. 1952. *Kyllikki Karppinen* 357). In this case it seems that concealments in all corners would be too powerful.¹⁰ Another account involves coins of three kings, each in a different corner (FLS FA. [q] Rukajärvi, Tsolmo. 1892. H. Meriläinen II 2098). However, other accounts do involve concealments in all four corners, or just one of them, so there was clearly variation regarding this aspect.

In the general pattern (see Fig. 33, Chapter 9.2, page 109), the roof location is especially connected with protection, luck, and wealth. It might seem natural that a concealment in the roof structure would protect against fire, especially the kind caused by a lightning strike. However, protection against the night hag and witchcraft are more commonly mentioned than protection against lightning or fire. In particular, defence against the night hag was connected with this location. Most of the mentions of the guardian spirit or securing wealth in connection with the roof describe concealing a coin/coins in the joint under the ridge-beam, indicating a connection between those two meanings. In fact, the ridge-beam is one of the locations in the building where the guardian spirit was believed to reside (Krohn 1915: 87; Haavio 1942: 174). As is evident in Figure 33, however, explicit reference to interaction with the guardian spirit is not found in the data as a particularly significant reason for a concealment in the roof structure.

The hearth location differs from the border locations in terms of its strong connection of repelling pests. Only a few cases describe protective magic, interaction with a guardian spirit, or maleficent magic. Unlike many other European traditions where the guardian spirit of the house can be seen as having evolved from a spirit of fire, Haavio has noted that the Finnish guardian of the house is only rarely found by the hearth (Haavio 1942: 208–213; cf. e.g. Hoffman-Krayer & Bächtold-Stäubli 1933: 35). However, in the Finnish tradition the guardian of the drying barn is often connected with its hearth (Haavio 1942: 208). Nevertheless, it is apparent that the meaning of animal bones put under the hearth to repel pests must be sought elsewhere than in a connection with the otherworldly guardian of the building, at least in late modern times.

The hearth is naturally connected with strong symbolism: it is the heart of the building and the source of warmth, light, and sustenance (see also Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 42–43). However, the reason why the hearth was chosen for a pest-repelling concealment was perhaps a practical one: the warmth and hollows suitable as hiding places of a hearth structure must have attracted insects and rodents, causing the “repellent” to be placed where these pests were known to reside. Since these creatures seemed to emerge from inside the building, a concealment on the borders was not as effective as one placed where they bred: instead of keeping something outside the borders, the repelling concealment in the hearth exorcised vermin already inside.

As shown above, the residence, cowshed, and stable stand out in terms of the buildings chosen for concealments, and different locations were preferred in these places (Figs. 29–

¹⁰ Perhaps the fourth corner needed to remain “open”, so pests had an exit from the building, or the power needed to have a “vent”.

30 in Chapter 9.2). The folklore clearly emphasizes the need for concealments in buildings inhabited by people or livestock, as opposed to uninhabited outbuildings. Figures 29–30 (Chapter 9.2) show that an apotropaic threshold concealment was especially connected with the cowshed and stable. It is apparent in the folklore that livestock in particular needed protection against outside threats (mainly the witchcraft of envious neighbours), while the meanings connected to the dwellings are more diverse: protection, interaction with guardian spirits, luck, wealth, and repelling pests. The apotropaic concealments in dwellings differ slightly from the ones made in animal shelters: of the apotropaic concealments in a residence, 42% (13 accounts) describe protection against fires or lightning-strikes, and only 16% (five accounts) describe protection against witchcraft (one of these specifically mentions protection against fire caused by witchcraft). Most of the other apotropaic concealments in houses serve as more general protection against evil and misfortune.

Folklore on stables also shows one detail not present in the other buildings: concealments made in connection with the feeding trough were meant to protect against strangles¹¹ (*pääntauti*), an infectious disease causing visible symptoms in the head-area only affecting horses (Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003: 588; Hautala *et al.* 2014; MSD Animal Health 2014). In the accounts citing this disease, nothing points to a belief that the illness would be caused by witchcraft; instead most of them mention that the problem was caused by contagion (see also Hako 2000: 175–176).

An interesting detail regarding attitudes to different buildings was recorded in the Swedish-speaking part of Uusimaa ([c], see Map 2, page 64): according to tradition, the church, sauna, and drying barn are equally holy (FSFD VII, 3: IX A 2, 7; see also Hukantaival 2011: 47). However, this sacredness of buildings was evidently not a primary motivator for concealing objects. As mentioned in Chapter 5.3, saunas and drying barns were usually not situated in the farmyard, but further away. This is one explanation why apotropaic concealments were seldom connected with these buildings; they were situated in the outer sphere and not directly connected with the household. Furthermore, saunas and drying barns were usually only temporarily inhabited. As a consequence, they were perceived as being in a liminal zone between the household and the otherworld. First, these buildings included a strong tradition of guardian spirits:¹² they were owned by these beings, while the people who used them were visitors who needed permission to stay in the building (Haavio 1942: 217–278; Sarmela 1974b: 343–344; see also Honko 1964). Secondly, these buildings were places for healing and giving birth (the sauna) (see e.g. Talve 1997: 188, 231), and keeping dead bodies before burial (the drying barn).

The concealments made in saunas were most often connected to the hearth (eight of thirteen cases, or 62%), while there are only a few mentions of the threshold (two cases), corners (two cases), and the roof structure (one case). Concealments in the sauna had a special purpose: they needed to keep the building clean, non-contagious, and, most importantly, free of scabies (*syyhy*). Scabies was thought to be a result of contagion, and the sauna was a risky place in this sense. Theoretically, scabies could be transmitted in a sauna, but the risk is not significant (Kilpiö 1953). However, the tendency of the itch to intensify in the heat of the sauna may explain why this place was traditionally held to be the source of the problem (Kilpiö 1953: 96). The accounts imply that people did not necessarily understand that scabies was spread from person to person, and instead they suggest that

¹¹ *Streptococcus equi*.

¹² The tradition about the guardian of the drying barn was especially strong in the oldest farming areas in south-western Finland (Haavio 1942: 271).

the source of the infection was believed to be the sauna itself, if proper behaviour and/or proper rituals were not followed there (see e.g. Manninen 1933; Stark 2002: 77–110; 2006: 315–356 about folk understanding of illnesses). The meanings of preventing contagion and protection against malicious magic could also be intermingled:

In the past when a sauna was built, some quicksilver in bottles was put in the soil-filling of the space between the ceiling and roof. When this magic was done for the sauna, diseases would not be transmitted from it. And no one's magic would affect the sauna. The informant had demolished an old sauna a few years back, and he had found a bottle with quicksilver in three corners of the ceiling-space. When he had asked the neighbour's old mistress about them, she had explained that the bottles were meant for the magic described above. (FLS FA. [i] Sortavala, Kuukkola. 1937. Matti Moilanen 2942; informant Toivo Laapotti, 35 years old.)

In contrast to this specialized reason for concealments in the sauna, those in the drying barn were most often apotropaic. However, the drying barn is not often mentioned in the folklore material (only 12 accounts). Concealments were especially made in the threshold of this building in order to protect the harvest from witchcraft. Other locations also often feature this meaning:

When the building work of a drying barn is started, the turf is turned upside-down in the places of three corners, and a coin is put under the turf. The corners of the building are built on top of these; then the grains in the drying barn will not disappear and the harvest cannot be bewitched or spoiled by any sorcerer so that the grains threshed in the barn would not sprout. ([I] Muhos, SKMT III: 827 l.)

In spite of the strong tradition of guardian spirits residing in these two types of buildings, the concealments in the material of this study are seldom explicitly connected to them. Only one of the accounts of drying barns describe an offering of coins of three different kings under the floor of the new building in order to ensure a good guardian. Moreover, this account was recorded in Pirttilahti in Dvina Karelia (p) (SKMT III: 827 §), far from the south-western area of the country, where the tradition of the guardian of the drying barn is understood to have been the strongest (Haavio 1942: 271). Similarly, only one record mentions a guardian spirit in connection with the sauna. In this account from Ingridia (s), the guardian is described as keeping the sauna clean when quicksilver is put in the corner-joint (Lukkarinen 1912: 138); this is another example of intermingled meanings.

Diverse storage buildings were situated both in the farmyard and further away from it. Only six accounts describe concealments in storage buildings in the folklore material; of these, two identify a storage for grain while the others are unspecified. Four of the accounts provide reasons for the concealments: two accounts involve protection against lightning strikes and theft, one is about promoting good luck, and one is about safeguarding wealth. In light of the folklore material, it would appear that protection of stored food supplies and seeds was not often ensured with a concealment. Perhaps other practices were more relevant for this purpose, as it would certainly seem necessary for the stored supplies essential for survival to be protected against rodents, insects, rot, and theft.

Of the buildings mentioned in the concealment material, the smithy was also associated with a strong otherworldly connection. This building was similarly situated further away from the yards, whenever possible, to avoid the spread of fire. Moreover, the mysterious, transformative nature of working metals has been discussed in many studies (e.g. Eliade 1978; Budd & Taylor 1995; Haaland 2004; Hakamies 2012). The smithy had its own guardian spirit and *väki* agency in the Finnish tradition, and it has been suggested that

these were closely connected to ancestors (Krohn 1915: 88–89). Incidentally, the only account in the material of this study describing a concealment in a smithy involves remains of the dead:

Formerly, when a smithy was made a corpse's fist was put under the forge. Then no one could steal anything from there. If someone stole something, s/he had to bring it back soon. (FLS FA. [k] Perho. 1930. Samuli & Jenny Paulaharju 13042; informant Mariaana Koivukoski, 70 years old.)

It can be debated whether the corpse's fist represents the guardian spirit in a *pars pro toto* manner or if this is simply an example of using the *väki* agency of the dead to protect the building by haunting and harassing a potential thief. It is also possible that these two meanings cannot be separated from each other. Krohn (1915: 88) mentions a similar practice to protect the smithy from thieves: a pouch with churchyard soil is concealed under the forge while reciting a verbal incantation.¹³ In the material of this study, there are also three smithies with likely concealment finds: an early 13th-century one in Vantaa (c) (Appx. 3: 116), a late 17th-century one in Turku (a) (Appx. 3: 51–53), and a 19th-century one in Masku (a) (Appx. 3: 4).

In the few folklore accounts that specify a preference for concealing at certain compass points, north is predominant (Chapter 8.1; see also Issakainen 2012: 166–170). This most likely reflects mythological ideas about the cold north as the location for witchcraft, illnesses, and the dead. The Finnish word for north, *pohjoinen*, is connected to *pohja*, which means the bottom; the north is in fact the underworld, the abode of the dead (see e.g. Siikala 1994: 132–166; 2013: 168–174). As previously noted, this preference for the northern direction hinted at in the folklore is not mirrored in the find material (Chapter 8.5). When concealments were directed at dispelling negative effects from the community, the orientation of the apotropaic object tended to be aimed at other households in the vicinity. Moreover, main doors often faced the warm south and south-western directions,¹⁴ and thus threshold concealments were aligned in these directions instead of the mythological location of otherworldly influences. In the case of enclosure yards (see Chapter 5.3), the direction of the main entrance to the buildings varied for practical reasons, but generally the cold north was avoided (e.g. Paulaharju 1906: 11–12; Lukkarinen 1912: 133).

Interestingly, both the folklore and find material seem to point to an eschewing of the western direction when placing the concealment (Chapter 8.5, Fig. 24). The direction of the setting sun is connected to the realm of the dead especially in the traditions of more southern peoples, but this idea was also known among northern peoples (Siikala 2013: 173). The mythological ideas about east and west as the cosmic points of life and death were surely familiar in the studied area during the historical period, since these are important parts of the Christian traditions. However, why the west was an undesirable direction for a concealment is difficult to assess: it cannot be explained on the basis of the connection to death and the otherworld, if this same connection made north a desirable direction in the narrative tradition.

¹³ Since the reference is missing and I did not come across this account in the archives, I decided not to include it in the material.

¹⁴ Like other aspects of folk culture, the preferred alignment of buildings has varied. Some folklore explains that animal shelters should be built “aligned as the church” ([k] Isokyrö; SKMT IV, 1: I 46§), in which case the front is to the south and the back to the north. Further accounts specify that the cowshed door should be to the south, but then others contradict this, saying that it should be to the north (about the alignments of animal shelters, see SKMT IV, 1: I 46–55§).

In the folklore, buildings in the farmyard that were inhabited by people or livestock were the predominant buildings chosen for concealments, while other buildings are only mentioned sporadically. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the sauna, drying barn, and smithy formed similar liminal spaces as the church (discussed below in Chapter 12.3); they were areas where the otherworld was closer to the human world than in most other places. This was due both to the special functions of the buildings and to the fact that they were situated outside the protected borders of the farmyard. As Koski has pointed out, the ideal was for otherworldly influences to remain separate from the everyday human world, and signs of otherworldly action in daily life were easily interpreted as a temporary loss of balance between the domains, caused by improper action on the human side (Koski 2003: 5–9; 2008: 57–59; 2011: 80–81; cf. e.g. Anttonen 2003).

10.3 AGENTS AND AGENCY

When everyday life was stable and peaceful, the otherworldly beings of the farms were invisible and inaudible (e.g. Haavio 1942: 84–87, 94–99, 103), and impersonal otherworldly agencies were dormant. The guardian spirits were believed to still be actively taking care of things, but if no crisis was imminent they would not disturb the household by revealing themselves (see Haavio 1942; Sarmela 1974b: 346). The mostly anthropomorphic (male and female) guardian spirits were held to be responsible for the wealth of the farm. The household could promote this in two ways: first, by attracting hard-working, good-tempered guardians instead of moody ones for new buildings, and secondly, by keeping the guardian(s) pleased by acting morally upright and presenting offerings at given times (Lukkarinen 1912; Haavio 1942; Honko 1962; Sarmela 1974b).

However, there were numerous things that could disturb the stability at the farm. Guardian spirits acted as keepers of morality in the household, but concealments were especially directed against threats from outside. Many studies have pointed out that social relations within the community were a major factor of magic beliefs in Finland: tension and aggression between individuals was the main cause for suspicion of witchcraft (see Eilola 2003: 270–302; Stark 2006: 163–223). In the folklore on building concealments, envy in particular is mentioned as inciting a threat of malicious magic. This threat was not only based on deliberate actions, but even negative emotions and thoughts. The idea that strong negative feelings, such as anger and envy, could act as agencies and cause harm has been pointed out in several studies, both in connection with early modern witchcraft and later magic beliefs (e.g. Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 60; Stark 2006: 281–285).

The concerns that led to apotropaic concealments were presented above in Figure 27 (Chapter 9.1). Here the clear significance of witchcraft is visible. In addition to witchcraft, the folklore mentions the night hag (*painajainen, mara*) as one of the evils kept outside the building with a concealment. As mentioned, this creature had a close connection with witches, since it was believed to either actually be a witch or have been sent by a one (see e.g. Forsblom 1917; Raudvere 1993; 1995). Some of the folklore even explains that the *mara* was a manifestation of other people's evil thoughts (Forsblom 1917: 115, 129–130; [c] Lohja, SKMT IV, 3: I 257 c3). Catharina Raudvere (1995: 43) points out the significance of the social aspect in Scandinavian stories about the *mara*: it was essential to trace the person behind the phenomenon, and the disclosure of the envious neighbour in question concludes the narrative. The phenomenon widely believed to be caused by this

creature has been recognized by modern science as sleep paralysis, causing an experience of someone sitting on the sufferer's chest and making him/her unable to move and breathe (see e.g. Ness 1985; Davies 2003; Hall 2007).

In folk belief, this nightmare creature also rides livestock, tormenting the animals and causing them to be sweaty and agitated in the morning (e.g. Forsblom 1917: 114; Raudvere 1995: 41). In fact, with the exception of one account describing a concealment in a dwelling house against the *mara*, all other accounts connect such concealments with animal shelters. As mentioned above, concealments against this creature often included a sharp, metal tool – since the *mara* was believed to fear them – placed in the roof structure. Threshold concealments were also effective against it. It is noteworthy that the deformities on trees (tellingly called “witches’ brooms” in English), which also occur as concealed objects in the folklore material of this study (see Chapter 7.1), were thought to be caused by the *mara*, at least in South Ostrobothnia (Forsblom 1917: 114, 128).

Another phenomenon related to more explicit witchcraft in connection to concealments is the evil eye, which was believed to cause misfortune by the power of looking. The evil eye differs slightly from witchcraft practised with malicious intentions; as Toivo Vuorela (1960) has shown, it was believed that someone could have the evil eye from birth through no fault of one's own. Thus, the evil eye was held to be an agency that was sometimes not controlled by its bearer (see also Stark 2006: 215–216). In other cases, however, people were believed to be able to purposefully look with the evil eye (Vuorela 1960: 10–17), in which case it can be regarded as witchcraft.

Since fire, acts of predators, and diseases were also sometimes believed to be caused by witchcraft, the significance of this form of magic is even more pronounced. Thus, it is apparent that apotropaic concealments were mainly directed against negative energies caused by tensions in social relations in the community. The material of this study also confirms the observation made by Stark that tensions between separate farming households were emphasized in suspicions of witchcraft, while it was less common for someone within the household to be suspected of causing misfortune by sorcery (Stark-Arola 1998; Stark 2006: 167).

Perhaps surprisingly, the material studied here does not specify haunting by displeased or offended ghosts of the dead or the undesired returning of a deceased relative as specific concerns to be prevented by means of concealments. This could be caused by bias in the material; these accounts may have been catalogued in the archives in such a way that they were missed when the material for this study was collected. However, it seems likely that haunting was prevented mainly by rituals conducted in connection to the burial process and memorial practices (see e.g. Varonen 1898; Nenola-Kallio 1985; Pentikäinen 1990). Moreover, it seems that the restless deceased were believed to be either summoned by a witch or cunning person to torment a household or the consequence of grave immoral action within the household, such as disposing of an unwanted child (Klemettinen 1997: 104–106). In the first case, a concealment against witchcraft was believed to suffice, while the second case represented an internal problem that had to be dealt with through other types of rituals (e.g. proper burial and revealing the wrongdoer) than apotropaic concealments.

At first glance, practices to repel pests from the home seem to differ from those that were connected with social relations with neighbours or otherworldly guardians. However, pests could be ritually sent away from one's own farm to that of a neighbour (e.g. FSHD VII, 3: IX C 10, 14, 23, 29). Moreover, rodents (such as mice or voles) had con-

flicting meanings in folk beliefs: a human soul could manifest itself as a mouse, small rodents could be fed and protected as manifestations of guardian spirits, and these animals could be used as powerful magical objects (Haavio 1942: 514–515; Teivainen & Teivainen 1981). Yet they were still pests that caused real problems for farms by soiling and devouring stored supplies. This nuisance was prevented by implementing technical solutions for the storage buildings: they were often elevated above the ground and tarred, and branches of aromatic juniper or bird cherry¹⁵ were placed under them. Additionally, people kept cats and dogs, and they practiced magic, including spells which warned the rodents not to consume more than their share (Teivainen & Teivainen 1981). Practices against harmful insects were also numerous: in addition to letting a building remain cold for some period of time in the winter, bedbugs, fleas, and lice were, for example, ritually dismissed¹⁶ on given days. Some insects could be caught and buried in the churchyard, and even ritual lawsuit against the insects was known in late modern folklore. Additionally, certain liminal periods during the year included a truce between people and insects (FSFD VII, 3: IX C 9–30; Lehtikoinen 2009: 103–107).

The folklore generally suggests that a small amount of vermin was seen as normal. Action was only needed when they became abundant, and this was understood as a sign that the balance had been disturbed. However, the concealments made to repel pests depart from this general trend, since it is often stated that they would eradicate all vermin. Moreover, one folklore account (not involving a concealment) confirms the possible connection between abundant pests and tense social relations:

When pests appeared in the house and threatened to gain the upper hand, then it was believed that they had been summoned by some ill-willing neighbour, and then all that could be done was either to send them back to the evil neighbour or to someone else living nearby. This was done by “dismissing” the pests [...]. ([c] Tammisaari, FSFD VII, 3: IX C 10.)

Yet another possibility is that vermin could be seen as a type of wilderness agency. Rodents were strongly connected with the forest or earth in many folk magic practices, and insects were also connected with their natural habitats. This is again linked with the notion that magic and witchcraft include the idea of dynamistic agencies: the *väki* forces existing in entities and locations in the environment and the *luonto* force emanating from the human self and interacting with the environment (Stark 2006: 257). When misfortune was caused by evil words or thoughts, the *luonto* force of the individual was active, while malicious magic practices often included the use of some *väki*, especially the *väki* of the dead. This division of agencies is naturally a simplification, and even the living human body contained *väki* agency. A clear example of this is the *väki* situated in the female genitals, which was utilized as a protective force: for example, the cattle could be let out to pastures in the spring through a gate formed by the farm mistress standing elevated with her legs apart in order to protect them from predators and other harm in the forest (Apo 1995: 23; 1998: 73; see also Korhonen 1996).

It has been noted that many magic practices were based on the different hierarchies of *väki* agencies (e.g. Krohn 1915: 93–94; Issakainen 2002). Since folk religion lack dogmatic rules, the hierarchy was not fixed. Water *väki* is often mentioned as being the oldest and strongest agency, which could be used against the other powers. This hierarchy also influenced how the different agencies should be handled; for example, objects featuring

¹⁵ Fin. *tuomi* (*Prunus padus*).

¹⁶ As if they had been employed at the farm.

the *väki* of fire had to be kept from getting wet, and the ritual specialist could not keep all kinds of *väki* objects in the same pouch (Krohn 1915: 93). When magic was performed to heal a disease or any other disturbance believed to be caused by some *väki* force, it was crucial to first assess which type of *väki* caused the problem, in order to identify which type of *väki* could then be used as a counterforce. In unclear cases, a particularly strong agency such as the water *väki* from rapids could be used to ensure an effect (see also Hukantaival 2015a: 212–213). It is evident in folklore describing magic practices that different types of agency are especially concentrated in different creatures: for example, bears, ants, and squirrels possess strong forest *väki*, snakes and moles contain earth *väki*, and frogs and pike have strong water *väki*. As mentioned above, objects connected with the elements also embodied their respective *väki*: for example, fire-strikers contain strong fire *väki* (Krohn 1915: 93).

The folklore shows examples of bringing foreign elements – for example, something from the forest – inside the borders of the household and concealing them in the structure of the building. While this might seem contradictory to the notion that a foreign object represented a potential threat (see Eilola 2003: 315), this concerned foreign objects introduced accidentally or with malicious intent. Foreign objects connected with known people or particular individuals were especially dangerous. Thus, human-made objects used in concealment rituals were preferably manufactured and used by unknown people; in that way, no individual, personal force was attached to the object (see e.g. Issakainen 2012: 136–138). This is an important point when discussing the re-use of antiquated objects included in the find material (see Chapter 12.2). Objects containing forest agency, for example, could still be dangerous, but they were useful when handled correctly. It seems that the impersonal agencies of nature and the elements were more easily persuaded to act according to the practitioners' will than the power of individual humans.

Thus, while a present-day researcher sees an axe, a stone, or a worn washing-bat, in the magical worldview these objects manifested dynamistic agencies: iron *väki*, rock *väki*, and water *väki*. The agency of an object was connected with its material, its function in mundane contexts, and its contacts with other powerful agencies. As mentioned above, the worn washing-bat found in a lake includes water agency, connected with its function, and its agency was reinforced by lying in the water. Since it was old and found, residual personal agencies from its manufacturer and user were diminished or neutralized. A seemingly useless, broken and discarded artefact could thus be a very suitable object for ritual purposes. In light of the find material, it seems that objects with rock agency were preferred for many concealments, even though the proportion of these objects may be over-represented due to preservation issues. Still, rock *väki* is often mentioned to be one of the strongest forces: only water *väki* does not fear it (Krohn 1915: 93).

It was noted in Chapter 9.2 in regard to the folklore material that human remains were especially connected with maleficent concealments. The use of human remains was connected with the agency of the dead (also called *väki* of the church/churchyard) (see Klemetinen 1997: 109–111; Koski 2003; 2008; 2011). Krohn mentions that while water *väki* is the strongest agency, the *väki* of the church is the weakest one. As a consequence, church *väki* was most useful for malicious practices while water *väki* was the least appropriate for them (Krohn 1915: 93). In light of the material of this study, it is difficult to assess whether the observation of the different strength of the agencies truly was connected with their usefulness in malicious practices. While both folklore and historical sources confirm that human remains and other objects connected to death could in fact be used for apo-

tropaic practices as well, an emphasis on malevolent intentions being connected to the agency of death is observable. There are also warnings associated with the unskilled use of this agency (e.g. Issakainen 2002: 119; Koski 2008). One example of this is evident in the Åland trial case of 1552, where the human bone concealed under the threshold was believed to cause unintentional misfortune to the household, in addition to the intended goal to manipulate a man who stepped over it. Interestingly, one of the folklore accounts provides a similar example of manipulation connected to concealed human remains: if human bones taken from the churchyard at midnight are put in the foundation or cavity in the wall of a house, anything that the concealer wishes will happen in the house (FLS FA. [b] Nakkila, Leistilä. 1936. Porin tyttölyseo, Helmi Bärlund 4048).

The agency of an object could be more complicated still. It could originate from more than one source. As an example, Figure 45 shows the possible relationships of agencies in some of the objects visible in the material. As has been pointed out already in early studies, some agencies were closely related to other agencies: for example, the *väki* of the furnace/smithy was a combination of fire *väki* and iron *väki* (Krohn 1915: 88–89). Iron slag, also visible in the concealment finds, possessed this furnace *väki* and was thus very useful in magic practices, as is shown in folklore (e.g. SKMT I: 74§, 387§, 687§; see also Shepherd 1997). Figure 45 offers a simplified example of how the different objects were classified in the *emic* system, as opposed to the *etic* classification above (in Chapter 7), which was based mainly on the mundane function of the objects.

If the late modern concealments were mainly based on using agencies of objects against the forces of envy and hatred projected from neighbouring farms, then who were the agents performing the concealment rituals: farm masters or mistresses, or someone else? Since concealments may have been done in different stages of the buildings' life, it is likely that the concealers varied. However, there is not much evidence in the folklore of who performed the rituals. The folklore account quoted above in Chapter 2.2 (page 8) depicts a complex ritual performed by the farm master and mistress together, but this is the only example where the performers are specified in this manner. Usually the accounts are in a passive voice with an unspecified actor. Only fifteen accounts include an identified actor: in addition to the aforementioned example, three specify the farm master, three the farm mistress, three the newlywed daughter-in-law or mistress arriving at the farm, four the builder men, and one a farmhand coming to work at a new farm. Thus, the gender division in these accounts is nearly even split: females are featured in seven cases and males in nine cases.

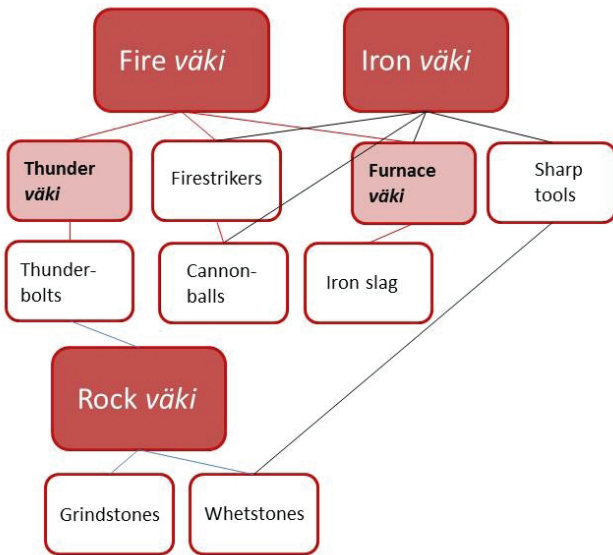


Fig. 45. Possible agencies (presented in a simplified manner) of some of the objects visible in the building concealment material.

Even in cases where the actor is specified, there is seldom any explanation as to why that person should perform the act, as seen here, for example:

Formerly when moving into a newly built house, the mistress should also bring a whole horse skull into the soil bench under the floor. Then no vermin, cockroaches, bedbugs, fleas would breed. (FLS FA. [j] Nurmes, Karhunpää. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3487; informant Juho Nuutinen, c. 25 years old.)

In former times when men started to build a new house, they first burned offering-fires in the places for the cornerstones, so that the new house would have good luck. And then when the building work had proceeded and the ceiling timbers were put in place, the designated master would bring the seed of wealth to his house. If he had gold coins he would put these under the main beam of the ceiling, thus ensuring good luck for his house. But even this was not enough. Old men say that many rich people put a lot of coins under the corners and this was connected with all sorts of magic and beliefs. (FLS FA. [e] Viitasaari, Huopana. 1936. Lauri Laurila 343; informant Eerik Laurila, farmer, c. 70–80 years old.)

The meaning of concealments made by a new resident arriving to the household can be interpreted in more detail. The three cases where a new daughter-in-law or mistress arrives all simply explain that the concealment would bring good luck and/or ensure prosperity. However, the case of a farmhand moving to another farm reveals more details:

When the master sent his farmhand to take care of his secondary farm, he told him to circle the buildings three times and then put a 50-penni coin inside a crack in the wall as an offering to the guardian spirit (FLS FA. [d] Asikkala. 1909. U. Holmberg 132; informant Emil Saarinen, 60 years old).

A new resident needed to be integrated into the household and introduced to the guardian spirit. The potential threat connected with the arrival of a daughter-in-law to the household of her husband has been discussed by Stark (Stark-Arola 1998: 156–161). She also points out that the only circumstance when sorcery was seen to occur within the household was when tension had risen between the old farm mistress and a new bride (Stark 2006: 167). This reveals the danger of allowing a newcomer inside the protected borders of the household. Thus, the event needed to be properly ritualized.

It seems most likely that apotropaic concealments were made by the master or mistress of the farm, while other members of the household made additional concealments when they arrived there. One interesting question is whether concealments made by the different sexes were connected to different buildings. The cowshed was traditionally associated with the female sphere, since the farm mistress had the main responsibility for the cattle (especially when near the household rather than pastures), while horses were the pride of the master.¹⁷ Since the folklore seldom offers information on the actor, the only way to try to test this correlation is to look at the information given on the sex of the informant, if such exists, and analyse the proportions of buildings connected to accounts given by each sex. However, as apparent in the example above where the description of the action of a farm mistress is given by a young male informant,¹⁸ this method is not particularly reliable.

As shown above in Chapter 6.1 (Fig. 7), information on the informant's sex is found in 466 folklore cases; of these, 395 also include the type of building in question. Above, Fig-

¹⁷ This generalization should not be seen as absolute. Early modern evidence shows, for example, that it was not uncommon in Finland for men to tend cattle and women to ride horses (Toivo 2008: 133–134).

¹⁸ The name Juho indicates a male.

ure 7 shows the proportion of male and female informants: male informants are slightly more predominant, but not significantly. When the buildings mentioned in the accounts are correlated with the informant's sex and analysed as a percentage of accounts displaying information on both sex and function, a difference can be noted (see Fig. 46). While the difference is not markedly significant, the sexes differ exactly in respect to the two buildings that have strong gender associations: women spoke more about concealments in cowsheds, while men are found in greater connection to stables. That said, given the available evidence, it seems that the concealment traditions were not extremely gender-specific in late modern Finland.

Another aspect connected with gender that must be stressed when discussing witchcraft beliefs in the study area is that witches were not believed to be only women. As pointed out in Chapter 5.2, this fact is visible in early modern witchcraft trials. Even though women were more often accused in the western areas, men also had to answer to charges of witchcraft (Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 40; Eilola 2003: 217, footnote 133). Furthermore, of the seven witchcraft or superstition trial cases included in the material of this study, only one involved a suspected female witch (see Chapter 6.3). This same phenomenon is observed also in studies based on late modern folklore material (e.g. Stark 2006: 161–199). Anyone was believed to be capable of magical harm, even though the envy of the different genders was likely to be directed towards different spheres of life. Thus, for example, the witch envying another's cattle was more likely to be a woman, while the witch envying another's horse or fishing-luck was more likely to be a man (see e.g. Toivo 2008: 128–136, 148; cf. Oja 1994: 48–49).

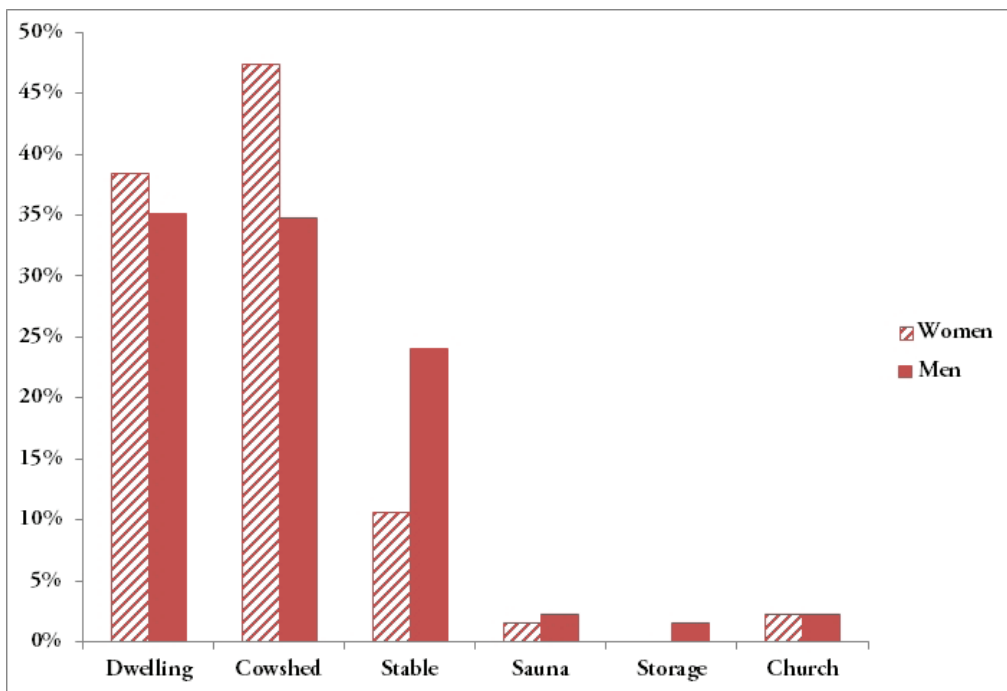


Fig. 46. Relative correlation between gender of the informant (cf. Fig. 7 in Chapter 6.1) and narrated buildings in the folklore material (n=395).

10.4 CONCEALMENTS AS PRACTICE

Foundation rituals and other rituals

After discussing the objects, spatial aspects, and agents involved in the concealment tradition, this subchapter returns to the important question of what concealments meant as practice. As in this whole chapter, the main perspective will remain that of the folklore material. The building rituals involving concealments can be roughly classified either as foundation rituals or rituals performed later, during the use of the building. The latter can often be categorized as “crisis-rituals” performed when some misfortune had occurred, or when a new resident arrived at the farm. Sometimes these concealments could be made in connection to an annual event, such as when the animals were brought home from the forest pastures in autumn. Malevolent concealments, discussed in more detail below, were also usually made during the building’s use. As shown above in Figure 28 (Chapter 9.1), foundation rituals made during the initial building stages predominate in the material.

Most of the accounts describing foundation rituals are short and undetailed, but as in the case quoted above in Chapter 2.2, some accounts give a more detailed description of what took place before the concealment was made, for example:

The place of the new house must be burned and cross-ploughed and a snake must be put in the hearth foundation, so that crickets and cockroaches will not thrive in the house, and also a bailer that has been found on the beach and has been carried there by the wind, so that fire could not get loose from the hearth into the house (SKS FA. [e] Viitasaari. O. H. Moisio l. 1890; informant Mikko Koljonen).

This type of account shows the need to purify the ground where the building was to be built of harmful influences before starting the work: both burning and ploughing an area crosswise have been noted as cleansing, apotropaic practices in other connections as well.¹⁹ The two items mentioned as being concealed in the hearth foundation have different prophylactic meanings due to their different potencies: the “toxic” agency of a snake was suitable for repelling pests (see also Hukantaivaal 2013b), while the combined water and wind agencies in the old boat bailer were suitable for keeping fire in check.

Practices in which the ground is “bought” from a guardian spirit or a good guardian is persuaded to take care of the new building are also clearly foundation rituals. The building concealments directed at guardian spirits were mostly meant to ensure a good start for the relationship between the building’s guardian and the household. If the guardians were angered at a later stage, they were usually soothed with extra offerings of food and drink, or even clothes (Haavio 1942: 411–459), but not usually another concealment. However, there is also folklore about making offerings of food and coins, which were pushed through cracks in the floorboards to the guardian spirit during the everyday course of life (e.g. [d] Lammi, Haavio 1942: 444) as a ritual to maintain good relations between the residents of the building and its guardian. As can also be said of these practices made to soothe a guardian spirit, the foundation rituals are a form of pre-emptive magic made in order to ensure that the building will be lucky, wealthy, and protected against evil and pests.

As shown above in Figure 34 (Chapter 9.2), corners stand out as preferred locations for foundation rituals while other types of rituals are more seldom mentioned as being situ-

¹⁹ See also Bradley (2005: 23–28) on archaeological evidence of prehistoric “ritual ploughing”.

ated there. The connection between corners and foundation rituals suggest a strong connection with guardian spirits (see above in Chapter 10.2), but this may also partly be simply practical, since corners were not as easily accessible after the building was built. Naturally, concealments made as part of crisis rituals were usually in accessible places, but sometimes some more effort was made, for example:

When several horses die “accidentally”, one should take the head of such a horse and three ribs from its left side and dig a hole under the hearth in the cooking shed, where fire is always burned, and bury the three ribs and head there. Then it will not take long before the people in the house (of the witch) start dying “accidentally”. ([e] Pihitipudas, SKMT IV, 2: XIV 118 §, quotation marks in the original, elaboration in parentheses added.)

This harsh-seeming description is a typical example of counter-magic against suspected witchcraft, by means of which the evil influence is sent back to its source (see Stark 2006: 180–186; Hukantaivaal 2015a). From this account, it can be deduced that if one horse died accidentally, it was seen as truly being an accident, but if several horses did so within a relatively short time, witchcraft was suspected. The logic behind this type of counter-magic is similar to that of the miniature frog-coffins (see Chapter 12.3 and Hukantaivaal 2015a): when a witch uses his/her power, a sympathetic link is formed between the witch and the target, and this link can be used to track the evil back to its source. In this case, the agency of fire is used to punish the witch’s household through this sympathetic link.

The folklore example quoted above is similar to the remedy cited in the trial case in Ulvila in 1689, where the calf suffering from circling disease was supposed to be burned on its forehead or its head buried under a hearth to protect the other cattle (see Chapter 6.3). Perhaps the circling disease was indeed believed to be caused by witchcraft and fire agency was used in the counter-ritual, even though the lay judges did not see the practice as anything suspicious. As Stark has shown in connection to later folk beliefs, counter-magic was seen as a socially acceptable form of magic in rural communities (Stark 2006: 185, 194–195), and this fact could have influenced the lay judges. In any case, another folklore account advises that if several sheep were dying, one should cut the head off one of them, pour its blood inside a hole drilled in the threshold of the sheep house, and take the head to the forest and bind and nail it to a tree in order to send the evil back to the malevolent neighbour ([j] Ilomantsi, SKMT IV, 2: XIV 142 §). Here the agency of the forest was apparently used to power the counter-magic.

In addition to aggressive counter-magic, crisis rituals included making a preventive concealment when witchcraft was suspected. Half of these describe making a concealment in connection to the threshold, while the other half is divided between the roof structure, cracks in walls, and other accessible spaces. It is clear from the folklore sources that it is impossible to distinguish pre-emptive foundation rituals from crisis rituals only from the outer appearance of the concealments in these locations. The same must be noted of annual rituals, such as those made in connection with bringing the livestock in from forest pastures to the protected sphere of the household in autumn (often on Michaelmas eve). They were always made in animal shelters: in thresholds, under floors, in walls, and in other accessible spaces. The meanings of these concealments are less often explicitly explained, but when so they are connected to having luck with the livestock and protection against evil. The implicit meaning was to prevent any harmful influences from the unprotected outer sphere, which had been absorbed by the livestock, from entering the household when the animals were reintroduced.

Malicious magic

Maleficent rituals differ from the aforementioned types of magic since they were not performed by members of the household, but by outsiders. Such concealments were made secretly in places that could be relatively easily reached, but where they would remain hidden from residents: under floors, in wall cracks, under corners, under roof beams, and also under thresholds. They often included remains of dead animals and human corpses, as well as so-called witch's pouches (*noitapussi*), which included different types of objects: the hair, fingernail clippings, or bones of a corpse, churchyard soil, iron nails, animal remains, etc. (see also Klemettinen 1997: 106–107). Sharp metal tools and mercury could also be used in malicious magic. The nature of powerful objects allowed them to be used both for good and evil; the objects themselves did not possess moral qualities, simply an agency that could be manipulated for whatever the practitioner had in mind. Still, as mentioned above, some *väki* agencies were more suitable for maleficent practices than others, and the *väki* of the dead was especially preferred (see Krohn 1915: 93; also Koski 2011). However, since this agency could also be used for apotropaic purposes, the occurrence of human remains is not a definite sign of malicious magic.

The mechanism by which malicious concealments were believed to work is not explicit, but it is apparent that bringing a foreign agency inside the borders of the household with ill intent caused the effect. This kind of concealment can be seen as breaking the circle of protection around the building. When misfortune struck the household, there was reason to suspect that such a concealment had been made, as seen in the example below of the use of forest agency:

Old folks used to say that all one needs to do is bury the carcass of a stoat²⁰ in another's yard or under the floor of the cowshed, and then one could be sure that nothing would succeed in the household; crops would not grow and livestock would not live. If someone's cattle started to die, and did not thrive, then they would say: we need to search where envious neighbours have buried the stoat carcass. (FLS FA. [h] Koivisto, Rousku. 1939. Ulla Mannonen 10216; informant Anni Kurki, 60 years old.)

As in this case, it is clear in the folklore why someone might wish to perform such malevolent deeds: if a neighbour's success was envied. Thus, malicious concealments are part of the same sphere of thought as protective ones, but simply the other side of the coin. Social relations were therefore central to most of the concealment practices. Even the guardian spirit traditions were connected with social relations in villages, as seen in a study by the folklorist Matti Sarmela (1974b). He stresses that narratives about guardian spirits of the house had a communicative function in social competition: since the wealth of the house was in the hands of the guardian spirit, these narratives were meant to relieve conflict between more and less successful households by downplaying the role of the people in accumulating wealth.

Incidentally, a psychological study conducted among present-day Dutch test subjects, tellingly titled *Warding Off the Evil Eye: When the Fear of Being Envied Increases Prosocial Behavior*, shows that the fear of being envied also affects modern-day conduct: the experiments suggested that people who were better off than others and feared being maliciously envied started to act in ways to lessen any cause for envy, downplaying their own success and acting more helpful to potentially envious parties. The conclusion of the study was that this phenomenon helps to explain how people can function in groups in which inequalities

²⁰ *Mustela erminea*.

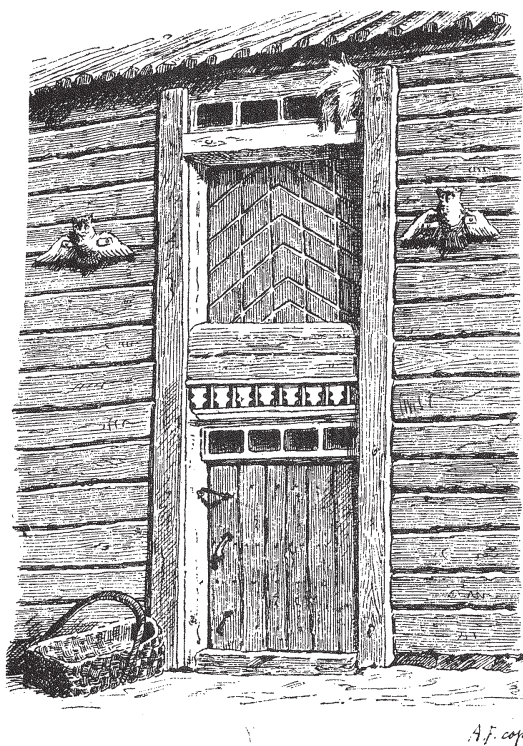


Fig. 47. Two protective owls nailed by a stable door in Liminka (I) (Heikel 1887: 294).

often occur: “If such frequently occurring inequalities give rise to envy and its potentially destructive effects, preventing or dampening these effects has social survival value” (van de Ven *et al.* 2010: 1676). The destructive effects of envy in the present-day world are connected to problems that might arise from malicious gossip or other forms of abuse, but in the magical worldview the problems were believed to truly be questions of life or death. Thus, protecting the household against envy was a survival skill.

A comparison of malign and benign rituals underlines the point that the effects of magic were based on intent. When starting this study, my presumption was that different objects²¹ would be used in the different forms of practices or there would be different locations for the malign and benign concealments. Instead, the actor is different and his/her intentions are different. Both of these are aspects that are not visible in the archaeological record.

Concealed or displayed?

Since it is established that the concealments were mainly connected with social relations in late modern times, why then were the protective objects concealed and not displayed for everyone to see (cf. Wilson 1999)? To answer this question adequately, a comprehensive study of the visible apotropaic practices would be needed to be able to make comparisons between displayed and concealed protections. However, since such a study is lacking, only some remarks can be made in this connection. First, it is clear that displayed protections were also used for buildings: for example, horseshoes or animal horns above doors, so-called “hindrance nails” pounded into thresholds (SKMT IV, 1: I 199 §), and birds of prey (owls, hawks) or corvids (*Corvidae*) nailed with open wings to the wall of animal shelters (Fig. 47) (Heikel 1887: 292–294; Forsblom 1917: 123; SKMT IV, 1: I 109§; Raudvere 1993). The last of these, the “protective bird”, could also be painted with red ochre above the door (Forsblom 1917: 123; Vuorela 1960: 59). The bird was especially believed to protect against the evil eye, since the gaze of a person would first hit the bird and this would neutralize its effect (Vuorela 1960: 58–59). Naturally, protective geometric signs carved into wooden structures were also visible elements (see e.g. Haltsonen 1936).

²¹ There is a tendency in the material used in this study to employ human remains in malevolent magic, but as mentioned, other sources show that the agency of death residing in these remains could also be used for benign purposes (e.g. Hertzberg 1889: 36–37, 44).

Displayed apotropaic objects can be understood as warning signs that the building in question is protected and that any malicious deed would be unsuccessful, but this idea does not fit with concealed objects. Several folklore accounts stress that the concealment should be made in secret and in a place where it will not be found (e.g. SKMT IV, 1: I 236 §, 277 §). The reason for this, or from whom the concealment should be hidden, is not explained. The only folklore example where both concealed and visible (nails) apotropaic objects are mentioned together is the account from Teuva (k) quoted above (Chapter 10.2), but this might be due to the fact that the folklore was thematically divided in the archives. Another account suggests that the displayed and concealed objects were alternatives:

When a house was built, a coin was struck inside one of the timbers, but some people instead had a horseshoe on the wall for luck ([k] Solv, FSFD VII, 3: III A 9, 3).

One account, however, offers a hint as to why it may have been needed to hide the objects:

In one house there was some quicksilver, cow's hair, butter, egg, salt, and bread inside a rag that had been buried under the doorway to the cowshed. Someone found it there and buried the bundle under her/his own cowshed. Some spell was recited also. (FLS FA. [s] Kallivieri. 1936. Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio 602; informant Valpuri Vohta.)

This account, which offers precise details in some respects but seems to deliberately obscure the actor and parts of the ritual, suggests that if someone stole the concealment and brought it to their own farm, they could steal the luck from the original concealer. This explanation fits together with other magic practices done to steal the luck from others: these often included bringing something that belonged to the victim to the home of the person doing the magic. However, it is still not apparent why all apotropaic objects were not in danger of being stolen.

Secrecy is often connected to magic rituals, and classical scholars have assumed that this is due to the morally questionable nature of the practices (see Appendix 1). However, this explanation does not apply in a community where pre-emptive and counter-magic was not only socially acceptable, but also common knowledge (see Stark 2006). The practices might have been concealed from disapproving authorities, but even this is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon, as becomes apparent when remembering that concealment rituals are not restricted to Christian times, but they also occurred in prehistoric contexts. The basis of the need for secrecy must be something else than hiding from Lutheran-orthodox authorities. This is supported by the fact that visible apotropaic practices were still a living tradition in late modern times.

It is possible that secrecy was simply one strategy for making a distinction between rituals and mundane action, that concealing was the correct way to communicate with the otherworld, or that secrecy was needed to avoid counter-practices (see also Issakainen 2012: 115–117). But even these speculations do not explain why displaying was chosen for some practices and concealing for others. In the absence of comprehensive evidence on the subject, it can be noted only that the need to conceal objects in a building is found alongside practices where apotropaic objects were made visible for the community.

Ritual treatment

As mentioned above in Chapter 7, before the act of concealing, objects could be handled in different ways. Although handling that left visible marks on objects was not commonly recorded in the folklore material, archaeologists have noticed that coins (and other objects) could be bent or broken in connection with ritual practices (e.g. Merrifield 1987:

91–92, 109–112). In the folklore accounts of late modern Finland, coins are not bent – which is natural since post-medieval coins were seldom thin enough to do that – but, as mentioned, they are split in a few examples:

When – in the old days – the lowest timbers of a cowshed were placed, a silver coin was split in four with an axe, and each piece was placed in a corner between the first log-joint; then cattle would thrive well in the cowshed. (These kinds of pieces were found when the old cowshed at Niemenkylä-village in Riihimäki was dismantled a few years ago). (FLS FA. [e] Pihtipudas. 1890. J. Gummerus & G. Ranni 13; SKMT IV, 3: 237 e, parentheses in the original.)

The few examples describing split coins are equivalent to this example: one coin is split in four and the pieces are deposited in the corners.²² One account also depicts cutting the body of a snake in four pieces to be put under the corners, while the head is put under the hearth (FLS FA. [j] Ilomantsi. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 8499). Others describe carving chips from a coin, as in the account recorded in Luvia (b), quoted above (Chapter 10.2). Otherwise, only books are mentioned in the folklore as being deliberately fragmented. It seems that the idea of breaking coins and books into pieces is connected in both cases to the value of the object: when one coin could be split into four, there was no need to use four coins; a book could be used in several concealments as well. In any case, old artefacts which were already fragmented are found in several accounts.

Another example of handling the object before concealing in a way that could be recognized in an archaeological context under good circumstances is described as follows:

When a pig is butchered, the top of its snout is taken and the tail is cut at its base; then the tail is passed into the nostril of the snout so that it sticks there. Then the snout with the tail is put into a hole in the corner of the building where the pigsty is. Then pigs will thrive and grow well. (FLS FA. [e] Karstula, Oinaskylä. 1950. Albert Rautiainen 2203.)

In most accounts, however, objects were either not handled in a particularly special way or handled in ways that would not have left marks to lead the archaeologist to interpret the find as ritually significant. The special nature of objects used ritually was often established by careful choices when selecting the objects to be used, as seen here, for example:

When one took the branches that were longer than the top of a singly-growing alder and swept the cowshed with them three times – two times clockwise and one counter-clockwise – and then took the branches to the crossing of a church road and tossed some of them to the east and the others to the north-west, and then drilled a hole in the threshold of the cowshed and put quicksilver inside the feather of a cock and put it inside the hole, and then plugged the hole with a plug made from the singly-growing alder so that they were hidden there, then no misfortune could happen to the cows in the cowshed. ([f] Juva, SKMT IV, 1: I 152 § ; IV, 3: I 259 f2.)

Ritual treatment is most clearly apparent in the detailed practices involving miniature coffins or figurines made of alder. For example, the miniature alder-horse was carefully outfitted with a blanket, feeding trough, and miniature stable, and the whole complex was placed under the stable floor to bring the horses good luck (see Hukantaivaal 2009: 353). Miniature coffin rituals seem to have been conducted by a ritual specialist, called to aid in performing counter-magic against suspected witchcraft, and thus these rituals

²² It would be tempting to see a connection between the ritual splitting of coins mentioned in the folklore and the two cases of split bovine skulls in the find material (Appx. 3: 47; 145). However, as noted above in Chapter 7.5, there is not enough evidence pointing to the splitting of skulls as ritual treatment in the present research. Splitting might have been part of the butchering process, and thus simply a convenient coincidence for the concealers, since a split skull would require less space.

were often multifaceted. As an example, one miniature coffin ritual is quoted below in its entirety. This ritual was performed when cattle were bewitched to not return home in the evening, and it belonged to the repertoire of the cunning man Mikko Koljonen (b. 1812) from Viitasaari (e) and recorded in 1890 (see also Issakainen 2012 about the expertise of this person):

This trouble is removed thus that a frog-coffin is made. Before this the frog must be found – it should be a reddish one – and it should be caught with mittens or something else covering the hands; since if the coffin is made before the frog has been caught, what will happen is that no frog will be found at all. Otherwise the coffin will be prepared as explained before.

(First a coffin must be made from a single-growing alder. It should be trough-shaped and the lid, which should have nine holes along the mid-ridge, should be made from the same tree as also eight wooden nails. The red frog, which has not been touched with bare hands, is put on its back in this coffin with its hind legs bound with red thread. Then the lid is put on and fastened with the eight wooden nails and a ninth tar or coffin nail, which is driven in the third hole counted from the head-side, which coincides with the heart of the frog. The lid is not fastened by its rims, only with the nails that have been nailed through the frog all the way into the bottom of the coffin.)

Then some hairs are pulled off each cow three times and put in a rag which is closed with red thread; then the frog-coffin, cow-hair-pouch, and three sharp tools with unknown makers are carried while circling the cows twice clockwise and once counter-clockwise while reciting a spell: [The spell includes metaphors of building a powerful fence bound with steel, snakes, and lizards that no birds could fly over and no snakes crawl under.]

When the last words of the spell are recited, one should change the direction of the circling to counter-clockwise. After circling the cows, the frog-coffin and the hair-pouch put on top of it are buried under the eastern corner of the cowshed and three or nine drops of alcohol are dropped on them and then soil is tossed on the grave three times with an axe (it needed not be one of the three tools that had been used while circling) – the other tools are put on the ground for the time being – while a spell is recited [the spell includes metaphors of eternal suffering, pleas for release, and greetings and appeals to beings of the earth and air].

Then the grave is pressed three times with each tool so that a cross-sign is formed and then the middle of the cross is stamped with the left heel and it is said: You cannot be released until I come to retrieve you with nine stallions born of one mare without the knowledge of one crone. Note: This trick can be made also in other cases when cattle-luck goes bad. In the old days, this trick was done in connection with “setting the great earth-keeper”, but nowadays when only few know how to do it, this trick is not done every year and often someone is called to do it for them only when the cowshed is taken into use, and unless misfortune occurs with the cattle which forces to renew it, it is only done once. (SKVR IX, 4: 1335, 1570.)

As in this case, the miniature coffin rituals were usually counter-magic where the frog represented the witch who is punished for his/her evil magic. The “setting of the great earth-keeper”²³ ritual was made annually to protect the cattle and household against witchcraft (SKVR IX, 4: 1570). It is interesting that the informant asserted that such a ritual had been done in the past, but at the time of the recording the annual practice had been abandoned. This kind of comprehensive annual counter-magic seems perhaps even a bit of an exaggeration, but it could explain the numerous frog-coffins found in some late modern churches (see Chapter 12.3 and Hukantaival 2015a).

²³ Practices done to appease the otherworldly beings of the earth in order to ensure their benevolence towards the household were called “setting the earth-*väki*” (Krohn 1915: 69).

The above account also includes circling around the building, which is a recurring element in the apotropaic rituals. It is also usually stated that the circling should be made twice clockwise and a third time counter-clockwise. This kind of action is naturally a part of strengthening the symbolic borders around the building, as is also the first spell in the account that included a metaphorical fence. The numbers nine and three, red colour, alder wood, and sharp tools are also all elements common in folk magic practices.

The meanings of the actions

In addition to these kinds of high-intensity rituals, it seems that more simple practices where someone in the household concealed an object without elaborate ritualization were still also conducted when the folklore was collected. Aside from the 17th-century trial record in which the practices to heal circling-disease were seen as a “normal” action, another example shows the different perceptions of the nature of the practices between the local community and the authorities: a short newspaper article from 1898 reports the discovery of a dried viper inside a timber belonging to the wall of the old governor’s building in Heinola (d) (Appx. 3: 128). The first report assumed that the snake had been concealed as part of a magic practice, but a reader felt the need to correct this:

It was not magic. This newspaper reported that a snake was found inside the wall-timber of the old governor’s house in Heinola when it was dismantled, and a magic meaning was suggested. Now we have received the following explanation: the mentioned snake was not put inside the timber because of some magic, but to scare off cockroaches. The thing, you see, is that as soon as a real viper or even just its head is put inside the wall, or in the ceiling structure, cockroaches flee from the house. And even if new ones are brought inside, they are driven out as well. If someone does not believe this, then they should try it themselves! (Jyränkö 1898b; see also Hukantaival 2013b: 69–70.)

This informant did not see the purely practical action as anything magical, and the example reveals how strongly one could believe that this actually worked, even though it seems that the informant suspected that not everyone would believe it. Another informant stressed the positive result of a similar practice:

He explained that he once had some bedbugs in one cottage that he had built. Another man had advised to put a shrew that had died by itself under the back window or the hearth, when no one was watching. The informant had found such a shrew on the road (shrews, you know, cannot cross a road; they die when they try), and he had put it behind the hearth. The bedbugs had immediately disappeared from the house, and none had been seen in decades. (FLS FA. [j] Nurmes, Lehtovaara. 1936. Jorma Partanen 139; informant Heikki Valjus, 63 years old.)

It is typical for folk beliefs to look for positive signs and ignore or explain away negative ones (Pyysiäinen 2004: 157). Still, more sceptical people have surely also existed, and not everyone would jump to interpret misfortunes as “supernatural” either:

Ruikka-Pekka was working together with another mischievous one. In order to cause misfortune they gathered human skulls from the graveyard and put them under the steps. But no actual misfortune occurred for the household: some children did die, but the house remained wealthy, so it had no effect. (FLS FA. [l] Kuivaniemi. 1958. Elli-Kaija Köngäs 59; informant Iida Jääskö, born 1887.)

This account was recorded quite late and the informant was born when the magical worldview was already declining. These could explain the scepticism. Nevertheless, the account does contain a suggestion that such a practice might have worked, and it also shows what kind of effect was sought through this kind of magic: it was the wealth of the household

that was targeted.²⁴ Even though the guardian spirit was believed to be primarily responsible for wealth, there is no indication that malevolent concealments were directed against it. It is apparent that two different kinds of ideas were behind the concealment practices: 1) the relationship with otherworldly agencies, especially good relations between the household and its guardian(s), and 2) the social relations within the community, including the idea of weak borders that could be strengthened or broken with a *väki* object.

As noted in Chapter 9.1, concealments were not often mentioned as protecting against house fires, which seems surprising since most buildings were wooden. The reason for this is that the majority of concealments were directed against the envy of neighbours, which threatened the wealth (=luck) of the household. Some of the few accounts that do describe protection against fire specify fire caused by witchcraft as especially feared:

When a new house is built, a hole is dug in the ridge-beam and inside are put three small stones that are found under an anthill and some quicksilver, and the hole is plugged with an alder plug; then the wind will not take the roof and no enemy can incite fire väki on the building (FLS FA. [p] Usmana. 1894. H. Meriläinen II 2265; informant Taarie Ohvolasjovna, 64 years old).

* * *

The practice of building concealments was an integrated whole: the choices of both object and location, together with the intention of the actor, were needed in order to make the act meaningful: thus, **meaning = concealed object + its location + intention of the concealer**. For example, the trial record from 1666 in Eurajoki (b), where the priest was rumoured to have concealed the key from the church door under the threshold or entrance hall floor of the church in order to kill parishioners for their inheritances (see Chapter 6.3), can be understood only in the context of the magical worldview: the key of the church door would embody church agency (namely, agency of death), in addition to its symbolic meaning as the opener of a passage to the otherworldly space inside the church, and stepping over the powerful object would expose the most vulnerable part of the bodily boundaries to its agency. The evil intention of the concealer would determine what kind of effect this action would have.

The folklore shows that a variety of practices could include concealing an object in the structures of a building, but even if the exact meaning cannot be definitively deduced by the mere outer appearance of the object in its location, there are some general trends that can help archaeologists to interpret similar finds in late historical contexts in Finland. First, concealments are closely related to the wealth of the household on one hand and social relations causing the threat of envy on the other. Secondly, the general remarks below can be used as guidelines:

1. Concealments situated in corners are more likely to be foundation deposits directed at guardian spirits, especially if coins are included, than other types of concealments.
2. Threshold locations and sharp metal tools are most often connected to apotropaic concealments intended to strengthen borders.
3. Concealments of animal remains in hearths are likely connected with exorcising pests.

²⁴ From this point of view, it is interesting that a symbolic connection between a house and wealth has been noted in anthropological studies, as mentioned above in Chapter 2.2 (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 7).

4. Wall and floor locations are not generally connected to some specific meaning, so a wider interpretation should be preferred.
5. Understanding the choices of objects requires an understanding of their agencies, but the mundane function of the object offers hints for the interpretation.

The question that remains is if these general observations have long histories or if some of them changed rapidly during historical times. As repeatedly noted, the current material is not sufficient to answer this question adequately, but some remarks and speculations can be offered. The next chapter returns to look at the materials of this study more widely, and questions of regional and temporal variation are discussed.

CHAPTER I I

TEMPORAL AND REGIONAL ASPECTS

Since the late modern folklore concerning building concealments is quite detailed, and the late modern physical finds bring even more depth to this picture, the result is a well-documented period which can be used as a starting point for a direct historical approach (see Chapter 3). The nature of the relationship between the outer form of the ritual and its meanings is one of the fundamental questions when interpreting meanings in earlier historical times. This study has already shown that specific meanings may be impossible to assign to a single find, but more generally the different meanings have been connected with the wealth of the household and a fear of witchcraft caused by tensions within the community, as well as the notion of weak borders needing protection.

As mentioned above in Chapter 2.3, aspects of folk culture were earlier seen as resistant to change, even completely static; this traditional view has been criticized for being prejudiced and colonialist. The idea of change as a positive trait has also affected this study, first unconsciously and later with more awareness. It manifests as discomfort when no signs of change are visible in the material, as if this would imply a pessimistic view of the people in question. However, it must be realized that static practices continued to serve their purpose: Even innovation is based on a need or encouragement to change; it is not random. Still, this need or encouragement may not be easy to recognize. When source materials are scarce, it is also difficult to assess whether observed patterns show change or simply variation (see also Gamble 2008: 153–186).

Fortunately, the question of static versus changing meanings of the concealments does not have to be left for pure speculation. Building concealment practices still continue today, and this situation can be used in order to gauge how changing meanings may be related to the outer form of the concealments and the larger context. The chapter begins with this assessment, after which follows suggestions about the likelihood of whether meanings changed or remained static in earlier historical times. The viewpoint is then turned again to the folklore and evidence of regional variation within this more representative body of material, supplemented with observations from other study areas.

11.1 DOCUMENT CONCEALMENTS AND OTHER LIVING TRADITIONS

One form of building concealments still very much alive today is that made during the laying of the foundation stone of an official building. These concealments often include some written documents, such as a newspaper or foundation letter and coins or medals. The Swedish numismatic scholar Torgny Lindgren has collected newspapers and published information about these ceremonies (Lindgren 1953; 1954; 1957; 1977). For ex-

ample, such a ceremony was held in Turku (a) in 1802 when the foundation stone of the new Academy building¹ was laid. The ceremony was conducted by King Gustav IV Adolf, who placed a silver box inside a hollow made in the foundation stone and ritually sealed it inside. The box contained a document written in Latin describing the ceremony, a set of coins in circulation at the time, and a medal minted especially for the occasion (Lindgren 1977: 5; see also Hukantaival 2006: 105; Talvio 2007: 33). A relief depicting this ceremony is still found on the wall of the banquet hall of the building.

Lindgren's studies suggest that this custom became popular in the Swedish kingdom during the 18th century. However, it is possible that concealments in official buildings (for example, churches) from even much earlier times belong to a similar custom as these late modern and contemporary ceremonies. The undoubtedly vast corpus of material on these ceremonies and the form in which they survive today is still largely uncollected in Finland. Because of the focus of this study, this task is left for future research. The explicit reason for making these concealments is usually to document the time of building for future generations.

However, in the intriguing case of concealments made to this day in large cruise ships built in Finnish shipyards, the explicit reason is to ensure good luck for the ship on its voyages (Forsten-Leino 2012). This custom is an extension of the ancient mast-coin tradition (see e.g. Merrifield 1987: 54–57; Schoerner 2012), but in absence of proper research it is impossible to assess whether the custom has been reintroduced or if it is in fact an unbroken tradition. Even if lucky coin concealments in ships have been brought back, it still means that their traditional meaning has some relevance today. In spite of technological progress resulting in safer ship traffic, even large cruise ships have suffered devastating accidents. Accordingly, a ritual meant to bring good luck to a vessel serves a psychological purpose. However, the poem included in the concealment of the cruise ship Viking Line Grace in 2012 also includes a wish that it would bring commercial success to its owner company over its rivals (Forsten-Leino 2012). In this case, to the traditional connection with wealth has been added a new form which is aligned with corporate life.

Conversely, when the foundation stone was laid for the new Main Library in Turku on 12 September 2005, the foundation document concealed in the hollow of the foundation stone together with a set of coins and newspapers of the day included information on the current political structure, the planning and realization of the building, and the foundation ceremony itself (City of Turku 2005; Hukantaival 2006: Appendix 2). This was clearly a time capsule of historical information intended for future generations. Since the content of the concealment and the structure of the foundation document was identical in the ceremony for a school building in Helsinki in 2002 (Helsingin II normaalikoulu "Viikin norssi" 2003), it seems that these official foundation concealments for buildings have become highly standardized in Finland. The speeches given at these ceremonies also have in common a view of a future in which the meanings of the operations in the building have been predicted.

The outer form of these concealments differs from that of traditional ones, even though they appear to share some elements. First, they are unquestionably part of foundation rituals. The objects are put inside a metal cylinder which is placed inside a symbolic foundation stone, a hollow concrete block. Even though coins are a part of the assemblage, these are a full set of coins in circulation, and coins from the building year are preferred. This differs from the traditional preference for old coins or coins of different kings. The coins in

¹The building in question (Hämeenkatu 13, Turku) nowadays houses the Court of Appeal.

the contemporary concealments serve the same historical documentation purpose as the newspapers and foundation document. It is thus apparent that both the outer form and the meaning of the concealments have changed. The structure of buildings has naturally changed as well, but the main reason for the change of form and meaning is largely based on a difference of worldview: concealments directed at future generations do not fit into past traditions, where the attention was either on contemporary social relations or guardian spirits potentially connected to ancestors.

The change in worldview, which slowly began in Finland from the late 19th century onwards and then surged after the Second World War, was drastic. Stark has discussed the process of how the magical worldview became outdated due to primary school education (which became mandatory in 1921), the strengthening of governmental institutions protecting the integrity of the individual and his/her property, and the dispersal of the traditional village communities with their inescapable social contacts (Stark 2006: 62–79, 452–458). The latter two points are especially relevant in connection with building concealments. Since this study has shown that they were connected to these aspects in late modern times, it would be surprising if the concealments had not changed upon such a shift in worldview. Yet perhaps some underlying cognitive trait inherent in humans has led to a continued need for concealments, even in these new circumstances.

This contemporary example shows a positive correlation between form and meaning (meaning = concealed object + its location; see Chapter 3.1), but in order to recognize the change in outer form a good knowledge of the previous pattern and its complexity is needed. It is also notable that these types of document concealments have gained in popularity over a timeframe of circa 400 years; we are not speaking of sudden or recent events. First the two different types of traditions co-existed in different social contexts, until the new worldview became dominant. This observation supports the hope to be able to recognize changed meanings in past contexts as well, but there remains the limiting factor that the complexity of the pattern in one period needs to be well-documented in order to show actual changes. The practices must also be observed within the larger context of the general worldview, and this may not be easy to recognize in all periods. Furthermore, it was noted above in Chapter 10 that the intention of the concealer may in some cases be the primary factor behind the precise meaning of the act.

In addition to official building projects, it has come to my attention while conducting this study that concealments are sometimes made when building private homes as well. For example, I have been told that one family concealed a bottle of champagne and a family photograph inside the wall of their home during building work in the 1980s. This and similar living traditions also await an interested folklore collector to be recorded for future study. The purpose of these last comments in this regard is to raise awareness around the fact that additional unofficial building concealment traditions are still present and waiting for interested scholars, as well as to show that, even though meanings may have changed, the need to make concealments is still significant today.

11.2 SPECULATION ABOUT TEMPORAL ASPECTS

When Falk (2008) studied the building concealments in southern Sweden and Denmark between c. 1000–1900 CE, the material consisted of 97 buildings with deposits. In this material she observed that a small change in the spatial pattern occurred in medieval times

and a more notable change followed at the time of the Reformation. In the pre-Christian era, concealments on borders and in the internal areas of buildings were equally represented, in medieval times border locations were slightly predominant, and after the Reformation most concealments were in internal locations. It appears that no changes happened during the initial Christian conversion, but a hundred years later. Falk connected this with changes in Christianity where the Devil was personified and hell and purgatory were created. This would have actualized an external threat, which led to a shift in the meanings of concealments from bringing good luck to serving an apotropaic purpose. The post-Reformation shift to internal locations, which coincided with a more fixed choice of objects, was connected with the diminished physical power of the Devil; the ritual was simplified, rationalized and lost its dynamics (Falk 2008: 210–211). A concern of the representativeness of the material is expressed above in Chapter 3; patterns are not documented well enough to reach general conclusions. Without taking a stand on how it might have been in southern Scandinavia, it can be noted that these interpretations do not seem to apply in the area of this study: nothing in this material supports a similar connection to belief in the Devil or a diminished need to protect borders in late modern times.

Following Falk's division between locations on borders and in buildings, the find material of this study shows inside locations being most common during medieval times (64%) and early modern times (53%), while border locations occur more (59%) in late modern finds (see Figs. 18, 20, and 22 in Chapter 8). The folklore shows a clear predomination of border locations (79%) (see Fig. 16, Chapter 8.1). Thus, the material of this study shows an opposite trend from the southern Scandinavian material. The changes in institutionalized Christianity that supposedly affected the southern Scandinavian concealments should be fairly identical in the Finnish area, as they belonged to the same religious institutions. However, even if there was no issue around the representativeness of the materials, the framework of changes in religion may in fact not be the best starting point for analysis. Instead, the folklore material suggests the significance of inequalities in wealth and a fear of malicious envy based on the magical worldview. As noted above, these meanings were especially connected to border locations. The question of changes in religion should be considered mainly from the point of view of solutions offered to these problems by the official theologies (cf. the discussion in Chapter 5; see also Scribner 1993).

Since the threshold concealments mentioned in the folklore are especially connected with the cowshed and other animal shelters (see Chapter 9.2), it is also relevant to note that the buildings recognized in the factual finds show a different picture than those described in the folklore (see Chapter 8). In light of the find material alone, a researcher might conclude that the threshold was not a particularly common concealment location during the historical period in Finland. However, knowledge of the folklore material demands reconsideration of this. It may simply be that objects that preserve poorly in archaeological contexts were preferred for concealments in thresholds, and thus the threshold concealments are invisible to archaeologists (see Chapter 9.3). Still, on the basis of the current material it cannot be excluded that the importance of the threshold may have increased up to the 19th century.

The only generalization that can be made with confidence from the find material is that the building concealment practices were known over the whole time period under study. The question of whether the traditions were changing or static must be approached from a wider context. Recent changes in meanings, clearly observable today, coincide with significant changes in the overall worldview. Thus, it is critical to try to understand the

worldview of earlier times, especially in connection with social organization and belief in harmful witchcraft.

From late modern to early modern times

The early modern worldview in connection to belief in witchcraft has been discussed by historians who study 16th- and 17th-century witchcraft and superstition trial records. In light of these studies (e.g. Hertzberg 1889; Nenonen 1993; Nenonen & Kervinen 1994; Eilola 2003; 2004; Eilola & Einonen 2009; Kuronen 2009), the early modern magical worldview seems close to or even identical to the one recorded in late modern folklore. Many magic practices and objects mentioned in the trial records are directly recognizable in later folklore. As shown above, Eilola in particular has noted the idea of weak borders needing protection existing already in early modern times (Eilola 2003; 2004). These historians have also pointed out that social tensions in the communities were often the trigger for accusations of witchcraft.

The few trial cases in the material of this study fit well into the frame given by the late modern folklore, even though there is a high proportion of malicious concealments, due to the nature of the sources. When looking at the objects used in these cases it is apparent that the late modern belief in *väiki*-type agency existed in early modern times as well. Other court records confirm this observation. All in all, the worldview reflected in the trial records is so similar to later folklore that if any changes took place, they must have been very subtle and only affected details, while the wider frame remained.

A change in the general demographic picture was set in motion from the middle of the 18th century onwards: Swedish land reform resulted in a slow scattering of old group villages, such that households were situated further away from each other (Anttila 1986: 365–366). However, the effects of the reform were not truly realized until the mid-19th century. Thus, although one might expect that this process relieved stress between separate households, it may be that the effect on concealment practices triggered by this slowly progressing reform became merged with the even larger changes in overall society. The significance of the overall population density is discussed in more detail in the following subchapter.

The sources in which the magical worldview is best reflected are all from post-Reformation times. This poses a problem, since it is possible that the change in religion affected the concealment practices as well. This potential change would not have happened during the initial stage of the Reformation, but later, during the time of the Lutheran orthodoxy, and especially in connection with the intensifying prosecution of witchcraft and superstition after the middle of the 17th century. The historians Nenonen and Kervinen (1994: 197–199, 201) reveal that priests were sometimes warned not to preach so strongly against witchcraft since it caused anxiety in communities. Based on this notion, I have earlier suggested that the concealment practices may have intensified when authorities indicated that witchcraft was a serious threat (Hukantaival 2007: 71–72). Regarding this, Davies (2015: 389) comments that the rise in witchcraft prosecutions was caused by elite concerns and it was not likely to have been reflected in popular fear. This is surely a relevant point in other European contexts, but, as previously mentioned, the local situation was different. Excluding the superstition trials, where the attitudes of the people and the authorities differed in terms of the immorality of the practices (e.g. Eilola 2003), witchcraft prosecution in the Finnish area was bottom-up; it began with quarrels inside communities, usually about property, which escalated to the point that witchcraft charges were brought (see e.g.

Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 200; Toivo 2008: 203). This pattern is also evident in the trial records including concealments (see Chapter 6.3).

It was shown above that locations inside buildings seem to predominate in the medieval material. However, as noted in Chapter 6.2, the material dating from pre-Reformation times is scarcer than later finds, and since there is not sufficient evidence, the question of whether apotropaic concealment practices intensified as a result of preaching against the dangers of witchcraft in the local churches during the Lutheran orthodoxy must be left as a matter of speculation. It is highly likely that the concealment practices during the post-medieval times were similar in meaning to the late modern folklore. All of the conditions linked to the practices in later times – tension about wealth, the forced proximity between households in group villages and towns, and concerns about malicious envy resulting in witchcraft – were evidently present in early modern times as well. If changes did occur, they are likely to have been subtle modifications and re-evaluations of the purposes that concealments served.

One such adaptation could be the popularity of mercury in the practices. Since this substance is not found naturally in the area, its use was dependent on availability. The importation of mercury is recorded in a shipping catalogue dating to 1551 (Grotenfelt 1887: 160), but since it was used in gilding and as medicine in medieval times (Pedersen 1964), it is likely that mercury had been brought earlier as well. The substance could have been purchased in pharmacies – or before 1689 when the first official pharmacies were founded in Turku (a) and Viipuri (h) – from professional manufacturers of medicines (see Virtanen 1999: 262; Issakainen 2012: 53–57). However, the imported material must have been expensive for common people. Thus, its popularity is likely to have increased when it became more easily available and less costly.

Even one of the folklore accounts suggests that the use of mercury (and asafœtida) was a newer introduction, at least in the Ladoga Karelia area:

In old times when the building of the hearth of the main dwelling building was begun, the house folk would secretly conceal quicksilver and so-called stinking gum² in the hearth-foundation. This was believed to have the effect that no pests could live in the walls or in the foundation of the building. This is not one of the oldest types of magic beliefs, but a belief from the last times of magic-believing. (FLS FA. [i] Sortavala. 1936. J. Hyvärinen 299; informant Anna Hyvärinen, born 1873.)

This account shows that some people at least were aware that magic practices could change. Looking at the map of areas where folklore on mercury concealments was recorded (see Chapter 9.2, Map 4, page 112), it can be seen that the most intensive collecting of accounts involving mercury was conducted west of the Ladoga Karelia area (i). The above account suggests that this picture may represent the true popularity of the mercury concealments instead of being formed by the process of collecting folklore.

In the western areas, there is evidence that mercury was known already in late 17th-century magic. For example, the record from a court case tried in Vesilahti (b) in 1687 tells that a woman named Karin had taken a human skull from the churchyard to her turnip field. After circling the field three times and asking a set of ritual questions, she buried the skull with a quill filled with quicksilver on the north border of the field. This was supposed to protect the field against thieves. A similar case where a human skull was buried in a cabbage field for better growth was tried in Ostrobothnia in 1663, but this case did not

² Asafœtida.

involve mercury (Hertzberg 1889: 36–37, 44). These cases fit perfectly with the worldview and practices of the late modern folklore.

The pattern formed in Map 4 (Chapter 9.2) suggests that the use of mercury in concealments might have still been spreading in a north-eastern direction at the time of folklore collection. However, the use of mercury was also known in healing magic in the northern areas (even in the northernmost municipality of Utsjoki) during this time (see Qvigstad 1932: 146–147, 222; Itkonen 1984a: 451, 460, 465, 473). Formerly, it was believed that widespread cultural traits correlate with their age, as if culture diffuses steadily like expanding rings in water and only the distance from its place of innovation determines its adoption. This simplifying theory has long since been abandoned; human behaviour is considerably more complex than this.³ Thus, the most widespread traits are not necessarily the oldest. In the case of mercury, however, the spread of its popularity seems plausible. The adoption of mercury for concealments may have been connected with changes in the overall social context or even the spread of cattle diseases.

A very interesting and important point when discussing historical folk religion is the role of authorities in their adoption. It is easy to believe that the attitude of educated authorities was only one of disapproval; seeking to civilize the people, they would have sought to prevent folk practices. However, a handwritten booklet that circulated in the Vaasa area (k) in the late 18th century among bell-ringers (*lukkari*), who were also responsible for education and crude medical treatment, advises that bewitched cattle could be healed by drilling a hole in the threshold of the cowshed, putting inside it a goose quill filled with mercury, and plugging the hole (Alanen 1947: 156–157). This illustrates how the worldview of the elite might not always have differed from the lower social classes, even after the Enlightenment (see Chapter 5). The local late 18th-century intelligentsia were still debating if sudden animal diseases such as bloat or the newly spread cattle plague (*rinderpest*), called “shot disease” (*amputauti*), were caused by witches’ poisonous projectiles or other sources (Kalm 1754: 13–16; Nikander 1937; Forsius 2003; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003: 590–592).

Even though some of the educated elite, such as the scientist Pehr Kalm (1754: 15–16), doubted that rinderpest was caused by poisonous projectiles, it is likely that this explanation was widely accepted among the common people; at least the vernacular name for the disease points strongly towards that. Since the bell-ringers’ booklet was from the same Ostrobothnian area where this disease caused much destruction, it is probable that the bewitched cattle mentioned therein were animals suffering from cattle plague. The infectious disease was first noted in 1689 in Liminka (l), whence it spread to other areas (Kalm 1754: 3).

Since the concealment practices were connected to a need to protect the household’s wealth, especially in terms of livestock, it makes sense that a devastating cattle disease would have affected the practices. The bell-ringers’ booklet raises an intriguing question: was there a connection between cattle plague and the popularity of mercury concealments in cowshed thresholds? It is plausible, but the question remains open. Since the scarcity of threshold concealments in the find material can be due to multiple factors, it is difficult to assess whether the increased popularity of mercury led to a new type of concealment or if it simply replaced in popularity the previous types of threshold concealments.

³ For example, this theory would imply a considerable age for the extremely widespread Coca-Cola bottle (Trigger 2006: 285).

Other post-Reformation developments of the concealment practices must have included the use of Christian prayers in the vernacular language in rituals, as well as the use of leaves of religious books⁴ and communion wafers. These elements would not have been accessible in the same way during the Catholic period. The presence of these elements shows a conceptual connection between concealment practices and institutionalized religion, which validates the use of the concept of folk religion as a framework for discussing them.

Even if the use of mercury and religious objects increased as a result of their becoming more easily available to common people, this did not mean a change in the general framework of the practices. Rather, the “new” powerful substances fit naturally into the general magical worldview. This kind of development probably also took place when other powerful objects (such as Catholic sacramentals, for example) were introduced into the area. In this sense, even generally static phenomena were dynamic. Since the practices were firmly based in everyday concerns, it is also likely that the intensity of specific concealment practices varied in response to misfortunes such as epidemics, crop failures, or fires, while more stable times may have caused a decrease in the need for rituals.

Medieval times

The folk practices and beliefs of the medieval period are not well known, since the written sources concerning the study area are extremely scarce (see Chapter 5.2). Mostly it is simply stated that the Catholic Church was more tolerant towards folk practices than the Lutheran Church, but some have even claimed that folk magic was a post-Reformation phenomenon (Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003: 589; see also Hagen 2012: 107). This is clearly a misunderstanding caused by the fact that folk practices became visible in the historical sources as a result of the Lutheran orthodoxy’s need to root out Catholic and other suspicious traditions. Scribner (1993) states that the importance of folk practices may have increased after the Reformation, since the Church discontinued many of the rituals that had practical value for the common people (see above Chapter 5.2), but in the study area this would mainly be visible in the south-western central areas, since the wide, peripheral inland areas would not have been visited often enough by priests or monks for them to play a significant role in everyday life (see e.g. Korpela 2012: 251).

As mentioned, medieval Nordic folk beliefs connected to witchcraft and magic have been studied by the historian Stephen A. Mitchell (2011). Based on multiple sources, he argues that the period between the Viking Age and the Reformation (c. 1025–1550 CE) saw a development of witchcraft beliefs as native and imported systems were shaped into the folk beliefs known later in early modern times. The first important point for the study at hand is that there is no doubt that witchcraft was seen as a real threat in medieval times. This is apparent already in law codes that stipulate severe punishments for harming or killing someone by magic. Icelandic law also included punishments for causing sickness or death of livestock by sorcery (Mitchell 2011: 67).

The Swedish Saint Bridget complained in the 14th century that people sought help from magic specialists for matters of fertility and romance, to predict the future, and to be healed of illness (Klemming 1861: 292–293; Mitchell 2011: 52). From a present-day view, these concerns may seem to mainly be personal issues, but in the past they certainly had a greater impact on the welfare of the entire household than today. Saint Bridget also condemns a man for increasing his fishing catch by magical means (Klemming 1861:

⁴ See also the study by Janne Harjula (2015) on the use of religious books (and fragments of them) as burial goods evident in the archaeological material from the latter half of the 17th century to the late 18th century.

196; Mitchell 2011: 67), which shows that the livelihood magic known from later sources existed at this time. The milk-stealing witches depicted on the antechamber walls of medieval stone churches also confirm that some of the later traditions indeed have medieval roots (Mitchell 2011: 136–145; see also Myrdal 2008: 75–77).

Thus, even though the evidence is scarcer in comparison to later times, it seems likely that the potential threat of witchcraft – which especially targeted the wealth of households – originating in envy and other social tensions was present in the medieval communities of the study area as well. While the general picture of the medieval area of Finland seems to have been less demanding than the times of harsher climate which lay ahead, there were also fluctuations within this period: for example, the end of the 15th century was a cold spell (Ljungqvist 2010; Holopainen & Helama 2012). Moreover, the wealth of the farmers was not evenly spread: owners⁵ of large farms had a strong position in society, and taxation was heavy (Orman 2003: 122–128). Social stress and concerns about envious witchcraft must have been more pronounced in densely built towns and group villages than in the looser settlements. Since magic practices were connected with important aspects of life, the less significant role of cultivation and livestock in the eastern and northern areas must have also directed the intensity of practices towards wilderness resources and otherworldly agencies connected to them. This does not necessarily mean that no building concealments were needed, but rather that they were perhaps directed towards guardian spirits of the earth and wilderness agencies more than social relations (see also the discussion on regional differences in the next subchapter below).

The medieval concealment finds of this study are mainly from the areas of Finland Proper (a) and Uusimaa (c), with only single finds from other areas ([d] Häme, [h] South Karelia, [l] North Ostrobothnia, and [å] Åland-islands) (see Map 3.3 in Chapter 6.2). This correlates with the areas where medieval settlements have been excavated archaeologically, so this data cannot be used as proof that building concealments did not exist outside of the more densely populated areas. Since walls and corners are present in the material (see Fig. 22 in Chapter 8.4), and a concealed upside-down goat skull dated to the 14th century was also found in the town of Turku (a) by a border marker between two building plots (Hukantaival 2007: 72; 2013a: 99–100; Saloranta 2010: 70), it is evident that borders did have some significance in the folk practices already at this time. Also present were some objects, such as sharp metal tools, which later had a strong connection with protection against external threats. It is notable, though, like the whole medieval material, that these examples are from town and village contexts.

When compared to the greater stress of livelihood in later times, which were dominated by harsh climate conditions (see Holopainen & Helama 2009), it seems plausible that medieval concealments in the study area could have had a different emphasis on the meanings: foundation rituals aimed at ancestral guardian spirits were perhaps more important than purely apotropaic meanings. This is highly speculative, and since it cannot be confirmed in the current research situation I suggest it as a hypothesis to be tested in future studies. This idea is quite the opposite than the one presented by Falk (2008), who saw the medieval belief in the Devil as the source of an external threat. My hypothesis is based on the wider context evidently connected to these practices in later times: less stress connected to livelihood and inequality within the community would correlate with less concern for witchcraft. Naturally, the meanings could have been different in other study areas with different wider contexts.

⁵ Serfdom was not established in the area, and most farmers owned their land.

Similar to what most likely happened with mercury in post-Reformation times, one object type must have slowly increased in popularity during the medieval period in Finland. Four of the medieval concealment finds include coins. Medieval coins are small and fragile, and thus they are not very often found in this region, but it seems that true monetarization in the area of Finland began in the early 14th century (Klackenberg 1992: 165–166; Haggrén 2008: 20, 27). Interestingly, the oldest coin concealments consist of 14th-century coins. If these were not concealed when already old, the concealing of coins in buildings can thus be said to have been present already from the beginning of monetization. It should be noted that three of the four cases are from ecclesiastical contexts (a church, a convent, and a vicarage); this is intriguing, since the Icelandic *Book of Settlements* also mentions this kind of location for a medieval coin concealment (Benediktsson 1968: 52–53; see Chapter 12.3 below). It is possible that the coin concealment tradition was introduced into the study area through religious contexts. During the medieval period, the concealment practices may also have been framed in ritual behaviour observed in the practices of priests and monks. It is likely that the ritual use of salt found in late modern folk magic practices was established during this time, since ritually blessed salt was one of the sacramentals known in medieval religion (see e.g. Scribner 1993: 479).

Since coin concealments were later connected with pleasing guardian spirits, one question that remains is how communication with these beings was conducted when monetarization was still in progress. As discussed in Chapter 5, it is likely that belief in guardian spirits predated this process. The most plausible answer is derived from the folklore describing food offerings to the guardians. As shortly mentioned above, it is possible that concealments of whole domestic animals belonging to the diet, or other meaty parts of these animals, could have been food offerings to guardian spirits. This should especially be considered in connection to prehistoric or medieval contexts.

It is important to note that building concealment practices did not first emerge in medieval times, but they had prehistoric roots. Scandinavian studies show concealments dating as early as the Neolithic Stone Age (Karsten 1994: 147). Prehistoric concealments have not been properly studied in the area of Finland, but some evidence has been published. For example, some whole polished stone objects, such as knives and spearheads, have been found under floor layers of late Stone Age dwelling depressions in North Ostrobothnia (I) (Viljanmaa 2004). The Stone Age chisel found in a hearth foundation dated to the early Iron Age in Lieto (a) (Asplund 2006) is discussed below in Chapter 12.2. Also, the remains of a sheep were found under the eastern wall of a late Iron Age building in Raisio (a) during an excavation in 1996 (Pihlman 2005: 209; Hukantaival 2006: 82–83; Vuorinen 2009: 151, 153).

11.3 REFLECTIONS ON REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

In the above discussion on possible temporal variation, a recurring notion has been that of differences in population density. The assumption is that since concealments have been strongly connected with social relations, more crowded areas would show more intense concealment traditions or a stronger emphasis on border locations. This idea formed when analysing the vast folklore material. In contrast to my expectations, and even though central areas such as Finland Proper (a) and Uusimaa (c) were not particularly interesting for

folklore collectors, it became apparent that the traditions were well known in areas where the population was relatively dense already in medieval times.

The most significant observation is shown in Figure 40 (Chapter 9.2), where the relative proportion of different locations in different culture areas is illustrated. There is a clear rise in the relative importance of the threshold location in densely populated areas as opposed to peripheral areas with more scattered settlement patterns. This could be connected to more general cultural differences between east and west, but since the folklore material points to the significance of relations to neighbours, the proximity to other households is a likely factor in the pattern shown in Figure 40. Since mercury had such a clear connection with the threshold location, the aforementioned unanswered questions should be remembered here as well: what was the significance of cattle disease and the authorities in the popularity of these practices?

As Sarmela (1974b) has discussed, the late modern guardian spirit traditions had different emphases in the western and eastern culture areas (see Map 2 above). In the west, guardian spirits were strongly connected to different buildings, while guardians of nature predominated in the eastern traditions. The difference is most prominent when comparing Finland Proper (a) and Satakunta (b) against the Karelian areas of Dvina (p) and Olonets (q): in the first mentioned south-western areas, 70% of the accounts concern guardians of buildings and 30% guardians of nature, while in the latter eastern areas the ratio is the opposite, as 30% of the accounts concern guardians of buildings while 70% concern nature spirits. This ratio changes consistently when moving from west to east. However, the guardian spirit of the church forms an exception to the rule, since these narratives have been especially popular in the eastern Finnish area of Savo (f, g) (Sarmela 1974b).

Sarmela (1974b: 344) states that the belief in guardian spirits did not originate in either the west or the east, but the traditions were preserved in an older form in the peripheral eastern and northern areas. The nature spirits were neutral unless someone disturbed their peace, while the guardians of buildings that acted within the human sphere attracted narratives in a storyline form, where they became active agencies bringing wealth and guarding the morality of the household. Sarmela also concludes that the difference in guardian spirit traditions was not caused by diffusion barriers or a general slowness in the spread of traditions, but it was caused by the differences in ecology and social relations in the western and eastern areas. As mentioned above, the guardian spirits had in the western areas become a part of the social contests that were connected with economic instability, social injustices, and other conflicts (Sarmela 1974b: 354–357).

According to earlier studies, the most commonly mentioned dwelling place of the guardian spirit of the house in the western Finnish tradition is the attic (Haavio 1942: 99–103), while the eastern tradition connects the guardian of the building with the guardian of the earth (*maanhaltia*) (Sarmela 1974b: 343–344). However, such a difference is not observable in the concealments explicitly connected to interaction with these beings. Both eastern and western concealments connected to the guardians are most often situated in corner locations, but the eastern accounts show a wider choice of locations, including also floors and hearths, which are missing from the western examples. The threshold is represented by one western and one eastern example. This picture does also not differ when concealments implicitly connected to guardians are added: concealments made to ensure wealth are evenly situated (in order of popularity) in roof locations, walls, and corners in both western and eastern areas. Since the accounts of concealments directed explicitly towards guardian spirits form a relatively small segment of the material (32 items), this incon-

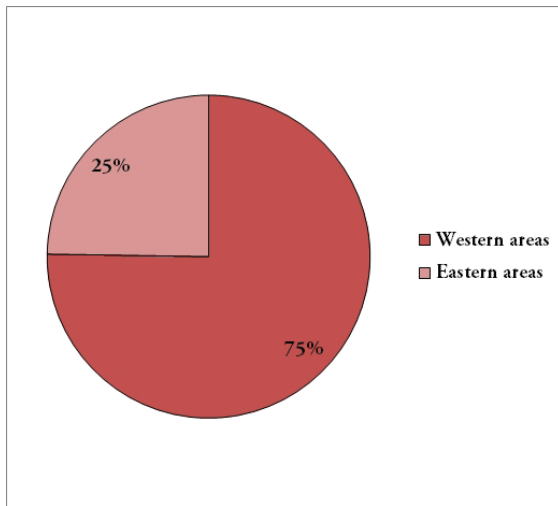


Fig. 48. Proportion of concealments made against witches in western (a, b, c, d, k, å) and eastern culture areas (n=102).

discussing apotropaic concealments and the evil beings and agencies that were kept outside by means of them, it can be seen that witches were indeed a more significant concern in the densely populated western areas than in the east (see Fig. 48). The largest body of material concerning concealments against witches is recorded in Satakunta (b) and the neighbouring South Ostrobothnia (k). In the eastern areas, the largest amount of accounts is recorded in Central Finland (e), which is closest to these two regions and also a cultural transition zone between west and east. When looking at apotropaic concealments as a whole, the difference is also present, but it is slightly less striking: 62% of the accounts are recorded in western areas and 38% in eastern areas.

Concealments directed against the evil eye follow the same 75:25 ratio as ones made against witches. The folklore describing concealments against the night hag, which was connected to witchcraft at least in some regions, was also collected mainly from western Finnish areas (73%, especially [b] Satakunta, [c] Uusimaa, [d] Häme, and [k] South Ostrobothnia), but some accounts are from the eastern areas, especially North Ostrobothnia (l) and South Savo (f). As a widespread explanation for a physiological condition, the night hag was known even in the Sámi areas of Lapland (Paulaharju 1923: 222–230; Itkonen 1984a: 330–331), but there it was perhaps kept away with other types of rituals. Apotropaic concealments are generally very similar in the whole study area, but they were more significant in the western areas.

It has been noted above that the threshold location and the hearth location differ from each other most when analysing choices of objects and the meanings of the concealments. Thus, it is not particularly surprising that while apotropaic threshold concealments predominated in the west, pest-repelling hearth concealments were most common in the east: the ratio of hearth locations is 71:29 (see Fig. 49). Since that location is closely connected with pest-repelling, the ratio analysed from the viewpoint of this meaning gives a similar pattern: the east predominates with a ratio 69:31. The floor location played an even clearer role in the east with a ratio of 83:17.

sistency could be caused by issues of representativeness. However, as earlier studies have not always revealed the size of materials on which conclusions are based, the observation of different dwelling places of guardians may also rely on an unrepresentative sample. In light of the current material, the regional differences in narrative traditions on guardian spirits does not seem to be reflected in the concealment practices.

Unlike what appears in connection to guardian spirits, other aspects of the traditions show clear regional differences. The observation that thresholds have been more popular locations in western areas is connected with other phenomena. First, when

As the threshold location was so predominant in the west (also 71:29) and the choices of location had a wider range in the east, the wall (65:35), corners (64:36), and roof (59:41) were more common in the eastern areas. Since the whole material is fairly even (55:45), with the larger percentage being recorded from eastern areas, these ratios are not significantly influenced by differences in sample sizes. Accordingly, it seems that the strong connection with witches and thresholds in the west reflects a concentration in the practices,⁶ while a wider variety is observable in the eastern areas.

One question that arises from this regional variation is why pests would be a more significant concern in eastern areas than western areas. There is no biological reason for this; the same kinds of vermin were known in the whole area, and more densely populated regions must have been more favourable environments for insects and rodents. Even though there are western folklore examples about pests being sent by witches, it seems that insects and rodents were mainly seen as types of wilderness agencies: manifestations of active forest *väki* or especially earth *väki*. This conclusion is supported by the concealment location under the hearth foundation, which was dug deeper into the ground than the rest of the building, and the observation that pests favour this location. Thus, these concealments would be directed towards communicating with nature agencies instead of stress in social relations. Still, it is certainly also possible that other practices to combat pests were simply predominant in the western areas.

In addition to the map showing where accounts describing mercury concealments were collected, accounts about coins, horse skulls, and snakes were also mapped above (Maps 5–7, Chapter 9.2). The pattern formed by coin concealments (Map 5) seems to be relatively even, especially when the overall small number of accounts collected in the northern areas is considered. If there were regional differences in the coin traditions, they must have been subtle. The pattern formed by horse skull concealments (Map 6) shows a completely different picture: information is completely lacking in the south-west, south-east, and north. However, there is a risk that the pattern is partly⁷ formed by chance, since the total number of accounts involving horse skulls is quite low (55 items). Still, it is interesting that so many horse skull accounts were collected from Satakunta (b) and South Ostrobothnia (k), even though these western areas do not coincide with the areas with a considerable significance of pest-repelling (the main meaning of the concealed horse

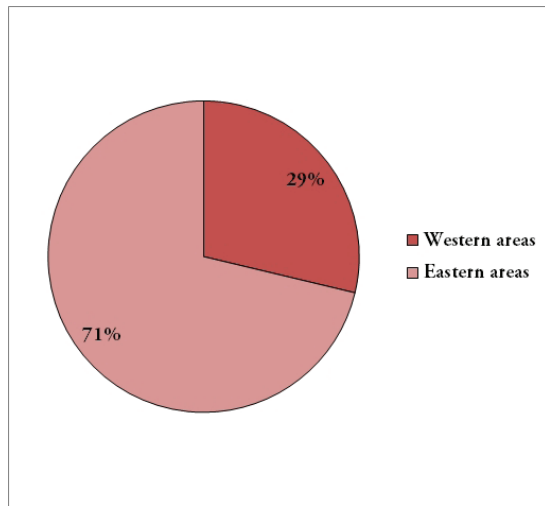


Fig. 49. Proportion of concealments made in hearth locations in western (a, b, c, d, k, ä) and eastern culture areas (n=87).

⁶ This should be considered in the light of the 18th-century bell-ringers' booklet advising a mercury concealment to heal bewitched cattle, mentioned above. It could reflect the popularity of the practice or also be one reason for its spread in the western areas.

⁷ It is possible that the missing information in the northern areas reflects a true difference in tradition, since the significance of the horse was more marginal in these areas (e.g. Itkonen 1984b: 190–191).

skulls). As was apparent in Figure 6 (Chapter 6.1), these two areas have produced all in all the most folklore materials on concealments. This may point to a representativeness issue regarding the other areas. Since the find material also lacks evidence on horse skull concealments (see Chapter 7.5) this problem remains unsolved.

The pattern from the localities where accounts describing snake concealments were collected (Map 7) points to a tradition in the same area where snakes can naturally be found. Of the two common native species of snakes in Finland the viper is more widespread; it is only missing in the furthest north of the area (Kokko 1999: 413–415). As noted above, the few accounts that specify which species of snake was used in concealments only mention the viper, so it seems that this species was preferred.

When looking at the different types of rituals, it is notable that folklore describing annual concealment rituals made when livestock was brought home from summer pastures in the forest was mainly collected in the eastern culture areas (especially in [e] Central Finland, [f] South Savo, and [j] North Karelia), while only 11 out of 37 accounts were recorded in the western areas (mainly [d] Tavastia). This might be connected with the aspect that livestock was still pastured outside immediate settlement areas in these regions in late modern times, while forest pastures were already closer to the settlements in more densely settled central areas (about pastures see Bläuer 2015: 59–61, 74–76, 104–107, 124–126). As suggested above, these rituals were directed against harmful influences, mainly wilderness agencies, which might have been transmitted from the forest while the cattle grazed there. These potentially harmful agencies were not wanted inside the sphere of the household. The one account quoted above (Chapter 10.4) explaining that the “setting of the great earth-keeper” ritual had been earlier made annually but at the time of recording the practice had been discontinued (SKVR IX, 4: 1570) hints that annual rituals were disappearing by the time the folklore was collected.

The regional differences visible in the folklore are linked with different settlement patterns, resulting in different social relations, and differences in economy. This pattern must have been repeated in regard to the differences between urban and rural environments. In urban environments, the stress caused by the forced proximity of neighbours was surely significant, but on the other hand the economy was slightly different from that of rural farmers. However, Finnish towns were small, and small-scale animal husbandry and kitchen-gardening were important means of supplemental livelihood up to late modern times. Generally, the current material does not show any differences in the concealment practices of towns and other densely settled areas.

Since some Northern American researchers have discussed building concealments as expressions of ethnic identity (Fennel 2000; Springate 2010), a short comment on this is also in order. As noted above, it is difficult to know what kind of ethnic identities were present in the study area for the whole period, but different languages were spoken in different areas. The Sámi in the northern areas are underrepresented in the material, since only 15 folklore accounts are recorded in the areas of Lapland and Far Bothnia (n), and even these lack the information of ethnicity. Uno Holmberg (later Harva) wrote in 1915 that the Sámi believed that each building (apparently also the less permanent huts) had a guardian spirit, and this spirit was given offerings in times of need. Two practices that he mentions are interesting from the point of view of this study: the practice of burying the skull of a slaughtered animal by the doorway, and an offering made in times of severe sickness where a whole animal was buried under the hut. It should be noted that Holmberg himself seems to have been somewhat sceptical of the reliability of the accounts of these

two practices (Holmberg [Harva] 1915: 84). He mentions as his sources two missionary reports (Vahl 1866: 147–174; Solander 1910), but he does not clarify where the additional information that cannot be found in these reports was gathered.

One of the Sámi spirits that Holmberg identifies is a female guardian spirit called *Uksakka*, who was said to live in the ground under the doorway to the hut. She was believed to protect the doorway and those people who stepped through the door. She also played a role in fertility beliefs, since she was thought to welcome babies into the world. She received offerings that were placed in the ground under the doorway; in this regard, Holmberg mentions drink-offerings, animal-offerings (domestic animals), and offerings of spindles or spinning wheels (Holmberg [Harva] 1915: 80–81). However, these accounts of different types of offerings are mentioned in a very general and unspecific way, so it is difficult to assess their importance. The interesting point in these few comments is that the doorway seems significant. Still, the material is so vague that no convincing conclusions can be drawn from it.

Thus, the question of ethnic differences must be approached from the viewpoint of Finnish or Swedish speakers or, in the case of the eastern culture areas, Lutheran or Eastern Orthodox devotees. The late modern traditions of Swedish speakers of the coastal and archipelago areas of Finland Proper (a), Uusimaa (c), South Ostrobothnia (k), and the Åland-islands (å) are represented by 51 accounts. This is a small portion (7%) of the overall material, but it is notable that the picture of these accounts is identical to the general picture of western traditions.⁸ When all types of sources are combined 171 cases of late modern folklore and finds derive from areas where Eastern Orthodox influence is possible or even probable (these cases form 17% of the overall data). The areas concerned are Karelia and Ingria ([h] South Karelia, [i] Ladoga Karelia, [j] North Karelia, [p] Dvina, [q] Olonets, and [s] Ingria). However, the material studied here revealed no outstanding difference in choices of locations or concealed objects when comparing these areas to eastern culture areas within present-day Finland (see Figs. 39 and 40 in Chapter 9.2). Corner and wall locations occur slightly more often in the possible Orthodox influence areas while roofs occur less often. The occurrence of mercury, coins, horse skulls, or snakes (Maps 4–7 in Chapter 9.2) seem not to follow the distribution of different faiths. Nothing in the material of this study points to concealment practices having been a means to express ethnic identity. Clearly other concerns have been more significant in this connection.

In terms of a wider regional perspective, an interesting observation can be made when comparing Falk's southern Scandinavian material with the Finnish material. The former material shows only a couple medieval cases where the concealment was in a hearth location and no later cases in the hearth at all (Falk 2008: 105–106). Since numerous hearths have been excavated in that area and concealments in Iron Age hearths are known there (Paulsson-Holmberg 1997; Carlie 2004), it is unlikely that the picture would have been formed by the research situation alone. In contrast, the Finnish material shows that the hearth has been a popular location during the whole studied period and in the whole studied area (only with some differences in emphasis). The reason for this wider regional difference is difficult to address without more thorough comparative study, but it would be an interesting question for future research, as would the question if a transition zone

⁸ Although a detailed comparative study is lacking, this seems to be the case with magic practices and beliefs more generally as well. These do not differ outstandingly in the Swedish-speaking areas from the general picture in the western culture areas (cf. e.g. FSFD VIII,3; SKMT IV).

between the preference of locations could be found somewhere between Finland and South Scandinavia.

Conclusion to the regional and temporal aspects

As Sarmela noted in connection with guardian spirit traditions, it is tempting to conclude that the concealment traditions remained in a more ancient form in the eastern culture areas. This is not an unproblematic idea, but the material does point in this direction. The problem, however, is that this assumes that traditions remained more conservative in peripheral areas, and this resembles the outdated scholarly theory. Rather than connecting this idea with an inability of people to change and adapt, I would emphasize the connection between traditions and livelihood, settlement patterns, and social relations: since the latter remained in an older form, as they continued to be best suited for the environment, the traditions also continued to serve their purpose in an older form. This does not rule out the possibility that the practices could have changed in more subtle ways.

Thus, the older concealment traditions were concentrated in locations inside the building, namely the hearth and the floor, and mostly directed towards guardian spirits of the earth and other wilderness agencies. As noted above, the current medieval material seems to confirm this location pattern. The emphasis shifts to borders, thresholds, and social relations within the community in more densely built towns and group villages, as a result of increased social stress. This effect was amplified when harsh climate conditions resulted in crop failures and, most pointedly, problems in animal husbandry. Witchcraft was suspected when some members of the community had better luck than others.

One assumption of this hypothesis is that the guardian spirit traditions had prehistoric roots. It is commonly stated in classic scholarly discussions that belief in nature spirits is ancient, but the reasoning is not often made explicit. Generally speaking, this kind of “truth”, which is difficult to ascertain, is problematic, but in this case it does seem plausible. Guardian spirits of the land are not only known in numerous traditions around the world, but they are also visible in medieval Icelandic literature in a form very similar to the Finnish late modern traditions, as noted in Chapter 5.2 (see e.g. Owen 2009: 232–233; Mundal 2013: 13–14).

Another point that appears in the folklore material is that the connection between object, location, and meaning seems to largely be a “package deal”. Even though there is some fluctuation in the connections between the components, it is not something that can be shown to be due to regional variation. The largest part of the threshold concealments in the eastern areas concern mercury concealed against witchcraft in animal shelters, just as one finds in the western areas. Thus, regional variation manifests as different emphases of the object/location/meaning “packages”, not as completely different traditions.

CHAPTER 12

INTERPRETING THE FINDS

12.1 UNDERSTANDING THE FIND MATERIAL

Even though the find material is too scarce to analyse general patterns within it in the same manner as was done with the folklore, some general observances can be noted. First, it is obvious that the number of finds increases significantly when moving forward in time. Unfortunately, this cannot necessarily be seen as a result of an increase in the intensity of the practices, but simply an effect of the “tooth of time”, namely the formation processes causing the fragmentation of past records (cf. Schiffer 1987). Secondly, the finds do show that the phenomenon of concealing objects in structures is known over the whole studied period.

When looking at the concealed objects in the overall find material, the effects of formation processes are evident once more. Objects made of non-decomposing materials, such as stone, seem to be common, and the exact location of human-made artefacts are recorded more than that of less outstanding finds, such as random animal bones. The find locations of antiquated stone tools – and Bronze and Iron Age artefacts – were recorded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when objects were collected for museums. At that time, there was not a great deal of interest, for example, in late modern animal bones; these simply remained undocumented and are thus unavailable for study today. It can also be noted that sharp metal artefacts – such as axes, knives, and sickles – occur in a fairly evenly distributed quantity across all of the different time periods in spite of great differences in the overall numbers of finds. Regardless of the problems in distinguishing deliberately concealed coins from lost ones – most likely resulting in under-interpretation – this type of find is present across all of the studied periods.

Mercury is also likely to be underrepresented due to its vaporizing quality. If concealed mercury binds with some (organic) element in the ground, it is possible to measure traces of it. This has been done in connection to archaeological investigations of shipwrecks known to have carried the metal, such as the wreck of the 18th-century *Vrouw Maria* in the Baltic Sea (Karjalainen 2003), for example. Such examinations have not been done in order to discover concealed mercury in buildings, but if a threshold board with a drilled hole were to be discovered during future excavations, for example, it would be a good idea to test if any mercury could be detected. The folklore often mentions that some flour or grain was put together with the mercury, so especially if these are found in the hole, testing for mercury can even be seen as an occupational health and safety issue.

All of the locations within the building, except for the roof/ceiling (which can be disregarded) and the threshold, are present in all time periods to different degrees (see Chapter 8). While the small sample size of the finds means that these may be completely random,

it is clear that all locations, except for the ones missing data, were known during the whole historical period in Finland. It is also obvious that the residence building played an important role as an arena for concealments during the whole period, but it is harder to assess the importance of other household buildings. Ecclesiastical buildings such as churches, bell towers, and monasteries are also present in all periods.

As discussed above in Chapter 10, the folklore material shows some recurring connections between objects, locations, and the meanings of concealments. Concealments of coins in corner locations are likely to be foundation deposits directed at communicating with guardian spirits, sharp metal tools in threshold locations are highly likely to be apotropaic concealments, and animal remains in hearths are most often connected with repelling pests. In the folklore, wall and floor locations are not clearly connected to specific meanings, so in these cases the location offers less clues for interpretations. The choice of objects to conceal was connected with *emic* classifications of agencies residing in different materials and objects, and the function of an object in mundane use also provided the basis of its functionality in ritual contexts.

The regional differences evident in the folklore material reflect varying emphases of the object/location/meaning “packages”, not as completely different traditions. In light of the sources, it is also likely that the traditions in early modern times were fairly similar to the late modern times reflected in the folklore. More caution should be employed when discussing medieval times. Still, the meanings of the concealments were closely connected with everyday concerns, and as long as these concerns did not change, the traditions had no motivation to change. As noted, two different kinds of ideas were behind concealment practices: first, the relations with otherworldly agencies, such as guardians of the earth owning territorial rights or guardians of buildings caring for the wealth of the household, and secondly, the relationship with other households, to which the idea of weak borders that needed to be strengthened was especially connected. Weak borders were also a problem when dealing with wilderness agencies, such as when bringing the cattle home from summer pastures in the forest, but this point is less emphasized in the folklore. Both aspects came to have a social dimension in densely settled towns and villages, while relations to otherworldly agencies in nature, such as the guardian of the earth, seem to have been more important in more spread out settlements. In this study, it is suggested that the importance of relations to other households became more predominant as settlements grew larger and more fixed (Chapter 11.2).

The folklore confirms that the meaning of the concealment was formed as a combination of three aspects, which can be presented in the form of an equation: **meaning = concealed object + its location + the intention of the concealer** (cf. Gamble 2008: 127, 139; see Chapters 3 and 10). Since the third factor is inaccessible when discussing finds in archaeological contexts, the equation can be simplified into the following tool: **meaning ≈ concealed object + its location**. The unavailability of an exact interpretation is something that archaeologists are familiar with in other connections as well (see e.g. Gamble 2008; Johnson 2010). Since the proximity of neighbours was a factor affecting the meanings, the settlement structure should also be considered when interpreting archaeological finds of possible concealments. Next, a selection of the finds in the study material is discussed from the point of view of these aspects.

Finds in two masonry buildings in Turku (a)

As noted above, some buildings had multiple concealments. This subchapter discusses two such cases. Since the folklore material concentrates on timber buildings in rural contexts, the selected examples are from masonry buildings in the central town of Turku (a). One of the benefits of the find material is that it fills in information not covered in the folklore. The first example is from the late 17th century and, as noted above in Chapter 11.2, it is likely that the generalized meanings observable in the later folklore were present in the early modern times as well. The second example is slightly older; it dates to the transition period between medieval and early modern times. It is also more problematic, and it is selected as an example of the issues that archaeologists often encounter when interpreting excavated finds.

The first case to be discussed is the late 17th-century masonry cellar-complex (unit R007) archaeologically excavated at the Pinella site in 2010 by the Museum Centre of Turku (Pihlman *et al.* 2011: 16–23). The preserved part of the structure consisted of one whole cellar room and two additional rooms, which were for the largest part destroyed by later construction (see Fig. 50). It is probable that the structure also included dwelling rooms above the cellar during its use, but only the lowest parts of the building survived. The



Fig. 50. Concealments of the 17th-century cellar-complex (R007) at the Pinella excavation in 2010 in Turku: 1) two coins and a hare's foot under the steps of the walled-in staircase, 2) a coin inside the doorjamb, 3) a pig's tusk under the threshold, and 4) a split cow skull in the corner. The arrow points north. The newer staircase is on the far right. Photo by Sonja Hukantaival.



Fig. 51. Split cow skull placed in the eastern corner of the cellar room on top of a levelling stone (Appx. 3: 47). Photo by Sonja Hukantaival.

structure was built in the late 17th century, but it had fallen out of use already in the early 18th century. Still, there was evidence of alterations and rebuilding during this relatively short time span.

The cellar room, fully preserved except for the vaulted ceiling, had an older staircase facing the southeast and a newer staircase facing the southwest. The older staircase was walled in when the newer one was built. When the older staircase was excavated, two Swedish copper coins and the bones of a hare's left hind foot were found, each object under individual steps. The coins were both minted by Queen Christina (in 1635 and 1640?). When the north-eastern post of the staircase was dismantled, a third Swedish copper coin was found inside it. This coin was so worn that it was not identified with certainty, but it was also perhaps minted by Christina (Appx. 3: 45–46).

Directly to the north-west of the staircase with the concealments, there was a doorway leading to the next cellar room. This room was only partly preserved: under a badly preserved brick floor were the remains of an older cobblestone floor. When the brick floor was made, the older threshold stone in the doorway belonging to the cobblestone floor had also been covered with bricks. When this older threshold stone was removed, the tusk of a pig was found under it (Appx. 3: 44). In the eastern corner of the room, under the new brick floor, was a cow skull that had been split in half (Appx. 3: 47). It had been placed facing the west directly on top of a levelling stone in the corner (see Fig. 51). Since no other corners of the room were preserved, it is unknown if the other half was placed in another corner.

The staircase location of the coins and the hare's foot point to an apotropaic meaning, even though the objects are not exclusively apotropaic. As was shown in Figure 35 (Chapter 9.2), the most common meanings of coins in the folklore are to ensure luck, protection against evil, securing wealth, and interaction with guardian spirits. In this case, the entrance location of the coins gives reason to presume that they were put there for protection. It seems that the coins were concealed when they were relatively new. As discussed below in Chapter 12.2, there is evidence that coins of Queen Christina were later desirable

in folk magic, but in this case they may not have had extra significance. The selection of three coins is likely to have been premeditated, since this number is often found in Finnish folk magic.

The hare's (or rabbit's) foot is an ancient magic object, already mentioned by Pliny the Elder in c. 77–79 CE (Plinius Secundus 1963: 149). Even though they are not mentioned in the folklore material about building concealments, hare's feet are known as protective magical objects in Finnish folklore in other connections (see e.g. SKMT IV, 2: XII 41§; SKMT IV, 3: VI 820 n 6). However, they occur less commonly than other types of magic objects. It could be that folklore collectors did not see the hare's foot as an "original" native tradition worthy of recording, since it is widely well known in the form of the lucky rabbit's foot (see e.g. Ellis 2002; also Hukantaival 2013a: 107). It is notable that in the folklore describing a hare's foot, the left hind foot is often specified, for example in hunting magic:

When the first hare is caught, its left hind leg is cut off; then the evil eye is ineffective [...] (lg)
Nilsä, SKMT I: 534 § g).

The preference of the left hind leg shown in the folklore is also visible in other find material including this object. For example, a 17th-century hearth excavated in Turku in 2004 had a hare's foot in both the north and south corners; both were left hind legs, and thus they came from different animals (see also Hukantaival 2007: 66, 71). The above folklore example also shows that the hare's foot was not simply "lucky", but believed to protect against evil influences. This observation gives even more strength to the apotropaic interpretation of the concealments in the staircase.

The threshold stone between two cellar rooms with the pig's tusk under it is likely contemporary with the older staircase. Here also both the threshold location and the aggressive attributes of the animal tooth point to a protective meaning. Even though the threshold was not on the border of the building, it was right in front of the staircase and thus exposed to the opening (see Fig. 50). It seems that the substantial protection placed in the entrance was still not believed to be enough. The older staircase showed no signs of structural problems, which would have been the cause for abandoning it. Even though there may have been multiple reasons why a new staircase was opened, one reason could be connected with the concealments: if the old staircase faced the direction of a quarrelsome neighbour or some other distressing phenomenon and the concealments did not seem to be effective enough, that would be a sufficient reason for walling it in and opening a new staircase in a more benevolent direction. The later folklore suggests that even an entire building could be moved if its luck was spoiled (e.g. SKMT IV, 1: I 66§). There were no observable concealments in connection with the newer staircase. It could be that the inhabitants who built the new staircase did not care for such traditions, but it could just as well have been that the concealment was of a material that did not preserve or that there simply was no need for one in the new, safer direction.

It is uncertain if the new brick floor under which the split cow skull was placed coincided with the building of the new staircase, since these structures did not have a clear stratigraphic relationship (see Harris 1989 about archaeological stratigraphy). The corner where the skull was placed was not on the border, but rather in a central position of the preserved cellar complex (see Fig. 50). As is seen above (Fig. 35 in Chapter 9.2), animal remains were often used to repel pests, even though other meanings were also possible. Figure 33 (Chapter 9.2) shows that no specific meanings predominated in the floor location, but luck is mentioned most often. Luck is also most often connected with corner

locations. Thus, it is equally plausible that the cow skull was placed in its location to exorcise pests from the cellar or simply to bring good luck.

The second case concerns the remains of a slightly older building with a longer history of use, which were unearthed in 2005–2006 (Ainasoja *et al.* 2007). This masonry residential building in the very heart of the town, right next to the south-western corner of the cathedral, was likely built in the late 15th or early 16th century. Judging from town maps, it was in its largest form in 1634 at the latest, and by 1743 its north-eastern part had been demolished (Ainasoja *et al.* 2007: 40–42). The building most likely fell out of use as a result of the Great Fire of Turku in 1827. Most of the remains of this building (unit R2012/R2102) were left intact during the excavation, but its southern part was dismantled in order to study the medieval structures under it (see Ratilainen 2010; 2014).

When the southern part of the building's foundation was excavated, a human jawbone (mandible) was found in the filling of the foundation ditch (Appx. 3: 39). Given the proximity of the cathedral with its burials, finding human bones in the area is not particularly remarkable, and this fact makes interpretation somewhat problematic. However, the bone in question is unmistakably human (it cannot be confused with an animal bone), and is large enough to have been noticed if it had rolled accidentally into the ditch when it was being dug. Thus, it is plausible that the bone was placed in the foundation intentionally, even though this might have been done on impulse if the bone was found when digging the ditch. Since the bone was in the foundation, the act might have been done already in late medieval times, but following the overall decision about uncertain dates in this study (see Chapter 6.2), it is here placed in the early modern period.

If the bone indeed was placed in the foundation intentionally, the agency of death was invoked. This agency seems to have also been used in the oldest trial case in this study, dating to 1552 and thus roughly contemporary with this find. In light of the other trial cases involving human remains (e.g. Eilola & Einonen 2009), it is justifiable to assume that the agency of death was known in a similar form in early modern times as in the later folklore. As was discussed above, this agency supported malicious intentions, but not exclusively. If the bone was placed in the foundation with ill intent, it must have been done by someone other than the future inhabitants of the new house. Such a large construction is likely to have employed outsider builders, so this is possible: some worker might have been envious of the owner of this large masonry home in the wealthiest part of town. Still, it cannot be excluded that the bone might have been placed as an apotropaic concealment as well.

Inside the building, three layers of brick floor (interpreted as dating to the 16th century) were partly excavated and 14 *klipping*¹ coins (Gustav Vasa/Christian II, 1518–23) and four other coins were found between these layers (Appx. 3: 40). The four other coins were one Swedish silver coin (Erik XIV 1/2 ore, 1568), one bracteate, one Danish (?) silver coin from the 15th century, and one Swedish silver coin minted in Turku (1453–70). According to the report, it seemed likely that the coins were originally situated under the oldest floor layer, but they were spread under the newer layer during a period of later construction. This conclusion is based on the fact that the *klipping* coins were in use for a very short period. Thus, the first floor layer is interpreted to have existed at the latest in the 1520s and the next floor after 1568 (Ainasoja *et al.* 2007: 43–44). As is often done in archaeological reports, it is thus assumed that the coins had ended up in their location while they were still circulating. As is discussed in more detail below (Chapters 12.2 and 13.1), this was definitely not always the case, however.

¹ Danish or Swedish square-shaped emergency coins.

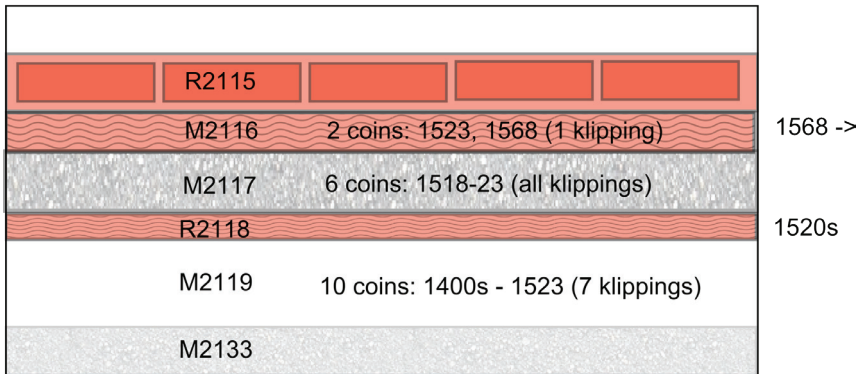


Fig. 52. Schematic of the coins in the floor layers of masonry building R2012/R2102. The preserved brick floor (R2115) was founded on the remains of the older, dismantled floor (M2116). The coins were found in three different stratigraphic units (M2116, 2117, and 2119) with the remains of the oldest floor (R2118) in between (drawn as per Ainasoja *et al.* 2007: 43–44).

There was evidence of subsidence of the floor, which caused a need for it to be levelled and rebuilt. It is assumed that this was when the older coins were scattered from their original location. The oldest floor (unit R2118) was preserved in a very fragmentary state, and the largest amount of coins (10) was found in a layer (M2119) that was interpreted as the remains of this floor, which had been used as the levelling foundation of the newer one. Six coins were found in the layer (M2117) above the remains of the oldest floor. This layer was interpreted as the setting sand of the new brick floor. The two remaining coins were found in a layer that was interpreted as the remains of the dismantled second brick floor (M2116). The most recent floor (R2115) was preserved. (Ainasoja *et al.* 2007: 43–44.) Figure 52 shows the situation schematically.

As can be seen in Figure 52, even though *klippings* were found in all three layers, the oldest, 15th-century coins were all found in the lowest layer and the youngest coin (1568) was found in the top layer. If the layers are interpreted as randomly disturbed, this trend is unexpected, but it could be simply a coincidence (especially since other coins than *klipping* coins are a minority). However, it is possible that the scattering of the distinguishable square-shaped *klipping* coins was intentional, while other coins were left in place. The youngest coin could be a new addition. There were no signs of a container for the coins in the original unit, but if it had been made of some organic material, it might not have been preserved. In any case, even if the coins were originally concealed in a container, they were scattered at some point.

The observation that this find of coins includes evidence of at least two events is convincing. The original concealment may have been a hoard consisting of at least the 14 *klipping* coins and the three other older coins (since the whole floor area was not excavated, there might have been even more coins). The folklore shows evidence that more than a hundred coins of relatively small value could be concealed in a pouch for good luck ([b] Ikaalinen, SKMT IV, 1: I 236§); thus, a concealment of multiple coins should not automatically be interpreted as a treasure hoard intended to be recovered (see also van Vilsteren 2000). This is only one possible explanation for the original concealment. However, the later scattering of the coins must be seen as something other than a “pre-banking safe deposit”, to use

van Vilsteren's (2000: 52) term. As shown in Figure 33 (Chapter 9.2), luck predominates in the meanings connected to floor locations in the later folklore, but other meanings are possible as well. Luck is also the most common meaning connected to coin concealments in the folklore (Fig. 35 in Chapter 9.2). Since this concealment may be temporally quite distant from the folklore, the otherwise strong indications of a concealment to ensure good luck for the building must be regarded with some amount of caution. Still, the point that the dating of the floor is based on these coins should be remembered; in fact, the concealment may have been done much later, as is argued below in Chapters 12.2 and 13.1.

Three medieval cases from Uusimaa (c)

When discussing medieval finds, the usefulness of the late modern folklore is questionable. The equation **meaning ≈ concealed object + its location** is still likely to be valid, but the problem is that the *emic* classifications of objects may have changed, as well as connections between locations and meanings. Thus, the interpretations should be kept at a more general level: suggesting meanings for objects on the basis of their mundane function or the symbolism known to be familiar in the period, and observing locations in terms of whether they are on a border or inside a building.

In this subchapter, three medieval cases from the Uusimaa (Swe. Nyland) area (c) are discussed in more detail. The medieval history of this area has recently been clarified due to archaeological excavations at village sites. The area consisted of sparse local farming communities that were joined by colonists from Middle Sweden (the Lake Mälaren area) in the second half of the 12th century and the early 13th century. By the 1320s at the latest, the area had evolved into an organized province belonging to the kingdom of Sweden. During the late Middle Ages, there was considerable abandoning of settlements in the area, suggesting serious crisis within the farming communities (Haggrén 2011).

Since it is possible that settlements originated in Middle Sweden, comparisons should preferably be made with finds from that area.² Unfortunately, no extensive study in this respect has been made of Middle Sweden. However, published finds show that concealment traditions were known in the area in the late Iron Age: for example, in the Viking Age³ town of Birka (Carlie 2004: 288–304; see also Svensson 2009: 20, 22, 32). Moreover, some published later finds reveal that these traditions were known in later medieval times as well. For example, a gold coin was found concealed in a sauna stove dating to the late 15th or early 16th century on the island of Helgeandsholmen in Stockholm (Dahlbäck 1982: 193). Still, these sporadically published finds do not form a well-recorded pattern that the medieval Uusimaa finds could be compared against. It can simply be noted that concealment traditions were familiar in the colonists' country of origin.

The first case discussed here concerns multiple finds, which were discovered in a hearth excavated archaeologically at the Vantaa Gubbacka village site in 2010 (Koivisto 2010). Even though there are signs of a settlement predating medieval times at the site, the village is presumed to have been established by Swedish colonists at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries (Koivisto 2011). The settlement was abandoned and moved two kilometres to the north for unknown reasons during the second half of the 16th century (Koivisto 2011: 76). Gubbacka was a typical row village, where farms were built close to each other by the

² Naturally, the diverse origins of townfolk also influenced the traditions. However, this is a more unpredictable factor than in a case where the whole village is believed to have originated in one particular area.

³ The Viking Age (c. 800–1025 CE) is not part of the medieval period in Scandinavian chronology; it belongs to the late Iron Age.

village road (Koivisto 2012: 272; about the site, see also e.g. Koivisto *et al.* 2010). As was often the case in later smoke cottages, it has been suggested that the hearths at Gubbacka were situated in the corner of the doorway, facing the opening (Tevali 2010: 71; Koivisto 2012: 278).

The hearth in question (unit no. R601) was interpreted as belonging to a residence (Building no. 3) estimated to date to the late 14th or 15th century (Koivisto 2010: 37; 2012: 273–274, Figs. 2, 5). Found in the clay layer between the stones of the hearth were three small knives, an iron arrowhead, and an object that was first interpreted as a piece of a wax candle but later identified as a piece of sulphur (Appx. 3: 117). Three pieces of other metal objects, two small pieces of flint, eight pieces of iron slag, and some mostly unburnt animal bone fragments were also found in this same clay unit (Koivisto 2010: find catalogue; about the animal bones, see Kivikero 2010a).

The amount of finds in the stratigraphic unit is intriguing. A first impression might be that the clay layer could be in a secondary context in the hearth foundation. However, sharp metal objects and pieces of sulphur (also pieces of flint and slag) are known to have been used in folk rituals in the late modern folklore. Many of the objects are also big enough to have been noticed by the builders and most likely would have been picked out of the soil (in order to keep the clay structure even) if it was not intentional to have them there. Thus, the artefacts are interpreted as deliberately concealed (with problematic issues) in this study. Moreover, an undoubtedly concealed dagger was found in a small pit in the yard about one metre to the west of this hearth (Koivisto 2010: 28–29).

The fragments of animal bones found in this unit are more difficult to interpret as deliberately concealed. The assemblage includes teeth and pieces of crania (bovine and pig), ribs (bovine, pig, and sheep/goat), and leg bones, mostly as unburnt fragments (Kivikero 2010a; Auli Bläuer, pers. comm. 10.4.2015). It is not impossible that these bones were brought with the soil, just as it is perfectly possible that they were deliberately included there. As discussed in Chapter 7.5, it is clear that even fragments of bones were deliberately concealed, but in this case the question must be left open.

The objects interpreted as concealed here have a strong connection with apotropaic meanings. As discussed above, the apotropaic meanings of sharp metal objects are closely connected with the mundane dangerous nature of these objects. Thus, it is likely that this meaning was not particularly prone to changing, but it was likely relevant in medieval times (and earlier) as well. As a flammable substance, sulphur has been used when building a fire (e.g. Aaltonen & Arkko 1997: 22–24; see also Chemicool 2012), but it is unknown if this use was common in the area of Finland during medieval times. Sulphur is not found in its elemental form in the area, so the substance must have been imported.⁴ As mentioned above, this brightly coloured material was known in the later folklore to possess a similar evil-averting quality as mercury.⁵

Even though the hearth location was seldom connected to apotropaic concealments in the late modern folklore, the nature of the artefacts in this case gives a strong reason to consider an apotropaic meaning. It should be noted that the hearth could have had a different emphasis of meanings in medieval times, and especially since it is possible that the

⁴ There are some finds of sulphur in late Iron Age grave contexts (e.g. Heikel 1889: 185), so this material was imported already before medieval times (see also Mehler 2015).

⁵ Sulphur was known as an evil-averting, purifying material already in ancient Rome (Burriss 1931: Chapter V).

traditions of this village had roots in Middle Sweden, the late modern Finnish folklore should not be stressed too much regarding the location. However, sharp metal tools did have a similar apotropaic function in Sweden as well as elsewhere (see e.g. Sandklef 1949: 64; Schön 2004: 137, 313; Merrifield 1987: 162). Additionally, the concealment of the dagger in the yard of this building also points to apotropaic practices.

The second example was discovered during an archaeological excavation at the Espoo Mankby village site in 2009 (Haggrén *et al.* 2009). The earliest certain dates from this village are from the late 13th century, and the site was abandoned in 1556 when the crown manor of Esbogård was established (Haggrén 2011: 22–23; 2012). In light of 16th-century written documents, Mankby was one of the largest villages in the area; consisting of eight households at the time. The households were positioned in two densely built rows and the farmers practiced two-shift cultivation (Haggrén 2012).

The case discussed here concerns a pit (Appx. 3: 82) discovered under a stone in the foundation of Building 13. Finds from the units belonging to the building date mostly to the 16th century, which indicates that this large building (c. 7 x 10 m) with a hearth in the western corner belonged to the latest phase of the village's life cycle (Haggrén *et al.* 2009: 31, 44). The pit had been dug around a stone in the southern wall foundation and it is possible that this was done in connection with rebuilding the wall (Haggrén *et al.* 2009: 30).

The archaeo-osteologist Hanna Kivikero reports that the anatomical distribution of animal bones found in this pit points to a deliberate concealment, but she is dubious about the clarity of the context (Haggrén *et al.* 2009: 43). The assemblage of bone fragments consists almost exclusively of skulls and teeth (cattle and sheep/goat were identified) (Haggrén *et al.* 2009: Appx. 6). In addition to these bones, the filling of the pit contained a worn fragment of a horse shoe, two iron nails, some iron slag, and a quartz flake. There was burnt clay on the bottom of the pit and some coal and soot in its northern part (Haggrén *et al.* 2009: Appx. 3–4).

The group of objects and traces of fire in the pit supports an interpretation of a high likelihood of ritual activity. The signs that the pit did not belong to the earliest building phase of the house, but to a later period gives reason to consider a crisis ritual here. The pit could also have been added by new residents arriving to the household. The iron objects point to an apotropaic function, but except for the nails they are not the typical sharp objects; thus, the apotropaic interpretation should be regarded with caution. Horseshoes and fragments of them are widely known as magical objects in later folklore (see e.g. Lawrence 1898). Iron slag and quartz⁶ are also known to have been used as magic objects in folklore sources. Fire is mentioned in the late modern folklore to “consecrate” and purify the area from evil influences (see Chapter 10.4), and this widespread meaning is also likely to have been known much earlier (see e.g. Frazer 1992: Chapt. 63; Burriss 1931: Chapt. V).

The last example presented here was found during an archaeological excavation in 2006 in Porvoo (Hakanpää 2006). Porvoo (Swe. Borgå) was one of the few medieval towns in the area of Finland with privileges circa 1380 (Gardberg 1996: 131). The excavation site was situated by a market square, which is likely to have existed at least from the 15th century

⁶ Quartz was called “thunderstone” (Fin. *ukonkivi*) (see e.g. Vuorela 1979: 487), and thus it is sometimes hard to distinguish if sources depict the use of “thunderbolts” (prehistoric polished stone objects) or quartz flakes. Since these object types are conceptually connected in the *emic* view (both manifest agency of thunder), this is confusing only to the present-day scholar.

onwards (Hakanpää 2006: 18; Gardberg 1996: 220). The excavation area in question consisted of a ditch only c. two metres wide. This limits the interpretation of the observed structures.

The lowest layers in the area were cut by a pit situated under a structure formed of small stones. The stone structure was estimated to date to the late 14th or 15th century, but its function remains uncertain. Judging from the excavation maps (Hakanpää 2006: Maps 4–5), the scattered stone setting is likely to be either a floor or a yard connected with the remains of a wooden building. Since stone-paved yards started to appear in the larger town of Turku only after the mid-16th century (Seppänen 2012: 884), and the younger wooden building evidently continued in the area of this structure, it is plausible that the stone setting was the remains of a floor or levelling layer under a floor. Thus, the pit was most likely situated under a floor. Inside the pit was found a c. 19 cm long wooden object broken in two pieces with a carved animal head (possibly a bear) on one end and tapered at the other. Other finds from this same pit are a shard of the base of a stoneware jug, a piece of burnt clay, two pieces of iron slag, and some unburnt animal bone (Appx. 3: 105).

It is highly likely that this is a ritual concealment, but its meaning is less obvious. As was seen in Figure 33 above (Chapter 9.2), the floor location is not connected with any specific meanings in the folklore, even though luck was mentioned most often. It is also uncertain whether the pit was situated by a wall (border) or closer to the middle of the room. Moreover, without the outstanding animal-headed object the “scrap” finds of this pit would have been unlikely to raise the attention of an archaeologist. However, as has been shown in this study, these fragments may well have been embedded with magical agency. The agencies residing in iron slag and animal bones were discussed above. The burnt clay’s red colour and obvious connection with fire suggest that it could have been seen to include both fire and earth agencies. As is mentioned below in Chapter 13.1, shards of ceramics were used in healing magic, so the ritual meaning of this object in this particular context is also highly plausible. The animal-headed object may have included the agency of forest, manifested in both the animal shape and the wood material. It seems that this concealment includes many types of agencies, and its meaning could be connected to any practice where powerful substances were needed.

This same reasoning used in the five examples above can be applied to any found concealment. As in these cases, the problems of the interpretation vary according to the circumstances of the find in question. Even though comprehensive generalizations cannot be made on the basis of the find material of this study, there are some aspects that can be discussed in more detail in light of all the evidence. Next the re-use of antiquated objects and concealments in churches is considered.

12.2 “THUNDERBOLTS” AND OTHER RE-USE OF ANTIQUATED OBJECTS

As discussed above, the folklore fills in information about threshold concealments in animal shelters, but the find material also offers deeper insight into some aspects of the concealing customs, even concerning the late modern period. The most outstanding example is the use of antiquated objects. While many groups of objects are best represented in the large body of folklore material, antiquated objects form a clear exception. The largest group of these is the so-called thunderbolts: objects commonly thought to have descended from the sky during thunderstorms as the projectiles of lightning (they were often con-

nected with the belief in a thunder-god, who caused lightning by throwing his weapons). In this widespread belief, the thunderbolts were mainly edged Stone Age tools, but also wedge-shaped natural stones and fossils have been included (see e.g. Blinkenberg 1911). It has been pointed out that up until the 17th century, both educated and uneducated people in Europe commonly accepted the celestial, even supernatural, origin of Stone Age tools (Trigger 1989: 52–55). The thunderbolts were regarded as powerful objects which could be used in many practices: for example, healing, controlling fire in swidden agriculture, and protecting the house. This fascinating belief and its implications have been discussed by many archaeologists (e.g. Huurre 1965; 2003; Carelli 1996; 1997; Muhonen 2006; Johanson 2009, to mention a few North European examples). In this study, only concealed thunderbolts are considered.

Christian Blinkenberg (1911: 4) noted that belief in thunderbolts was vital in Sweden until the early 20th century, when he wrote his comprehensive study *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*. Similarly, it can be shown that the belief was alive in many parts of Finland in the late 19th century. This fact was realized when Stone Age objects were collected into museums and people were reluctant to give up the powerful stones (see e.g. Killinen 1890: 94–95; Huurre 1965: 39; 2003: 169; Muhonen 2006: 13).

The oldest evidence of a possible thunderbolt in Finland was discovered during archaeological excavations in Lieto (a) in 2003, where a Stone Age chisel was found in a hearth foundation dated to the early Iron Age (Asplund 2006). Incidentally, the most recent suggestion of a living belief in the powers of these objects was also documented in Lieto during an archaeological survey in 2002 (Lompolo 2002: 84–85). The owners of the house in question told the archaeologist that when they bought the property in 2000, the previous owner had shown them a Stone Age axe, a “lucky stone”, which was kept in the attic by the chimney. Later, another Stone Age axe was found in the filling of the attic floor (Appx. 3: 2).

The material of this study includes 65 concealed finds of edged stone objects (axes, boat-axes, chisels, gouges, spearheads or arrowheads, ice-picks, hoes, and two imitations of Stone Age tools) possibly connected to the thunderbolt tradition. Most of these (53 cases) are likely to have been concealed during the 19th century. Since the main interest of antiquarians collecting these objects in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was their original period of use, details such as the construction date of the building where they were concealed are often missing. Still, some collectors recorded concealed object as “thunderbolts”, and in many cases the exact location is well documented. For example, a Stone Age axe delivered to the National Museum in 1934 was found while demolishing the old cowshed at Rauskala estate in Viitaila village in Asikkala (d). It was concealed in the ceiling inside a hole that had been carved in a beam, and it was bound in place with a band of twigs (Appx. 3: 125).

Only one of the possible thunderbolts in the material of this study is a medieval concealment: the adze found under the corner of a building during an excavation in Kurkijoki (h) (Appx. 3: 172). And only one case is possibly datable to early modern times: the Stone Age gouge collected in 1883 was found in the “soil bench” insulation structure⁷ of an old, dismantled building belonging to the Anttila estate in Ahmoo village (c) (nowadays in Karkkila). According to the find catalogue, the object had been kept at the estate for at least 200 years after its discovery, which would mean that it was found in the late 17th

⁷ Fin. *multapenkki*.

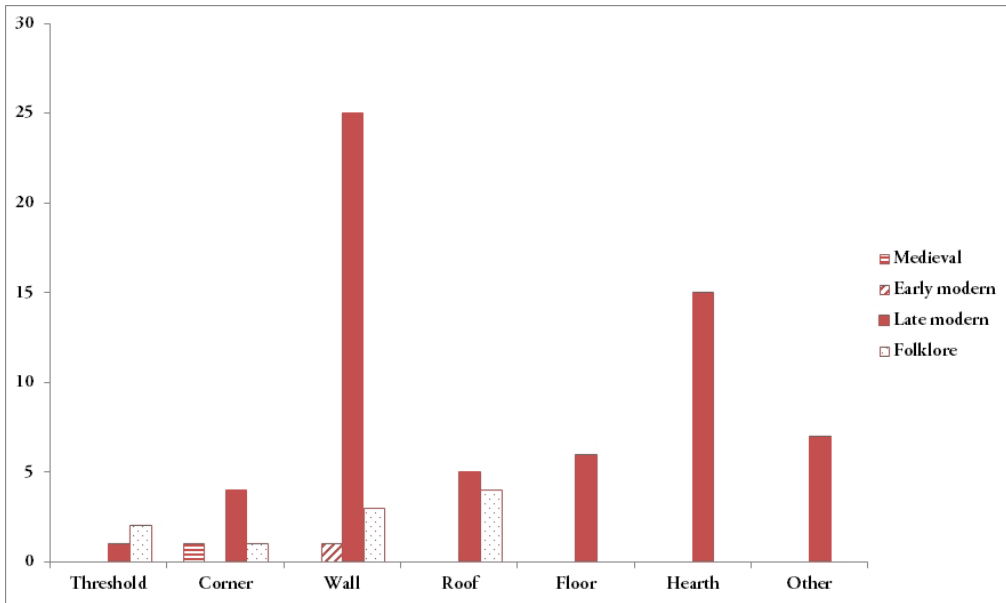


Fig. 53. Locations of edged Stone Age tools / thunderbolts in finds (n=65) and folklore (n=10).

century (Appx. 3: 122). The problem with this case is that it relies on 200-year-old oral history. All of the other 63 cases likely have a late modern (c. 1700–1950) dating.

The reason for so few earlier finds is probably not due to thunderbolt beliefs being unknown, but perhaps even the contrary: as stones were still believed to possess power, they were likely collected for further use whenever found. The biography of one find in the material of this study points to this kind of action: an unfinished Stone Age axe (Appx. 3: 203) delivered to the National Museum in 1974 had been found c. 70–80 years earlier in a field by a man called Piippu-Juuso; it had then been immured in the hearth of the Piippola house in Karvoskylä village ([I] Nivala). Later the same axe had been immured in the sauna's hearth, where it was found during demolition by blacksmith Oiva Pölli, who delivered it to the museum. This would mean that a thunderbolt would remain in its medieval or early modern context and discovered by an archaeologist only in rare cases. These stones would be more likely to become recorded only when belief in them started to diminish. However, the weak point in this reasoning is that there are numerous finds of Stone Age edged tools in the medieval town layers of Lund (nowadays in Sweden) (Carelli 1996; 1997). Thus it might also be that concealing these objects was simply less common in medieval Finland.

In spite of a large body of folklore describing belief in thunderbolts, I have come across only nine accounts that concern concealing the object in a building. Seven of these give an explanation for the action. Four cases explain that the concealed stone would protect the building from lightning strikes and/or fire. For example, the thunderbolt could be kept in the ceiling structure, so that lightning would not strike (FLS FA. [j] Polvijärvi. 1909. U. Holmberg 541 b). Alternatively, three accounts explain that the thunderbolt would also protect against witchcraft, the night hag, or simply act as a “guardian”. Yet a conceptual connection with fire may be involved, as seen in this example:

The thunderbolt prevents all fiery arrows of a witch. Often when cattle are thriving, someone will envy the cattle-luck. If one does not take precaution, the animals will start to suffer and will not thrive. Old folks used to conceal a thunderbolt under the threshold of the cowshed in the stone foundation, since witches⁸ could not cross it. ([b] Kullaa; SKMT IV, 1: I 302 §.)

It might be natural to think that an object intended to protect against lightning would be concealed in connection with the roof/ceiling, but when looking at the locations of the objects connected to the thunderbolt tradition (see Fig. 53), the largest part of them are related to a wall or, above all, the “soil bench” insulation structure. Since most of these objects were found during the demolition of still-standing old buildings, the pattern is less likely to be formed by the “archaeologization” process than if discovered during excavations where only the lowest part of the building was preserved. Thus, it seems that the thunderbolt was often chosen to be concealed in wall insulation. Concentration in the hearth area may easily be explained by the thunderbolt’s fire-controlling attributes.

In addition to the edged stone tools, some other artefacts interpreted as deriving from the Stone Age were also found concealed in buildings. All seven of these were concealed in late modern times. Four are perforated stones (three of them rhombus-shaped) found in hearth locations (Appx. 3: 153, 177, 189, 190), and two are grindstones used for sharpening stone tools found in wall foundations (Appx. 3: 62, 154). The remaining one is a stone club found under a floor (Appx. 3: 87). These objects further support the observation that worked stones were chosen for concealments, even when they were not obviously connected with the thunderbolt tradition.

While thunderbolts were perhaps not seen as antiquated artefacts in the minds of the concealers, the folklore shows signs of deliberately choosing old objects. Coins are often mentioned as being old, as well as from different periods (e.g. three coins of different kings). One example recorded in the Swedish-speaking region of South Ostrobothnia describes the ideal coin as follows:

If one wants good luck with the cattle in the cowshed that one is building, a silver coin is cut in four pieces and each piece is put under each cornerstone. A coin from “Old Kajsa’s” time is preferred for this. ([k] Närpes; FSFD VII, 3: III C, 2.)

It is not completely clear who “Old Kajsa” referred to, but the most likely option is the Swedish Queen Christina, who ruled in 1632–1654. Kajsa is a female name, so the other option is the Russian Catherine the Great (1762–1796). However, since Finland was still part of Sweden during her rule, her coins were not in circulation as much as the Swedish ones. The coins of Christina are very common finds during archaeological excavations, and six of the coin finds in this study include her coins. In addition, eight of the folklore accounts in the material of this study specify that the coin should be a “*kruununmyyntti*”, a coin of the crown (the Swedish coins often displayed the symbol of three crowns). There is also other evidence that old Swedish coins were preferred for magical purposes still during the Russian rule in the late 19th century (see e.g. Paulaharju 1922: 244).

Moreover, the find material shows evidence of antiquated coins used for concealments in three cases. First, a coin found and delivered to the museum in 1902, which fits perfectly with the folklore’s notion of “Old Kajsa”, is the commemorative coin of Queen Christina’s crowning in 1644. It was found in the “soil bench” insulation structure of the main

⁸ Alternatively, “the power of envy”. The Finnish word *kade* (from the root *kateus* for “envy”) seems to be used in the same way as *väki*, to refer both to the person and the agency of that person (see the discussion in Chapter 10.3).

residence at Wuotila estate in Pohjankylä village ([l] Pyhäjoki) (Appx. 3: 207). Secondly, eleven coins mostly dating to the 18th century (including at least one minted in 1715) were found in a concealment under the altar of Kuopio Cathedral in 1895 (Appx. 3: 164). This church was consecrated in 1816, which makes the oldest coins a hundred years older than when it was built. The most striking case is the Roman copper coin of Marcus Aurelius (161–180 CE), which was found in the soil bench of an old building in Alkkula village ([b] Lempäälä) in 1913 when the building was demolished (Appx. 3: 70).

In addition to coins, other objects have clearly been concealed long after their original time of use. A single folklore account explains:

An old sword that has been used in war and whose maker and user are unknown is put under the hearth of a new dwelling house so that no kind of vermin can breed in the house (FLS FA. [p] Kontokki, Teeriniemi. 1894. H. Meriläinen II 2298).

This account was placed in context when I realized that several cases show clear evidence of prehistoric cemetery finds having been concealed in late modern buildings. For example, a piece of a late Iron Age sword blade was found under the hearth of the residence building at the Kivioja croft of Kauniainen manor ([b] Nokia) and delivered to the museum in 1885 (Appx. 3: 72). Another blade of an Iron Age sword was found under the floor of the residence at Harmoilä estate in Turenki village ([d] Janakkala) (Appx. 3: 133). Other cases include Iron Age spearheads and brooches (Appx. 3: 1, 8, 30, 129, 158), as well as a Bronze Age axe ([a] Masku, Appx. 3: 4).

A smooth, elliptic Iron Age fire-striking stone was suitable for concealing, at least in one case. It was found during demolition work in 1925 between the bricks in the mortar of the kitchen hearth of Dalä's summer house on Haiko estate ([c] Porvoo). According to the catalogue's information, the building was built in 1875 for the councillor of commerce Wilhelm Åberg (Appx. 3: 108). These objects have also been found concealed in late modern buildings in Sweden (Monikander 2014: 20–21).

The recurring notion of objects that are old and have an unknown maker and/or user/owner has already been discussed above in Chapter 10.3. This is connected to a need for impersonal agency. Another factor is the possible connection of old objects with ancestors and their agency. The implications of the use of antiquated objects for archaeology are discussed below in Chapter 13.

12.3 CONCEALMENTS IN CHURCH CONTEXTS

Concealments in churches (and other ecclesiastical contexts) show clear evidence of different types of practices. First, there are foundation concealments made during the initial building process. The oldest historical record I have come across describing building concealments in the far northern parts of Europe concerns this type of concealment in a church. The record is in the Icelandic *Book of Settlements* (*Landnámabók*). The original version of the book is lost, but there are five surviving versions of it. The earliest one is called *Sturlubók*, and it was compiled during the 13th century. It has been determined that the most probable time of writing for the original work was c. 1097–1125 (Pálsson & Edwards 1972: 1–5).

In the oldest, *Sturlubók* version of the work, it is written that when a man named Ørlygr wanted to build a church in Iceland, his foster-father, an Irish bishop, gave him timber,

an iron bell, a *plenarium* book, and some holy earth to put under the corner timbers of the new church. In the newer, *Hauksbók* version, the other details are the same, but in addition to the holy earth the bishop gave Ørlygr a golden penny to put under the corner to consecrate the building. A mention that he should revere *Kolumkilla* is also added; this last notion is connected to the Irish St Columba (*Colm Cille*) (Benediktsson 1968: 52–53 and footnotes).

The debate whether *The Book of Settlements* depictions truly tell of the times Iceland was first settled (circa 890–930) or not (see e.g. Pálsson & Edwards 1972: 1–13) is not relevant in this connection. The *Hauksbók* version is dated to the early 14th century, and the account shows that the custom of placing holy earth and a coin under the corners of a church was familiar at that time. The hint that this custom might have spread to Iceland from Ireland is thought-provoking, since it reminds that less official elements of religion could also be spread along with the faith. Naturally, it is likely that the coin concealment was not in any way seen as superstitious at the time.

In addition to this record, several Scandinavian finds show that coin concealments were made as a part of foundation rituals in churches during medieval times in the area. The Danish numismatic Fritze Lindahl mentions, for example, that in Roskilde, Denmark, 108 coins that had originally been in a pouch were found under the south-western corner of the tower of St Jørgensbjerg church. The find has been interpreted as a foundation offering made circa 1040. Also in Lund Cathedral (belonging to Sweden since early modern times) six coins were found by the foundation stone of the south portal. They were concealed in a few years after 1104 (Lindahl 1956).

The only similar medieval case in the material of this study is dated to the late 14th century. Five bracteates and a possible sixth one were found under a brick in the eastern part of the foundation of the baptismal font of the ruins of Koroinen Church during an archaeological excavation in 1900–1902 ([a] Turku) (Appx. 3: 15). Another medieval coin concealment was found in the ruins of the St Olav Dominican Convent in Turku (a) in 1900. A hundred coins in a miniature stoneware jar were found under a floor tile in the eastern corner of a room of the complex (Appx. 3: 14). This concealment could be valuables concealed for further use, but it is unlikely. First, the coins are of small value, and their even number⁹ points to deliberate selection. Most importantly, the vessel is of a type connected to the pilgrimage cult of Saint Olav (Ahola *et al.* 2004: 192–193), which strongly points to a symbolic value of the action (see also van Vilsteren 2000).

The other four documented coin concealments are found in three late modern churches. First, three coins were found under a stone in the middle of the eastern wall foundation of Markkina Church ([n] Enontekiö) during an archaeological excavation in 2000. The coins were minted in 1686–87, 1724, and 1779, and thus they feature three different kings. The notion of three coins of different kings was mentioned in seven folklore accounts, all recorded in the eastern culture area (m, p, and q).¹⁰ Another possible coin concealment (the location was less clear) of two coins (minted in 1760 and 1761) was discovered in the south-eastern corner of this same church (Appx. 3: 217–218).

⁹ A hundred coins are also mentioned in one folklore account: a hundred pennies in a pouch should be concealed in the corner of the cowshed or stable to ensure good luck ([b] Ikaalinen; SKMT IV, 1: I 236 §).

¹⁰ The material of this study also includes a late modern case of coins minted by three different kings found concealed under the ridge-beam of a cottage in Rovaniemi (n), but it is uncertain if they were concealed at the same event (Appx. 3: 221).

Secondly, in 2009 during archaeological excavation at the Turkansaari Chapel site ([l] Oulu) two Swedish copper coins (minted in 1677 and 1724) were found under a stone that belongs to the foundation of the north-eastern wall (in the middle of the wall) of Turkansaari Chapel. A third copper coin minted in 1660 (uncertain date) was found under another stone in the same foundation close to the latter. Two more coins were found in 2010 close to the ones under the stone (minted in 1749 and 1725). The chapel is built in the late 17th century, so the concealments are younger than the original time of building (Appx. 3: 204). The concealment is thus unlikely to have been part of an “original” foundation ritual, but it might still be connected with some improvement building work. The third case involves the coins under the altar of Kuopio Cathedral (g) mentioned above in the previous subchapter. Contrary to Turkansaari Chapel, the concealment in Kuopio had considerably older coins than the time of building.

The record in *The Book of Settlements* speaks of a golden penny. Incidentally, one folklore account that describes the building of a late modern church in the material of this study also specifies that the foundation concealment in a church should preferably be a golden coin:

My father told that when he was participating in the building work of that old church of Koivisto, the one that they then sold to the people of Vyborg, they put a coin inside a hole in the foundation timber; it had to be a golden coin. It was like an offering to the guardian¹¹ that protected the church. And many house-owners also put coins in the soil bench under the building, or inside the foundation timber, when they were building; then the house remained rich. (FLS FA. [h] Koivisto. 1938. Ulla Manonen 5978.)

Another account explains that when the Kerimäki Church was built, six silver coins were put as an offering under each pillar (FLS FA. [f] Kerimäki, Yläkuona. 1937. Alli Raila 359). This huge wooden church was completed in 1847 (Lindberg 1934: 96–97). However, churches were not built as often as other buildings, so folklore describing their foundation rituals is not very common. In addition to these two examples, only one more remains: an account from Olonets Karelia explaining that whenever a village chapel (*tsa-souna*) was built, a coin was put in the timber-joint of the back corner (FLS FA. [q] Tulomajärvi. 1944. Helmi Helminen 2568).

Before moving on to discuss the practices better known in the folklore, it should be noted that foundation rituals of a church do not appear to have exclusively involved coin concealments. An iron axe was delivered to the museum in 1884 by the master builder A. Lönnrot. It had been found during renovation under the altar of Kalanti Church (b) (Appx. 3: 61). This stone church was built in the 15th century (Hiekkänen 2007: 59). A more problematic find was delivered to the museum a year earlier in 1883. A hatchet was found under the floor of Hauho Church (d) when it was repaired, but the context information does not reveal if a grave could be involved (Appx. 3: 130). This church was built between 1500–1520 (Hiekkänen 2007: 292–293).

The lamb found under the altar of Rantsila Church (l) mentioned above is perhaps the most intriguing case of foundation rituals in churches. Rantsila Church was built in 1785 (Lindberg 1934: 222–223), and the lamb skeleton was found during renovation in 1983–84 (Appx. 3: 208). According to the widow of the former priest, Esteri Kopperoinen (pers. comm. 30.10.2013), the remains of the lamb may have been re-concealed during

¹¹ Orig. *haltia*. I have usually translated this word as “guardian spirit”, but in this connection it could also mean patron saint.

the renovation. The aspect that makes this find especially interesting is the tradition of the “church-lamb” known in Scandinavian oral history. As Benjamin Thorpe has written: “A tradition has also been preserved, that under the altar in the first Christian churches a lamb was usually buried, which imparted security and duration to the edifice. This is an emblem of the genuine Church-lamb, the Saviour of the world, who is the sacred cornerstone of his church and congregation” (Thorpe 1851: 102).

The remains of such “symbols of Christ” have been found in some churches in Scandinavia. In addition to the lamb walled in beneath a church altar in Denmark, which was passingly mentioned by Tylor (1891: 105), two more detailed accounts have been published by Jørgen Skaarup (1977). However, these were not placed under the altar; for example, remains of a lamb have been found in the choir-vaulting of Simmerbølle Church. The church was built in the 13th century, but Skaarup (1977: 13) interprets the lamb remains as a late modern addition. Falk (2008: 249, 256, 264) has included three additional cases of unidentified animal bones in Danish churches in her catalogue (with a reference to personal communication with Skaarup).

One interpretation is that the Christian church-lamb was mixed with folk belief in an animal-shaped guardian spirit of the church known as the church-grim (e.g. Thorpe 1851: 102–103, 166–167). The animal-shaped church or churchyard guardian spirit (*kirkonhaltia*) is known in Finnish tradition alongside the human-shaped church guardian, believed to be the first person buried in the church or churchyard. The animal shapes mentioned in this tradition are horse, pig, dog, and snake. However, sheep are not mentioned in the list of types and motifs in Finnish belief legends (Jauhainen 1999: 116–117, types C 1501–1600). Still, the two descriptions of concealments in connection with foundation rituals in the folklore material suggest a popular understanding of coins as an offering for this guardian spirit of the church.

On an imagined “official-unofficial” axis, one can contrast foundation rituals approved by authorities against clear examples of folk magic practices, which involved utilizing the power(s) of the church: frogs and other animals in miniature coffins, wooden figurines, and magic pouches concealed in churches. Magic rituals that took place in a church or churchyard could have numerous purposes. The ones mentioned in the material of this study are healing, increasing luck in livelihood (fishing), counter-acting witchcraft, and causing misfortune for others (see also Tittonen 2008a: 4; Lahti 2016).

As I have discussed in a previous paper (Hukantaival 2015a), rituals involving a miniature coffin have often been either counter-witchcraft against an unknown offender or malicious witchcraft aimed at causing misfortune. These rituals were often complex and carried out by ritual specialists, such as cunning folk or healers (*tietäjä*). One account depicting a three-part healing ritual for epilepsy is an elaborate example of rituals taking place at the church and churchyard:

Epilepsy was healed in the Kuopio region such that the healer first took the patient with him/her¹² to sit naked on the threshold of a house that had been moved three times. There the healer threw cold water on the patient to startle him/her. Then they went to the forest, caught a frog and killed it. A coffin was made of alder wood. The frog was put like a corpse in shrouds made of a piece of the patient's undergarments inside the coffin. Then the coffin was put under the church through a hatch in the foundation. After this they went to the churchyard, opened a recent grave, and took the body out of the coffin. A hole was dug into the side of the grave. The dead body was split so that the

¹² The Finnish personal pronoun does not differentiate between the sexes.

Fig. 54. The elaborately made miniature pine coffin found concealed in Turku Cathedral dates from the late 17th or early 18th century (Appx. 3: 17). Photo by Sonja Hukantaival.



patient could be first pulled through the hole on the side of the grave and then three times through the dead body, switching between clockwise and counter-clockwise. The healer chanted during this: "Rise all people, people of the air, people of the dead! Come to protect the unprotected, to help the endlessly suffering!" Afterwards the grave was restored. (FLS FA. [g] Kuopio. 1935–36. Koponen, Juho. KRK103:92.)

The second part of this ritual involving concealing the frog-coffin under the church suggests that the healer might have suspected that the condition was caused by witchcraft, even though that is not made explicit here. Most of the miniature coffin rituals were performed to return evil influences to their sender, thus simultaneously releasing the victim and punishing the responsible witch. Moreover, epilepsy was a condition that was easily thought to be caused by sorcery (see e.g. Hako 2000: 19). These rituals seem to apply rules of sympathetic magic in transforming the frog (or other object) to represent the witch by means of contagion, utilizing the sympathetic link between a witch and his/her victim. Additionally, the *väki* agency of the coffin's burial place is persuaded to aid in the effort of punishing the witch (see also Hukantaival 2015a).

It is apparent in the folklore describing miniature coffin rituals that the coffin was not always buried in a church or even a building. However, this study only focuses on the cases where the coffin was concealed in a building. Of the eleven folklore accounts involving these objects, seven are mentioned as being concealed in a church context (one of them describes a bell tower). Other buildings mentioned are a dwelling, a cowshed (quoted above in Chapter 10.4), a storage building, and a cooking shed. All recorded finds of miniature coffins in this study are from church contexts. As mentioned, the true number of found coffins is unrecorded, but it exceeds a hundred (see Hukantaival 2015a for more details). However, since they were found in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, only nine of these were preserved in museums. Miniature coffins were reported from seven Finnish churches, of which six are situated in the eastern part of the country. The folklore was similarly recorded in areas belonging to eastern Finnish and Karelian cultures.

Of the nine preserved coffins, four were reported to contain the remains of a frog (usually wrapped in some textile or net) while the other two contained squirrels. One coffin found in the same Kiihtelysvaara Church (j) (Appx. 3: 175–176) as the latter two contained a cat, which was recorded in a photograph together with the squirrel-coffins (the photograph is published in Vatanen 1977: 172; Uimonen 2003: 15). Apparently the coffin of

the cat was not preserved. Most of the preserved coffins were concealed during the 19th century. However, the very elaborately made pine coffin (Fig. 54) that contained a frog wrapped in two pieces of white textile found in Turku Cathedral (a) during renovation in the 1920s is slightly older (Appx. 3: 17).

The Turku coffin was found inside the jamb of the portal of Tigerstedt-Wallenstierna Chapel. The room was taken into use as a burial chapel in the 1680s, but it is hard to confirm building-historically that the coffin was not concealed earlier or later as well. For this reason, a small piece of the frog remains was AMS radiocarbon-dated (Ua-48076), with the result of a ¹⁴C-age of 180 ± 30 BP. The calibration (2 sigma) gives a wide age-range (1650–1900 CE), but the highest probabilities fall in the late 17th or the 18th century. The probability of a late 17th century dating rises when coffin typology is added to the evidence. The miniature coffin coincides with the Kjellberg Type 5, which dates to c. 1650–1750 (Joakim Kjellberg pers. comm. 9.4.2014; Kjellberg 2015). The radiocarbon date shows that the coffin is certainly not older than the late 17th century, but in light of all the evidence the early 18th century cannot be completely excluded either (Hukantaiva 2015a: 205–206).

Most coffins are reported to have been pushed under the church through hatches in the foundation in a similar manner as in the folklore example above. Folklore also tells that a placement near the altar was preferred. Additionally, the circa thirty coffins found in Kuopio Cathedral (g) are reported to have been on the women's side (the north) of the church (Appx. 3: 165). The cat, however, was found in its coffin in a sealed space between the ceiling and roof structures in Kiihtelysvaara Church (j) (Appx. 3: 176). I have not come across any folklore describing concealing a cat inside a coffin in a building, but one example describes burying a cat inside an alder coffin in the north corner of the churchyard in order to remove evil spirits from the house ([p] Vuokkiniemi; Varonen 1898: 29). Thus, it is apparent that the Kiihtelysvaara cat is connected to the other miniature coffin rituals.

In addition to the fascinating miniature coffins, some magic pouches and bundles and wooden (alder) stick figurines are mentioned in folklore accounts to have been found in churches. A poppet made from woollen yarn is also recorded from Kiihtelysvaara Church; it was possibly also inside a miniature coffin (Appx. 3: 175). Additionally, the 1886 court case in Saarijärvi (e) tells of a folk magic practice involving concealing a bird under the steps of a building in the churchyard. Finds of bones of birds, frogs, bats, and hare's feet discovered under the 17th-century floor of the bell tower at Pyhä Lauri Church in Vantaa (c) during an archaeological excavation in 2007 (Appx. 3: 113) are also likely to have been part of these practices.

In the belief tradition of the *väki* of the church (*kirkonväki*), it is understood as a crowd of otherworldly beings which can function as an invisible force (Koski 2003; 2008; 2011). As noted above, this same agency of the dead was utilized whenever remains of humans or objects that had been in touch with dead bodies were handled in magic practices (see also Tittonen 2008a; 2008b; Eilola & Einonen 2009; Ruohonen 2011). Folklore often explains that whenever the agency of death was brought from the churchyard in the form of soil, bones, hair, pieces of clothing, etc., a coin should be left for compensation to avoid otherworldly retribution (see e.g. Krohn 1915: 65; Ruohonen 2011: 350). Traditionally, post-Reformation coins found in churches have been seen only as accidentally lost during Sunday collections, while medieval coins have been thought to have fallen on the floor during the attempt to place them in the offertory trunk.¹³ Furthermore, as Frida Ehrnsten

¹³ So-called "offertory wastage" (see Klackenbergh 1992: 35, 335).

(2013a: 35–36) has pointed out, the amount of coins in churches, though seemingly numerous, is not particularly great when considering the long span of the buildings' use. The coins are also of small value, which seems to confirm the interpretation of lost objects.¹⁴ Still, Ehrnsten (2013a: 39–40) finds it unlikely that all of the large-sized post-Reformation coins have been accidentally lost, which is supported by recorded folk practices of coin offerings in churches (see Jokipii 2002). These coin offerings may have been made in connection with pleas for help in everyday concerns. It is not always easy to draw a distinction between offerings and magic. For example, one folklore account explains that a hunter should carve the image of a hare on an old coin and place it in the Sunday collection while reciting a small incantation in order to ensure good fortune in hare-hunting ([j] Nurmes, SKMT I: 421 §).

In light of the folklore material, it is obvious that coins were deliberately concealed in church contexts, both as part of foundation rituals and during the time of use of the building as part of folk devotion and magic (e.g. SKMT I: 436 e). However, since coins may also be easily lost, it is very difficult to distinguish deliberate acts from chance finds. The question could be even more complicated, since it might easily be that a coin accidentally dropped on the church floor was not seen as something that one should pick up, but something that the church (God?) has claimed. This speculation is supported by an observation that intentions of otherworldly beings were easily seen in chance events. This is visible, for example, in stories about choosing the right building place for a church. In these narratives the right spot was divined, for example, by where the oxen or horse pulling the building material stopped, or where the building timber washed ashore (Jauhianen 1999: 277–279, types N 431, 441, 481, 491, 501, 511). This type of divining of a good building spot is also known in Scandinavia (for example, in the Icelandic tradition) (see Benediktsson 1968; Pálsson & Edwards 1972).

The church had a complex role in folk religion. It was a nexus of otherworldly power originating from God, saints, the church's guardian spirit, and the deceased. All of these agencies could be persuaded to aid in magic practices, but the folklore indicates that they were approached by means of different deeds. A more comprehensive study would be needed to address this issue satisfactorily, but it seems that the power of the deceased could be sought more often than that of God. Traditionally, scholars have discussed the church only as an arena of institutionalized religious activities, which has given an extremely one-sided view of the meaning of these environments to the common people (see also Jonuks & Johanson 2015).

The concealments made in churches as part of foundation rituals seem to have been a balance between official and unofficial practices. The priest and/or other representatives of the Church may well have been present and participating in these ceremonies. The church-lamb representing Christ laid under the altar may even have been seen as an important part of consecrating the building. The folk magic performed at the location differs clearly from these rituals in the sense that it was strongly disapproved of by representatives of the Church, as can be seen in court records and law texts (see e.g. Eilola 2003: 55–56, 90–101; Tittonen 2007; Eilola & Einonen 2009).

Table 4 shows the churches or locations mentioned in connection to concealments in the material of this study. Because of the different types of rituals involved, I have also distinguished the foundation rituals and folk magic practices in the table whenever possible.

¹⁴ In fact, since coins used in folk magic are also usually of small value this observation is irrelevant when trying to distinguish lost coins from ones used in rituals.

Table 4. Ecclesiastical contexts with concealments in either finds or folklore. Meaning of the symbols: f = foundation ritual, m = folk magic practice, x = undetermined.

No.	Site or area	Dating (of act)	Find(s)	Folklore
1	Koroinen Church (a)	Medieval	f	
2	Dominican Convent (a)	Medieval	x	
3	Kalanti Church (b)	Medieval	f	
4	Messukylä Old Church (d)	Medieval	x	
5	Turku Cathedral (a)	Early Modern	m	
6	Vantaa Pyhä Lauri Church (c)	Early Modern	m	
7	Hämeenkoski Church (d)	Early Modern	f	
8	Hauho Church (d)	Early Modern	f	
9	Kuorevesi Church (d)	Late Modern		m
10	Sumiainen Old Church (e)	Late Modern		m
11	Hankasalmi (e)	Late Modern		m
12	Heinävesi Old Church (f)	Late Modern		m
13	Kerimäki Church (f)	Late Modern		f
14	Karttula (g)	Late Modern		m
15	Kuopio Cathedral (g)	Late Modern	f m	m
16	Leppävirta (g)	Late Modern		m
17	Nilsjä Old Church (g)	Late Modern		m
18	Pielavesi Old Church (g)	Late Modern		m
19	Tuusniemi Church (g)	Late Modern	m	m
20	Koivisto Old Church (h)	Late Modern		f
21	Ruskeala (i)	Late Modern		m
22	Kiihtelysvaara Church (j)	Late Modern	m	
23	Pielisjärvi Church (j)	Late Modern		m
24	Tohmajärvi Church (j)	Late Modern		m
25	Turkansaari Chapel (l)	Late Modern	x	
26	Rantsila Church (l)	Late Modern	f	
27	Markkina Church (n)	Late Modern	f	
28	Simo (n)	Late Modern		m
29	Tulomajärvi (q)	Late Modern		f

The relatively small number of churches in this material is due to the research situation and the fact that documentation was rarely carried out in the past when churches were renovated. When gathering the material for this study, I also noticed that representatives of the Church can still feel uncomfortable discussing possible signs of unapproved practices carried out in these holy places.

CHAPTER 13

FURTHER IMPLICATIONS – FOLK RELIGION IN ARCHAEOLOGY

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, its goal is to discuss building concealments in particular, but the wider aim is to more generally include phenomena that can be grouped under the concept of folk religion in archaeological research. This must be done on several levels. A theoretical framework for discussing these phenomena is needed, as well as a suitable methodology. The fundamental issue for the whole discipline, however, is to understand how folk religion has influenced the archaeological record. This discussion will “muddy the waters” somewhat for archaeologists, but ignoring folk religion as an archaeological formation process in fact only causes confusion and keeps us further away from the past reality we wish to understand.

13.1 FOLK RELIGION AS A FORMATION PROCESS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Archaeologists easily tend to use a “common sense” approach to interpret the remains of human behaviour visible in the archaeological record, either unconsciously or even completely deliberately (see Johnson 2010: 1–11). It seems that historical archaeologists are especially prone to this fallacy, since the temporal proximity of the studied period (when compared with prehistoric times) and the advent of science may cause an illusion that people perceived the world fairly similarly in the 17th century, for example, as today. Yet even educated people did not have access to such vast collections of information and scientific understanding of the world as schoolchildren do today, and magical causality was held as an accepted option even when planning technological advances.

This claim is illustrated by an example from 17th-century England discussed by Jesper Sørensen (2007: 112–115). In an experimental method of estimating an exact measurement of the navigational longitude, there was used something that Sørensen calls “backward contagion”: a dog was wounded with a sword, and the dog was taken on a seafaring ship while its wound was prevented from healing. The sword with the dog’s blood on it was kept in Greenwich. Every day at noon there, powder was put on the sword; this was supposed to make the dog on the ship howl in pain. The navigator would then measure the local time by the position of the sun and compare it to Greenwich Time indicated by the howling dog, and he could then determine the exact position of the ship at sea. This example suggests that the belief in an essential link between a wound and the weapon that made it and between the blood in the dog and the blood on the sword was present also in educated circles. Thus, it is obvious that common sense could mean something very different in past minds than today (see also Johnson 2010: 91–92).

Recently, several studies have entered into discussion on the impact that folk beliefs have had on the archaeological record. One example is the book by the historian Johannes Dillinger (2011), which discusses magical treasure-hunting in Europe and North America; here the consequences of such practices on grave mounds and other monuments is touched upon. The study on late medieval burial practices in Britain by Roberta Gilchrist (2008) and the study on early modern beliefs related to dead bodies in Britain and Ireland by Sarah Tarlow (2010) also discuss this aspect. Moreover, an issue of the journal *Historical Archaeology* in 2014 was devoted to the archaeology and material culture of folk religion (Fennel & Manning 2014). In her introductory article, Manning (2014: 4) explains that one of the aims of the issue is to encourage discussion about the archaeological evidence of European American rituals.

Furthermore, the recent popularity of this subject is visible in two similarly titled conference publications. The excellent contributions based on papers given at the 2012 Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) meeting in Liverpool are published in the book *The Materiality of Magic: An Artifactual Investigation into Ritual Practices and Popular Beliefs* (Houlbrook & Armitage 2015). The other book, *The Materiality of Magic* (Boschung & Bremmer 2015), is based on a conference held in Cologne also in 2012. Its main focus is on classical antiquity, but it also includes two important contributions to European post-medieval studies (Forshaw 2015; Davies 2015). Closer to the current study area, the effects of folk beliefs on the archaeological record has lately been discussed mainly in connection with churches and finds of coins, book parts, or other possible indicators of folk beliefs in these contexts (e.g. Ehrnsten 2013a; 2015; Harjula 2015; Jonuks & Johanson 2015).

Folk religion as an archaeological formation process has significance even for those of us who might think that past mentalities are a less interesting topic for archaeologists to discuss. The possibility that mercury or other toxic materials used in rituals might be an occupational health and safety issue for field archaeologists and macrofossil specialists was mentioned above. Since any kind of investigation of how significant this risk might be is lacking, however, it is hard to assess if the danger is only marginal or something that would require action. In any case, folk religion does have other concrete consequences that affect the archaeological record.

Since dating of sites is heavily dependent on artefacts, perhaps the most frustrating issue for archaeologists is that of the preference for antiquated objects in rituals. Coins have been believed to be a reliable source of dating, since they have not been thought to have been in circulation long before becoming obsolete. However, in some sites researchers have noticed that coins can be even a hundred years older than other artefact material or the known dating of the site (e.g. Halinen 2002: 48–49; Talvio 2009: 309; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 78; Ehrnsten 2013b: 13). This is also the case with the coin concealment under the altar of Kuopio Cathedral, where the oldest coins were a hundred years older than the building date of the church (Appx. 3: 164).

As mentioned above, coins of Queen Christina (1632–1654) were especially favoured in magical practices, even into the 19th century. This indicates an even longer period between the minting of the coins and their use in rituals. It has also been shown that coins of different ages (different kings) have been deliberately chosen in some instances. Naturally, coins are still a good indicator of chronology in a *terminus post quem* manner: in an undisturbed context, they offer information on the earliest possible date of the layer, but the latest possible date is simply not accessible through this means.

Coins have traditionally been seen mainly as an indicator of economic issues, but an understanding that these objects also had important roles in rituals should be remembered in discussions. This aspect has lately gained more attention, but its significance has still not been fully realized. In light of 19th-century folklore, it is apparent that the significance of ritually “lost” coins is not merely a marginal one, but the nature of these rituals often makes it difficult to distinguish between truly lost and ritually disposed coins. For example, as mentioned above in Chapter 10.4:

[...] food and coins are offered under the floor to the guardian spirit of the earth. They are dropped through the cracks between the floorboards or taken to a pit under the floor. ([d] Lammi; Haavio 1942: 444.)

In cases where coins under floor-layers are clearly older than the other find material it is justifiable to suspect ritual disposal, but it should still be kept in mind that, even though antiquity of the coins was preferred, it was not a rule.¹ Also, as mentioned, the value of coins cannot be used as an indicator of ritual use: Even though they were usually coins of small value, also valuable coins, such as golden ones, have been utilized in rituals. Coins may also have been ritually disposed of singly, in specific ritualized numbers such as three or nine, or even in large quantities. Deliberately split coins should also invoke consideration of possible ritual use.

The ritual use of other antiquated objects in historical times also has a consequence for the archaeological record. The issue has been quite widely discussed in connection to thunderbolt beliefs (e.g. Carelli 1996; 1997; Muhonen 2006; Johanson 2009), but this study also shows that cemetery finds dating to the Iron or Bronze Age can be expected to appear in post-prehistoric contexts. I noticed while gathering the material for this study that some of these objects appear to have been the sole reason for a place being identified as a prehistoric site, but in reality their being ritual objects may have caused them to be transported far away from their original prehistoric find context (see also Merrifield 1987: 13–15).

The use of prehistoric cemetery finds in later rituals also includes the precondition that cemeteries have been disturbed. This may have been done in connection with land use (for example, when a new field was cleared). Still, it is also likely that known cemetery sites were deliberately looted in order to use found objects and bones in rituals. This is evident in connection to later cemeteries as well. The practices known in folklore can also potentially leave some very bizarre traces in the archaeological record. For example, the healing practice for epilepsy quoted above in Chapter 12.3, where a dead body was dug up and split in order to pass the patient through it, would have left behind a very disturbed grave context. Practices where a bone from the deceased was dug up and perhaps a coin was left as compensation in its place have also been mentioned (e.g. Krohn 1915: 65; Tittonen 2008b; Eilola & Einonen 2009; Ruohonen 2011; see also Kauhanen 2015: 18).

Folk religion has also affected the animal bone material in the archaeological record. Local archaeo-osteologists have noticed that bone assemblages in towns and other dwelling sites mostly include only the skull and leg bones of horses (e.g. Tourunen 2008: 42, 108, 143; Kivikero 2010b: 163). This accords with the ritually treated horse parts known in the folklore material,² but it is still unknown if there is a connection between these observations. Other beliefs may also have affected the bone assemblages. One example is the Sámi

¹ For example, one account explains that one can use a new coin in a ritual if one does not have an old one ([e] Viitasaari, Issakainen 2012: 146).

² The interesting question remains, where was the rest of the horse disposed?

belief that the bones of the Eurasian elk³ could not be thrown on the kitchen midden, since this would offend the animal (Itkonen 1984b: 369) and affect future hunting-luck. These kinds of beliefs should also be considered by archaeologists discussing diet based on observations of refuse heaps. There is evidence that the bones of a ritually consumed animal, such as a bear (see e.g. Sarmela & Poom 1982) or the Michaelmas lamb (Varonen 1898: 168–171), received special treatment when disposed of.⁴

The material of this study also shows that in addition to leaving clear marks on the archaeological record, folk practices also potentially leave very subtle evidence. One example is the “magic treasure” delivered to the National Museum in 1931, which includes small fragments of horse bones and a small piece of flint stone inside a birch-bark packet (Appx. 3: 197). If found during archaeological excavations, especially if the birch-bark packet had decomposed, these kinds of fragmented finds would hardly draw much attention, even if they were found under the corner of a building. Another example that could potentially cause complications for archaeologists is the collection of a 19th-century cunning person’s ritual paraphernalia from Savitaipale (f), kept in the National Museum in Helsinki. This assemblage contains, among other unremarkable objects, a small shard of stoneware ceramic, which was used for healing boils (KM F634). Old, fragmented artefacts and pieces of bones, ceramics, or natural stones can easily be seen by a present-day archaeologist as insignificant rubbish, since this would most likely be their status today. This observation is not intended to suggest that all fragmentary objects should be understood as ritual artefacts. The main point regarding ritual objects included in this study is that the special agency of the everyday object is actualized in a ritual context. The ritual meaning truly is a combination of the object and its context; the same object in another context could well have an insignificant meaning.

Another example potentially leaving subtle marks on the archaeological record is the ritual use of plants, such as grain:

Some seeds of hemp, a handful of germinating barley grains, and a coin are taken. Inside the cowshed the seeds of hemp and barley grains are sowed around while saying that the cows should thrive like these seeds. Then a hole is struck in the floor with an iron bar and the coin is put in the hole while saying that the cowshed should remain pure and thriving as this imperial coin is. (FLS FA. [m] Hietajärvi. (Suomussalmi.) 1911. S. Jouhki 88.)

This kind of practice would also be very difficult to recognize, and grains and seeds are most likely interpreted as remains of economic practices instead of rituals, unless they occur in graves (if they are not positioned in the stomach area). There is naturally no easy solution to the problem of distinguishing ritual practices from other types of actions in archaeological contexts, but what is called for here is simply an awareness that the remains we find may have been formed as a result of different kinds of action, not only the “common sense” interpretations. It is also crucial to understand that the question of everyday and ritual actions is not one of either/or. These types of actions do not cancel each other out: for example, people can gather in connection to a church service to meet and discuss mundane business, but this does not mean that the religious meanings of the event are erased. The distinction between sacred and profane can be as subtle as sitting down on the church bench and quieting down to listen to the sermon.

³ *Alces alces*.

⁴ Burials of ritually consumed animals have not been properly studied in Finland, most likely since the preservation of bone material is poor. Elsewhere in Scandinavia, burials of ritually consumed bears show evidence of diverse treatment (e.g. Zachrisson & Iregren 1974; Broadbent 2010: 180).

In countries like Finland, where abundant folklore records on beliefs and rituals are available, this information would bring a much wider understanding of the mentalities and actions of post-medieval people if archaeologists were only familiar with the material and its source-critical issues. This would lead to both a better understanding of the processes that formed the archaeological record and the practices and beliefs of the people we study.

13.2 FOLK RELIGION AS A PART OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOOLKIT

Folk religion is not an unproblematic concept (see Appendix 1), but it can be useful as a means of directing attention towards matters that have largely been ignored in historical archaeology. This study has shown that a contextual multi-source method where different types of data are combined to form a wider understanding than any one source could offer alone is a suitable way to discuss these phenomena. A wider contextualization is also needed, since matters that can be discussed within the concept of folk religion are not distinct from other aspects of life. For example, economy, population density and social structure, natural environment, and even climate have shaped the practices and beliefs.

The academic disciplines that have traditionally discussed folk religion have largely ignored the material aspects of these phenomena, and the extensive collections of ritual objects which have been gathered, for example, into the National Museum in Helsinki have remained unstudied. Archaeology could truly contribute to the overall understanding of these phenomena by including the material aspects in the discussion. In addition to understanding how these customs may have shaped the archaeological record, archaeology as a discipline would also benefit from an understanding of folk religion. One point is the way in which we see objects and materials. The realization that items such as iron slag, fragmentary everyday tools, and fragmentary animal remains may not simply be refuse, but meaningful and containing agency, could give deeper insights into past worldviews. This kind of discussion has been initiated within prehistoric archaeology (e.g. Hill 1995; Brück 1999; Morris 2008), but it has yet to fully reach the historical branch. One refreshing exception is the discussion on the meanings of ordinary, portable natural stones in Finnish-Karelian folk religion by the archaeologist Timo Muhonen (2013). His study shows that a single unworked stone could have a potentially wide range of meanings and uses that might not be easily realized by the present-day researcher who sees “just a stone”.

Another benefit that would be gained from an understanding of folk religion is the testability of notions such as “meaning = object/style + place/landscape”, as articulated by Gamble (2008: 127, 139). If this can be confirmed in settings where multiple sources are available, its use in other settings is more defensible. In this study, Figures 33 and 35 (Chapter 9.2) showing the meanings connected to different locations and objects reveal that folk religion is dynamic and does not have strict rules. Even though we can observe some common trends, there are no fixed patterns that could be used to give an exact interpretation of a single concealed find. However, it has been shown here that the meanings of locations and the ritual use of objects were not arbitrary. Therefore, a good knowledge of the folklore material gives a framework of possible interpretations, and when analysing the type of object, its location, and other possible evidence, archaeologists can note that some meanings are more likely than others. In the case of this study, the formula has been shown to be: **meaning = concealed object + its location + the intention of the concealer**, which can be simplified into the form: **meaning ≈ concealed object + its location**. This

helps in discussions of medieval finds, for example, but caution must still be employed since the third aspect of the full formula is not observable.

It has repeatedly been noted above that antiquated objects have often been preferred in rituals. Another aspect that should be interesting for archaeologists is that obsolete practices have also been utilized in ritual contexts. As seen in two examples quoted above (Chapter 2.2, page 8 and Chapter 10.4, page 144), the Finnish late modern folklore shows evidence of cross-ploughing when purifying the ground of harmful agencies. It is also evident that friction fire has been preferred when a ritual fire was needed (for example, when protecting grazing cattle from bears) (SKMT IV, 1: VI 165 §) or when purifying a bewitched sheep house (SKMT IV, 2: XI 191 §). A thorough study of these elements might reveal some important aspects of the contemporary meanings of antiquated practices, and it could also contribute to the “change or stasis” discussion.

Directing our attention towards folk religion offers numerous possibilities of different practices to focus on. For example, this study on building concealments could naturally be followed by a focus on other types of ritual deposits within the household, in yards, and in fields, which are also practices that are well-recorded in folklore archives. However, in addition to the limiting factor of formation processes eradicating organic materials in the ground, another point is also evident. As has been discussed by several researchers in connection with building concealments, the precision of excavation and especially documentation during fieldwork are crucial aspects. Namely, *in situ* finds must be recorded with exact location information, or they will be lost in the mass of finds on a site. This is especially important regarding concealments, but the location is also significant when interpreting other rituals, since the ritual context is the aspect that activates the agencies in objects. The nature of small, fragmentary, or otherwise refuse-like remains of rituals make the task extremely challenging, and it calls for skilled fieldworkers who are aware of the possible forms that these remains may have. This study gives some guidelines to point us in the right direction.

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSION

This study has first shown that practices that included concealing something in a building were known in the whole study area and over the whole studied period, but there have also been regional variation and most likely temporal differences as well. Regional variation can best be observed when comparing the western and eastern Finnish culture areas against each other. These areas differ in economy, population structure, and many other cultural details. In the western areas, open field cultivation (depending on cattle for manure), group villages, and towns were established in the medieval period, and they remained the most densely populated areas up until the present. In the eastern areas, the economy was long based on swidden cultivation and wilderness resources (especially fishing), and later also on cattle products, and the structure of villages was loose.

Correspondingly, the concealment practices in the western culture areas were (in light of late modern folklore) concentrated in threshold locations and focused on protection against witchcraft caused by tensions in social relations. In the eastern areas, the hearth location stands out more, and meanings were less strongly concentrated on witchcraft. The concealment practices in both the western and eastern areas were similar in other respects, but different locations and meanings were emphasized differently. Here I have also speculated that the practices remained in an older form in the eastern areas, and the high focus on protection against witchcraft was a later development connected with the denser, less flexible structure of settlements.

In the whole study area, protection against witchcraft was especially linked with animal shelters. This accords with the observation that magic practices were connected with important aspects of life, whereas matters of economy essential for survival were especially sensitive to outside effects. Given this, however, it is surprising that storage buildings for the harvest were not significant in the material. Since my archive studies revealed that fields were also protected with ritual practices, the answer might be that crops were especially sensitive to harmful effects when growing, but not as much when already reaped. The observation that buildings with living inhabitants (people and livestock) are predominant in the concealment traditions might also point to living and growing things needing this kind of protection. A more detailed comparison might confirm (or deny) this hypothesis. It is notable that magic practices were also connected to wilderness resources; for example, the eastern Finnish tradition of counter-magic against witchcraft involving frog-coffins was often directed towards a witch targeting fishing equipment.

As could be predicted, the folklore material shows that the threshold location was strongly connected with protection against harmful effects originating from outside the household, since the passageway inside the building was constantly crossed and thus a weak spot in the border. Less obviously, concealments in corners had a special connection with guard-

ian spirits and, consequently, ensuring luck and wealth for the house; this connection is less pronounced than the one above. The hearth location was strongly linked to repelling pests. The other locations – walls, roofs, and floors – do not seem to have had obvious connections with specific meanings, but floors were less often connected to protective magic than the two more obvious border locations.

It is also apparent in the folklore material that, even though any object could be useful, specific powerful objects were preferred for specific functions: for example, mercury and sharp metal tools stand out in apotropaic practices, animal remains for repelling pests, and coins for communicating with guardian spirits responsible for the wealth of the household. In many cases, the choice of object in the ritual is connected with its use in mundane contexts, which shows that the choice was not arbitrary. In the case of animal remains, however, this logic is harder to interpret. I suggest that animal remains were one of the oldest objects chosen for concealments and, because of this, several layers of conceptions from different periods may have guided the choices. It is discernible that active – and even aggressive – key parts of the animals were preferred. From the *emic* perspective, the use of objects in the rituals was connected with the belief in personal and impersonal agency inherent in objects and materials, which could be manipulated in the practices. This agency could also “charge” an object in contact with it, which explains why virtually any object could be useful in a ritual.

Ritual concealment practices observable in the folklore material can be grouped in terms of two main types: 1) foundation rituals and 2) “crisis” rituals. The first were made at different stages during the building or reassembly of a structure. The second type was useful when a change occurred in the inhabitants of the household or, in a related situation, when livestock were brought back to the household from wilderness pastures. In both cases, someone from the outside sphere was introduced or reintroduced into the household. Additionally, some healing rituals also included a concealment. The rituals can also be classified according to their more specific meanings, where certain locations, objects, and concepts stand out:

1. Apotropaic practices
 - Threshold locations: mercury, sharp tools, aggressive agency of the object; against witchcraft.
2. Communication with guardian spirits
 - Corners (floors): coins, food; for good luck, ensuring wealth.
3. Repelling pests
 - Hearths: animal remains.
4. Healing magic, counter-magic
5. Malicious magic
 - Agency of the object, the building of a neighbour, intention of the concealer.

The first three types were part of both foundation and crisis rituals, while the fourth belonged clearly to crisis rituals. The fifth type differs from the other types, since it was made by an outsider of the household and with a malevolent purpose. It also does not fit into the foundation or crisis ritual categories. However, concealments made with different motives are not necessarily distinguishable in an archaeological context. Malevolent concealments

belong to the same conceptual context as benign concealments, but instead of strengthening borders they break them by introducing outside agencies guided by harmful intentions into the sphere of the targeted household.

As a simplification, it can be noted that a broad meaning of the concealments is found both in the choice of object and the choice of location, but these do not alone reveal the whole picture, since the intention of the concealer is also significant. Thus, one could say: **meaning = concealed object + its location + the intention of the concealer**. Even though the third aspect is not visible to archaeologists, the choices of object and location together give significant clues into the meanings of individual concealments, especially when compared against a wider framework of customs and worldview, such as the one discussed in this study. Some of these connections might be widespread, but it is also likely that many aspects are culturally specific. Therefore, local traditions should always be preferred as the wider framework for interpretations.

The folklore also shows that human-made artefacts used in the rituals were often old and preferably both manufactured and used by unknown people. It was believed that the agency in the used objects needed to be impersonal: not connected to specific individuals, but rather to collective agencies, such as the *väki* of dead ancestors. The find material offers a further view into this, since it is clear that in addition to the better known edged Stone Age tools believed to be thunderbolts, other prehistoric finds were also concealed in historic times. The use of antiquated objects in the rituals offers a specific challenge for archaeology, where dating of sites has often been made on the basis of artefacts. The clear evidence for the use of Stone Age tools and Iron Age cemetery finds in late modern building rituals, seen in the context of preferring objects where individual agency had been replaced with collective agency, raises the question of how these antiquated objects were manipulated in other rituals at different historical and prehistoric periods. This is certainly a significant issue for archaeology.

Consequently, a broader implication of this study regarding the discipline of (historical) archaeology concerns the way in which archaeologists see objects in the past. It is too easily assumed that objects were perceived in a similar manner as today as essentially lifeless things, with no agency outside of their interaction with people. Naturally, in the *etic* sense the agency that objects were believed to have in the pre-scientific worldview was a product of people, but this was not the way it was experienced from the *emic* viewpoint. This would have little consequence for archaeology if it did not affect the way in which objects were handled and how they were discarded after they fell out of use.

The phenomenon of antiquated objects in rituals is explainable in light of the folklore, but it was the physical finds that offered insight into the significance of this concept. More generally, when comparing the folklore and find materials it is evident that variously formed materials are similar in some respects but differ in others. The use of vaporizing mercury, decomposing organic materials, or small artefacts is underrepresented in the find material, where larger objects and especially stone artefacts which preserve better stand out. Consequently, concealments in thresholds are underrepresented in the find material. It is clear that the materials tell of similar practices, even though it is likely that details varied in different periods and regions. While the folklore material offers analogical clarifications of the possible meanings of the customs suggested by the physical finds, the find material offers valuable insights which supplement the picture offered by the folklore. In addition to illumination of specific details, the main points are material aspects, a long-term historical perspective, and confirmation that the folklore describes actual practices.

In terms of long-term perspective, the evidence suggests that concealment traditions known in the late 19th century were similar at least as early as the 17th century. In a general sense, the traditions can also be seen in medieval time, although the practices were reinterpreted in the changing wider contexts of society after the medieval period: for example, it is likely that medieval concealments were more concerned with agencies of earth and wilderness than with social relations, at least outside of towns and group villages. Since the evidence is presently insufficient for a proper argument, however, this is highly speculative. One point that is clear is that certain objects were not accessible for concealments at all periods in a similar way. Still, some objects were adopted for rituals at an early stage. For example, it seems that coin concealments in buildings were present already in the early 14th century, when true monetization in the area is observable. The increasing importance of the objects in mundane contexts made them immediately relevant in ritual contexts as well. This is due to the fact that a clear-cut division of mundane and ritual contexts is an *etic* construction.

The point that a strict dichotomy of ritual and mundane activities is fruitless when discussing matters of folk religion is well illustrated with the close, practical relationship that folk religion has with economic and social aspects. The practices of “planting and chanting” (see Appendix 1) form such a tight interconnection that dividing them is senseless in the *emic* view. The handling of potentially dangerous agencies called for special skills and careful actions, but there might not have been much difference between magic skills and other special skills (such as metalworking or tar-burning) in the minds of people in the past. Speaking of communication with the otherworld or the magical properties of objects and people within the framework of “religion” is thus a scholarly construct, the purpose of which is to guide the attention of the reader towards aspects that are still easily dismissed as irrelevant fantasies in contemporary academic discourse.

The challenging question of what causes change or stasis in folk religion can be approached from the viewpoint that beliefs and practices were connected with economic, social, and other aspects in society, even though the problem of cause or effect cannot be easily solved. However, it is likely that a change in economic or social aspects was accompanied with a change in folk religion, since the practical nature of the beliefs and practices depended on what was important in the contemporary reality. Even when antiquated practices and objects were used in rituals, their meanings were relevant in the contemporary context of use. The assimilation of new ideas can certainly be seen in elements of institutionalized Christianity, which were flexibly included in the folk belief system when perceived as useful, but also in the adoption of new powerful substances and relevant objects accepted in the overall society. Folk practices and beliefs were thus reinterpreted, modified, and shaped to always be consistent with everyday life.

This study on ritual building concealments concentrates on only one narrow aspect of a complex set of phenomena that can roughly be labelled under the concept of folk religion. Nevertheless, the theoretical frameworks and contextual, multi-source methodology presented here can easily be adapted to other questions related to beliefs and practices in historical contexts, and further studies that address these issues and contribute to a wider understanding of the past worldviews will hopefully follow.

In light of this study, the imaginary archaeologist excavating the remains of the Mikkola cowshed presented in the folklore example in the very beginning of Chapter 1 should realize that the horse skull and hooves s/he finds in the foundation are significant: they are part of a complex practice of building concealments which could have had different meanings

in connection to the everyday concerns of the builders of the cowshed. The exact meaning of the concealment may still be uncertain, but the context of folk religion and building rituals is evident. This information guides the archaeologist to carefully document the exact find location of the horse remains, to mention it clearly in the excavation report, to have the bones analysed by a specialist, and to publish the finding to thereby contribute to the greater picture of ritual building concealments and past worldviews.

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APPENDIX I

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION ON THE KEY CONCEPTS OF THE STUDY

In this appendix, the key concepts used in this study introduced in Chapter 2 are discussed in more detail. When looking into discussions on the abstract concepts of religion, ritual, and magic, it is easy to see that this path is not a simple one. All of these terms can be defined with one sentence, but each definition can also be criticized on well-established grounds. Every one of these concepts can be endlessly complicated, which has led some researchers to suggest that they should be abandoned altogether. Because of the problematic nature of these concepts, they are discussed here in some detail. This discussion concerns high-level theories (see Trigger 2006: 30–36) used in the archaeology of religion more broadly as well.

CHALLENGES OF ABSTRACT CONCEPTS: BOUNDARIES AND DICHOTOMIES

“If categorical distinctions of the Western mind are found upon examination to impose distinctions upon (and so falsify) the intellectual universes of other cultures then they must be discarded, or, as I have put it, dissolved. I believe ‘magic’ to be one such category [...]” (Pocock 2006: 3).

During their use in academic discussions, the abstract categories “religion”, “ritual”, and “magic” have encountered definitional problems and picked up negative connotations. Because of this, it has occasionally been suggested that these problematic terms should be abandoned altogether (see e.g. Douglas 1966: 66; Radcliffe-Brown 1952 for an anthropological discussion on the subject). Probably the best-known archaeological example of this is Joanna Brück’s very relevant discussion about ritual in prehistoric contexts. Brück argues that not only “ritual”, but also the concept of “practical functions” – against which ritual is so often contrasted – is essentially flawed. It is likely that all actions in prehistory have been based on a quite different worldview and logic than actions in present-day Western societies (Brück 1999: 337).

There are three main points in the critique against these concepts. First, they have been presented as strictly defined universal categories; secondly, they carry an unfounded dichotomy between “sacred” and “secular”; and finally, they are constructions of researchers (*etic* categories) instead of something found in living societies (*emic* concepts). All points are connected with ethno- and modern-centrism. Essentially, the whole problem is due to the relationship between language and reality. In language, abstract concepts are treated as if they were clearly bounded entities, much in the same manner as, for example, “table” is a clearly bounded object (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 25–32). In the case of complex abstract phenomena, it is not possible to draw unambiguous lines around them. The confusion caused by language (that phenomena are object-like) is surely one reason for the discomfort resulting from the realization that something cannot be easily defined and contained. Thus, the core of the definitional problems of terms lies in the difficulties of satisfactorily

dividing and confining the complexity and dynamic nature of reality (see also Hukantaival 2015b; cf. Bohm 2002 [1980]).

Generally speaking, universal categories are a cause for suspicion. The advances of cognitive sciences make it possible to show common processes on the basis of phenomena that seem universal, but the details are still culturally interpreted (see also Anttonen 2000). The question of universality underlies many of the discussions on religion, ritual, and magic. With some exaggeration, it seems like the argument to avoid certain words begins with the notion that this or that does not apply in the studied case, and a suggestion for ditching the whole category follows. Even the above cited example by Pocock, which promisingly starts with *if* something is *found upon examination* to be imposed on the society in question, ends with an idea that the whole category might be useless (Pocock 2006: 3). It would be much more fruitful to discuss how the concepts are useful (or why they should be abandoned) *in this particular case*.

The main point of the extensive critique towards the sacred/profane dichotomy is that even though it has been presented as a universal feature, in reality the case is more complex (see e.g. Goody 1961: 145–157). In fact, it seems to be more common in different cultures not to have such strict extremes, and it is likely that the clearly divided categories are simply an illusion of language, as mentioned above. In the case of archaeology, assuming this fixed division may confuse the researcher when attempting to interpret sites where traces of ritual activity are evident in a “surprising” context (for example, in a domestic setting) (Bradley 2003; 2005: 10–28).

As Goody (1961: 149) points out, the dichotomy of profane and sacred has been compared with “normal” and “things set apart from it” (see also the discussion below about “sacred” as a border category). One approach has been to try to avoid the problem by replacing terms, but as a result the unwanted dichotomy is carried with the new concept, only in a less obvious form. As Mary Douglas notes regarding Radcliffe-Brown’s (originally published in 1939; here used 1952: 139) attempt to replace “sacred” with “ritual”: “So Radcliffe-Brown removed with one hand the barrier between sacred and secular, but put it back with the other” (Douglas 1966: 66). A similar example involves the use of “special” to enable discussion about matters traditionally assigned to religion without using this restrictive term (see Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 235). Again, the concept “special” contains the idea of something set apart from “non-special” or “normal”, so if the objective is to avoid dichotomies this term is not adequate. Herva and Ylimaunu (2009: 235) underline that the concept is used only to support discussion and is not intended to describe how people actually understood their world, yet the same argument could justify the use of the terms “religion” or “ritual” as well. Moreover, as Veikko Anttonen has shown, the linguistic core of “sacred” is in marking a categorical boundary between those things that have special cultural value and those that do not demand particular attention. From a cognitive perspective, the idea of sacred does not require religious views about the nature of reality (e.g. Anttonen 1996; 1999; 2000). Thus, sacred simply marks something as special, be it connected to otherworldly aspects or not.

In terms of the study of building concealments, the important point in this dichotomy discussion is the idea that religion and ritual are not confined to temples and other clearly separated “sacred” sites: beliefs and rituals are not distinct from everyday life. For example, in the field of prehistoric archaeology, Richard Bradley in particular has been discussing the importance of recognizing ritual in domestic settings (Bradley 2003; 2005). Still, the connection between ritual and everyday life does not mean that all action has been seen

as identical. In fact, the critique against the sacred/profane division was soon followed by a concern that if the dichotomy is discarded, then everything is sacred and consequently nothing is sacred (see e.g. Malinowski 1954: 24).

When studying Melanesian natives in the early 20th century, the classic scholar Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942) noted that while ritual was embedded in practical work, there still was a difference between when magic and technical solutions were used: magic was needed to control aspects that were not controllable by other means (Malinowski 1954: 17–92). It should be noted, however, that the division between practical work and magic may not have been as clearly distinguished in the minds of the natives as how Malinowski perceived it (see e.g. Wax & Wax 1963: 497–499 for a critique of Malinowski’s views). Still, it is interesting that a similar conclusion as the one reached by Malinowski has recently been presented by psychologists studying contemporary “superstition” (e.g. Lindeman & Aarnio 2007). The “irrational” beliefs observed in perfectly rational (modern, European, civilized)¹ people are connected to uncontrollable aspects in life and utilize an intuitive mode of reasoning, as opposed to an analytical one. The tendency to resort to intuitive thinking varies both between individuals and over the course of a person’s life (Lindeman & Aarnio 2007).

Because the psychologists studied modern Western people, it is possible that the distinguished thinking modes are culturally related or that the dichotomy was brought into the interpretation by the researchers. Some scholars have insisted that no dichotomy exists in (some) non-Western cultures. For example, when Jarvie and Agassi discussed the problem “why the farmer plants as well as chants” (see below), the conclusion was that the question is misguided: “The two actions are part of one technique which we separate but which the actors do not” (Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 66).

Navigating from the extreme pole of a strict division of sacred and profane to the other extreme of insisting on no divisions at all is generally an exaggeration. There are several dynamic stages in between these extremes (see Bell 1997: 138; Falk 2008: 50–51). For example, van Baal’s discussion on high-intensity and low-intensity rites (van Baal 1976; see below) shows how some rituals need a higher level of ritualization, in order to make a clear distinction from ordinary life, but others are hardly recognizable as anything more than a normal part of daily action. The reality of “special” and “normal” is contextual, not universal. Moreover, the transition from a profane to a sacred state can be very subtle, even unobservable, if it is simply marked by a shift in the mindset of the individual practitioner, for example.

The third point in the critique against religion, ritual, and magic is also connected with issues of universality: it is aimed at the “above-given”, *etic* categories of researchers. As previously mentioned, *etic* is contrasted with *emic*, which refers to the native categories of the researched people (see e.g. Harris 1976; Headland *et al.* 1990). The problem concerns ethnocentrism often embedded in situations where anthropologists study non-Western cultures. Because of the artificial nature of fixed *etic* categories, however, it is impossible to fit them onto the reality of *any* society without some amount of violence. This applies also to modern Western societies. In any case, the attempt to recognize the *emic* worldview of the society being studied is important.

¹ See the discussion below. Unfortunately, these psychological studies are very heavily loaded with outdated attitudes towards their objects of research.

When researching living societies, where cultural conceptions can be actually accessed by interviewing people, leaving the *emic* viewpoint completely out of the discussion is quite unjustifiable. In this case, the researcher may choose between using only the *emic* categories and comparing the *emic* view with the *etic* one. Because of the nature of language and reality, the *emic* categories also do not correlate with reality perfectly, but a better understanding of the society in question is surely gained from recognizing the people's own views of themselves (see e.g. Headland *et al.* 1990).

However, this discussion runs into severe problems when the *emic* view is impossible or at least very hard to access. Moreover, it can be argued that the supposedly *emic* view presented in any scholarly work is still filtered through the view of the researcher (see e.g. Knott 2005: 249–250). This becomes even more apparent when discussing past societies, where the *emic* view must be deduced from fragmentary sources. The scarcer the sources get, the less likely it is that any *emic* view can be accessed. Nevertheless, this does not mean that an interpretation should not be attempted. The important point is to recognize that the categories we use are *etic* ones.

To return to the question about magic, a paper by the historian Richard Kieckhefer (1994) is enlightening. In an attempt to find *emic* “magic” in medieval Europe, Kieckhefer discusses the history of the concept's meanings. He reaches the conclusion that: “Because the meaning of ‘magic’ was never absolutely uniform or constant, and because the same concept could be expressed by various terms, it is perhaps most accurate to speak of parallel histories of words and concepts” (Kieckhefer 1994: 816). The search for *emic* categories reminds us of the dynamic nature of natural language. Even though dynamic and parallel *emic* views are of great importance in understanding a society, they fit poorly as descriptive categories of scholarly language (see also e.g. Anttonen 1999).

In some cases, avoiding terms with negative connotations is truly justifiable (for example, avoiding terms like “savage” or “primitive” when discussing indigenous peoples), but the need to invent new terms for religion, ritual and magic is not as pressing. However, one example where changing terms has been productive is connected to the current study of ritual concealments in buildings. This discussion on terminology is, for example, summarized by Anne Carlie (2004: 17–18) in her book on prehistoric building concealments in Southern Scandinavia. As an inheritance from 19th-century studies (see Chapter 4.1), the terms for building concealments have in many languages included the words “offering” or “sacrifice”. As discussed below, these are concepts that often refer to a quite specific act of giving a gift to an otherworldly being (see e.g. van Baal 1976). Since nothing points to the fact that concealments are always such gifts, it has been suitable to adopt terms with broader meanings. The aforementioned case is an example of replacing an *etic* term which may falsely seem like an *emic* one with another, broader *etic* term.

In the area discussed in this study, the “pre-scientific” *emic* worldview is accessible from folklore accounts (see e.g. Stark 2006; Koski 2011; Issakainen 2012). Even though this view shows the quite late, 19th-century situation, it reveals a worldview that differs from the modern one. The early modern *emic* view is still possible to find, although from more fragmentary historical sources (e.g. Eilola 2003; Toivo 2008). This study does not assume a strict sacred/profane dichotomy, but it also does not insist that there was no division at all. The *emic* view revealed in the folklore and historical sources does point to a relationship between this world and otherworldly phenomena.

RELIGION AND FOLK RELIGION

After the short review of the ongoing critical discussions concerning the concepts related to this study, their usefulness in this connection can be discussed. Since ritual building concealments are an interest of the archaeology of religion, the concept “religion” is a natural starting point. As mentioned, this term has been perennially discussed by scholars, and it may even seem like the only view of it commonly agreed on is that the concept is difficult to define (e.g. Goody 1961; Insoll 2004a: 5–23; Steadman 2009: 21–23). When “folk” – another term facing considerable problems of definition (see Foster 1953) – is added to the equation, the task becomes even more confusing; the main problem is who these “folk” actually are (see e.g. Yoder 1974; Primiano 1995; Christian 2004). This question is addressed below. In Anttonen’s (2004; 2012: endnote 3) words, the most important point in the discussion about definitions is that both religion and its subcategory folk religion are ultimately nominalist constructs rather than realistic categories.

Since the aim of this study is not to offer a solution to the complex “defining religion” discussion, it will not be treated in further detail here. As I have discussed in a previous paper, definitions should not be taken too strictly, and some flexibility should be allowed (see Hukantaival 2015b; also e.g. Hodder 1987: 8; Stark 2002: 62–70; Koski 2003; 2011: 110–155). The simple description of religion given by the sociologist Steve Bruce is suitable for the purposes of this study, as it is concise and includes the important elements:

“Religion, then, consists of beliefs, actions, and institutions which assume the existence of supernatural entities with powers of action, or impersonal powers or processes possessed of moral purpose”
(Bruce 1995: ix).

The aspects that are essential in the description are the notions that religion includes both belief and practice and a relationship to some “supernatural” agency. Nevertheless, the problem with this definition lies with “supernatural” (see also Whitehouse 2004: 2–3). As Bruce also notes, dividing things into natural and supernatural is not obvious in all cultures (cf. the discussion on “sacred and profane” referred to above). This definition is thus seen from the *etic* view of the researcher. In studies of Finnish folk religion, the term *tuonpuoleinen*, “of the otherworld, otherworldly”, is often preferred to “supernatural” (*yliluonnollinen*), since this concept is closer to *emic* understandings. It is noteworthy that otherworldly agencies can be entities (for example, gods, spirits, or ancestors), but also impersonal powers.

The institutionalized religion in the study area and period was Christianity.² As the historian Stephen A. Mitchell (2011: 38) points out, Western historiography has often presented the conversion to Christianity as a triumph resulting in a complete, evenly spread, uniform spirituality while any controversial evidence has generally been rejected. When discussed, the “controversial evidence” against the cohesion of religion is often called “folk religion” (e.g. Yoder 1974; Anttonen 1992; Christian 2004). Other terms also used are “popular religion” (e.g. Crummey 1993) and, with increasing popularity, “vernacular religion” (e.g. Primiano 1995; 2012; Bowman & Valk 2012; Bowman 2014). The most clearly problematic term is naturally “superstition”, because of its strong negative connotations (see Cameron 2010: 4–6).

² The Roman Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodox Church in medieval times and later the Lutheran Church and Eastern Orthodox Church; see Chapter 5.1.

In this study, I have chosen to cautiously use the term “folk religion”, even though it also has its subtexts (see below). Nevertheless, this term translates most closely to the concept of *kansanusko* (more precisely, “folk belief”), which is established in Finnish research (see e.g. Koski 2011; Enges 2012). On some occasions the term folk belief may be used as a synonym for folk religion, but generally I prefer “religion” over “belief” as a broader concept including practices as well as beliefs. From the different available definitions of folk religion, the simple one given by Don Yoder (below) is suitable for this study, especially when it is continuously kept in mind that definitions should not be seen as strict and inflexible (see also Hukantaival 2015b):

“Folk religion is the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion” (Yoder 1974: 14).

The relationship with an “official”, institutionalized religion is the element that is relevant to folk religion, as defined by Yoder. This has been called the relationship between “the theory and practice of religion” by the historian Euan Cameron (2010), who has studied how European religious authorities have defined and outlined the “wrong” religiosity, or “superstition”, at different times. However, the folklorist Leonard Norman Primiano, who criticizes the terms “folk” and “popular” religion and introduces “vernacular” religion instead, points out that since vernacular religion is religion as it is lived, the religiousness of an individual is always vernacular (Primiano 1995: 44). The critique offered by Primiano is partly directed towards the opposition in terms of folk or popular religion against “official” religion. According to him, this misleadingly implies that religion could exist somewhere as a pure element, which is then transformed and contaminated into folk religion (Primiano 1995: 38–40).

The term “vernacular” originates in linguistics, and it carries meanings such as “indigenous”, “personal”, “private”, “native”, and “local” (Primiano 1995: 42–43). Primiano (1995: 45) stresses that what scholars have called official religion does not in fact exist, since the institutionalized elements of organized religion also have a vernacular quality. Still, he does not explain why the term vernacular religion is needed in addition to simply religion. In fact, Primiano’s critique is connected to the problem of language and reality discussed above. As a further linguistic analogy, one could compare the relationship between institutionalized religion and folk religion to the relationship between literary language and spoken dialects: the former are based on rules agreed upon by a specific group of people, while the latter are more dynamic and “alive”. Still, the rules of the “official” forms are also modified and re-interpreted when needed, so they are not absolutely fixed either. In a way, the discussion on institutionalized and folk religion resembles the *etic/emic* debate, where the institutionalized form can be seen as *etic* religion and folk religion as *emic* communication with the otherworld.

Ilkka Pyysiäinen has also discussed the relationship between institutionalized religion and folk religion in an interesting way. Following cognitive theories of religion (such as Boyer 1994), he sees folk religion as everyday “intuitive religion” and “theologically correct” religion as an abstract idea, an artefact. He reminds us that folk religion stems from ordinary, everyday thinking, which originates in the immediate experience of individuals. It thus aims at practical efficacy, not at creating general theories, and it seeks evidence, not counter-evidence. Studies show that even people who explicitly say they are committed to orthodox concepts “slip back” into intuitive religion in fast, online reasoning. “Their intuitions [...] differ from their explicit beliefs, and it is the intuitions that largely drive be-

havior”, Pyysiäinen (2004: 156) continues. Intuitive religion is both easier to handle and more relevant from an everyday point of view than fixed theological systems (Pyysiäinen 2004).

I agree with the aforementioned scholars that “official religion” is an ideal type, an abstract idea (Primiano 1995: 46; Pyysiäinen 2004: 160), and Cameron’s (2010: 6) notion of “theoretical religion” is also somewhat similar. Nevertheless, even if official religion only exists as an ideal type, this ideal religion is of crucial importance to the authorities who aim to protect it. As with the above analogy of literary and spoken language, the institutionalized and intuitive, “folk” forms of religion both affect each other, although the influence of institutionalized religion has perhaps been more prominent due to its authority.³ In addition, as Cameron’s (2010) study shows, the border between officially true religion and “superstition” has been constantly negotiated, and thus the categories are not fixed.

Moreover, as shown during the course of this study, folk religion is not something that can be set apart from its context of everyday concerns. This has caused me to repeatedly doubt the usefulness of the whole category. The phenomena discussed in this study could easily be treated under the broader concept of customs, which would be closer to the *emic* view of the practices (see Chapter 5). The reasoning why “religion” is kept in the discussion is twofold: first, the concept is justifiable since the practices include agencies and powers that are otherworldly, both in an *emic* (see Chapter 5) and *etic* sense, and they also include elements that were undeniably part of religion (such as Christian prayers, blessings, and sacred objects). Secondly, the recognized tendency of archaeologists to avoid discussing matters that can be categorized under “religion” (see e.g. Insoll 2004b; Whitley 2008) can cause a blind spot regarding these types of human behaviour. If simply “custom” were discussed, the specific character of the practices could be overlooked.

The additional specification of “folk” is needed to communicate for present-day readers what kind of larger framework the discussion is connected to. When discussing religion in a historical context, the expectations of the reader are too easily directed towards its institutionalized forms. The “folk” of folk religion neither refers to a national romantic idea of a pure, original, noble, rural ethnic group nor an arrogant view of a stagnant, backwoods culture of slow-witted people. It is not limited to uneducated rural populations, ethnic groups, or even the past. The concept “folk” simply directs attention away from institutions back to the people, *any* people. In this study, the purpose of the concept “folk religion” is thus to direct attention towards the forms that religion had in practice as a part of everyday beliefs and customs. As previously mentioned, concepts do not equal reality; they simply direct our attention and reveal the wider context of the discussion.⁴

Another important point why folk religion is a useful concept in archaeology is that many studies within the discipline discussing matters belonging to this sphere refer to phenomena as “paganism” or “survivals of paganism” (e.g. Daróczy-Szabó 2010; Baron 2012). In addition to the concept of “paganism” being ideologically loaded, this too easily includes an assumption that something which existed in pre-Christian times can be carried over as such, a static entity, into later historical times. This idea is untenable. Even when non-Christian elements are present in practices and beliefs, they are always contemporary; they have meaning in the spatial and temporal context where they are present. The meanings that these phenomena had for the people whose everyday life they belonged to is the most

³ See also e.g. Mitchell 2011: 39–40 about the influences of non-Christian religions on Christianity.

⁴ Cf. the analogy of the finger that points at the moon.

relevant question in this study. Naturally, it can also be interesting to speculate about the age of some practices and beliefs, but it should be remembered that their meaning was context-dependent. Using the concept “folk religion” instead of “paganism” directs attention to the contemporary context of the phenomena. The term “paganism” may also suggest a dichotomy with Christianity, which is also misleading: folk religion is not a jigsaw puzzle, compiled from separate pieces of different religions, which can easily be taken apart again.

Instead, the everyday interpretations of otherworldly contacts formed a dynamic, non-consistent whole that included many seemingly contradictory elements, while no conflict was necessarily experienced in the mind of the practitioner. In Cameron’s (2010: 62) words, the different forms of supernatural power overlapped and intermingled in people’s minds. This can be illustrated with a folklore account of a building ritual including the notion of a guardian spirit and Christian prayers recorded in 1885 in Pihtipudas (Central Finland):

When a stable is rebuilt, a silver coin is split in four pieces and each piece is put in the middle of the first log-joint in each corner. Then a good guardian spirit comes to the stable. One should say the Lord’s Prayer and the Priestly Blessing while doing this.⁵

Even though clashes between the institutionalized faith and folk religion have surfaced at certain times (for example, during the period of Lutheran orthodoxy in the 17th century), these examples of conflict are not emphasized in this study. The way in which both aspects form a useful whole is more interesting. As the folklorist Laura Stark puts it, an important point when discussing folk religion is 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” (Stark 2002: 30).

RITUAL, OFFERING, AND MAGIC

Ritual and ritualization

Ritual is easily connected with religion, since this type of action occurs in religious contexts. The fact that ritual is action is widely accepted, but the definitional problems mentioned above are connected with how to distinguish ritual from other activities (see e.g. Bell 1997: 91–169). This study follows the definition given by Evangelos Kyriakidis:

“Ritual is an etic category that refers to set activities with a special (not-normal) intention-in-action, and which are specific to a group of people” (Kyriakidis 2007: 294).

In this definition, “ritual” is an *etic* category, seen from the point of view of the researcher. Kyriakidis’ definition continues that ritual is a *set* activity, meaning that it is institutionalized, crystallized, established activity (Kyriakidis 2007: 291). The definition also states that ritual reflects intention (although this can be hard to recognize by the *etic* observer), and it is associated with groups of people (such as cultures). As with the definition of religion given above, where “supernatural” can be problematized, the issue that arises here is what is meant with “special”. At this point it is noteworthy that ritual is seen as distinguished from more “ordinary” activity. This distinction between special and normal is an

⁵ SKMT IV, 1: I 237 §. See Chapter 6.1 about referencing of folklore texts.

etic one, which is the main basis for its critique. Even though ritual is often connected to religion, it is important to bear in mind that not all activity distinguished from ordinary action is religious: not all ritual is connected to otherworldly forces; other contexts may require emphasized action as well (see Bell 1997: 91–169 about the spectrum and characteristics of ritual activities).

Archaeologists have had a tendency to prefer ritual as a descriptive device over religion (Insoll 2004b: 1–3). Lars Fogelin points out that a simple explanation for this is that since rituals are actions, they sometimes leave observable traces in the archaeological record, while religion is thought to be more abstract. He also remarks that even though archaeologists agree that ritual is a form of action or behaviour, there are significant differences in how they see the relationship of ritual and religion. Archaeologists who are structure-oriented see religion as primary, with ritual enacting underlying religious beliefs. Those who are practice-oriented see ritual as primary, with religious beliefs conforming to actions (Fogelin 2007: 56). As discussed above, rituals do not necessarily need to be religious, but archaeologists either seem to have been interested in religious ritual or they have questioned the usefulness of the concepts of religion and ritual altogether (see e.g. Brück 1999; Herva & Ylimaunu 2009).

One of the earliest questions asked by archaeologists who study ritual, or religion more broadly, is how to identify it in archaeological contexts (Fogelin 2007: 59). In earlier discussions, anything not recognized as functional in a very narrow view would be labelled as “ritual”.⁶ This idea of functional, rational activities (such as economy and technology) and irrational ritual has had a considerable impact on how past societies have been (mis) understood. It also led to a very ethnocentric, colonialist view, dividing people into rational Europeans and irrational, primitive “others” (see e.g. Brück 1999: 318–319). This reasoning has its roots in the European history of secularization and it is connected to the dichotomy of sacred and profane.

As a critique of seeing ritual as irrational and non-functional, some researchers have pointed out that there is a specific rationality in ritual activity. For example, Jørgen Podemann Sørensen (1993: 18) points out that rituals are actually designed to work. This insight into ritual has its roots in early fieldwork-oriented anthropologists, such as Malinowski. He made a strong case for the rationality of “primitive man” and the many functions of religion and, in particular, magic (Malinowski 1954: 17–92). Malinowski was still observing these practices “from far and above” (Malinowski 1954: 90), but the ideas were part of a cultural relativist approach, where the meanings to the actors themselves were important (see e.g. Marcus & Fischer 1986: 19–25).

Two main viewpoints can be distinguished within the rationality discussion, which intensified within anthropology in the late 1960s and early 1970s: that of the symbolist and that of the intellectualist. The symbolists disregard the explicit intentions of participants in a ritual and instead look for deeper, implicit explanations in socio-cultural or psychological structures. Conversely, intellectualists accept the reasons expressed by participants in a ritual as the true intention behind its performance. As Jesper Sørensen points out, there are apparent problems with both approaches: symbolist explanations are often hard to prove to exist outside the scholar’s mind, while the intellectualist approach is too attached to the mind of the *individual* practitioner, who seldom states any theoretical reason for performing ritual actions (Sørensen 2007: 142–144).

⁶ Archaeologists are not alone in having interpreted religion and ritual by means of a failed attempt of recognizing a rational means-end relationship of an observed action (see Goody 1961: 156).

When analysing my own conceptions of the meanings of ritual actions, I noticed that on an imagined symbolist-intellectualist axis I am positioned closer to the intellectualist end. I am more interested in how practitioners themselves perceived their actions than diving into unconscious, symbolic meanings. However, the symbolic aspects must not be completely disregarded. Especially since the societies of this study cannot be interviewed, there is no way to completely avoid constructing meanings based on the scarce data available. The levels of meaning of ritual actions can be simplified as follows:

1. meanings in the mind of the individual participant in a ritual (= exaggeratedly the intellectualist approach);
2. meanings shared by a larger group (community) partaking in rituals; and
3. meanings constructed by the outsider observer (researcher) of a ritual (according to critics = the symbolist approach).

The first level is very hard to grasp, even when studying living practices. While it is largely seen as unreachable for archaeologists, this level should not be ignored. The second level is the objective which this study attempts to access through the evidence. In reality, the third level cannot be completely eliminated.

In the fields of history and archaeology, the idea of the rationality of ritual became visible during the 1990s, and it naturally formed in a slightly different way than in disciplines that study living societies and have better access to the opinions of practitioners. Following a form of the intellectualist view, the historian Richard Kieckhefer argued that European medieval magic was not irrational for the ones using it, but essentially rational: it was believed to actually work by means of specific principles (Kieckhefer 1994: 814). Magic fits well into this argument of rational ritual, since it is often understood as a means to an end. In the field of prehistoric archaeology, for example, Brück has discussed the rationality of ritual action (Brück 1999: 320–322, 325–328). Her viewpoint can also be seen as a product of the intellectualist approach, with an emphasis on how differently prehistoric people must have perceived their actions, as opposed to modern researchers' interpretations.

The question whether ritual is rational or not depends naturally again on definitions. The reason why ritual is often seen as rational in contemporary research is connected to a change in the definition of rationality. As discussed by Ian C. Jarvie and Joseph Agassi, in the eyes of early anthropology, ritual was seen as an irrational action since it seemed to lack a mechanical purpose. Jarvie and Agassi note that another theory of rationality was formed from the idea that if an act is not sociologically meaningless, it is rational. The problem with this view is that it is difficult to imagine any act as being irrational with the standards given to it (Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 62–63).

Jarvie and Agassi make a distinction between rational *action* and rational *belief*. Action is seen as rational if there is a goal towards which it is directed. Belief is rational if it satisfies some adopted standard of rationality, such as being based on good evidence and so forth. A rational person can either act rationally or believe rationally, or both. Jarvie and Agassi then move to distinguish between rationality in the *weak* and *strong* sense. A person acting rationally (in a goal-directed way) is rational in the weak sense. A person acting rationally on the basis of rational beliefs is rational in the strong sense (Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 55–56). However, in the framework of this study there is no need to discuss rationality in the weak or strong sense. It seems more fruitful (and perhaps avoids a danger of “modern-centrism”, which can be sensed in the definition of rational belief) to merely note that

a person who acts (in a goal-directed way) according to the commonly held beliefs in a society is acting rationally.

Some scholars have found the discussion on the process of making action “special” more fruitful than the study of rituals themselves. The way in which certain actions are set off from others, the process of creating a distinction between the “distinct” and the “normal”, is often called “ritualization” (Bell 1992: 74). Ritualization is especially discussed by practice-oriented researchers; in the case of building concealments, this is done, for example, by the Swedish archaeologist Ann-Britt Falk (2008: 49–60).

The example of a complex set of actions from the Finnish folklore quoted in Chapter 2.2 illustrates the problems faced by archaeologists studying ritual. This ritual performed by the master and mistress of the farm included cross-ploughing and burning a fire on the site of the new building, circling the site, and concealing a coin and soil inside a cloth under the eastern cornerstone.⁷ The only parts of the described action preserved for archaeologists to study are the coin inside the cloth under the eastern cornerstone and, possibly, given very good conditions, some plough marks⁸ and the remains of a fire. The fact that the complex ritual cannot be reconstructed from these remains alone is one of the points why some archaeologists have chosen to discuss ritualization instead of ritual (see e.g. Falk 2008: 55–56).

The scholar who has promoted the study of ritualization most visibly is Catherine Bell. She has criticized the fact that “ritual” has become both an object of study and an analytical tool for studying something. This has led to circular reasoning, where scholars are studying their own categories. The shift of focus to ritualization is intended to break this circle and make it possible to study the process that makes ritual a special action (Bell 1992: 74, 88–93). Scholars interested in cognitive approaches have also embraced ritualization as a research subject (e.g. Boyer 1994; Boyer & Liénard 2006).

Falk discusses the issues connected to adapting the analytical tool “ritualization”, which was identified by scholars studying living societies, to an archaeological context. Some modifications must be made to the tool for this purpose. Falk notes that although it is hard to reach the actual ritual and its meanings, it can be possible to study changes in the material record and interpret the meanings of these changes from the society’s point of view. For this purpose, a long-term perspective is crucial. Since from a practice-theoretical viewpoint actions do not bear meanings but *create* meanings, a changed action means a changed meaning (Falk 2008: 57–60).

Falk also states that an approach where the symbolic value of material remains is studied gives a one-sided and static perspective. A practice-theoretical viewpoint means that the artefacts are not seen as objects containing fixed meanings, but as concrete traces of actions. The focus is shifted from what the object is supposed to symbolize to what the artefact actually tells about the performed action. In this approach, the traces of how the object was treated are important, as is, for example, the choice of whether to use a newly made or worn artefact for a concealment (Falk 2008: 58–59). The main problem with Falk’s approach is that to recognize a change in a pattern, the pattern must be well documented, as is noted in this study.

I do not quite agree with Falk that an approach that studies the symbolic value of concealed objects necessarily gives a static view, although I see that there is a danger of this.

⁷ (e) Kivijärvi (SKMT IV, 1: I 231 §; IV, 3: I 57 e2). See Chapter 6.1 about referencing of folklore texts.

⁸ See Bradley (2005: 23–28) on archaeological evidence of prehistoric “ritual ploughing”.

When no additional information supports the interpretations of symbols, interpretations can easily become arbitrary (see e.g. Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 64). In these cases, a practice-theoretical view might be the best solution. In this study, however, a fuller view of the phenomena in question is gained by combining different sources; interpretations are not based solely on material remains.

Being an archaeologist, my starting point in connection to ritual is interest in actions that leave traces in the material record (see Fogelin 2007). It is a well-established fact that the whole complexity of a ritual can hardly be reconstructed from material remains. This must be accepted, but it should not stand in the way of discussing these remains. With this inevitable fact in clear sight, there is little consequence if archaeologists choose to discuss ritual or ritualization. The evidence is fragmentary in either case. As mentioned above, some archaeologists have made a case against using the term “ritual” altogether. Still, in this study the concept is useful, since the sources show clear evidence of action that was emphasized by different means.

Offering and sacrifice

Offering and its sub-category sacrifice have been seen as the main meanings of building concealments in older research (see e.g. Hubert & Mauss 1964 [1899]: 65; Klusemann 1919; Brewster 1996). These rituals have naturally been discussed from many angles, and they have been given slightly different definitions (e.g. Hubert & Mauss 1964 [1899]; van Baaren 1964; van Baal 1976; Oras 2013). This study follows the simple view presented by the Dutch anthropologist Jan van Baal (1976: 11), where:

An offering is any act of presenting something to a supernatural being, and a sacrifice is an offering accompanied by the ritual killing of the object of the offering.

The presence of a supernatural element in this definition makes offering and sacrifice religious rituals (see the definition of religion above).

The discussion about the distinction of sacrifice and offering is a good example of how language affects our categories. As Falk (2008: 39) notes, this issue bears little consequence in languages where the distinction is not made. Finnish is also one of the languages where a single word, *uhri*, signifies not only both “sacrifice” and “offering”, but also “victim” (see also Oras 2013: 130–133). In this sense, the definition given by van Baal is suitable, since it stresses the idea of both sacrifice and offering as a gift and it is less occupied by the distinction between them.

In particular, sacrifice has caught the interest of scholars. The natural reasons for this are, first, that ritual killing is in many societies part of large and visible festivities, and secondly, that it has seemed intense and exotic for the scholar/observer. This was noticed by van Baal, who called for a recognition of the existence of low-intensity and high-intensity rites in a society. He noted that much scholarly interest was aimed at high-intensity rites, which were needed when there was a crisis in the society (van Baal 1976: 168–169). In contrast, low-intensity rites are part of routine piety, at times “when things run smoothly and anxiety is absent” (van Baal 1976: 168). This category includes, for example, the humble, unremarkable offerings to ancestors made in the household without any ceremony. They are aimed at maintaining good relations between the household and the otherworldly beings affecting its success. High-intensity rites are needed when something has disturbed this balance (van Baal 1976: 168–169).

It should be noted that van Baal does not exclude sacrifice from low-intensity rites, even though it can be understood from his text that ritual killing is more often connected to the high-intensity rites of a crisis. Ritual killing linked with a communal meal is sometimes connected with such low-intensity events as calendrical rites, which are celebrated at certain times of the year. These kinds of rites have also been known in Finland: for example, sheep sacrifices at Michaelmas and during the celebration of the end of the harvest, called *kekri* (see Sarmela 2009: 120–127; Varonen 1898: 147, 159–162, 168–171).

As mentioned, a great deal of discussion on building concealments has been connected with sacrifice and offering. The classic idea that the purpose of building sacrifice was to create a spirit to be the guardian of the building or the power to keep it strong was set forth in the late 19th century (see e.g. Hubert & Mauss 1964 [1899]: 65, endnotes 376–377). According to this idea, it was necessary to sacrifice a living being for the building to thrive. One reason for the dominance of this idea was the popularity of the Balkan folk ballads about the “walled-up wife” (a human sacrifice in a building) among scholars at that same time, as discussed in Chapter 4.1 (see also Dundes 1996). If the definition of sacrifice used here is followed strictly, these concealments actually do not fall into the category: the ritually killed victims are not presented as gifts to any otherworldly force. Instead they are actually killed to *become* that force. Since I am not insisting on strictly confined categories, I see this meaning as a borderline case of sacrifice.

Another case, which fits perfectly into the categories used here, was also recognized in the late 19th century: the offering or sacrifice to conciliate the spirit of the earth and compensate it for the harm that the building work is about to cause (see Hubert & Mauss 1964 [1899]: 65, endnote 378). The fact that these are old theories about the meaning of building concealments does not imply that they are completely outdated and useless. They are based on some evidence. Because the classic scholars did not have access to the variety of evidence available now, they could not see how complex the phenomena of building concealments actually are. This could be one of the reasons why older research presented universal theories. But within the complexity of Finnish folklore on these concealments, both of the aforementioned cases can still be found, as is discussed in this study.

Since many researchers were only preoccupied with foundation rituals, offering practices during the period of the building’s use have been discussed less. That said, they were mentioned already in the 19th century, either in connection with the repeated construction sacrifice performed when rebuilding or during a crisis, or the periodical sacrifices made during calendrical rituals (see Hubert & Mauss 1964 [1899]: endnote 377). In light of Finnish folklore, the offerings and sacrifices made during the use of the building could include both low-intensity rites of everyday relations with the otherworld and high-intensity rites of a crisis.

Offering (and sacrifice as its subcategory) is a means of communicating with the otherworldly powers believed to affect the lives of people. According to van Baal, the nature of this interaction has been misunderstood in some of the classic discussions. The confusing aspect has been the relationship between the gift presented to an otherworldly being and the oft-expected gift in return. Van Baal states that interpreting an offering as a bribe is misleading, and that this is caused by an inadequate understanding of the nature of reciprocity between parties of different status (van Baal 1976). The fact that offerings are often accompanied by prayers and requests is, according to van Baal, simply an act of self-humiliation and a way to show subordination in front of the powerful being. Asking for a favour when presenting a gift is only an acceptable form of discourse between two beings

separated by a maximal status difference, he continues. This request does not bind the deity, which remains free to hear the suppliant or not (van Baal 1976: 170–172).

This is surely again a generalization, as different *emic* views can exist on the nature of an offering and expectations of compensation. There are, for example, stories about Sámi offering-sites (called *sieidi*) in Lapland, which are destroyed if deities repeatedly do not compensate for the offerings as requested (Itkonen 1984b: 319–320). A similar narrative is known from Orthodox Ladoga Karelia: a man made an offering to an icon in order to keep his cattle safe from bears, but then destroyed the icon after a bear attacked his best cow (Stark 2002: 41). An offering can be made without ceremony merely to uphold good relations between people and otherworldly beings, but these relations often include the idea that contented beings will look after the well-being of the household. This is evident in the Finnish folklore on the household guardian spirits called *haltia* (literally “keeper”) (see Haavio 1942; Honko 1962; see also Stark 2002: 39–42 about reciprocity between humans and sacred agents in Finnish-Karelian folk religion).

Thus, offerings are often goal-directed actions instead of purely humble acts of reverence. This connects offerings to magic, as defined in this study. It should be noted that van Baal objects strongly to seeing offerings as magical acts. However, he does not define magic, so it is impossible to follow his reasoning in this matter (van Baal 1976: 163, 167, 173). It can be supposed that his objection against magic is connected to a tradition of suspicion against the category, or perhaps against the idea of mechanical effect often thought to be a fundamental belief connected to magical causality. These aspects are discussed below as well. But it should be noted that a connection between offering and magic causes no problem for this study.

Magic and witchcraft

Like the categories discussed above, “magic” and “witchcraft” have also been defined in different ways (see e.g. Wax & Wax 1963; Hammond 1970; Kieckhefer 1994; Bailey 2006). This study follows a view where magic is a means to a certain desired end (see e.g. Frazer 1992 [1890]: 11–12) and witchcraft is its sub-category limited to malignant purposes (see e.g. Eilola 2003: 50–124). Thus, magic is seen as instrumental, goal-directed action, but also as having a symbolic or expressive side (see e.g. Jarvie & Agassi 1967). The goal of the action is perfectly clear to the actor (it is done to cure a disease, protect against lightning strikes, etc.). Again, the category is dynamic, but the difference from other means to ends is that although the effect is believed to be a result of the action, the relationship between cause and effect does not follow the causality of an action of a technical-practical nature, or one that is scientifically understood (see Malinowski 1954: 27–33). Instead, some connection to otherworldly elements is often (but not always) present.

Thus, for example, placing a horse skull in the foundation of a hearth to prevent cockroaches from breeding in the house is classified as magic,⁹ since the connection between cause and effect is not according to the same line of reasoning of actions such as lighting a fire to keep warm. Magical causality is often based on metaphor and metonym (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980), as well as a tendency to link correlation with causation. As an example of the latter, the cause of an outbreak of cattle disease may have been sought in a quarrel with a neighbour which preceded the misfortune. Of course, it must always be kept in mind that the distinction between magical and “normal” causality has not always been as

⁹ No less than 45 examples of this custom are known to the author, mostly through the collections of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki (FLS FA); see Chapters 7.1 and 9.

clear-cut to practitioners as it is to present-day scholars.¹⁰ This is again a distinction made by the researcher. The tendency to believe in magical causation is also not something belonging to the past, even though it is now commonly perceived as a causal fallacy.

Malinowski noticed during his classic fieldwork among the natives of Melanesia that magic was used to control things that were otherwise uncontrollable. People worked hard to ensure good crops or successful fishing, and they knew that a good livelihood could not be reached by rituals only. Still, there were aspects affecting the outcome that could not be controlled by hard work: the weather, ocean currents, etc. It was because of these things that magic was needed to ensure the livelihood (Malinowski 1954). A similar idea of controlling the uncontrollable can be seen when looking at what kinds of things have traditionally been manipulated by magic: fortune, health, weather, and romance (see Cameron 2010: 50–75; Mitchell 2011: 52–73).

The simple definition used in this study is summed up from the above remarks:

Magic is a means following a specific understanding of causality directed at controlling otherwise uncontrollable aspects in life.

The special logic of magic has been discussed by such classic scholars as, for example, Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941) and Marcel Mauss (1872–1950). Even though, quite naturally, some of their reasoning is based on outdated and strongly ethnocentric views, many of the ideas are still relevant in modern research. First, the so-called “laws of magic” are based on sympathy: “Like produces like; contact results in contagion; the image produces the object itself; a part is seen to be the same as the whole” (Mauss 2006 [1902]: 15). The idea that the opposite acts on its opposite is also one of the “sympathetic formulas”, as Mauss calls them (Mauss 2006 [1902]: 78–92, 120–126; see also Frazer 1992 [1890]: 11–48).

Many of the characteristics of sympathetic magic are actually examples of metaphor and metonym. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have discussed, the “part for the whole” is a metonymic concept. Metonymy is primarily a referential device that allows us to focus on certain aspects of what is being referred to. Metonymic concepts are grounded in our experience, and they usually involve direct physical or causal associations. Thus, metonymies are not random or arbitrary occurrences, but systematic. Furthermore, metonymic concepts are not something occurring only in magical thinking, but a part of ordinary life: They structure our language, thoughts, attitudes, and actions (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35–40; see also Sørensen 2007).

In addition to the aforementioned sympathetic formulas, another principle of magic is the belief in both personal and impersonal “magical properties”. The impersonal powers that are believed to be found in certain materials, objects, animals, and people can be utilized in magic through the will of the “magician” (Mauss 2006 [1902]: 92–98, 126–128). The concept of *väki*¹¹ agency in Finnish folk religion has been compared to such concepts of power as *mana* or *orenda*, even though it does not coincide with these perfectly (see e.g. Apo 1995; Issakainen 2002; Stark 2002: 42–50; Koski 2003; 2011: 18–23; see also Mauss 2006 [1902]: 133–149). Utilizing the assistance of a personified otherworldly being (a god, demon, spirit, or ancestor) is labelled “demonology” by Mauss (2006 [1902]:

¹⁰ Malinowski (1954: 27–33) observed that the distinction was very clear in the society he studied in Melanesia, however.

¹¹ The word means both “force/strength” and “people” in mundane contexts, while in connection to magic it refers to both impersonal agency and otherworldly beings.

98–106). However, as can be seen in the use of the concept *väki*, no absolute line can be drawn between personal and impersonal agency in Finnish folk religion. Nevertheless, the fact that the assistance of deities can be employed in magic has caused some trouble for those researchers interested in distinguishing magic from religion.

One essential matter already pointed out by Mauss is the importance of the ritual performer's intention. Due to magical causality, both individuals and objects are theoretically linked by a seemingly limitless number of sympathetic associations. If the effects of magic worked mechanically and the manipulation of one element in the “magical chain” transferred an effect to all of these infinite connections, the idea of magic would be impossible. Instead, Mauss notes, the effects of magic are always limited to the desired results (Mauss 2006 [1902]: 81–83). Thus, the one performing the magic navigates to an effect that accords with his/her intention. In the context of Finnish folk magic, this aspect was noted in the classic study by Albert Härmäläinen (1920: 35; see also e.g. Issakainen 2002).

The difference between intentions is naturally the main aspect distinguishing benign and malign magic. Following the historian Jari Eilola (2003: 50–124), for example, in this study the word “witchcraft” is limited to malevolent magic, even though others have used it in a broader sense.¹² Again it should be stressed that the concepts used here are the categories of the researcher, being *etic* views that might differ greatly from the viewpoint of the users of magic. That said, an *emic* distinction between malign and benign magic was of utmost importance to people in the past in Finland, as both historical records and folklore show (e.g. Eilola 2003: 50–113; Stark 2006: 163–223).

As mentioned above, in addition to distinguishing between religion and rational behaviour, it has been deemed necessary to distinguish between religion and magic. In Durkheim's definition of religion, he argued that while religion is public and connects people, magic is private and lacks community (Durkheim 1964 [1915]: 42–47).¹³ Even after he remarked that religion and magic are very similar, he still felt a strong need to keep the two apart. Earlier there has also been an idea that an evolutionary relationship exists between magic and religion, with primitive magic evolving into sophisticated religion (Frazer 1992 [1890]: 54–55). This cultural evolutionary theory has since been effectively criticized and largely abandoned (see e.g. Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 59).

There was a shared suspicion towards magic among many of the classic scholars of religion (e.g. Frazer 1992 [1890]: 48–60; Durkheim 1964 [1915]: 42–47; Mauss 2006 [1902]: 28–30). This is easily understood when looking into the history of superstition in Europe. Magic is prominently connected with superstition, a term used for any kind of “wrong” religiosity (see Cameron 2010: 4–6). This is not surprising, since an effort to draw a line between magic and “true” religion was made by theologians already in medieval times. Before the Reformation, theologians did not agree on other boundaries of superstition than a shared disapproval of “demonic” magic (Cameron 2010: 139). After the Reformation, the dangerous aspects of magic became emphasized even more. Magic was not only misguided and ignorant, it was dangerous. It was commonly understood by analysts of magic that a pact with a demon was always present in magical acts, whether deliberately or in a purely unintentional way (Cameron 2010: 191–195; see also Wax & Wax 1963: 497).

¹² For example, Mitchell points out that “witchcraft” has also been defined in the same way as “folk religion”: “Witchcraft is sometimes defined as religion operating outside the structures and strictures of the orthodox religious hierarchy” (Mitchell 2011: 199).

¹³ This is a completely opposite view of magic than the one held by Mauss. According to Mauss, magic cannot exist without some form of community (Mauss 2006 [1902]: 150–173).

Basically, it seems that the main issue in theologians condemning magic in the past was a question of power and authority. The real danger of magic was that it was practiced by ordinary people and thus it threatened the privileged position of the clergy. The concern about fraternizing with demons may well have been real, but the true source of the discomfort seems to have been related to status and power (see e.g. Lewis-Williams 2008: 37–38). This appears to have been the fundamental reason to condemn magic and the motivation to distinguish between (true) religion and magic. This need was still felt by later researchers, who perhaps did not see the connection.

In this light, there is no pressing reason to separate magic from religion (see also Hammond 1970), at least not outside theologies discussing true and false practices and beliefs. This point has since been acknowledged by many scholars (see e.g. Wax & Wax 1963; Koski 2011: 82), but still the old division surfaces at times, either because the more recent discussion within anthropology is unfamiliar (e.g. Carlie 2004: 25–27, 194–196) or because a historical *emic* view is promoted (e.g. Dillinger 2011: 4). Like religion and ritual, magic and witchcraft are not straightforward terms with fixed meanings (see e.g. Kieckhefer 1994). As noted above, the usefulness of the concept “magic” can also be debated.

According to the definition used in this study, an act of magic is a ritual, since it has a “special (not-normal) intention-in-action” (see the definition of ritual above). Generally, the wider concept of ritual is preferred over magic here. Nonetheless, labelling magic as an action only is an oversimplification: magic is essentially an understanding of causality. Also, the avoiding of certain actions (or even thoughts) in order to prevent misfortune is a part of the category of magic. This has been called negative magic or *taboo* (see e.g. Mauss 2006 [1902]: 73, 157–159). The concept “magic” is useful when it is appropriate to direct attention towards the relationship between cause and effect present in practices and beliefs.

One aspect of magic that can be puzzling for the present-day Western observer is why belief in magic prevailed, even though it often *could not* have been empirically demonstrated to work. It should be noted that more generally, folk religion was quite firmly established in empirical experiences, as has been discussed by Lauri Honko (e.g. 1964): different experiences, sometimes triggered by fatigue or other stress, were explained via the framework of the traditional understanding of the world and otherworldly phenomena. However, in the more specific case of magic practices, this pragmatism is less apparent. For example, how could belief that a horse skull in the hearth foundation repelled vermin be so persistent, when cockroaches must have still been seen crawling around?

This question has been debated for at least as long as anthropologists have discussed magic. Jarvie and Agassi approach it from the point of view of the often presented question: why does the farmer plant *and* chant? The idea behind this question is that planting should be sufficient for crops to grow, and so chanting is a needless waste of energy. Jarvie and Agassi begin their discussion by turning this question around: why is it taken for granted that planting is unproblematic? The explanation is simple but seldom stated: “Two beliefs we take for granted suffice to explain the planting of seeds to obtain crops. First, the belief that planted seeds grow into crops; second, the belief that crops are highly desirable to those who plant seeds” (Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 55).

To follow this example, it is naturally possible to empirically authenticate the belief that planted seeds grow into crops. Yet, planted seeds do not grow every time. The reasons why seeds do not grow cannot always be easily deduced without a scientific knowledge of fertility. It must be natural behaviour for humans to not just accept ignorance when this knowledge is lacking, but to develop a tradition of explanation instead. As Jarvie and

Agassi point out: “The strength of the magical world-view is that it is a complete world-view, one that explains anything and everything in terms of magic, failed magic, or magical conspiracies. It combines very smoothly with even a sophisticated technology because it explains its success” (Jarvie & Agassi 1967: 70).

The notion of Pyysiäinen (2004: 157) discussed above – that the intuitive, everyday thinking of folk religion seeks evidence and not counter-evidence – is connected to this. To return to the example of a horse skull expelling vermin, any evidence of less vermin (true or imagined) is sufficient as evidence of working magic, and a continued problem may be explained by a mistake in the ritual or the presence of stronger malevolent magic. Furthermore, perhaps this belief would not have been as popular without other effective methods of vermin control, such as leaving the house cold during the winter, which then contributed to the evidence that magic worked.

For the purposes of this study, the explanation of magic summarized in the above quote by Jarvie and Agassi is perfectly sufficient. The popularity of magic is explained by its being an integral part of experienced reality. Moreover, from a psychological point of view, magic is needed to give a feeling of control in uncontrollable circumstances. This is one reason why magical thinking does not disappear even when a scientific worldview is promoted (see e.g. Aarnio 2007). The notion that magic still exists today, which intrigues psychologists researching this phenomenon (see e.g. Lindeman & Aarnio 2007; Aarnio 2007; Svedholm 2013), points to an understanding of magical causality being something inherently human (see also Sørensen 2007). Thus, it is important to understand this mode of reasoning in order to understand human behaviour as a whole.

APPENDIX 2
CATALOGUE I
THE FOLKLORE ACCOUNTS

APPENDICES

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
a Askainen	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 256 § (p. 32)
a Houtskär (Hotskär)	Cat (whole)	Cowshed: floor	FSFD VII, 3: 163
a Iniö	Coin	Dwelling: corner (all)	FSFD VII, 3: 190
a Kemiö (Kimito)	Snake (whole)	Wall	FSFD VII, 3: 651
a Laitila	Mercury	Cowshed: corner	FLS FA. Laitila. 1936. Lauri Laiho 4667.
a Laitila	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (257 a1)
a Lokalahti	Mercury, salt	Threshold	FLS FA. Lokalahti, Varanpää. 1937. Aili Laiho 2891.
a Marttila	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (257 a2)
a Muurla	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (257 a3)
a Muurla	Mercury	Cowshed: wall (foundation)	SKMT IV, 1: I 253 § (p. 32)
a Mynämäki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344-5 (257 a4)
a Nauvo (Nagu)	Coin	Roof	FSFD VII, 3: 190
a Nousiainen	Mercury, sulphur, barley flour	Cowshed, dwelling: threshold	FLS FA. Nousiainen. 1936. Frans Leivo b) 2097.
a Perniö	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 257 § (p. 33)
a Perniö	Grave cross (kalma)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1236 (270 §)
a Perniö	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Perniö. 1915. Vilho Myrsky b) 121a).
a Piikkiö	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Piikkiö. 1914. Niilo Kallio 2346.
a Prunkkala	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 238 § (p. 30)
a Pöytyä	Sharp tool, book leaf	Cowshed: roof, doorway	SKMT IV, 1: I 205 §, I 328 § (p. 26, 42)
a Pöytyä	Sulphur	Cowshed: threshold, window sash	SKMT IV, 1: I 295 § (p. 38)
a Pöytyä	Witches' broom	Cowshed: attic	SKMT IV, 1: I 158 § (p. 21)
a Pöytyä	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold, window sash	SKMT IV, 1: I 267 § (p. 34)
a Pöytyä	Horse shoe	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 191 § (p. 25)
a Sauvo	Psalm book	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 334 § (p. 43)
a Sauvo	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 a5)
a Särkisalo (Finnby)	Coin	Dwelling, cowshed, stable: roof	FSFD VII, 3: 183
a Särkisalo (Finnby)	Snake's head	Wall	FSFD VII, 3: 651
a Yläne	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 a7)
a Yläne	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 261 § (p. 33)
a Yläne	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 a6)
b Ahlainen	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Ahlainen. 1936. Lauri Laiho 3038.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
b Alastaro	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (258 b1)
b Eräjärvi	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Eräjärvi. 1936. Martti Mattila 4461.
b Eräjärvi	Mercury	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (279 b)
b Eurajoki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b3)
b Eurajoki	Cow's (calf's) head	Sauna: hearth	SKMT IV, 2: 1212 (119 §)
b Eurajoki	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b2)
b Eurajoki	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b1)
b Eurajoki	Sulphur	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 291 § (p. 38)
b Hinnerjoki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b4)
b Hämeenkyrö	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (256 b1)
b Hämeenkyrö	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö. 1938. Martti Mattila 6855.
b Hämeenkyrö	Horse bones	Drying barn: corner	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö. 1938. Martti Mattila 6856.
b Hämeenkyrö	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö, Untila. 1937. Martti Mattila 6218.
b Hämeenkyrö	Mercury	Stable: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 276 § (p. 35–6)
b Hämeenkyrö	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö, Untila. 1937. Martti Mattila 6236.
b Hämeenkyrö	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö, Vesajärvi. 1937. Martti Mattila 6458.
b Hämeenkyrö	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö. 1934. Martti Mattila 2340.
b Hämeenkyrö	Coin (silver)	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö. 1938. Eero Järventausta 1182.
b Hämeenkyrö	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö. 1936. Martti Mattila 5252.
b Hämeenkyrö	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (254 b1)
b Hämeenkyrö	Mercury	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Hämeenkyrö, Kalkunmäki. 1937. Martti Mattila 6191.
b Ikaalinen	Coin	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Ikaalinen, Juhtimäki. 1938. Martti Mattila 7027.
b Ikaalinen	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b6)
b Ikaalinen	Mercury	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Ikaalinen, Juhtimäki. 1938. Martti Mattila 7165.
b Ikaalinen	Coins (100 1-pennies) in pouch	Cowshed, stable: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 236 § (p. 30)
b Ikaalinen	Coin (e.g. copper)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Ikaalinen, Juhtimäki. 1938. Martti Mattila 7269.
b Ikaalinen	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 254 § (p. 32)
b Ikaalinen	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b5)

APPENDICES

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
b Ikaalinen	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Ikaalinen. 1936. Martti Mattila 5859.
b Ikaalinen	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Ikaalinen, Juhtimäki. 1938. Martti Mattila 7234.
b Kankaanpää	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1342-3 (238 b1)
b Kankaanpää	Mercury in quills (3)	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 902 (173 §)
b Kankaanpää	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Kankaanpää. 1935. Hämeenlinnan alakouluseminaari 5504.
b Kankaanpää	Alder-cross	Dwelling: corner (all)	FLS FA. Kankaanpää. 1935. Hämeenlinnan alakouluseminaari 5474.
b Kankaanpää	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (254 b2)
b Karkku	Animal bone, coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Karkku, Kiurala. 1938. Martti Mattila 7447.
b Kauvatsa	Wedding ring	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Kauvatsa, Yttilä. 1892. Matti Laine 14.
b Keuruu	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348-9 (259 b1)
b Keuruu	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (255 b)
b Keuruu	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 902 (171 §)
b Keuruu	Mercury and barley flour in grouse quills (3)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 263 § (p. 33)
b Keuruu	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 259 § (p. 33)
b Kokemäki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b7)
b Kokemäki	Sharp tool: Scythe	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (216 b2)
b Kokemäki	Sharp tool: Scythe-blade	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (216 b1)
b Kuhmalahti	Mercury	Stable: wall, threshold	FLS FA. Kuhmalahti. 1940. Helmi Helminen 930.
b Kullaa	Thunderbolt	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 302 § (p. 39)
b Lavia	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (256 b2)
b Luvia	Coin	Dwelling: corner (southern)	FLS FA. Luvia, Hanni. 1904. Fr. W. Niemi 191.
b Luvia	Mercury and chips from coin in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Luvia, Peränkylä. 1936. Aino Nummela KT 27:18.
b Merikarvia	Coin (old)	Corner	Haavio 1942: 65
b Merikarvia	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Merikarvia. 1937. Martti Myllyharju 343.
b Merikarvia	Mercury and flour in bottle	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 272 § (p. 35)
b Merikarvia	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 b2)
b Messukylä	Sharp tool: Scythe	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (216 b3)
b Mouhijärvi	Coin (copper)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (240 b)
b Mouhijärvi	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1345 (257 b8)
b Mouhijärvi	Mercury	Drying barn: threshold	SKMT III: 835 § (p. 127)

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
b Mouhijärvi	Coin (silver, 25-penny)	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Mouhijärvi. 1936. Kaarle Laitakari 206.
b Mouhijärvi	Mercury	Drying barn: threshold	SKMT III: 835 b (p. 273)
b Mouhijärvi	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Mouhijärvi. 1936. Kaarle Laitakari 203.
b Nakkila	Tool: Harrow	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1340 (172 b)
b Nakkila	Coin (silver)	Stable: corner	FLS FA. Nakkila, Tattara. 1904. Fr. Lempainen 74.
b Nakkila	Human bones	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Nakkila, Leistilä. 1936. Porin tyttölyseo, Helmi Bärlund 4048.
b Nokia	Coin	Cowshed: corner	FLS FA. Nokia, Koskenmäki. 1957. Artturi Railonsala 4327.
b Noormarkku	Mercury in quill	Cowshed, stable: threshold	FLS FA. Noormarkku. 1916. Kankaanpään kansanopistolaiset 511.
b Noormarkku	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: partition wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 275 § (p. 35)
b Orivesi	Mercury, sulphur, barley grains (9)	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 183 §, I 293 § (p. 24, 38); IV, 3: I 257 b9 (p. 1345-6)
b Parkano	Bird: White-throated dipper (whole)	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 1: I 115 § (p. 15)
b Parkano	Cow hair	Cowshed, stable: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 86 § (p. 12)
b Parkano	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Parkano. 1948. Viljo Alanen 363.
b Parkano	Horse skull and leg bones	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Parkano, Kuivaskylä. 1936. Eino Lepistö 133.
b Parkano	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (254 b3)
b Parkano	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 b3)
b Parkano	Coin, snake (whole)	Dwelling: corner, roof	FLS FA. Parkano. 1908. Teuvo Harvia 229.
b Parkano	Thunderbolt	Storage building	FLS FA. Parkano. 1948. Viljo Alanen 352.
b Pirkkala	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (258 b2)
b Pomarkku	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 b5)
b Pomarkku	Almanac	Cowshed: roof	FLS FA. Pomarkku, Harhala. 1938. Porin tyttölyseo, Inkeri Salomaa 4989.
b Pomarkku	Horse bone	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Pomarkku. 1893. O. A. Elers 16.
b Pomarkku	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Pomarkku, Kivijärvi. 1936. Iisakki Haapala KT 16:13.
b Pori	Silver in wood box	Cowshed: wall	FLS FA. Pori, Reposaari. 1936. Porin tyttölyseo, Aira Sarento 3313.
b Pori	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 b10)
b Pyhäranta	Coins in pouch (different kingdoms)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Pyhäranta, Rapa. 1929. Lauri Koskinen b4) 290.
b Pyhäranta	Snake's head	Wall	FLS FA. Pyhäranta. 1936. Lauri Laiho 3454.
b Pyhäranta	Sulphur	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 294 § (p. 38)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
b Pyhäranta	Sulphur	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1351 (291 b)
b Pyhäranta	Psalm book	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 336 § (p. 43)
b Ruovesi	Snake's head	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1337 (123 b)
b Ruovesi	Mercury in quill	Stable (e.g.): threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 b6)
b Siikainen	Coin (silver)	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Siikainen. 1933. Vuokko Raekallio 129.
b Siikainen	Coin (5- or 10-penny)	Dwelling, cowshed: corner (all)	FLS FA. Siikainen. 1937. Lyyli Tommila KT 32:176.
b Suoniemi	Mercury	Cowshed: corner	FLS FA. Suoniemi. 1937. Eero Järventausta 478.
b Tyrvää	Horse hair, sulphur, mercury	Stable: wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1310-1 (790 §)
b Tyrvää	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Tyrvää, Stormi. 1937. Martti Mattila 6050.
b Tyrvää	Tool: Fire steel	Drying barn: threshold	SKMT III: 832 § (p. 127)
b Tyrvää	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (254 b4)
b Vampula	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Vampula. 1890. A. R. Niemi 54.
b Viljakkala	Raven stone (magic object)	Dwelling, cowshed: roof	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1936. E. N. Karhiso 57.
b Viljakkala	Horse skull	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1933. Martti Mattila 1385.
b Viljakkala	Thunderbolt	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1935. Martti Mattila 3045.
b Viljakkala	Mercury	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1936. Martti Mattila 4509.
b Viljakkala	Sharp tools	Cowshed: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1936. Martti Mattila 4508.
b Viljakkala	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1934. Martti Mattila 2611.
b Viljakkala	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1933. Martti Mattila 1007.
b Viljakkala	Mercury	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1931. Martti Mattila 311 a.
b Viljakkala	Coin	Roof	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1934. Martti Mattila 2336.
b Viljakkala	Coin (silver)	Storage building: corner	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1935. Martti Mattila 3721.
b Viljakkala	Mercury	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1935. Martti Mattila 2962.
b Viljakkala	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1934. Martti Mattila 1973.
b Viljakkala	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1934. Martti Mattila 2709.
b Viljakkala	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1936. Martti Mattila 4533.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
b Viljakkala	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1935. Martti Mattila 3314.
b Viljakkala	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: corner (all)	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1936. Martti Mattila 4532.
b Viljakkala	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1936. Martti Mattila 5048.
b Viljakkala	Mercury in quill	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Viljakkala. 1934. Martti Mattila 2137.
b Viljakkala	Coin	Corner	Haavio 1942: 66
b Virrat	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Virrat, Kurjenkylä. 1936. Eino Mäkinen 839.
b Virrat	Coin (silver)	Stable: corner	FLS FA. Virrat, Kurjenkylä. 1936. Eino Mäkinen 835.
b Virrat	Almanac	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1351 (338 b)
b Virrat	Coin	Wall	FLS FA. Virrat, Kurjenkylä. 1938. Eino Mäkinen 3410.
b Virrat	Coin (copper)	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Virrat, Kurjenkylä. 1936. Eino Mäkinen 546.
b Virrat	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (238 b3)
b Virrat	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (238 b2)
b Virrat	Sharp tool: Axe	Threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 207 § (p. 26)
b Virrat	Sulphur in grouse quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 292 § (p. 38)
b Virrat	Horse skull or cow skull, mercury	Dwelling: hearth; Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Virrat. 1938. T.E. Maunula 172.
b Virrat	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Virrat, Kurjenkylä. 1936. Eino Mäkinen 840.
c Anjala	Coin	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (235 c)
c Anjala	Bullet	Cowshed: wall (back wall)	SKMT IV, 2: 901 (163 §)
c Anjala	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 c1)
c Artjärvi	Lamb (whole)	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1238 (277 §)
c Artjärvi	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 c2)
c Espoo, Vantaa	Mercury	Dwelling: floor	FSFD VII, 3: 183
c Inkoo (Ingå)	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FSFD VII, 3: 190
c Ymi	Sharp tool: Scythe	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Ymi. 1889. Vihtori Alava IV A 125.
c Ymi	Garter	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 68 § (p. 9)
c Lapinjärvi (Lappträsk)	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FSFD VII, 3: 183
c Lohja	Religious book	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 329 § (p. 42)
c Lohja	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (I 257 c3)
c Mustio (Svartå)	Sulphur	Cowshed: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 117

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
c Myrskylä	Mercury and wheat flour in bottle	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 277 § (p. 36)
c Mäntsälä	Mercury in bottle	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Mäntsälä, Sääksjärvi. 1961. Ritva Junttila TK 27:31.
c Nurmijärvi	Stones (3)	Cowshed	SKMT IV, 1: I 300 § (p. 39)
c Pukkila	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Pukkila. 1932. Eino Kauppinen 986.
c Pusula	Mercury, flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (258 c)
c Pyhäjärvi Ul. (Karkkila)	Coin (copper)	Stable: corner (all)	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi Ul. 1945. Jouko Hautala 1970.
c Pyhäjärvi Ul. (Karkkila)	Coin (25-penny or 50-penny)	Roof	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi Ul. 1945. Jouko Hautala 1990.
c Ruotsinpyhtää (Strömfors)	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FSFD VII, 3: 189
c Sammatti	Mercury	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 274 § (p. 35)
c Sammatti	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 c4)
c Sammatti	Coin	Roof	Haavio 1942: 66
c Sammatti	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Sammatti. 1934. A. V. Rantasalo 355.
c Sipoo (Sibbå)	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FSFD VII, 3: 183
c Siuntio (Sjundeå)	Coin	Dwelling: corner, roof	FSFD VII, 3: 189–190
c Tenhola (Tenala)	Mercury and flour in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 195
c Tenhola (Tenala)	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FSFD VII, 3: 190
c Tenhola, Bromarvi	Mercury and black wool	Cowshed: threshold	Nikula 1938: 183.
c Tenhola, Bromarvi	Sharp tool: Dungfork	Cowshed: doorpost	Nikula 1938: 184.
c Tenhola, Bromarvi	Leaf from ABC-book	Cowshed: wall (between timbers)	Nikula 1938: 184.
c Tuusula	Tool: Trowel for stirring blood	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1334 (85 c)
c Vantaa (Helsinge)	Sharp tool: Knife	Cowshed, stable: wall (above door)	FSFD VII, 3: 117
c Vehkalahti	Communion host	Animal shelter: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 327 § (p. 42)
c Vihti	Snake's skin	Threshold	FLS FA. Vihti. 1962. Kaarlo Ranta 1434.
d Asikkala	Sharp tool: Scythe	Roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 216 § (p. 27)
d Asikkala	Coin (silver, 25-penny), mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 233 §, I 248 § (p. 29–30, 31–32)
d Asikkala	Snake's head	Stable, cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 3: 1337 (125 d)

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
d Asikkala	Coin (50-penny)	Wall	FLS FA. Asikkala. 1909. U. Holmberg 132.
d Asikkala	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 255 § (p. 32)
d Hausjärvi	Mercury in goose quill, coin (silver or copper)	Stable, cowshed: wall (foundation)	Keskitalo 1964: 335
d Heinola	Mercury, rye flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 262 § (p. 33)
d Heinola	Lightning-struck wood	Cowshed: wall (above door)	SKMT IV, 1: I 167 § (p. 22)
d Heinola	Animal bones	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1238 (283 §)
d Hollola	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed, stable	SKMT IV, 1: I 282 § (p. 36)
d Iitti	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (170 d1)
d Iitti	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 d2)
d Iitti	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 d1)
d Iitti	Coin (silver)	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (235 d1)
d Jaala	Horse skull and leg bones	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Jaala. 1948. Eila Erola 140.
d Jaala	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (170 d2)
d Jaala	Animal bone	Hearth	FLS FA. Jaala, Taipale. 1937. Paavo Rajajärvi 217.
d Jaala	Snake's head wrapped in birch bark	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Jaala. 1936. J. Karhu 3013.
d Janakkala	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 d3)
d Janakkala	Mercury	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (279 d)
d Jokioinen	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1346 (257 d4)
d Joutsa	Coin (copper)	Cowshed: corner (western back corner)	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 d2)
d Joutsa	Human bone	Animal shelter: corner (western)	SKMT IV, 2: 1229-10 (240 §)
d Jämsä	Tool: Log scribe, pitch	Dwelling: corner, wall	FLS FA. Jämsä. 1923. Kalle Nieminen 188.
d Jämsä	Mercury	Threshold	FLS FA. Jämsä. 1909. U. Holmberg 680.
d Korpilahti	Horse hoof chip	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Korpilahti. 1888. M. Nurmio 797.
d Kuorevesi	Magic pouches	Church: bell base	FLS FA. Kuorevesi. 1909. U. Holmberg 733.
d Lammi	Coins, food	Dwelling: floor	Haavio 1942: 444
d Lammi	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Lammi. 1929. Juvas, Maija (SS).
d Lammi	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed	SKMT IV, 2: 902 (168 §)
d Lammin-Koski	Communion host	Stable: wall	SKMT IV, 3: 1351 (327 d)
d Lammin-Koski	Mercury, flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (172 d)
d Lampi	Snake (whole)	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 120 § (p. 16)
d Lampi	Snake's head	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1337 (123 d)
d Lampi	Mercury	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 249 § (p. 32)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
d Lampi	Mercury, barley flour	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 258 § (p. 33)
d Leivonmäki	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (170 d3)
d Loppi	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (170 d4)
d Längelmäki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (254 d1)
d Längelmäki	Sharp tool: Axe	Drying barn: threshold	SKMT III: 839 § (p. 128)
d Längelmäki	Tool: Bread peel	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 170 § (p. 22)
d Längelmäki	Mercury in rowan rod	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1310 (789 §)
d Längelmäki	Offering	Drying barn: corner	SKMT III: 827 d (p. 273)
d Längelmäki	Coin	Cowshed, stable: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 230 § (p. 29)
d Orimattila	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold, wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Orimattila. 1936. Aino Järvinen 18.
d Renko	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Renko, Nummenkylä. 1938. Eila Pennanen 286.
d Somerniemi	Sharp tool: Scythe (old)	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (216 d)
d Somerniemi	Coin	Dwelling: roof	Haavio 1942: 66
d Somerniemi	Witches' broom	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 159 § (p. 21)
d Somerniemi	Tool: Bread peel	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 171 § (p. 22)
d Somero	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Somero. 1913. Martti Mattila 66.
d Somero	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: threshold	FLS FA. Somero. 1886. K. V. Petterson 336.
d Somero	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Somero. 1913. Martti Mattila 80.
d Sääksmäki	Small animal e.g. cat or lamb (whole)	Cowshed	SKMT IV, 2: 1238 (278 §)
d Sääksmäki	Mercury	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1344 (254 d2)
d Tammela	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: threshold	FLS FA. Tammela, Kuhala. 1913. Martti Mattila 130.
e Hankasalmi	Coins and wood-chips in textile	Church (bell-tower): foundation	SKMT I: 436 e
e Hankasalmi	Mercury	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 e1)
e Hankasalmi	Shrew (whole)	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 103 § (p. 14)
e Jyväskylä	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Jyväskylän maaseurakunta. 1909. U. Holmberg 182.
e Karstula	Pig's snout and tail	Pigsty: corner	FLS FA. Karstula, Oinaskylä. 1950. Albert Rautiainen 2203.
e Karstula	Horse skull or cow skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Karstula. 1930. Samuli ja Jenny Paulaharju 13034.
e Karstula	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: wall (northern)	FLS FA. Karstula. 1938. Otto Harju 1326.
e Karstula	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Karstula. 1944. Albert Rautiainen 1808.
e Karstula	Bone	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Karstula. 1939. O. Takala 378.
e Karstula	Coin (4-mark)	Iron works main building: corner	FLS FA. Karstula, Kiminki. 1944. Albert Rautiainen 1809.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
e Kinnula	Mercury in hawk quill	Cowshed, stable: threshold	FLS FA. Kinnula. 1946. Otto Harju 3771.
e Kivijärvi	Coin (old)	Cowshed, stable: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 242 § (p. 31)
e Kivijärvi	Bundle: 9 barley grains and 9 salt grains inside textile	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 895 (125 §)
e Kivijärvi	Coin (old)	Cowshed, stable: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 242 § (p. 31)
e Kivijärvi	Coin wrapped in textile	Stable: corner (eastern)	SKMT IV, 1: I 231 § (p. 29)
e Kivijärvi	Coin (old)	Roof	Issakainen 2012: 147
e Konnevesi	Mercury in quill	Wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Konnevesi. 1937. Keskiuomalainen Osakunta 208.
e Laukaa	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (171 e1)
e Pihtipudas	Mercury in quill	Drying barn: threshold	SKMT III: 870 § (p.131-2)
e Pihtipudas	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 15412.
e Pihtipudas	Horse skull and 3 ribs	Cooking shed: hearth	SKMT IV, 2: 1212 (118 §)
e Pihtipudas	Magpie's heart	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 114 § (p. 15)
e Pihtipudas	Coin	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 e)
e Pihtipudas	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 e3)
e Pihtipudas	Cat (whole)	Animal shelter: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1284 (595 §)
e Pihtipudas	Stone (flat)	Oxen stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 301 § (p. 39)
e Pihtipudas	Shellfish	Sheephouse	SKMT IV, 1: I 142 § (p. 19)
e Pihtipudas	Mercury, leaf of psalm book	Stable: threshold, window, wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 266 § (p. 34)
e Pihtipudas	Mercury in quill	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 e1)
e Pihtipudas	Horse and cow skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 15894 d.
e Pihtipudas	Coin (silver, cut in four pieces)	Stable: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 1: I 237 § (p. 30)
e Pihtipudas	Frog-coffin	Cooking shed: hearth	SKMT III: 655 § (p. 98)
e Pihtipudas	Names of Jesus cut from psalm book (3 or 9)	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 1: I 335 § (p. 43)
e Pihtipudas	Coin (silver, cut in four pieces)	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (237 e)
e Pihtipudas	Rat's nest	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 104 § (p. 14)
e Pihtipudas	Bird: Capercaillie and hemp seed inside hollow wood	Stable	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1938. Keskiuomalainen Osakunta 508.
e Pihtipudas	Grave cross (piece) (kalma)	Pigsty: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 2: 1236 (269 §)
e Pihtipudas	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 1: I 268 § (p. 34)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
e Pihtipudas	Mercury	Stable, drying barn: threshold	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 15473.
e Pihtipudas	Mercury	Dwelling: floor; Cowshed: wall	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 16474.
e Pihtipudas	Mercury in quill	Stable: partition wall	FLS FA. Pihtipudas, Sydänmaa. 1893. Pihtiputaan kirjall. seura 413.
e Pihtipudas	Bird (whole)	Dwelling: hearth, attic	FLS FA. Pihtipudas, Sydänmaa. 1893. Pihtiputaan kirjall. seura 391.
e Pihtipudas	Coin, silver	Cowshed: wall (foundation)	SKMT IV, 1: I 234 § (p. 30)
e Pihtipudas	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Pihtipudas, Sydänmaa. 1893. Pihtiputaan kirjall. seura 377.
e Pihtipudas	Horse skull, stoat (whole)	Hearth	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 15525.
e Pihtipudas	Coin	All buildings: corner	FLS FA. Pihtipudas. 1893. Pihtiputaan kirjall. seura 219.
e Rautalampi	Pike (whole)	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 130 § (p. 17)
e Rautalampi	Coin	Corner, roof	FLS FA. Rautalampi. 1909. U. Holmberg 299.
e Rautalampi	Bat (whole animal)	Stable: corner (of attic?)	SKMT IV, 2: 880 (46 §)
e Rautalampi	Pike (whole)	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 2046 (51 e)
e Rautalampi	Pike (whole)	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 881 (51 §)
e Rautalampi	Magic pouches, frogs wrapped in fish net etc.	Church: wall (foundation), floor	Issakainen 2006: 6; 2012: 140
e Rautalampi	Horse skull and hooves	Cowshed: wall	FLS FA. e Rautalampi. 1937. Juho Oksman b) 1554.
e Rautalampi, Jyväskylä	Snake's head	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 2: 1288 (630 §)
e Saarijärvi	Mercury in crane quill	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Saarijärvi. 1936. Otto Harju KRK 71: 1226.
e Saarijärvi	Magic pouch	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Saarijärvi. 1936. Otto Harju KRK 71: 1157.
e Saarijärvi	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Saarijärvi. 1935. Otto Harju KRK 69:224.
e Saarijärvi	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Saarijärvi. 1938. Otto Harju 3:834.
e Saarijärvi	Mercury in rooster quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 e2)
e Saarijärvi	Dynamite	Floor	FLS FA. Saarijärvi. 1938. Otto Harju 3: 918.
e Saarijärvi	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Saarijärvi. 1938. Otto Harju 520.
e Uurainen	Mercury	Dwelling, animal shelter: threshold	FLS FA. Uurainen < Multia. 1896. E. G. Hämäläinen 311.
e Vesanto	Mercury in quill	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (171 e2)
e Vesanto	Mercury in quill	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Vesanto, Niinivedenpää. 1938. Arvo Pekonen 318.
e Viitasaari	Sharp tool: Sickle	Animal shelter: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 219 § (p. 28)

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
e Viitasaari	Frog-coffin, magic pouch (cow hair)	Cowshed: corner (eastern)	SKVR IX4. 1335. Viitas. 1890. Moisio 43.
e Viitasaari	Witches' broom with mercury-quill inside	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 160 § (p. 21)
e Viitasaari	Bird: Crane (whole)	Hearth	FLS FA. Viitasaari, Selantaus. 1893. Pihtiputaan kirjall. seura 49.
e Viitasaari	Afterbirth? (lapsikotti)	Sheephouse: corner (eastern)	FLS FA. Viitasaari. 1890. O. H. Moisio 3.
e Viitasaari	Snake (whole), bailer (tool)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Viitasaari. 1890. O. H. Moisio I.
e Viitasaari	Coin (gold)	Dwelling: roof, corner	FLS FA. Viitasaari, Huopana. 1936. Lauri Laurila 343.
e Viitasaari	Magic pouch (e.g. bat, feather, parts of corpse)	Cowshed, stable: wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1229, 1285, 1286 (237 §, 605 §, 614 §)
f Haukivuori	Coin	Dwelling	FLS FA. Haukivuori, Harjunmaa. 1928. Oskari Kuitunen b) 1163.
f Haukivuori	Horse shoe nails (5)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Haukivuori. 1929. E.V. Hirsikoski 180.
f Heinävesi	Mercury in quill	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Heinävesi. 1933. Tauno Mäkipalo (Mohell) 343.
f Heinävesi	Lamb (whole)	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1210 (105 §)
f Heinävesi	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Heinävesi. 1954. Tauno Mäkipalo (Mohell) 1056.
f Heinävesi	Coin, other things	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Heinävesi. 1933. Tauno Mäkipalo (Mohell) 544.
f Heinävesi	Frog-coffin	Church: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Heinävesi. 1937. Pakarinen, Kalle. KT 79:49.
f Heinävesi	Churchyard-earth (kalma)	Roof	FLS FA. Heinävesi. Lönnbohm, O. A. F. 958. 94.
f Heinävesi	Coin	Wall	FLS FA. Heinävesi. 1954. Tauno Mäkipalo (Mohell) 1055.
f Heinävesi, Pieksämäki	Coin	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Heinävesi, Pieksämäki, Palokki. 1894. O. A. F. Lönnbohm 886.
f Hirvensalmi	Human bones etc. (9 different things)	Cowshed, stable: floor, wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1230 (243 §)
f Joroinen	Asafoetida	Stable: partition wall	SKMT IV, 2: 906 (204 §)
f Joroinen	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (170 f)
f Juva	Mercury in rooster quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 152 § (p. 20); IV, 3: I 259 f2 (p. 1349)
f Juva	Mercury, arsenic	Stable: corner (northern)	SKMT IV, 1: I 324 § (p. 42); IV, 3: I 249 f (p. 1343)
f Juva	Pike (whole) in container, mercury	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 131 § (p. 17)
f Juva	Snake's head	Cowshed: door post	SKMT IV, 1: I 124 § (p. 16)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
f Juva	Mercury in rooster quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 fi)
f Juva	Pig's snout	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 2: 879 (36 §)
f Juva	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 fi)
f Kangaslampi	Coin (silver)	Cowshed: wall (foundation)	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 f)
f Kangasniemi	Mercury and rye grains in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (260 f)
f Kangasniemi	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Kangasniemi, Rauhajärvi. 1933. Oskari Kuitunen b) 2023.
f Kangasniemi	Snake's head	Stable: door post	SKMT IV, 2: 881 (48 §)
f Kangasniemi	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Kangasniemi, Tiihola. 1932. Oskari Kuitunen b) 1613.
f Kangasniemi	Mercury in quill	Animal shelter: wall	FLS FA. Kangasniemi, Salmenkylä. 1935. Oskari Kuitunen b) 2615.
f Kangasniemi	Bundle: hair, nails, parts of corpse	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1226 (219 §)
f Kangasniemi	Mercury in bottle	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Kangasniemi, Rauhajärvi. 1933. Oskari Kuitunen b) 1918.
f Kangasniemi	Egg, mercury in raven quill	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Kangasniemi, Ohensalo. 1912. Oskari Nousiainen 243.
f Kerimäki	Coins (6, silver)	Church: pillar (foundation, all)	FLS FA. Kerimäki, Yläkuona. 1937. Alli Raila 359.
f Kerimäki	Mercury, asafoetida	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 322 § (p. 42); IV, 3: I 257 f3 (p. 1347)
f Kerimäki	Mercury	Pigsty: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 f2)
f Lappee	Mercury and flour in "rillikka"	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 250 § (p. 32)
f Mikkeli	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 f4)
f Mikkeli area	Magic pouch (hair)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1226 (218 §)
f Mäntyharju	Mercury in quill	Cowshed, stable: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Mäntyharju. 1936. J. Karhu 3012.
f Mäntyharju	Mercury in bottle	Stable: corner; Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Mäntyharju. 1936. J. Karhu 3119.
f Mäntyharju	Mercury	Stable: corner (3), threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (264 f)
f Mäntyharju	Iron plate? (rautasyltty)	Stable: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 194 § (p. 25)
f Pertunmaa	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Pertunmaa. 1937. Katri Kaukonen 1788.
f Pieksämäki	Human bones, church-yard earth	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 2: 1230 (241 §)
f Puumala	Mercury	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 247 § (p. 31)
f Rantasalmi	Horse bone	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Rantasalmi. 1889. A.V. Juutilainen 42.
f Rantasalmi	Mercury in quill, red textile	Cowshed: corner	FLS FA. Rantasalmi. 1889. A.V. Juutilainen 47.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
f Ristiina	Coins (18 2-copecks in a row)	Pigsty: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 241 § (p. 31)
f Ristiina	Mercury in quill	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (171 f)
f Ruokolahti	Mercury, asafetida, arsenic	Cowshed: door	SKMT IV, 1: I 285 § (p. 37)
f Sulkava	Pig's snout	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 3: 2045 (36 f)
f Sulkava	Mercury and asafetida in quill	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 f3)
f Sääminki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Sääminki. 1938. Jouko Hautala 401.
f/g (Savo)	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Savo. 1909. Lauri Merikallio b) 96.
g Iisalmi	Mercury in quill	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 2056 (180 g)
g Karttula	Frog (whole, impaled with needle)	Church: floor	FLS FA. Karttula. Oksman, Juho. KRK 111:1242.
g Kiuruvesi	Animal bones (3)	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 80 § (p. 11)
g Kiuruvesi	Coin (copper)	Roof	FLS FA. Kiuruvesi. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 14708.
g Kuopio	Frog-coffin	Church: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Kuopio. Koponen, Juho. KRK 103:92.
g Leppävirta	Coin	Dwelling, cowshed, stable: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Leppävirta. 1936. L. Karhu 253.
g Leppävirta	Frog (whole, wrapped in net on board)	Church: floor	FLS FA. Leppävirta. Oksman, Juho. KRK 111:1210.
g Nilsjä	Grouse's head	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 107 § (p. 14–5)
g Nilsjä	Grouse's foot, snake's head, frog's leg	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: 15 (108 §)
g Nilsjä	Frog-coffin	Church: under altar	FLS FA. Nilsjä. Pirinen, Kalle. KRK 112:14.
g Nilsjä	Sharp tool: Scythe	Threshold	FLS FA. Nilsjä. 1934. Väinö Kaukonen 875.
g Nilsjä	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Nilsjä. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 13996 a.
g Pielavesi	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Pielavesi. 1917. Aapeli Kokkonen 2.
g Pielavesi	Copper thread	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Pielavesi, Jokijärvi. 1936. Hannes Pulkkinen 217.
g Pielavesi	Horse hair, salt	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Pielavesi, Jokijärvi. 1936. Hannes Pulkkinen 207.
g Pielavesi	Magic pouch, mercury in quill, magic coffin (alder-fig.)	Church: wall (northern, foundation)	Issakainen 2004: 132; 2012: 140
g Pielavesi	Food crumbs	Corner	Haavio 1942: 65
g Pielavesi	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Pielavesi. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 15045 a.
g Pielavesi	Coin	Cowshed: corner, wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 243 § (p. 31)
g Siilinjärvi	Coin (silver)	Wall (foundation)	Haavio 1942: 66

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
g Sonkajärvi	Horse bone, hoof	Dwelling: hearth, floor	FLS FA. Sonkajärvi. 1934. Väinö Kaukonen 928.
g Sonkajärvi	Coin, animal skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Sonkajärvi. 1934. Väinö Kaukonen 1100.
g Sonkajärvi	Magic pouch	Hearth	FLS FA. Sonkajärvi. 1934. Väinö Kaukonen 1182.
g Sonkajärvi	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Sonkajärvi. 1934. Väinö Kaukonen 1283.
g Sonkajärvi	Coin	Roof	FLS FA. Sonkajärvi. 1934. Väinö Kaukonen 1284.
g Sonkajärvi (Rutakko)	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Rutakko (Sonkajärvi). 1932. I. Marttini b) 1694.
g Suonenjoki	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Suonenjoki. 1909. U. Holmberg 316.
g Tervo	Mercury in grouse quill	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Tervo, Talluskylä. 1938. Arvo Pekonen 387 a.
g Tuusniemi	Frog-coffin	Church: floor	FLS FA. Tuusniemi. Räsänen, Otto. KRK 118:131.
g Tuusniemi	Frog-coffin, other magic coffin	Church: bell tower roof	FLS FA. Tuusniemi. 1916. Lönnbohm, O. A. F. b) 2905.
g Varpaisjärvi	Mercury and barley flour in quill	Stable: threshold	SKVR VI.2. 5247. Varpaisjärvi. 1885. Krohn n. 14511 c.
g Vehmersalmi	Frog-coffin	Storage building: floor	FLS FA. Vehmersalmi. Räsänen, Otto. KRK 118:230.
g Vehmersalmi	Frog-coffin	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Vehmersalmi. Airaksinen, Emil. KRK 91:109.
g Vehmersalmi (Pielavesi)	Birch bark-figure, frog (whole, bound)	Church: floor	FLS FA. Vehmersalmi. Airaksinen, Emil. KRK 91:73.
h Heinjoki	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Heinjoki. 1949. Anja Kuujo (Huttunen) 649.
h Hiitola	Coin	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Hiitola. 1917. Samuli Paulaharju 7899.
h Hiitola	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Hiitola. 1910. Samuli Paulaharju 4162.
h Hiitola	Sharp tool: Axe (old)	Wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Hiitola. 1917. Samuli Paulaharju 7901.
h Johannes	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Johannes. 1917. Samuli Paulaharju 7954.
h Jääski	Human skull	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Jääski. 1917. Samuli Paulaharju 7888.
h Koivisto	Coin (gold coin in church)	Church, dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Koivisto, Humaljoki. 1938. Ulla Mannonen 5978 b.
h Koivisto	Stoat (whole animal)	Dwelling, cowshed: floor	FLS FA. Koivisto, Rousku. 1939. Ulla Mannonen 10216.
h Koivisto	Leather, birch bark	Dwelling: corner (all)	FLS FA. Koivisto, Kurkela. 1938. Ulla Mannonen 7403.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
h Koivisto	Coin (silver)	Wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Koivisto. 1917. Samuli Paulaharju 7949.
h Koivisto	Mercury	Dwelling: corner (northern)	FLS FA. Koivisto. 1935. Lauri Laiho 950.
h Kurkijoki	Asafoetida, arsenic, mercury	Stable: feeding trough	FLS FA. Kurkijoki. 1935. Kyytinen, Pekka 86.
h Kurkijoki	Mercury in bottle	Dwelling, cowshed: corner, roof	FLS FA. Kurkijoki. 1933. Lauri Laiho 120.
h Kurkijoki	Arsenic, mercury, asafoetida	Sauna: hearth	FLS FA. Kurkijoki. 1935. Kyytinen, Pekka 198.
h Metsäpirtti	Mercury	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Metsäpirtti. 1935. Lauri Laiho 1870.
h Metsäpirtti	Coin	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 h)
h Muolaa	Mercury	Dwelling: corner (3)	FLS FA. Muolaa. 1952. Kyllikki Karppinen 357.
h Räisälä	Coin or mercury	Corner	FLS FA. Räisälä. 1917. Samuli Paulaharju 7910.
h Sakkula	Mercury	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 2: 903 (177 §)
h Sakkula	Copper	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1310 (786 §)
h Seiskari	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Seiskari. 1947. Kirsti Stauffer 150.
h Suursaari	Salt	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Suursaari. 1916. Laina Porkka 248.
h Säkkijärvi	Coin (silver, inside birch bark), mercury	Dwelling: corner, roof	FLS FA. Säkkijärvi, Rökkola. 1938. Ulla Mannonen 9279.
h Uusikirkko	Magpie's tail feather	Cowshed, stable: wall (above door)	FLS FA. Uusikirkko. 1903. Samuli Paulaharju 1597.
h Uusikirkko	Thunderbolt	Drying barn: threshold or corner	SKMT III: 833 § (p. 127)
h Uusikirkko	Leather, textile	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 90 § (p. 13)
h Uusikirkko	Mercury	Sauna: corner	FLS FA. Uusikirkko Vpl. 1907. Samuli Paulaharju 3041.
h Uusikirkko	Mercury	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Uusikirkko Vpl. 1903. Samuli Paulaharju 729.
h Uusikirkko	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (261 h)
h Uusikirkko	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 h1)
h Virolahti	Mercury	Stable: corner	FLS FA. Virolahti. 1889. Vihtori Alava IV B. 266.
h Virolahti	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 h2)
h Virolahti	Communion host	Stable: partition wall	SKMT IV, 3: 1351 (327 h)
i Impilahti	Mercury, bread	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Impilahti. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 441.
i Ruskeala	Frog-coffin	Church: porch floor	FLS FA. Ruskeala, Kuolamo. 1909. Holmberg, U. b)601.
i Ruskeala	Mercury in quill	Sauna: hearth	FLS FA. Ruskeala. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3599.
i Ruskeala	Snake's head	Wall	FLS FA. Ruskeala. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3597.

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
i Salmi	Arsenic in pouch	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Salmi, Hyrsylä. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 444.
i Salmi	Mercury and barley grain in bottle	Cowshed	FLS FA. Salmi, Mantsinsaari. 1961. Nasti Lempinen TK 57:113.
i Salmi	Mercury and barley grain in quill in pouch	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Salmi, Hyrsylä. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 445.
i Salmi	Horse shoe (half) with piece of hoof	Hearth	FLS FA. Salmi, Uuksalonpää. 1937. Pekka Pohjanvalo 403.
i Salmi	Coin (silver)	Corner	Haavio 1942: 65
i Salmi	? (Krustali)	Wall	FLS FA. Salmi, Hyrsylä. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 443.
i Sortavala	Mercury, asafetida	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Sortavala. 1936. J. Hyvärinen 299.
i Sortavala	Pike's jaw	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Sortavalan pit. 1894. O. A. F. Lönnbohm 1052.
i Sortavala	Bat (whole animal) inside textile	Stable: roof	FLS FA. Sortavala, Otsoinen. 1937. Matti Moilanen 3051.
i Sortavala	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Sortavala. 1936. Matti Moilanen 1424.
i Sortavala	Coin (old silver coin)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Sortavala. 1936. Matti Moilanen 457.
i Sortavala	Mercury in bottle	Sauna: roof	FLS FA. Sortavala, Kuukkola. 1937. Matti Moilanen 2942.
i Sortavala	Bottle with magic substances	Sauna: hearth	FLS FA. Sortavala. 1940. J. Hyvärinen 2118.
i Sortavala	Mercury	Cowshed: wall	FLS FA. Sortavala. 1936. Matti Moilanen 631.
i Sortavala	Mercury in bottle	Sauna: hearth	FLS FA. Sortavala. 1936. Matti Moilanen 600.
i Suistamo	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Suistamo, Leppäsyryjä. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 439.
i Suistamo	Snake's head	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Suistamo. 1936. Kähmi, Martta 80.
i Suistamo	Silver	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Suistamo. 1900. Iivo Härkönen 401.
i Suistamo	Mercury and grain in quill	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Suistamo. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 433.
i Suistamo	Mercury	Corner	FLS FA. Suistamo, Leppäsyryjä. 1935. A.V. Rantasalo 440.
i Suistamo	Mercury	Threshold	FLS FA. Suistamo, Muuanto. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3527.
i Suistamo	Mercury	Dwelling, cowshed: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Suistamo. 1936. Kähmi, Martta 79.
j Ilomantsi	Blood of sheep	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1215-6 (142 §)
j Ilomantsi	Snake, head, body cut in four	Dwelling: hearth, corner (all)	FLS FA. Ilomantsi. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 8499.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
j Ilomantsi	Horse skull	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Ilomantsi, Hattuvaara. 1924. Kotiseudun Toimitus b) 104.
j Ilomantsi	Coin	Cowshed: wall (northern, foundation)	FLS FA. Ilomantsi, Himola. 1884. Kaarle Krohn 6753.
j Ilomantsi	Horse leg	Floor	FLS FA. Ilomantsi, Kakonaho. 1915-22. Ilmari Manninen b) 562.
j Ilomantsi	Horse skull (one or two)	Dwelling, sauna: hearth	FLS FA. Ilomantsi, Hattuvaara. 1892. A. F. Andberg PK 21 IX 5.
j Juuka	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Juuka. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 11771 a.
j Kaavi	Snake's head	Hearth	FLS FA. Kaavi. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 12070.
j Kaavi	Mercury	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 902 (170 §)
j Kaavi	Alder-horse	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 890-1 (104 §)
j Kaavi	Pike (whole) in container	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 2046 (51 j1)
j Kaavi	Bundle: 3 whitefish heads inside black wool	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 878, 881 (34 §, 52 §)
j Kesälahti	Mercury	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Kesälahti. 1938. Jouko Hautala 837.
j Kiihtelysvaara	Coin	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 j1)
j Kiihtelysvaara	Snake's skin	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Kiihtelysvaara. 1906. Väinö Puustinen 84.
j Kiihtelysvaara	Horse leg bone	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Kiihtelysvaara, Hammaslahti. 1906. Väinö Puustinen 12.
j Kiihtelysvaara	Coin	Dwelling: corner (all)	FLS FA. Kiihtelysvaara, Mulo. 1906. Väinö Puustinen 9.
j Kiihtelysvaara	Fat of fox	Dwelling: corner (all)	FLS FA. Kiihtelysvaara, Heinävaara. 1906. Väinö Puustinen 3.
j Kitee	Snake's heads (3), mercury	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 2: 881, 903 (49 §, 178 §)
j Kitee	Mercury in container	Sauna: hearth	FLS FA. Kitee. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3589.
j Kitee	Wool	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Kitee, Kiteenlahti. 1894. O.A.F. Lönnbohm 1616.
j Kontiolahti	Arsenic	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Kontiolahti, Paihola. 1901. J. Lukkarinen 7296.
j Kontiolahti	Snake's head in tube (hollow stem of plant?)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1337 (123 j)
j Kontiolahti; Ilomantsi	Horse skull	Dwelling: floor; Sauna; hearth	FLS FA. Kontiolahti, Paihola. 1906. J. Lukkarinen 2695.
j Kuusjärvi (Outokumpu)	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Kuusjärvi, Varislahti. 1959. Ilmari Manninen 1172.
j Kuusjärvi (Outokumpu)	Human bone and bat inside textile	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Kuusjärvi. 1904. Juvonen, J. b) 5.

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j Liperi	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Liperi, Kirkonkylä. 1913-15. Ilmari Manninen b) 314.
j Liperi	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Liperi. 1959. Ilmari Manninen 1304.
j Liperi	Coin	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 j2)
j Liperi	Coin	Cowshed: corner	FLS FA. Liperi. 1959. Ilmari Manninen 1334.
j Liperi	Mercury and arsenic in quills, rye grain	Dwelling: threshold	FLS FA. Liperi, Kirkonkylä. 1913-15. Ilmari Manninen b)315.
j Nurmes	Horse skull	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Nurmes, Mujejärvi. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3484.
j Nurmes	Horse skull	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Nurmes, Puirookangas. 1936. Jorma Partanen 349.
j Nurmes	Blood of calf	Dwelling: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1211 (113 §)
j Nurmes	Horse skull	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Nurmes, Karhunpää. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3487.
j Nurmes	Shrews (whole) (3)	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 105 § (p. 14)
j Nurmes	Shrew (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Nurmes, Lehtovaara. 1936. Jorma Partanen 139.
j Nurmes	Copper thread	Stable: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 227 § (p. 28)
j Nurmes	Snake's head	Hearth	FLS FA. Nurmes, Mujejärvi. 1937. Helmi Kortelainen 227.
j Nurmes	Horse skull or other animal bone	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Nurmes. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 9581 d.
j Pielisjärvi	Horse hair, horse blood	Wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1257-8 (405 §)
j Pielisjärvi	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Pielisjärvi. 1916. I. Marttini b) 1478.
j Pielisjärvi	Socks, mittens, clothes	Church: bench	Koski 2011: 242
j Pielisjärvi	Coin (copper)	Roof	FLS FA. Pielisjärvi. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 9000.
j Polvijärvi	Offering	Floor, roof	FLS FA. Polvijärvi. 1909. U. Holmberg 410.
j Polvijärvi	Thunderbolt	Storage building: roof	Harva 1948: 96
j Polvijärvi	Thunderbolt	Roof	FLS FA. Polvijärvi. 1909. U. Holmberg 541 b).
j Pyhäselkä	Tin plate wrapped in red woolen thread	Floor	FLS FA. Pyhäselkä, Hammaslahti. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3462.
j Pyhäselkä	Horse hoof chips	Wall (northern)	FLS FA. Pyhäselkä, Hammaslahti. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3459.
j Rautavaara	Coin	Roof	FLS FA. Rautavaara. 1908. Samuli Paulaharju 3477.
j Rautavaara	Sunken branch of tree	Corner	FLS FA. Rautavaara. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 10276 b.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
j Rautavaara	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Rautavaara. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 10693 b.
j Rautavaara	Tool: Washing bat, nail	Chicken house: corner	SKMT IV, 2: 1306 (754 §)
j Rautavaara	Chip of timber	Corner	FLS FA. Rautavaara. 1885. Kaarle Krohn 10276 a.
j Rääkkylä	Hare (young) (whole)	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 1: 199 § (p. 14)
j Rääkkylä	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 3: 2056 (176 j)
j Tohmajärvi	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: wall; Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 2: 903 (176 §)
j Tohmajärvi	Bundle: alder-sticks bound with red yarn, coins (5)	Church: wall (foundation)	Issakainen 2012: 141
j Tohmajärvi	Pike (whole)	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 2046 (51 j2)
j Tohmajärvi	Shrew (whole), tar trough	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Tohmajärvi, Järventaus. 1915. I. Marttini b) 1440.
k ?	Coin (silver)	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 k4)
k Alavus	Coin (copper)	Cowshed: corner (all)	FLS FA. Alavus. 1936. R. Hemminki 17.
k Halsua	Corpse hair, red yarn around sticks	Cowshed: walls	SKMT IV, 2: 1231 (247 §)
k Ilmajoki	Coin	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (239 ki)
k Ilmajoki	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (258 k)
k Isojoki	Mercury, sulphur	Cowshed: wall	FLS FA. Isojoki. 1889. M. N. Möykkö 45.
k Isojoki	Coin (1-penny)	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 ki)
k Isojoki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 ki)
k Isokyrö	Mercury	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Isokyrö. 1902. T. Matilainen b) 193.
k Jalasjärvi	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (240 ki)
k Jurva, Laihia	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 k3)
k Jurva, Laihia	Coin	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 3: 1342 (235 k2)
k Jurva, Laihia	Mercury	Stable, cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1347 (257 k2)
k Kauhava	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Kauhava. 1937. Matti Jussila 728.
k Kauhava	Coin (5-penny), knife	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Kauhava. 1936. Matti Jussila 288.
k Kauhava	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Kauhava. 1936. lida Kankaanpää 120.
k Koivulahti (Kvevlax)	Coin	All buildings	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Korttesjärvi	Coin (penny)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (239 k2)
k Korttesjärvi	Sharp tool: Plough knife (sahran luotti)	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: 176 § (p. 23)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
k Kruunupyy (Kronoby)	Coin	Cowshed: corner (all)	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Kruunupyy (Kronoby)	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 195
k Kurikka	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Kurikka. 1905. Samuli Paulaharju 2830.
k Kurikka	Almanac	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1351 (338 k)
k Kurikka	Psalm book	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1351 (334 k)
k Laihia	Snake (whole viper)	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Laihia, Jakkula. 1961. Viljo Kotkanen TK 47:191.
k Laihia	Mercury, barley flour	Stable, cowshed: threshold, wall (back wall)	SKMT IV, 2: 902-3 (174 §)
k Laihia	Coin (25-penny)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (239 k3)
k Laihia	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (257 k5)
k Laihia	Coin	Cowshed: corner (northern)	FLS FA. Laihia. 1887. Juho Kotkanen b) 9.
k Laihia	Cat (three kittens, whole)	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1284 (596 §)
k Laihia	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Laihia. 1887. Juho Kotkanen b) 2.
k Laihia	Mercury, barley flour	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Laihia. 1936. Juho Männistö 1:349.
k Laihia	Mercury	Stable: threshold, corner (all)	SKMT IV, 1: I 265 § (p. 34)
k Laihia	Mercury and barley flour in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 260 § (p. 33)
k Laihia	Coin	Roof	Haavio 1942: 66
k Laihia	Part of plough? (aarranpuu)	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 175 § (p. 23)
k Laihia	Coin (penny), mercury	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343, 1348 (239 k4, 257 k6)
k Laihia	Mercury, snake's head	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 123 § (p. 16); IV, 3: I 257 k4 (p. 1347-8)
k Laihia, Jurva	Coin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (240 k2)
k Lappväärtti, Vöyri (Lappfjärd, Vöra)	Coin (silver)	Threshold	Forsblom 1917: 125
k Lapua	Coin (5-penny)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (240 k3)
k Lapväärtti	Mercury, sulphur, rowan rods (2)	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 270 §, I 296 § (p. 34, 38)
k Lapväärtti, Oravainen (Lappfjärd, Oravajs)	Coin (1-crown)	Cowshed: corner (all)	FSFD VII, 3: 190
k Lehtimäki	Corpse board	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 72 § (p. 10)
k Lehtimäki	Tool: Harrow (worn)	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 172 § (p. 22)

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
k Lehtimäki	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	Haavio 1942: 65
k Lehtimäki	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold (all)	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (257 k7)
k Lohtaja	Mercury	Stable: threshold	FLS FA. Lohtaja. 1938. Otto Harju II: 2897.
k Lohtaja < p Uhtua	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Lohtaja. 1935-6. KRK 185. Nikupaavo, Ester 294.
k Maalahti (Malax)	Cat (whole)	Cowshed: corner (northern)	FSFD VII, 3: 197
k Maksamaa (Maxmo)	Coin (silver, 1- crown)	Dwelling: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FSFD VII, 3: 264
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Mercury in bottle	Dwelling: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 183
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coin (silver, old)	Corner, threshold (all)	FSFD VII, 3: 104
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Cat skull	Stable: floor	FSFD VII, 3: 163
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Horse shoe (pieces of), sulphur, mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 182
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coin, mercury in bottle	Dwelling: corner (all), threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 183
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Tool: Steelyard balance	Dwelling: floor (of porch)	FSFD VII, 3: 183
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coin (1-crown)	Dwelling: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 183-184
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coin	Dwelling, animal shelter: corner (all, or front ones)	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coin (silver or copper)	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coins (two 5- pennies)	Dwelling: corner (southern)	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Mustasaari (Korsholm)	Coin	Dwelling: corner	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Närpiö (Närpes)	Coin (silver, old, cut in four)	Cowshed: corner (all)	FSFD VII, 3: 194
k Närpiö (Närpes)	Mercury, rowan- cross	Dwelling: corner	FSFD VII, 3: 183
k Närpiö (Närpes)	Mercury in bottle	Cowshed: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 194
k Oravainen (Oravajs)	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	Forsblom 1917: 125
k Oravainen (Oravajs)	Coin	Dwelling: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Oravainen (Oravajs)	Snake's head	Dwelling: Wall	FSFD VII, 3: 651

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
k Perho	Human hand	Smithy: hearth	FLS FA. Perho. 1930. Samuli ja Jenny Paulaharju 13042.
k Perho	Coin (copeck)	Dwelling: corner (of porch)	FLS FA. Perho. 1936. Väinö Laajala 434.
k Perho	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Perho. 1936. Väinö Laajala 370.
k Perho	Coin (copper)	Roof	FLS FA. Perho. 1936. Väinö Laajala 343.
k Perho	Coin	Roof	FLS FA. Perho. 1936. Väinö Laajala 314.
k Perho	Snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Perho. 1936. Väinö Laajala 371.
k Perho	Magic pouch (e.g. human bone, iron scrap, earth)	Cowshed: partition wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1230 (242 §)
k Pirttikylä (Pörtom)	Mercury	Threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 103
k Seinäjoki	Sharp tool: Axe	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (207 k)
k Sulva (Solv)	Snake (whole)	Wall	FSFD VII, 3: 651
k Sulva (Solv)	Coin	Dwelling: wall	FSFD VII, 3: 183
k Teerijärvi (Kruunupyy)	Snake's head	Dwelling: Wall	FSFD VII, 3: 651
k Teuva, Karijoki, Jurva	Coin (silver), mercury, nail	Cowshed: corner (all), threshold, doorway	FLS FA. Teuva, Karijoki, Jurva. 1889. S. Korpela 266.
k Toholampi	Coin	Dwelling: corner (northern)	FLS FA. Toholampi. 1953. Eino Isohanni 71.
k Toholampi	Horse jaw	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Toholampi. 1952. Eino Isohanni 70.
k Töysä	Mercury and barley flour in quill	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 1: I 280 § (p. 36)
k Töysä	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Töysä. 1888. M. Nurmio 804.
k Töysä	Snake (whole)	Hearth	FLS FA. Töysä. 1888. M. Nurmio 803.
k Töysä	Coins (3)	Cowshed, stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 240 § (p. 30–1)
k Töysä	Leaf of psalm book	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1280 (561 §)
k Veteli	Tool: Harrow (wooden)	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1340 (172 k)
k Veteli	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Veteli. 1889. E. Lång 338.
k Veteli	Mercury in quill	Cowshed, stable, sheephouse: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1349 (259 k)
k Vimpeli	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Vimpeli. 1936. Porin tyttölyseo, Rakel Peltola 3720.
k Vöyri (Vörä)	Coin (1-crown)	Dwelling: steps	FSFD VII, 3: 184
k Vöyri (Vörä)	Camphor balm, dragon's blood, mercury	Stable: threshold	Forsblom 1917: 125
k Vöyri (Vörä)	Peony seeds, mercury	Stable, cowshed: threshold	Forsblom 1917: 125
k Vöyri (Vörä)	Asafoetida, mercury, coin	Cowshed: threshold	Forsblom 1917: 125

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
k Vöyri (Vörå)	Mezereon	Stable, Cowshed: threshold	Forsblom 1917: 125
I ? Pyhäjärvi	Coin	Corner	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi. 1909. U. Holmberg 95.
I ? Pyhäjärvi	Coin, mercury	Cowshed: corner	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi. 1909. U. Holmberg 108.
I Haapavesi	Sharp tool: Scythe	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 215 § (p. 27)
I Haapavesi	Nail (iron)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 199 § (p. 26)
I Hailuoto	Mercury	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 1: I 281 § (p. 36)
I Hailuoto	Coin	Floor or roof	FLS FA. Hailuoto. 1912. Samuli Paulaharju 5361.
I Ii	Stove-stones (3), bear meat or fat, mercury	Dwelling: floor, wall, corner	FLS FA. Ii, Särkijärvi. 1916. Samuli Paulaharju 7319.
I Kempele	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Kempele. 1915. Samuli Paulaharju 7320.
I Kestilä	Sock (left sock of girl) with anthill-litter inside	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 882 (58 §); 1934, 1338 (133 li)
I Kestilä	Tool: Coal hook (old)	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 195 § (p. 25)
I Kiiminki area	Alder-horse	Stable: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 66 § (p. 9)
I Kuivaniemi	Human skull	Dwelling: steps	FLS FA. Kuivaniemi. 1958. Elli-Kaija Köngäs 59.
I Kärsämäki	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Kärsämäki. 1938. Anni Ryhänen 357.
I Kärsämäki	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 2055 (171 l)
I Kärsämäki	Bear skull	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 1: I 91 § (p. 13)
I Kärsämäki	Mercury in quill, swallows nests (3)	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 273 § (p. 35)
I Kärsämäki, Piippola	Mercury in quill	Stable: partition wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 279 § (p. 36)
I Merijärvi	Coin (silver)	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 239 § (p. 30)
I Muhos	Mercury, barley flour	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 902 (172 §)
I Muhos	Coins (3), sheep wool	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Muhos. 1888. H. Meriläinen II 398.
I Muhos (Suomussalmi)	Coin	Drying barn: corner	SKMT III: 827 l (p. 273)
I Olkijoki	Horse skull	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 79 § (p. 11)
I Oulainen	Coin (from the year of building)	Roof	FLS FA. Oulainen. 1941. J. Hyvärinen 2278.
I Oulainen	Coin, other metal objects	Cowshed: roof	SKMT IV, 3: 1343 (242 l)
I Oulu	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Oulu. 1892. A. Leino b) 608.
I Oulu	Animal bone	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1239 (284 §)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
I Oulu	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Oulu. 1933. Samuli Paulaharju 24780.
I Pyhäjoki	Coin	Dwelling: threshold	FLS FA. Pyhäjoki, Parhalahhti. 1940. Matti Moilanen 6095.
I Pyhäjoki	Mercury and barley flour in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (260 l)
I Pyhäjärvi	Horse skull, coin	Dwelling: hearth, corner, roof	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi Ol. 1884. Kaarle Krohn 2153.
I Pyhäjärvi	Cow's head (coated with tar)	Drying barn: roof	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi Ol. 1951. Sirkka Anttila 271.
I Pyhäjärvi	Needle	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 2: 1309 (775 §)
I Pyhäjärvi	Horse's head	Hearth	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi Ol. 1951. Sirkka Anttila 332.
I Pyhäjärvi	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Pyhäjärvi Ol. 1951. Sirkka Anttila 323.
I Rantsila	Human bones	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Rantsila. 1935-6. KRK 222. Simojoki, Janne 63.
I Rantsila	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Rantsila. 1954. Raili Hyvärinen 304.
I Rantsila	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Rantsila. 1954. Raili Hyvärinen 449.
I Rantsila	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Rantsila. 1954. Raili Hyvärinen 352.
I Reisjärvi	Coin	Storage building: roof	SKMT III: 883 § (p. 134)
I Sievi	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Sievi. 1937. Lauri Jakola 770.
I Sievi	Mercury	Wall	FLS FA. Sievi. 1936. Lauri Jakola 336.
I Sievi	Coin	Dwelling, animal shelter: roof	FLS FA. Sievi < Kaustinen. 1938. Lauri Jakola 1139.
I Sievi	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Sievi. 1937. Lauri Jakola 771.
I Sievi	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Sievi. 1936. Lauri Jakola 396.
I Tyrnävä	Horse skull and hooves, snake (whole)	Dwelling: hearth, wall	FLS FA. Tyrnävä. 1891. E. F. Rautell b) 322-23.
I Vihanti	Coin (copper)	Roof	FLS FA. Vihanti. 1891. E. F. Rautell b) 331.
I Vihanti	Thunderbolt	Dwelling: roof or wall	FLS FA. Vihanti. 1938. M. A. Junttila 185.
I Vihanti	Horse skull	Hearth	FLS FA. Vihanti. 1949. M. A. Junttila 568.
I Vihanti	Horse skull, snake	Hearth	FLS FA. Vihanti. 1891. E. F. Rautell b) 306.
I Vihanti	Horse skull, snake (whole, skin)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Vihanti. 1954. M. A. Junttila 686.
I Vihanti	Pike (whole) in container, chicken egg	Stable: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 132 § (p. 17)
I Vihanti	Snake (whole)	Hearth	FLS FA. Vihanti. 1947. M. A. Junttila 495.
I Ylikiihiminki	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Ylikiihiminki, Vuotto. 1925. I. Marttini b) 1543.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
I Ylivieska	Mercury and barley flour in quill, iron scrap, key	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Ylivieska. 1916. Kotiseudun Toimitus b) 18.
m ?	Bundle: wool, hair, wood chips, mercury	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 1: I 87 §, I 148 §, I 251 § (p. 12, 20, 32)
m ?	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 1: I 269 § (p. 34)
m ?	Snake's head, bee, mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 137 § (p. 18)
m Hietajärvi (Suomussalmi)	Milk in bottle, water in bottle	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Hietajärvi. (Suomussalmi.) 1911. S. Jouhki 87.
m Hietajärvi (Suomussalmi)	Coin (silver), milk in bottle, water in bottle	Dwelling: floor	FLS FA. Suomussalmi, Hietajärvi. 1901. I. Marttini b) 709.
m Kajaani	Coin (silver or copper)	Corner	FLS FA. Kajaani. 1937. H. W. Claudelin 14.
m Kuhmo	Thunderbolt	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Kuhmo. 1916. Samuli Paulaharju 7315.
m Kuhmo	Chip of timber	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Kuhmo. 1883 (?). H. Meriläinen I 504.
m Kuhmo, Paltamo, Sotkamo	Copper thread	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 228 § (p. 28–9)
m Kuusamo	Coin	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Kuusamo. 1950. Väinö Komu 91.
m Kuusamo	Mercury in quill, seal blubber, 3 nail heads	Sheephouse, cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 880 (43 §)
m Kuusamo	Wasp's nest in textile	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 139 § (p. 18–9)
m Kuusamo	Snake, lizard (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Kuusamo. 1950. Väinö Komu 119.
m Kuusamo	Coin (old)	Dwelling: roof, corner	FLS FA. Kuusamo. 1934 (1938). Maija Juvas 527.
m Kuusamo	Dragonflies (2) in textile	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 141 § (p. 19)
m Paltamo	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Paltamo. 1956. Raili Hyvärinen 759.
m Pudasjärvi	Coin (in use)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Pudasjärvi, Hetekylä. 1961. Kalle Niva TK 66:85.
m Pudasjärvi	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Pudasjärvi, Hetekylä. 1961. Kalle Niva TK 66:98.
m Pudasjärvi	Cow hair, pieces of cow skin	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 2: 1245 (321 §)
m Pudasjärvi	Coin	Dwelling: roof	Haavio 1942: 66–67
m Pudasjärvi	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Pudasjärvi. 1906. T. Matilainen b) 353.

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
m Pudasjärvi	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Pudasjärvi. 1906. T. Matilainen b) 351.
m Puolanka	Wasp's nest in textile	Cowshed: attic	SKMT IV, 3: 1339 (138 m3)
m Ristijärvi	Coins (3 of different kingdoms)	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 901 (166 §)
m Sotkamo	Bundle: mercury in quill, wool, wood chips	Cowshed: corner (all)	FLS FA. Sotkamo. 1881 (?). H. Meriläinen I 44.
m Sotkamo	Key in sock	Cowshed: wall	SKMT IV, 1: I 134 § (p. 18)
m Sotkamo	Coin (copper)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Sotkamo, Nuoskylä. 1912. H. A. Nikki 108.
m Suomussalmi	Coin	Cowshed: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Suomussalmi. 1954. Raili Hyvärinen 602.
m Suomussalmi	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Suomussalmi, Murtovaara. 1915. Samuli Paulaharju 7316.
m Suomussalmi	Sheep bones	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 2071 (20 m)
m Suomussalmi	Mercury and barley flour in quill	Stable: feeding trough	SKMT IV, 1: I 278 § (p. 36)
m Suomussalmi	Dog skulls (3)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Suomussalmi, Juntunranta. 1888. H. Meriläinen II 384.
m Suomussalmi	Tinderbox, mercury, water in container	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Suomussalmi (Kianta). 1883 (?). H. Meriläinen I 535.
m Suomussalmi (Hietajärvi)	Coin, barley grain, hemp seed	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 3: 1341 (229 m)
m Vuolijoki	Coins, clay tobacco pipes	Roof	FLS FA. Vuolijoki, Käkilahti. 1957. Artturi Railonsala 6511.
n Alatornio	Coin	Roof	FLS FA. Alatornio, Näätsaari. 1962. Artturi Railonsala 7427.
n Enontekiö	Coin	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Enontekiö. 1951. Päiviö Alaranta 1200.
n Inari < b Merikarvia	Coin (old)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Inari. 1910. K. Teräsvuori b) 546.
n Kittilä	Coin	Roof	FLS FA. Kittilä. 1949. Päiviö Alaranta 469.
n Kittilä	Coin (copper) inside psalm book leaf and birch bark	Roof	FLS FA. Kittilä. 1949. Päiviö Alaranta 441.
n Kittilä	Coin, text from Bible in birch bark	Wall	FLS FA. Kittilä. 1949. Päiviö Alaranta 442.
n Kittilä	Coin (year of building)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Kittilä. 1951. Päiviö Alaranta 1901.
n Muonionniska	Snake's head	Wall	SKMT IV, 3: 1338 (125 n)

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
n Pello	Snake's head wrapped in paper or textile	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Pello, Lankojärvi. 1930. Samuli Paulaharju 8321 b).
n Savukoski	Coin (copper)	Roof	Haavio 1942: 67
n Simo	Lightning-struck wood	Cowshed: attic	SKMT IV, 1: I 166 § (p. 22)
n Simo	Mercury in quill	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1350 (259 n)
n Simo	Cow hair	Church: steps	SKMT IV, 2: 1277 (543 §)
n Simo	Seal skull	Cowshed: attic	SKMT IV, 1: I 106 § (p. 14)
n Ylitornio	Mercury in reed	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Ylitornio. 1921. Samuli ja Jenny Paulaharju 15381. 1931 mp.
o Lainio (Sweden)	Coin (copeck, 5-copeck)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Länsipohja, Lainio. 1932. Sulo Haltsonen 597.
o Mageröy (Norway)	Steel tool	Cowshed: doorpost	SKMT IV, 1: I 202 § (p. 26)
o Pajala (Sweden)	Thunderbolt	Cowshed: roof	FLS FA. Pajala. 1938. Samuli Paulaharju 36288.
p Dvina	Horse skull	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Vienan Karjala. 1931. Iivari Ievala 315.
p Jyskyjärvi	Human fetus	Cowshed, stable: floor	SKMT IV, 2: 1228 (234 §)
p Kontokki	Coins (3, from different kingdoms)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Kontokki, Kostamus. 1892. H. Meriläinen II 2050.
p Kontokki	Sharp tool: Sword (old)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Kontokki, Teeriniemi. 1894. H. Meriläinen II 2298.
p Kostamus	Tool: Washing bat	Sheephouse: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 177 § (p. 23)
p Kostamus	Coins (3 of different kings), wood chips (3)	Cowshed: corner	SKMT IV, 1: I 232 § (p. 29)
p Koutajärvi and Kannanlahti	Woollen thread	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Koutajärvi ja Kannanlahti. 1889. H. Meriläinen II 1170.
p Pirttilahti	Coin, mercury, sharp tool, spruce saplings (9)	Cowshed: corner (one object-type in each)	SKMT IV, 1: I 143 § (p. 19)
p Pirttilahti	Coins (3 of different kings)	Drying barn: floor	SKMT III: 827 § (p. 126)
p Pirttilahti	Dog (puppy) (whole)	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 97 § (p. 14)
p Pistojärvi	Mercury	Cowshed: threshold, corner (back corners)	SKMT IV, 1: I 264 § (p. 33-4); IV, 2: XI 74 § (p. 885)
p Tsolmo village	Wood chips from timber and alder	Cowshed: corner (all)	SKMT IV, 1: I 151 § (p. 20)
p Törsimö	Coin (old)	Cowshed: wall (under back wall)	SKMT IV, 3: 1352 (362 p)

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Locality	Object	Context	Reference
p Uhtua	Alder-pieces with carved human figure (3)	Stable: front of door	SKMT IV, 1: I 153 § (p. 20–1)
p Uhtua	Mercury in quill, barley grain (3)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Uhtua, Kirkonkylä. 1936. Aili Laiho 1961.
p Uhtua	Coin (silver)	Dwelling: corner	Haavio 1942: 65
p Usmana	Mercury, small stones (3)	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Usmana. 1894. H. Meriläinen II 2265.
p Usmana	Coin (silver), barley grains (9), juniper berries (9)	Cowshed: floor	SKMT IV, 1: I 182 §, 229 § (p. 23–4, 29)
p Vuokkiniemi	Coin (silver, 5-copeck)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Vuokkiniemi, Kivijärvi. 1911. I. Marttini b) 1160.
p Vuokkiniemi	Coin (old)	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Vuokkiniemi. 1913. I. Marttini b) 1358.
p Vuokkiniemi	Cow bone, worn shoe	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Vuokkiniemi. 1900. I. Marttini b) 141.
p Vuokkiniemi	Wool	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Vuokkiniemi, Kivijärvi. 1910. I. Marttini b) 964.
p Vuokkiniemi	Worn shoe, horse bone, tar pot	Hearth	FLS FA. Vuokkiniemi. 1900. I. Marttini b) 495.
p Vuokkiniemi, Pirttilahti	Coins (3 from different kings), grain	Storage building: floor	SKMT III: 877 § (p. 133)
p Vuoninen	Coin (copper), 3 chips of wood	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Vuoninen. 1932. Samuli ja Jenny Paulaharju 18595.
p Vuoninen	Coin (old)	Dwelling: wall	FLS FA. Vuoninen. 1911. Samuli Paulaharju 4647.
p Vuoninen	Mercury in quill, barley grain (3)	Dwelling: threshold	FLS FA. Vuoninen. 1911. Samuli Paulaharju 4652.
p Vuoninen	Shrew (whole)	Dwelling: hearth	FLS FA. Vuoninen. 1911. Samuli Paulaharju 4654.
p, q? Russian Karelia	Silver	Dwelling: roof	FLS FA. Venäjän Karjala. 1883 (?). H. Meriläinen I 464.
q Kiimasjärvi	Coins (3 of different kingdoms), wood chips (3)	Cowshed: corner	Haavio 1942: 65–66
q Kiimasjärvi	Mercury in quill, coin, coal, bread, water	Forest cottage: floor, corners (one under each)	Haavio 1942: 65
q Olonets	Needle for sewing deceased's clothes (kalma)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Aunus. 1937. Matti Moilanen 2811.
q Rukajärvi	Coins (3, from different kings)	Dwelling: corner	FLS FA. Rukajärvi, Tsolmo. 1892. H. Meriläinen II 2098.
q Tulomajärvi	Coin	All buildings, chapel (church): corner	FLS FA. Tulomajärvi. 1944. Helmi Helminen 2568.

Locality	Object	Context	Reference
q Tulomajärvi	Coin (silver, 15-copeck)	Dwelling: wall (foundation)	FLS FA. Tulomajärvi. 1944. Helmi Helminen 2555.
s ?	Mercury	Sauna: wall	Lukkarinen 1912: 138
s Estonian Ingria	Coin, mercury in bottle	Dwelling, animal shelter, sauna: corner, threshold	FLS FA. Viron Inkeri. 1938. Osmo Niemi 970.
s Estonian Ingria	Mercury, spoon, black wool, butter	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Viron Inkeri. 1940. Lauri Laiho 5976.
s Kallivieri	Bundle: mercury, cow hair, bread, salt, egg, butter	Cowshed: threshold	FLS FA. Kallivieri. 1936. Elsa Enäjärvi- Haavio 602.
s Soikkula	Chicken egg	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 1: I 354 § (p. 45)
s Soikkula, Narva-Jõesuu	Mercury, coin (copeck)	Cowshed: threshold	SKMT IV, 3: 1348 (257 s)
s Uus- Vyötermaa	Mercury in bottle	Sauna: threshold	FLS FA. Uus-Vyötermaa. 1936. Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio 592.
å Lemland, Jomala	Bullets (3 lead bullets)	Dwelling: threshold	FSFD VII, 3: 94 (32:27)

APPENDIX 3
CATALOGUE 2
THE FINDS

APPENDICES

Number	1
Locality	a Kaarina
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Iron Age spearheads (2) (antiquated)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 13579: 1-2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1954. The two Iron Age spearheads had been found c. 10 years earlier in the stone foundation of the house at Pompo estate in Littoinen village.
Number	2
Locality	a Lieto
Dating	Late 19th or early 20th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age axes (2)
Context	Dwelling building: Attic
Reference / Source	Lompolo 2002: 84-85, Map 51
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation, and documented during archaeological survey in 2002. The owners of the house told that the previous owner had shown them the Stone Age axe that was a "lucky stone", which was to be kept in the attic by the chimney, when they bought the house in 2000. Later the other Stone Age axe had been found in the filling of the attic floor. The axes are kept in the building in Raukkala, Ali-Kujanpää.
Number	3
Locality	a Lieto
Dating	13th century (Medieval)
Object	Knife (possibly wrapped in birch bark) (sharp tool)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Korkeakoski-Väisänen 2005: 9; 2009: 57
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is somewhat unclear, but the find has been published as a possible foundation deposit.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Vanhalinna Koillisrinne site) in 2004. A knife-blade was found under some birch bark in the foundation of a hearth. The structure was partly destroyed, but it seems likely that the knife had been deliberately concealed, perhaps wrapped in the birch bark. The knife is catalogued as TYA 823: 93 and the birch bark as TYA 823: 116.

Number	4
Locality	a Masku
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Bronze Age axe (antiquated)
Context	Smithy: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3699: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1899. The Bronze Age axe was found in the foundation of an old smithy in Kurittula village about 10 years earlier by the old master of Nooppila estate, while the site was reworked to become a field. The collector apparently checked the site, since the catalogue mentions that there are no signs of a Bronze Age burial there. However, a settlement site has been identified close by this so called Wallin's smithy (see no. 1000008996 in the NBA site registry).
Number	5
Locality	a Naantali
Dating	17th century (early) (early modern)
Object	Candleholder (iron) (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Uotila & Lehtonen 2002: 7–8; Hukantaival 2006: 87–89
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2002 (the Naantali Mannerheiminkatu 13–17 site). The candleholder had been placed in an upright position within the hearth construct (Hannele Lehtonen pers. comm. 19.2.2005). The object is catalogued as KM 2002042: 655.
Number	6
Locality	a Naantali (Rymättylä)
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Rune staff (runic calendar) (artefact)
Context	Roof
Reference / Source	Harva 1935: 6–7
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when demolishing the roof of the old Ruokorauma house in Rymättylä in the early 20th century. The rune staff has the year 1654 on it. Catalogued as TMM 5907.

APPENDICES

Number	7
Locality	a Nousiainen
Dating	19th century
Object	Milestone (artefact)
Context	Dwelling house: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4238
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1903. The milestone marked with the insignia of Gustav III and '2 Mil, N F' (63 x 30-42 cm) was found in the hearth foundation of the dwelling house at Mulja estate in Nummenkylä village, when a new foundation for a school was built at the site. Gustav III was king in 1771-1792.
Number	8
Locality	a Paimio
Dating	Late medieval
Object	Iron Age eye brooch (antiquated)
Context	Manor: Hearth
Reference / Source	Leppäaho 1934; Kivikoski 1973: 29, Tafel 11; Asplund 2008: 234; NBA artefact catalogue: KM 9711
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1933. The bronze Roman Iron Age eye brooch of Estonian type was found by the large south-eastern corner stone of the main hearth of the Herrankartano or Engesholm manor ruins. The brooch is reported to have been "almost under the stone" by its outer edge, between the mortar-sand layer and the untouched layer under it, some 5-10 cm deep in the soil. The next summer the site was excavated archaeologically to find out if the hearth had been founded on an Iron Age grave cairn. However, it became evident that the structure had been originally built as a hearth, and no signs of an Iron Age structure were found. The find is catalogued as KM 9711.

Number	9
Locality	a Salo (Halikko)
Dating	19th century
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Sauna: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12842
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when demolishing an old sauna and delivered to the National Board of Antiquities in 1951. August Tuominen found the stone chisel in the roof-filling of his old smoke-sauna in Rikala village. The sauna was said to be a hundred years old. The artefact catalogue mentions that the object was likely to have been concealed as a magic object against fire.
Number	10
Locality	a Salo (Kiikala)
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4554: 1
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the National Board of Antiquities in 1905. The Stone Age axe was found by the farm hand Johan Heljander from the hearth-foundation of an old building (in ruins?) that belonged to the Knaapi estate in Peltola village.
Number	11
Locality	a Salo (Kisko)
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age tools (2: chisel, gouge)
Context	Dwelling building: hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3968: 2-3
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well documented context.
Notes	Found during demolition and delivered to the National Board of Antiquities in 1901. Two Stone Age stone tools (one chisel and one gouge) were found when the hearth of the Heikkilä house in Kurkela village was demolished. Catalogued as: KM 3968: 2-3.

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Number	12
Locality	a Salo (Perniö)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3315: 55
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1896. The small Stone Age axe was found in the foundation of an old building at Anttila estate in Kuhmisi village. Note: A brass ring and a 16th century silver coin (Gustav I) (KM 3315: 56–57) (and another coin, a piece of a knife, and a brass-wire net not delivered to the museum) are also reported from this same context, but since they are small objects that could easily be lost and no more specific context information is available, I have left them out of the material.
Number	13
Locality	a Salo (Suomusjärvi)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 6067: 3
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the National Board of Antiquities in 1912. The Stone Age axe was found by crofter Juho Ylander in the hearth of the Korvenpää former croft (in ruins?) in Laperila village.
Number	14
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 15th century (medieval)
Object	Coins (100) in miniature vessel (artefact)
Context	Convent: Under floor
Reference / Source	Appelgren 1901: 55–61; Ahola et. al. 2004: 192–193; Talvio 2011; see also Immonen et al. 2014; NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3939–3940: 1–2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The coins are clearly deliberately hidden, but the reason for the action is debatable.
Notes	Found during archaeological monitoring (the Saint Olav Dominican convent site) in 1901. A coin hoard in a miniature stoneware jar was found under a floor tile in the eastern corner of a room of the convent. Original documents mention 100 coins, but now there are 129, so other coins have mixed with this find at some point. The vessel is of a type connected to the pilgrimage cult of Saint Olav. The jar is catalogued as KM 3940: 1.

Number	15
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 14th century (medieval)
Object	Coins (6, bracteates)
Context	Church: foundation of baptismal font
Reference / Source	Koivunen 1979: 45–46
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1900–1902 (the Koroinen site). Five bracteates and a possible sixth one were found under a brick in the eastern part of the foundation of the baptismal font of Koroinen church. The coins are catalogued as KM 52100: 683–688.
Number	16
Locality	a Turku
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Human skull
Context	Woodshed: under floor
Reference / Source	Uusi Aura no. 171 27.07.1902: 2; Hukantaival 2006: 101–102
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Vague description of context.
Notes	Found and reported in a newspaper in 1902. A human skull was discovered under the floor of a woodshed of a house on the Vartiovuorenkatu -street. The newspaper article reports that no other bones were found, and that it is a mystery how the skull had ended up there.
Number	17
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th century (uncertain) (early modern)
Object	Frog in miniature coffin
Context	Church: Wall (doorway)
Reference / Source	Turku Cathedral Museum catalogue, item n:o 1397; Hukantaival 2006: 100–101; 2015: 204–206
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during restoration work of the Turku Cathedral in 1923–24. The miniature coffin with two pieces of cloth and the remains of a frog inside had been walled up in the doorway to the Tigerstedt-Wallenstierna chapel. The frog has been AMS-radiocarbon dated to 180 ± 30 BP (Ua-48076).

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Number	18
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th or early 18th century
Object	Redware pipkin pot (artefact)
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Laaksonen 1964: 6
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The context has been well documented.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Eerikinkatu 4 – Brahenkatu 3 site) in 1964. A three-legged redware pipkin pot was found (broken in pieces) directly under a wooden plank floor belonging to a log building with a hearth. The find is catalogued as TMM 16291: 211.
Number	19
Locality	a Turku
Dating	19th century
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 17007
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1966. The Stone Age axe with a shaft hole was found in the foundation of a house in the corner of Kaskenkatu and Arseninkatu (nowadays called Sirkkalankatu) streets.
Number	20
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 19th century
Object	Coin
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Laine 1971: 7
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Teletontti site) in 1971. A coin minted in 1801 (1/2 shilling) was found on top of a stone under the foundation timber of a building. It was interpreted as a foundation deposit when found.

Number	21
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th century (uncertain) (early modern)
Object	Whetstones (2), knife-blade (sharp tool)
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Brusila & Lepokorpi 1976: 6, App. 9; Hukantaival 2006: 93–94
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The context has been well documented, even though the deliberateness was not recognized in the field.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1976 (the Aninkaistenkatu 8 site). Two whetstones and a knife-blade were found under a wooden plank floor among the filling material of wood litter. The objects were placed individually but quite close to each other. Catalogued as TMM 17996: 251, 304, and 305.
Number	22
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 19th century
Object	Sickle-blade (sharp tool)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Brusila 1981: 7, TMM 18703: 19; Hukantaival 2006: 93
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The context is well documented.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Uudenmaankatu 7 site) in 1981. A broken blade of a sickle was found among the stones of a cellar-foundation. The stone cellar belonged to a building that is visible on a map from 1829. Catalogued as: TMM 18703: 19.
Number	23
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 20th century
Object	Mercury in bottles (2)
Context	Dwelling building: Attic
Reference / Source	Tuovinen, Tapani (pers. comm. 22.2.2006); Hukantaival 2006: 103–104
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation in 1998. Two small pharmacy bottles with a little mercury (c. 100 ml) inside had been placed side by side among the straw filling of the attic floor. The building is a small wooden town house built in 1908 in the part of Turku called Portsa.

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Number	24
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 14th - early 15th century (Medieval)
Object	Shaman drum hammer (magic artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	Saloranta & Seppänen 2000: 62–63; Hukantaival 2006: 91–92; Seppänen 2012: 413–414, 430; Rainio 2013
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1998 (the Åbo Akademi site). The Sami shaman drum hammer made of antler was found in the floor layer close to the southern corner of the north-western room of a two roomed log building (building RA186). Catalogued as TMM 21816: LU61.
Number	25
Locality	a Turku
Dating	15th century (medieval)
Object	Animal bones in pit
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	Saloranta & Seppänen 2000: 52; Hukantaival 2006: 90–91; Seppänen 2012: 217–218 (footnote 248)
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is somewhat unclear and the bones are missing.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Åbo Akademi site) in 1998. A pit that contained an unusual amount of large unburned animal bones and horns was discovered under the floor of the north-western room of a two-roomed log cottage (building RA 77). At some point after the field work the bones have been misplaced, so the nature and exact amount of them has not been studied.

Number	26
Locality	a Turku
Dating	15th century (medieval)
Object	Sole of shoe (artefact)
Context	Workshop/dwelling: Wall
Reference / Source	The Museum Centre of Turku: Åbo Akademi site find catalogue; Pukkila, Jouko (pers. comm. 2006)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Documented context in the find catalogue; and the project leader, Jouko Pukkila, remembers the finding of the shoe.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1998 (the Åbo Akademi site). A leather sole of a shoe was found squeezed between the wall timbers of a one room timber building (no. RA165) with a hearth in the middle. The building has most likely been used both as a workshop and as a dwelling. The find is catalogued as TMM 21816: NE11257: 001. About the building see Seppänen 2012: 342–356.
Number	27
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 14th century (medieval)
Object	Piece of metal plate (other)
Context	Wall
Reference / Source	Saloranta & Seppänen 2002: 14–17, find catalogue
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rettiginrinne site) in 2000. A small piece of metal plate was found between the timbers in the north-eastern wall close to the east corner of a building with a hearth (building 14, context no. Ro10A). The find is catalogued as TMM 22196: ME011D: 002. Note: a wooden shovel was found between the timbers in the south-eastern wall (no. 28) of this same log building.

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Number	28
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 14th century (medieval)
Object	Wooden shovel (artefact)
Context	Wall
Reference / Source	Saloranta & Seppänen 2002: 14–17, Map 41/2000
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rettiginrinne site) in 2000. A wooden shovel was found between the timbers in the south-eastern wall of a log building with a hearth (building 14, context no. Ro10N). The find is catalogued as TMM 22196: PU014E: 001. Note: a small metal plate was found between the timbers of the north-eastern wall close to the east corner (no. 27) of this same building.
Number	29
Locality	a Turku
Dating	14th or 15th century (medieval)
Object	Knife (sharp tool)
Context	Under wall
Reference / Source	Saloranta & Seppänen 2002: 31–35; Jokinen, Harri & Ratilainen, Tanja (pers.comm. 26.4.2011)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The finder, Harri Jokinen, remembers the context of the find clearly (the exact information was not recorded in the report).
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2001 (the Rettiginrinne site). A large knife was found under one stone in the foundation of a masonry building (building 6). The concealment was under the south-eastern wall of the building, close to the eastern corner. The find is catalogued as TMM 22196: ME488: 002.
Number	30
Locality	a Turku
Dating	18th century (uncertain)
Object	Bronze penannular brooch (antiquated)
Context	Under corner
Reference / Source	Ainasoja 2004: 8, 10; Hukantaival 2006: 84
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological monitoring in 2004 (the Yliopistonkatu–Kauppiaskatu site). The penannular brooch (without the pin) was found between the pole supports under a cornerstone. It had been placed on a piece of unfinished schist whetstone. The dating of the object is Iron Age, but its context is most likely from the 18th century.

Number	31
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th to 19th century (uncertain)
Object	Whetstone, pieces of whetstone-material (3)
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Ainasoja 2004: 11, Map 20; Hukantaival 2006: 94-95
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological monitoring in 2004 (the Eerikinkatu site). The whetstone was found between some poles belonging to a pole-structure supporting a wooden plank floor. The three pieces of whetstone-material were placed side by side at the end of one of the planks between the floor-supporting logs.
Number	32
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Hare's feet (2) (magic artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Tuovinen at al. 2006: 37, Map 2.289; Hukantaival 2006: 86-87
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2004 (the Kaupunginkirjasto site). The bones of one hare's foot were found in the north corner and the bones of another in the south corner of the hearth foundation (context no. R711). All the bones are from the left hind leg of a hare (Auli Tourunen [Bläuer] pers. comm. 2004).
Number	33
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 16th to 17th century (early modern)
Object	Whetstone
Context	Between wall and floor
Reference / Source	Tuovinen et al. 2006: 56, 70, Map 2.347; Hukantaival 2006: 95-96
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is clear and well documented but there is a chance that the object could have slid to its place accidentally.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kaupunginkirjasto site) in 2004. The whetstone was found squeezed between the wall-timber of the south-eastern wall and a plank belonging to a wooden floor (building R1072).

APPENDICES

Number	34
Locality	a Turku
Dating	18th or 19th century
Object	Bear claw (animal bone)
Context	Cellar: Under floor
Reference / Source	Uotila & Saari 2005: 20, 24; Sartes & Lehtonen 2008: 70, Map 209
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. There is a chance that the object could have been accidentally lost.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2005 (the Aboa Vetus Museum site). A bear claw was found in the levelling/setting sand layer under the cobble stone floor of a cellar (no. 93:2). Since more exact information on the find circumstances is missing, it is possible that the find could also have been accidentally lost (e.g. if it was, in fact, found between the stones). The find is catalogued as KM 2005009: 88.
Number	35
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 20th century
Object	Bibles (2) (book)
Context	Dwelling building: Attic
Reference / Source	Gradistanac, Juhani (pers. comm. 7.11.2005); Hukantaival 2006: 104
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation. Two Bibles had been placed among the filling of the attic floor. The older, which had been printed in 1906 (the year of building), was placed in the northern corner of the attic. The younger had been printed in 1921 (possibly the year of adding a room to the attic) and was placed close to a wall. The building is a wooden town house built in 1906 in the part of Turku called Raunistula.

Number	36
Locality	a Turku
Dating	14th - 15th century (medieval)
Object	Animal bones (9)
Context	Hearth (uncertain)
Reference / Source	Ainasoja et al. 2007: 47–48, bone catalogue; Hukantaival 2006: 84–86
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The structure was only partly in the excavated area, so its interpretation remained uncertain.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2005 (the Varhainen Turku project). Three pairs of animal leg bones were found at an even distance from each other by a decomposed timber (context no. R3029). The timber was at the bottom of a shallow cut, and the bones were on its south-western side in the filling. The structure was interpreted as a possible outdoor hearth. The bones are catalogued in the bone catalogue as Sample no. 3031.
Number	37
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 14th century (medieval)
Object	Hammer-head (artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Ainasoja et al. 2007: 31; about the structure Ratilainen 2010; 2014
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Varhainen Turku project) in 2006. The head of a small hammer was found in the foundation of a hearth built of non-fired bricks (context no. R2066; see also Ratilainen 2010; 2014). The hearth situated in the south corner of the north-eastern room of a two-roomed log building. The find is catalogued as TMM 22367: ME2128: 001.
Number	38
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 14th century (medieval)
Object	Brooch (artefact)
Context	Log building: Under wall
Reference / Source	Ainasoja et al. 2007: 12–13, find catalogue
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavations in 2006 (the Varhainen Turku project). A large metal brooch with the needle still attached was found under the northern wall timber of a log building (no. R1070). The find is catalogued as TMM 22367: ME1070: 001.

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Number	39
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 16th century (early modern)
Object	Human jawbone
Context	Dwelling building: Wall foundation
Reference / Source	Ainasoja et al. 2007: 40–42, Bone catalogue No. 2195
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The problematic interpretation is caused by the closeness of the Cathedral; there is a possibility that the bone could have ended up in its context accidentally.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2006 (the Varhainen Turku project). The jawbone (mandible) was found when the south corner of a big masonry building's foundation was excavated. It was among the filling of the stone foundation's ditch. The building was a stone-and-brick dwelling building built in the early 16th century (building R2012/R2102). Note: Concealments of klipping-coins were found under the floor of this same building (no. 40).
Number	40
Locality	a Turku
Dating	16th century (early modern)
Object	Coins (14 'klipping'-coins and 4 other coins)
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	Ainasoja et al. 2007: 43–44
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavations in 2006 (the Varhainen Turku project). Fourteen square-shaped 'klipping'-coins (emergency coins) (Gustav Vasa/Christian II, 1518–23) and four other coins were found under the floor of a big masonry building (building R2012/R2102). The four other coins were one Swedish silver coin (Erik XIV 1/2 ore, 1568), one bracteate, one Danish? silver coin, and one Swedish silver coin minted in Turku (1453–70). The coins had possibly been originally concealed under the oldest of three brick floor-layers. These were, however, found between the oldest and second oldest one. The first concealment could have been a coin hoard that had been later spread under newer floor layers. The coins are catalogued as TMM 22367: RA2116: 001–002, RA2117: 001–006, RA2119: 001–010. Note: A human jawbone was found in the wall-foundation of this same masonry building (no. 39).

Number	41
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Coins (3)
Context	Between floors
Reference / Source	Saloranta et. al 2009: 28–29 (own observations added)
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. There is a possibility that the coins could have ended up in their context accidentally.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Linnankatu 1–3 site) in 2009. Three coins were found close to each other under a wooden floor/platform that had been laid along the walls on top of a cobble stone floor of a masonry building (context no. R156). The coins were found by the south-western wall of the building. All three were Swedish copper coins of 1/4 ore value (one was identified to have been minted in 1637). They are catalogued as TMM 22567: RA156: 001–003.
Number	42
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (uncertain) (early modern)
Object	Axe-head (sharp tool)
Context	Under corner
Reference / Source	Saloranta et al. 2009: 24
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Linnankatu 1–3 site) in 2009. An axe head was found under a foundation-stone of the eastern corner of a masonry building (context no. R150E). The oldest part of this building (the cellar) was medieval (dendrochronologically dated to the early 15th century), but the outer wall (where the axe was found) was interpreted to be younger. The axe is catalogued as TMM 22567: ME150: 001.

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Number	43
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 18th or early 19th century
Object	Corset bones (11) (artefact)
Context	Cellar: Wall
Reference / Source	Saloranta et al. 2009: 17, find catalogue (own observations added)
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is somewhat unclear.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Linnankatu 1–3 site) in 2009. Eleven flat gilded copper alloy slats with holes for studs and some fabric attached were found in one bunch when the stone walls of a building (context. no. R107) were dismantled. The slats have been interpreted as possible corset bones. The find was discovered by the south-east wall of the building, but it is difficult to assess whether the corset had in fact been placed between the stones, or if it had been among the filling soil of the building. The find is catalogued as TMM 22567: ME113: 001.
Number	44
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Pig's tusk (animal bone)
Context	Cellar: Under threshold
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2011: 20, Appendix 6
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Pinella site) in 2010. A pig's tusk was found under the threshold stone (Roo7Z) leading from one cellar-room (Roo7A) to another (Roo7F). Catalogued as sample no. 274 in Appendix 6 of the excavation report. Note: a half cow skull was found under the floor of cellar Roo7F (no. 47); and three coins and a hare's foot were found in the structures of a staircase (no. 45–46) leading to the cellar-complex (Roo7).

Number	45
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Coin
Context	Cellar: Staircase post
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2011: 19, find catalogue (TMM 22600: RA007: 001)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	<p>Found during archaeological excavation (the Pinella site) in 2010. A Swedish copper coin was found between bricks inside the north-eastern post of the staircase Roo7G leading to the cellar-complex (Roo7). The coin is catalogued as TMM 22600: RA007: 001.</p> <p>Note: two coins and a hare's foot were found under individual steps in this same staircase (no. 46); a half cow skull was found under the floor of cellar Roo7F (no. 47); and a tusk of a pig was found under the threshold (no. 44) leading to the same cellar.</p>
Number	46
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Hare's foot, coins (2)
Context	Cellar: Under stairs
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2011: 19, Appendix 6
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	<p>Found during archaeological excavation (the Pinella site) in 2010. Two Swedish copper coins and bones belonging to a hare's left hind foot were found each under an individual step in the staircase Roo7G leading to the cellar-complex Roo7. The coins are catalogued as TMM 22600: RA007: 003 (¼ ore, Christina, 1640?) and RA007: 004 (¼ ore?, Christina, 1635). The bones of the hare's foot are catalogued as sample no. 273 in Appendix 6 of the excavation report.</p> <p>Note: an additional coin was found walled-up inside the post of this same staircase (no. 45); a half cow skull was found under the floor of cellar Roo7F (no. 47), and a tusk of a pig was found under the threshold (no. 44) leading to the same cellar.</p>

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Number	47
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Cow skull (split) (animal bone)
Context	Cellar: Under floor
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2011: 20
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Pinella site) in 2010. A cow skull that had been split in half was discovered under a brick floor in the eastern corner of a stone/brick cellar room (no. R007F). The skull had been placed on a large stone that was part of a supporting structure of the brick floor. The skull is catalogued as sample no. 103 in Appendix 6 of the excavation report. Note: A tusk of a pig was found under the threshold (no. 44) leading to this same cellar and three coins and a hare's foot were found in the structures of a staircase (no. 45-46) leading to the cellar-complex (R007).
Number	48
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 18th - early 19th century
Object	Hare's foot (magic artefact)
Context	Storage pit: In filling
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2012: 3; Hukantaival 2013a: 106-107
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The finds position (on the bottom of the pit) and the absence of other artefacts or refuse in the filling point to deliberate action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Tuomiokirkonpuisto site) in 2011. The bones belonging to a hare's left hind foot (Auli Bläuer pers. comm. 13.6.2011) were found on the bottom of a storage pit (context no. R2109) that had most likely situated by the wall of a building (not inside the excavation area but visible on a map). The pit was next to a structure that seemed to be the foundation of steps (a doorway) to this building. The concealment of the object was done when the pit was taken out of use and filled. The storage pit was situated on a property owned by the Gadolin family of Academy professors. Catalogued as TMM 22814: LU2083: 001.

Number	49
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th - early 18th century
Object	Piece of quern-stone (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2012: 17
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Tuomiokirkonpuisto site) in 2011. A piece of a quern-stone was found in the bottom layer of a hearth-foundation (R2103). Catalogued as TMM 22814: KI2103: 001.
Number	50
Locality	a Turku
Dating	18th century (uncertain)
Object	Whetstone
Context	Cellar: Filling of ceiling between rooms
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2012: 9–11
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Tuomiokirkonpuisto site) in 2011. A small whetstone was found in the brick/clay filling (R2012) of the void between the arched ceilings of two adjoined cellar-rooms (contexts R2013/R2042 and R2043). The object was placed in the north-eastern corner of the filling. The whetstone is catalogued as TMM 22814: KI2025: 001. In situ photographs catalogued as DT2011: 48, 59–60.
Number	51
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th century (early modern)
Object	Coin
Context	Smithy: Hearth
Reference / Source	Ainasoja 2012: 6–7, find catalogue; Ainasoja, Mika (pers. comm. 2011)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Sininen talo site) in 2011. A Swedish copper coin (1/4 ore, Christina, 1633–54) was found under one timber of a hearth-foundation (context no. R018). The small building with a square-shaped floor-plan and the hearth in the western corner has been interpreted as a smithy (building no. R031). The find is catalogued as TMM 22381: RA018: 001. Note: A piggin with four coins inside was found under the floor by the north-eastern wall (no. 52), and a large concentration of iron slag was found in the eastern corner (no. 53) of this same building.

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Number	52
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th century (early modern)
Object	Piggin with coins (4) inside (artefact)
Context	Smithy: Under floor
Reference / Source	Ainasoja 2012: 6–7, 11, Map 2.1020 (e. g.)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	<p>Found during archaeological excavation (the Sininen talo site) in 2011. A small wooden pail (piggin) with four coins inside was discovered under the floor by the north-eastern wall of a building with stone foundation (context no. R031). Two of the coins were on the bottom of the piggin. Two other coins were found in the earth filling inside the piggin, but it is highly likely that they were also deliberately put there. The building has been interpreted as a smithy. The piggin is catalogued as TMM 22831: PU035: 001, and the coins as RA035: 001 (1/6 ore, Christina, 1637), RA035: 002 (1/6 ore, Christina), RA035:003 (1/6 ore, Christina, 1639?), and RA035: 004 (1/4 ore, Christina, 1635?).</p> <p>Note: A coin was found in the hearth-foundation of this same building (no. 51), and a large concentration of iron slag was found in the eastern corner of the building (no. 53).</p>
Number	53
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Late 17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron slag
Context	Smithy: Corner
Reference / Source	Ainasoja 2012: 6–7
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. It is difficult to assess whether the slag was deliberately concealed or simply dumped.
Notes	<p>Found during archaeological excavation (the Sininen talo site) in 2011. A large concentration of iron slag (nearly 40 litres) was found in the eastern corner of a small building with a square-shaped floor-plan and a hearth in the western corner. The building has been interpreted as a smithy (building no. R031). The slag may have been part of some structure, since the area was lined with stones.</p> <p>Note: A piggin with four coins inside was found under the floor by the north-east wall (no. 52), and a coin was found in the hearth-foundation (no. 51) of this same building.</p>

Number	54
Locality	a Turku
Dating	Early 18th century
Object	Whetstone
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Ainasoja 2012: context catalogue, Map 2.1018
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Sininen talo site) in 2011. A large whetstone was found by a support beam under a wooden plank floor of a log building (context no. R123). The find is catalogued as TMM 22831: K1123: 001.
Number	55
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Quern-stone (in pieces), whetstone
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Saloranta et al. 2012: 37, Map 2.41
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context was badly preserved.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Aurajoen itäinen rantalaituri site) in 2012. Twenty pieces of quern-stones (from both the upper and lower stone) and a whetstone were found under a wooden plank floor (context no. R103) that had burned. The quern-stones are catalogued as TMM 22882: K1103: 001, and the whetstone as K1103: 002.
Number	56
Locality	a Turku
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Whetstones (7)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Saloranta et al. 2012: 38, Maps 2.37, 2.39
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and other signs of deliberate action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Aurajoen itäinen rantalaituri site) in 2012. Two concentrations of three whetstones or pieces of whetstone-material were found in the middle and western side of a hearth-foundation (context no. R114). One additional whetstone was found in the southern corner of the structure. The three whetstones in the middle were arranged on top of a sculpted piece of slate. The finds are catalogued as TMM 22882: K1114: 001–008.

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Number	57
Locality	a Turku
Dating	18th century (or older)
Object	Coin
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Saloranta et al. 2012: 29
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The coin was found under a hearth that was founded on an older hearth. It is uncertain to which hearth the coin originally belonged to, but it surely belongs in a hearth-foundation.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Aurajoen itäinen rantalaituri site) in 2012. A coin (John III, 1569–1592) was found under a hearth foundation (context no. Ro18). The coin is catalogued as TMM 22882: RAo18: 001.
Number	58
Locality	a Turku
Dating	18th century
Object	Whetstone (piece)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2013: 17–18, 20, 27–28, Map 2.04
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kirjastosilta site) in 2011. A piece of a whetstone was found between the stones of a wall-foundation (Ro06/R054) close to the south-western corner. The find is catalogued as TMM 22815: K1006: 001.

Number	59
Locality	a Turku
Dating	18th century
Object	Whetstone-material, glass-ring, animal bone-fragments (3)
Context	Under threshold
Reference / Source	Pihlman et al. 2013: 19; Bläuer, Auli (pers. comm. 10.3.2015)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kirjastosilta site) in 2013. A piece of whetstone-material, three animal bone-fragments and a ring made from enamelled glass were found under the threshold between two rooms (context no. Ro43). The bones are a cut fragment of a small ungulate rib (costae), a cut fragment of a large ungulate leg bone, and the distal piece of a young sheep/goat's femur (dex) with the epiphysis missing. The missing epiphysis indicates that the latter bone was most likely not fresh when ending up in the context. The bones are identified by Auli Bläuer (pers. comm. 10.3.2015). The whetstone is catalogued as TMM 22815: KI043: 001, the glass-ring as LA114: 001 and the bones as sample no. 37.
Number	60
Locality	a Turku
Dating	19th century
Object	Animal bones
Context	Storage building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Pukkila 2014: 23; Pukkila, Jouko (pers. comm. 9.6.2014)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clearly a deliberate act, but the purpose is debatable.
Notes	Found during archaeological monitoring in 2014 (the Suurtorin makasiinit site). When a masonry storage building from the early 1830s was renovated, two clusters of diverse animal bones were found between the stones in the foundation. One cluster was on the inside of the building and the other on the outside. The clusters were opposite to each other circa one meter from the eastern corner of a room. The bones include mostly kitchen refuse (diverse bones split and cut with an axe), but also bones from less-meaty parts; there is no doubt that they have been concealed deliberately (there are no gnawing marks etc.). The clusters are catalogued as TMM 23105: LU022:001 and LU022:002.

APPENDICES

Number	61
Locality	a Uusikaupunki (Kalanti)
Dating	15th century (medieval) (uncertain)
Object	Axe (sharp tool)
Context	Church: Under altar
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2278: 5
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1884 by master builder A. Lönnrot. An iron axe was found during renovation under the altar of Kalanti (Uusikirkko T. I.) church. The stone church was built in the 15th century (Hiekkanen 2007: 59).
Number	62
Locality	b Eura (Honkilahti)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age grindstone
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12827: 7
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1951. The large Stone Age grindstone (for tools) was found in the stone foundation of an old building in Honkilahti parish village.
Number	63
Locality	b Harjavalta
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Padlock (artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 5686: 7
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context information is not quite exact enough to be absolutely sure that the small object could not have been lost.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1910. The iron padlock was found in the hearth-foundation of the dwelling building at Ruohonen estate in the parish village.

Number	64
Locality	b Hämeenkyrö
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone "club" (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3059: 5
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1895. The piece of a stone club (seemingly from the historical period) was found from the foundation of an old building at H. Ivan Rauhala's estate in Mahnala village.
Number	65
Locality	b Kangasala
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2525: 284
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. A Stone Age settlement has been identified at the estate, so it is possible that the axe could have ended up in the foundation accidentally.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1887. The Stone Age axe was found in the foundation of a building belonging to the Tuhola estate in Apajanpohja village.

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Number	66
Locality	b Kangasala
Dating	16th or 17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron slag, burnt animal bone, brick fragments, raspberries (?)
Context	In pit under hearth
Reference / Source	Luoto, Ka. 2009a: 16, Appendices 1, 10, Maps 10–11; 2009b: 59; Lempiäinen-Avci, Mia, (pers. comm. 29.11.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Clear context but difficult to assess whether the contents of the pit were accidental or intentional.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavations in 2008 (the Vääksy manor site). A small pit (context no. K1115) that was lined with stones was found under the foundation of a hearth (context no. R101). The pit clearly belonged together with the hearth. Inside the pit was a piece of iron slag, two fragments of burnt bone, and eight fragments of brick. Some (68) uncharred seeds of raspberry (<i>Rubus ideaus</i>), some charred remains of spruce and shrub, and charcoal were found in a soil sample taken inside the pit. The plant remains are identified by Mia Lempiäinen in Appendix 10 of the report. The raspberry seeds are mentioned to probably be recent in the macrofossils report (Appendix 10), but the closed context of the soil sample (unknown to the specialist at the time) makes this unlikely. The finds are catalogued as KM 2008058: 206–208.
Number	67
Locality	b Karvia (Kyläkarvia)
Dating	Late 18th century or 19th century
Object	Snake (viper) (whole animal)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall
Reference / Source	Satakunta Museum, artefact catalogue: SatM 7824
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when demolishing the building in 1908. Juho Taveri found the dried viper inside a wall timber of a demolished timber building. The viper was in a hole that had been plugged with a wooden plug. The snake's twisted position indicates that it may have been alive when concealed. The artefact catalogue mentions that the snake was thought to have been concealed to protect the residents against the evil eye, thieves, and other misfortunes. The building had first been built in Sarvela village as Niskamäki croft, and it had been moved in 1798 to Lautamäki estate in Ämmälä village. There it was used as a dwelling smoke-cottage until 1851. Then it was used as a spirits distilling kitchen until 1866, when it was moved on the estate to become a fodder storage building. A picture of the snake is published in Siikala 1994: 243.

Number	68
Locality	b Kokemäki
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe (half)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 8045: 3
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1922. The half of a large Stone Age axe had been found in the foundation of an old building about ten years earlier (in Kakkulainen village?).
Number	69
Locality	b Kokemäki (Kauvatsa)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Cellar: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3033: 23
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1894. The large Stone Age chisel was found in the foundation of a masonry cellar wall at Salonpää croft by Sääksjärvi lake when the wall was torn down.
Number	70
Locality	b Lempäälä
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Coin (Roman) (antiquated)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 7326
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and not a coin in normal circulation.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1917. The Roman copper coin (Marcus Aurelius, 161–180) was found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of an old building in Alkkula village in 1913 when the building was demolished.

APPENDICES

Number	71
Locality	b Nokia
Dating	16th or 17th century (early modern)
Object	Knife-blade (sharp tool)
Context	Under corner
Reference / Source	Lesell 2013: 31–35, 38, 40–41; Lesell, Kreetta (pers. comm. 1.11.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context, and interpreted as a likely deliberate concealment in the field.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Knuutila village site) in 2013. A blade of a knife was found partly under the north-western corner-stones of a building in excavation area 2. Wood-remains from the building have been radiocarbon dated to the 16th or 17th centuries, and ceramic finds support this date.
Number	72
Locality	b Nokia (Suoniemi)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Iron Age sword-blade (broken) (antiquated)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2335
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1885. The piece of a Late Iron Age sword blade was found under the hearth of the dwelling building at Kivioja croft of Kauniainen manor.
Number	73
Locality	b Orivesi
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone mould (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2214: 756
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1883. The stone mould for small nobbs was found in the foundation of a building of a croft belonging to the Siuru estate in Orivesi parish village.

Number	74
Locality	b Sastamala
Dating	17th or 18th century
Object	Whetstone
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Luoto, Ki. 2009: 8, context-form Y309; Luoto, Kirsi (pers. comm. 9.4.2010)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Vehmaa village site) in 2009. A whetstone was found in the foundation of a hearth (context no. R 310/Y 309). The find is catalogued as KM 2009054: 46. Note: Two iron nails and some fragments of burnt and unburnt bone were also found in this same context, but their deliberateness is hard to evaluate.
Number	75
Locality	b Sastamala
Dating	17th or 18th century
Object	Whetstone
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Luoto, Ki. 2009: 20; Luoto, Kirsi (pers. comm. 9.4.2010)
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context is somewhat unclear.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Vehmaa village site) in 2009. A whetstone was found under the remains of a hearth-foundation (context no. R 108/Y 113). The find is catalogued as KM 2009054: 192.
Number	77
Locality	b Ylöjärvi (Kuru)
Dating	19th century
Object	Coin
Context	Storage building: Under threshold
Reference / Source	Pajulahti, Väinö (pers. comm. 29.6.2015)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found by Väinö Pajulahti in c. 1962. The threshold-board of the storage building at the informant's home farm in Parkkuu village was loose, and when it was unfastened a Swedish copper coin was found under it in a crack in the timber. The coin is a 1 skilling minted by Charles XIV John in 1826. The building is a loft (Fin. luhtiaitta), a storage building in the yard that could also be used for dwelling in the summers. The building is still standing and the coin is kept by the informant.

APPENDICES

Number	76
Locality	b Ylöjärvi (Viljakkala)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel, grind stone half
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12468
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1950. The Stone Age chisel and a half of a grind stone (for sharpening tools, Fin. tahko) were found between the stones in the wall-foundation of an old dwelling house at Tarpila estate in Hiironen village when the building was demolished. The objects are mentioned to have been found "in the same place" (only the chisel was delivered to the museum).
Number	78
Locality	c Artjärvi (nowadays in d Orimattila)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Imitation of Stone Age tool
Context	Drying barn: Under floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3532: 3
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1898. The stone shaped to resemble a stone axe was found under the drying barn of Uino estate in Hietala village. A comment in the marginal of the catalogue claims it to be a forgery of a Stone Age object.
Number	79
Locality	c Askola
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age tools (axe, chisels)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 9501: 1-3
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Unclear if all objects are from different buildings or not.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1932. One broken Stone Age axe and two chisels are reported to have been found from the foundations of old buildings at the yard of Koivisto estate in Huuvari village. It is unclear how many buildings are in question (two or three).

Number	80
Locality	c Espoo
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Coin, bit (for horse, artefact), whetstone
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Haggrén & Hakanpää 2002: 18; Haggrén et al. 2003: 12
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Exact context information is missing.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kauklahti Saka village site) in 2002 and 2003. A whetstone (broken in three pieces; catalogued as KM 2002069: 100), a Swedish coin minted in the 1630s (Christina, 1 ore; catalogued as KM Rahakammio 2004020: 2), a bit (a part of a horse bridle; catalogued as KM 2003111: 61), and a fragment of 16th century ceramics (catalogued as KM 2003111: 63) were found when a hearth-foundation (context no. R109/R711) was excavated.
Number	81
Locality	c Espoo
Dating	Late 14th century (Medieval)
Object	Coin (S-bracteate)
Context	Posthole of building
Reference / Source	Haggrén et al. 2003: 14; Haggrén 2005: 96; 2008: 20
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is somewhat uncertain.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2003 (the Kauklahti Saka village site). The Swedish S-bracteate coin from the late 14th century was found under a stone interpreted as belonging to a possible posthole in the north-east part of the excavated building. The find is catalogued as KM Rahakammio 2004020: 1.

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Number	82
Locality	c Espoo
Dating	Early 16th century (medieval)
Object	Animal bones (skull), fragments of iron artefacts, iron slag, and a quartz flake
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Haggrén & al. 2009: 30, 43, Appendix 6 Osteological report (Kivikero).
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Assemblage points to deliberate action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Mankby village site) in 2009. An assemblage of animal bones (almost exclusively from skulls) and teeth (cattle and sheep/goat were identified), a worn fragment of a horse shoe, two iron nails, some iron slag, and a quartz flake were found in a pit (KU13-26) that surrounded one of the stones in the foundation. The pit had apparently been dug in connection to rebuilding the stone foundation of a building with a hearth (building 13). There was burnt clay on the bottom of the pit and some coal and soot were found in its northern part. The finds are catalogued as KM 2009032: 593–596, 747–750.
Number	83
Locality	c Hanko
Dating	Medieval
Object	Quern-stone (artefact)
Context	Corner
Reference / Source	Haggrén et al. 2006: 17, Maps 14–16
Strength of interpretation	Strong. It is very likely that the object is deliberately in its context; however, the meaning of this action is more problematic.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Hangon kylä Gunnarsängen village site) in 2006. A quern-stone had been used as a part of the foundation of the north-western corner of a building (R121). The object is catalogued as KM 2006085: 334. Note: An arrowhead (no. 84) was discovered in the floor-layer of this same building.

Number	84
Locality	c Hanko
Dating	Medieval
Object	Arrowhead (bodkin point) (sharp artefact)
Context	Floor
Reference / Source	Haggrén et al. 2006: 17
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. There is a chance that the object could have ended up in its context accidentally.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Hangon kylä Gunnarsängen village site) in 2006. A medieval iron arrowhead was found in a layer forming a clay floor (context no. S140) close to the north-western corner of the building. The object is catalogued as KM 2006085: 269. Note: A quern-stone (no. 83) was found in the corner-foundation of this same building (R121).
Number	85
Locality	c Hanko
Dating	Medieval
Object	Fire steel (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Haggrén et al. 2006: 18, 20
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Hangon kylä Gunnarsängen village site) in 2006. A fire steel was found under the south-western corner stone of the hearth-foundation (context no. R105). The find has been catalogued as KM 2006085: 316.
Number	86
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Late 18th or early 19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age tool
Context	Wall foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 142
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Has been reported as a "thunderbolt", but the context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1855. The short Stone Age tool is reported to have been found under the foundation of an old house in Kaarela village in Vantaa (nowadays in Helsinki).

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Number	87
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Late 19th century
Object	Stone Age club
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 15520
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1962. The Stone Age club had been found in 1909 in the sand-filling of the floor of the building of Wassberg's Fish Factory (Swe. Wassbergs Fiskfabrik), also (earlier?) known as Villa Hesperia. The building situated by the Töölönlahti bay in the Hesperia area.
Number	88
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Early 20th century (1913?)
Object	Shoe (artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Roof
Reference / Source	Constable, Susan (pers. comm. 4.8.2005); Hukantaival 2006: 105; Heino, Tiina (pers. comm. 15.11.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The find has been reported to the Northampton Museum's Concealed Shoes database in 1985, but the exact context information could not be confirmed by the Helsinki City Museum.
Notes	From the Northampton Museum's Concealed Shoes database: Helsinki City Museum. Woman's black leather 10 button boot made about 1910. Found in the roof. It has been reported in May 1985. From the Helsinki City Museum: The shoe was found during renovation of the old wooden main building of Meilahti manor in 1983. The building was built in the early 19th century. During 1905–1945 the estate was owned by the British Campbell family. The attic of the building was renovated in 1913.

Number	89
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Late 16th – early 17th century (early modern)
Object	Horse skull (animal bone)
Context	Economy building: Wall foundation
Reference / Source	Heikkinen 1994: 130; Heikkinen, Markku (pers. comm. 24.11.2008); Hukantaival 2009: 351
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context was partly destroyed, so there is some uncertainty of the interpretation.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1993 (the Vanhakaupunki site). The horse skull was found under the northern wall of a 16th–17th century outbuilding with a wooden plank floor and no hearth.
Number	90
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Dwelling building: Attic
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 11231
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1940. The Stone Age chisel had been found in 1939 in the sand filling of the attic of a dwelling house. The object was found by the school boy Kai Mäkinen, who lived at Nordenskiöldinkatu-street, but it is unclear whether the object was found at this address.
Number	91
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Pistol balls (4), copper jettons (coin-like counters) (13) (artefact)
Context	Cowshed (?): under corner
Reference / Source	Niukkanen 2001a: 13–16, Map 22; 2002a: 24; 2002b: 33; Hukantaival 2006: 89–90
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context, but the function of the building at the time of concealing is uncertain.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1999 (the Snellmaninkatu 4–6 site). The objects were found under the NE-cornerstone of the timber cowshed belonging to the merchant Elias Mårtensson (context number R23, dendrochronologically dated to after 1652). The building was interpreted to have originally been a dwelling but it had been re-used as a cowshed. The pistol balls are catalogued as KM 2000002: 1726 and the jettons as 1728.

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Number	92
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Axe (hatchet) (sharp tool)
Context	Dwelling building: Roof (ceiling)
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2641
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is slightly vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1889. The large hatchet was found in the ceiling of a small old dwelling house in Helsinki (Eläintarha no. 2).
Number	93
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Late 19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Town building: Under floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 10098
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1935. The Stone Age axe had been found in 1929 during renovation in an old masonry building in the corner of Merimiehenkatu and Fredrikinkatu streets (Merimiehenkatu 43) in the filling of the floor. Note: There is an inconsistency in the address, since Merimehenkatu 43 is not in this corner, but the corner of Merimiehenkatu and Perämiehenkatu. The building at the given address is the Betania-house built in 1904. The masonry buildings at the given corner are built in 1890, 1896, and 1923. (Source: www.korttelit.fi/kaupunki.php , 7.2.2014.)
Number	94
Locality	c Helsinki
Dating	Late 18th or 19th century
Object	Coin
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4507: 28
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during construction work at Kirkkokatu 14 and delivered to the museum in 1905. The Swedish copper coin (2 ore) minted in 1769 was found between the stones in the stone foundation of a building that was demolished.

Number	95
Locality	c Kotka
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Cannonballs (3) (artefact)
Context	Naval staff officers' building: Wall/corner
Reference / Source	Kykyri 2012: 61, fig. 41; 2013: 56.
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2012 (the Kotkansaari Ruukinkatu 15 site). Three whole cannon balls were found in a shallow pit by the southern wall-foundation (structure no. R18) of a naval staff officers' building built in the 1790s by Russians. The finds were situated in the south-eastern corner of the building right next to the wall on the outside. It had been a wooden building with a stone foundation that functioned as housing for the staff officers at Ruotsinsalmi sea fortress. The finds are catalogued as KyM 2013011: 1-3. Note: Bones belonging to the left hind leg of a hare were found among the demolition debris layer of a hearth of this same building (not included in the material because of uncertain context).
Number	96
Locality	c Kouvola (Anjala)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe (with shaft hole)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 10463
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1936. The Stone Age hammer-axe with shaft hole was found in the foundation of an old building at Korhonen's estate at Anjala old manor.
Number	97
Locality	c Kouvola (Anjalankoski)
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	On a timber
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 21702
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Exact context-information is missing.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1982. The Stone Age chisel was found "on a timber" during renovation of an old timber-building at Sirokallio estate in Anjala village.

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Number	98
Locality	c Kouvola (Sippola)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3662: 6
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1899. The small Stone Age axe was found in the foundation of the dwelling house at Pytty estate. Note: Parts of scales were found in the 'soil bench' of (most likely) this same building (no. 99).
Number	99
Locality	c Kouvola (Sippola)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Lever and support of scales (artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3662: 14
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1899. The iron lever with hooks on both ends and support of scales were found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of the dwelling house at Pytty estate, when it was torn down in 1897. Note: A Stone Age axe was found in the foundation of (most likely) this same building (no. 98).
Number	100
Locality	c Lapinjärvi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Imitation of Stone Age tool
Context	Sauna: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3532: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1898. The stone shaped to resemble a stone axe with a hole was found under the sauna hearth of Sjökkulla estate. A comment in the marginal of the catalogue claims it to be a forgery of a Stone Age object.

Number	101
Locality	c Loviisa (Pernaja)
Dating	17th–18th century
Object	Whetstone or imitation of Stone Age object
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Palm & Pellinen 2002: 43; Hukantaival 2006: 97–98
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is slightly unclear.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Torsby Sigfrids site) in 2002. A stone object that could be a whetstone or even perhaps an imitation of a Stone Age tool (thunderbolt) was found in connection to a hearth-foundation (Pellinen, Hanna-Maria, pers. comm. 7.11.2005) inside the remains of a building with a stone-foundation. The building belonged to a vicarage. Catalogued as KM 2002049: 64.
Number	102
Locality	c Mäntsälä
Dating	Late 18th century (uncertain)
Object	Mercury in bottle
Context	Stable: Threshold
Reference / Source	FLS FA. Mäntsälä, Sääksjärvi. 1961. Ritva Junttila TK 27:31.
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well documented context.
Notes	Found when demolishing a stable in the 1920s. When the old stable of Inkala farm was demolished a small bottle with mercury inside was discovered under the threshold. The bottle had been kept and was shown to the folklore collector Ritva Junttila in 1961. She describes it as follows: It was a small pharmacy bottle with a worn label saying Borgå Apoteket (the Pharmacy of Porvoo); it was closed with a cork and had a mercury-ball of the size of a finger-tip inside. The account was given by Sylvi Maunula, born 1900. The Pharmacy of Porvoo was founded in 1744.

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Number	103
Locality	c Nurmijärvi
Dating	Early 19th century
Object	Piece of grindstone, bowl of clay pipe, slag (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Suhonen & Köngäs 2008: 30, 33–34, Maps 17, 19
Strength of interpretation	Strong. It is very likely that the piece of grindstone is deliberately in its context. The deliberateness of the other objects is more problematic.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Klaukkala Gunnari village site) in 2008. A piece of a used grindstone was discovered in the western corner of a hearth-foundation (context no. R506). The hearth was situated in the middle of the north-eastern room of a two-roomed building (building 5). The object is catalogued as KM 2008081: 338. Within the structure of this same hearth (without more precise context information) were also discovered the bowl of a clay pipe with crown stamp (KM 2008081: 339), and five pieces of slag (KM 2008081: 346); in addition to a few ceramic and glass shards, which are more likely to be refuse.
Number	104
Locality	c Pornainen
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 6077: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1912. The Stone Age axe was found during renovation work among the stones of the hearth of Löfgren's croft at Peltola estate in Iso-Laukkoski village.

Number	105
Locality	c Porvoo
Dating	Late 14th or 15th century (medieval)
Object	Wooden animal head (bear?), ceramic shard, burnt clay, iron slag, unburnt bone (artefact)
Context	In pit under floor (?)
Reference / Source	Hakanpää 2006: 17, 37, Map 5
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Surely a deliberate concealment, but the function of the structure remains uncertain.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2006 (the Raatihuoneentori site). A c. 19 cm long wooden object with a carved animal head (possibly a bear) on one end (the other end had been carved in a tapering form) was found in a pit (context no. Ku130) under a structure formed of small stones (context no. R129). Other finds from this same pit were a shard of stoneware, a piece of burnt clay, two pieces of iron slag, and some unburnt animal bone. The function of the structure above the pit remained unclear, but it resembles a levelling layer of a floor. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that a younger wooden floor was excavated above this stone structure. The wooden object is catalogued as KM 2006061: 93. The other finds' sub numbers are 87, 97, 100, and 208.

Number	106
Locality	c Porvoo
Dating	Late 16th century (early modern)
Object	Whetstones (6 ?)
Context	Wall
Reference / Source	Koivisto 2007; Koivisto & Väisänen 2009: 23
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Itä-Uudenmaan Osuuspankki site) in 2007. Some whetstones were found squeezed between the wall-timbers of a possible storage building that was built as an extension next to the north-eastern wall of a possible dwelling building (R103). The number of whetstones that were found in this exact position is not mentioned, but the find catalogue shows six possible finds: KM 2007124: 75-77, 135-137.

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Number	107
Locality	c Porvoo
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Storage building: Under corner
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2452: 28
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1886. The stone axe was found in the ground under the corner of a storage building at Johan Tuomala's estate in Kerkkoo village.
Number	108
Locality	c Porvoo
Dating	Late 19th century
Object	Iron Age fire striking stone (antiquated)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 9098
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1929. The oval-shaped Iron Age fire striking stone had been found during demolition work in 1925 between the bricks in the mortar of the kitchen hearth of Dala's summer house on Haiko estate. The building had been built in 1875 for councillor of commerce Wilhelm Åberg. Note: The cataloguer speculates about where the sand for the mortar had been brought, and seems to have believed that the stone was in its context accidentally. However, I find it unlikely that the 8,6 x 4,3 x 2,8 cm large object would not have been noticed in the mortar while laying bricks.
Number	109
Locality	c Porvoo
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Shoes (3) (artefact)
Context	Town hall: Under attic-floor
Reference / Source	The Porvoo Museum; Jämbäck, Juha (pers. comm. 5.11.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation in 2008 (17.7.). Three shoes were found under a support-beam when the attic-floor of Porvoo Old Town Hall was opened. The objects are catalogued as 2008039: 1-3. The town hall was built in the 1760s.

Number	110
Locality	c Raasepori
Dating	14th to 16th century (medieval)
Object	Tongs (artefact)
Context	Wall
Reference / Source	Knuutinen et al. 2009: 29, 71, context-catalogue R31-15
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The function of the structure is somewhat unclear.
Notes	<p>Found during archaeological excavation in 2009 (the Slottsmalmen site). A large pair of iron tongs, possibly used for shoeing a horse (as shoe puller or hoof trimmer), was found in a stone and brick structure that possibly was the foundation of a wall (structure no. R31-15, context no. Y31-8). The find is catalogued as KM 2009060: 329.</p> <p>Note: Some redware ceramics (e.g. a pipkin pot handle), some small metal objects (e.g. one copper needle, a piece of iron slag, and some animal bones) have been catalogued to the same layer-context (Y31-8) as the tongs, but more detailed information is missing.</p>
Number	111
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3532: 1
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1898. The Stone Age gouge had been found in the brickwork of a croft's hearth in Vantaa village.
Number	112
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Stable: Filling
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 5738
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Surely a deliberate concealment, but the catalogue does not specify in which filling (wall, ceiling, etc.?) the object was.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1911. The Stone Age gouge was found in 1910 when an old stable was torn down at the Petas 'crown farm' (Swe. kronoboställe) in Lappböle village. The object was found in "the filling".

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Number	113
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Animal bones (bat's wing, hare's foot, frog's leg, birds, etc.)
Context	Bell tower (church): Under floor
Reference / Source	Luoto, Ka. 2007: Appendix 13 Osteological report (Salo); 2009c: 16; Rissanen, Anni (pers. comm. 22.2.2011)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Even though individual small bones like these could have ended up in their context accidentally, the assemblage points to deliberate action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Pyhä Lauri [Saint Lawrence] church site) in 2007. Small animal bones from e.g. hare's foot (dex), bat's wing, frog's leg, birds, and fish were found under a 17th century stone floor of the bell tower. The bones of pike, perch, and baltic herring were from the heads. The bones were analysed by Kati Salo (Appendix 13 of the excavation report).
Number	114
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	15th - 16th century (medieval)
Object	Sickle blade (sharp tool)
Context	Dwelling building: Under wall
Reference / Source	Suhonen 2003: 11-13; Koivisto, R. 2010: 95-96
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The context is somewhat unclear, but the find has been published as a possible building concealment.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Gubbacka village site) in 2003. The fragmentary blade of a sickle was found in a pit that situated on the assumed wall line of Building 2 (GB 1/II). The object is catalogued as KM 2003102: 270. Note: Some iron objects and burnt clay (no. 115) were found in a pit by the hearth of this same building.

Number	115
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	15th – 16th century (medieval)
Object	Iron plate, nail, burnt clay (other)
Context	Dwelling building: In pit under floor
Reference / Source	Suhonen 2003: 12; Tevali 2010: 75
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The function of the pit is hard to assess.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Gubbacka village site) in 2003. A pit (0.8 x 0.7 m, context no. Ku135) was discovered under the floor on the east side of a hearth (context. no. R101). There were some stones inside the pit. An iron plate, a nail, and some burnt clay were also found inside. The finds are catalogued as KM 2003102: 232–233. The pit seemed to have some connection with the north-eastern corner stone of the hearth. Note: A sickle (no. 114) was found in a pit under the wall of this same building (Building 2, GB 1/II).
Number	116
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	Early 13th century (medieval)
Object	Iron slag
Context	Smithy: Under hearth/furnace
Reference / Source	Koivisto, A. 2010: 19, 34–36; about the smithy see also Heinonen 2012
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Gubbacka village site) in 2010. A pit (context no. Ku542) lined with charcoal and filled with clay and 1022,8 g of slag was discovered under the hearth/furnace (context no. R511) of a smithy. The pit was interpreted as being a foundation structure. Note: Several pits with either slag or some burnt bone and plant remains were found outside on the north-east side of the smithy (not included in the material of this study since they situated outside the building).

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Number	117
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	14th or 15th century (Medieval)
Object	Sulphur, knives (3), arrow-head (sharp tool)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Koivisto, A. 2010: 24, 37
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The assemblage of finds from the same context without more specific information on their placing makes it difficult to assess the deliberateness of the action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Gubbacka village site) in 2010. Three small knives (catalogued as KM 2010077: 197, 199, 200), an iron arrow-head (203), and an object that was first interpreted as a piece of a wax candle, but turned out to be a piece of sulphur (204) (Koivisto, Andreas pers. comm. 27.3.2014) were found in the clay layer (context no. Y607) between the stones of a hearth (context no. R601). Three pieces of other metal objects and two pieces of flint were also found in this same context. Note: A concealed dagger (KM 2010077: 259) was found in a small pit on the yard about one meter to the west of this hearth (Koivisto, A. 2010: 28–29).
Number	118
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	18th century
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	Koivisto et al. 2011: 33, 80, 103; Heinonen & Koivisto 2012: 269
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and signs of deliberate action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2011 (the Mårtensby Lillas village site). A Stone Age chisel was found in a small pit that was under a wooden plank floor in the front of a hearth of an 18th century building. The chisel had been placed under a brick in the pit that seemed to have been dug for the purpose of concealment (context no. Ku3-12/Y3-4). The find is catalogued as KM 2011018: 406. Note: Some animal bones were also found in the pit. Note: Another Stone Age chisel (no. 119) was found in 2012 in the north-western corner of the hearth.

Number	119
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	18th century
Object	Stone Age chisel (piece)
Context	In hearth construction
Reference / Source	Koivisto et al. 2013: 22, 38, Maps 3, 5
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Has been recognized in the field and reported as a possible deliberate concealment.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2012 (the Mårtensby Lillas village site). A piece of a Stone Age chisel was found under a clay layer (no. Y3-20) in the north-western corner of a hearth (no. R3-1). The find is catalogued as KM 39163: 225. Note: In 2011 a clearly deliberately concealed Stone Age chisel (no. 118) was found in a pit under a plank floor in front of this hearth. Also an iron cannonball (no. 120) was found in the southern wall of this same hearth. Note: The site has a Stone Age settlement layer as well.
Number	120
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	18th century
Object	Cannonball (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Koivisto et al. 2013: 30
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2012 (the Mårtensby Lillas village site). An iron cannonball was found in the southern wall of the hearth (no. R3-1) as a part of the structure. The find is catalogued as KM 39163: 119. Note: A Stone-Age chisel was found in the north-western corner of this same hearth, and another was found concealed in a pit under the floor in front of the structure (no. 118-119).
Number	121
Locality	c Vantaa
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Cow skull (animal bone)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Koivisto, Väisänen & Terävä 2013: 40-41, Map 12
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kirkonkylä site) in 2013. A cow skull was found placed upside-down in the foundation of a hearth. The find is catalogued as KM 39724: 1041.

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Number	122
Locality	c Vihti
Dating	17th century (uncertain) (early modern)
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2218: 75
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The information on the find context is at least 200 years old oral history.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1883. The Stone Age gouge had been found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of an old, dismantled building belonging to the Anttila estate in Ahmoo village (nowadays in Karkkila). The object had been kept at the estate for at least 200 years since it was found.
Number	123
Locality	d Akaa
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Metal box with e.g. ashes and tallow inside (other)
Context	Storage building: Doorpost (uncertain)
Reference / Source	NBA Dept. of Monuments and Sites archives: Toijala/Akaa -folder
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Definitely a deliberate concealment but uncertain to which building it belongs.
Notes	Found in the early 20th century. An iron box (12 x 15 x 4 cm) was found inside a carved hole in a timber that formed the doorpost of a barn belonging to Kurvola manor close to Toijala. From the contents of the box ashes and tallow were identified. The timbers had originally belonged to the old Akaa church that had been dismantled in 1817. The finder, farmer Viljam Mäkeläinen, was convinced that the concealment belonged to the church.
Number	124
Locality	d Asikkala
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Under corner
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 13466
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1954. The Stone Age axe was found under the corner stones of an old dwelling house at Peltoniemi estate in Viitaila village.

Number	125
Locality	d Asikkala
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Cowshed: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 9873
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and other obvious signs of deliberate action.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1934. The Stone Age axe had been found 19 years earlier while demolishing the old cowshed at Rauskala estate in Viitaila village. The axe had been concealed in the ceiling inside a hole that had been made in a beam, and it was bound with twig-bands that seemed to have been used as sealing (this last, slightly unclear notion is directly translated from the catalogue-text).
Number	126
Locality	d Hartola
Dating	18th century
Object	Coin, flint stone, animal bone
Context	Drying barn: Hearth
Reference / Source	Pesonen 2009: 18–19, 119
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Exact context information is missing.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2009 (the Uusi-Ruskeala C site). A copper coin (1 ore), two pieces of flint stone, an unburnt fragment of a bovine skull, and a small fragment of burnt mammal bone were found when a hearth was excavated (structure no. 6). The structure has been interpreted as the hearth of a drying barn. The finds are catalogued as KM 37985: 42–46, 185. The bones have been identified by Kristiina Mannermaa in Appendix 1 of the report.

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Number	127
Locality	d Hartola
Dating	18th century
Object	Animal bones (horse, bear, pig, cow, sheep, goat, fish)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Pesonen 2009: 22, 120
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Exact context information is missing, but assemblage points to deliberate action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2009 (the Uusi-Ruskeala C site). An interesting assemblage of unburnt animal bone was discovered when a hearth-pit (structure no. 11) was excavated. The bones were: a worn but whole leg bone (radius, dex) of a horse (over 3,5 years old), a worn and possibly rounded (worked) leg bone (ulna, sin) of a bear, eight fragments of a pig skull (and teeth), a fragmented jawbone with teeth (mandibula, sin) of a sheep, another (mandibula, sin) of a goat, and a third (mandibula, sin) of a bovine, two fragmented leg bones (humerus, dex and femur, sin) of a bovine, three unidentified fragments of mammal bone, and some scales of perch and pike. The bones are catalogued as KM 37985: 63. They have been identified by Kristiina Mannermaa in Appendix 1 of the report.
Number	128
Locality	d Heinola
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Snake (viper) (whole animal)
Context	Official building: Wall
Reference / Source	Jyränkö 1898a; 1898b; Hukantaival 2013b: 69–70
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when demolishing the building in 1898. The dried remains of a big viper was found in a hole that had been made in one of the wall-timbers of the old governor's building of Heinola.

Number	129
Locality	d Hämeenkoski
Dating	16th century (early modern)
Object	Penannular brooch (antiquated)
Context	Church: Under sacristy floor
Reference / Source	Ratilainen 1998: 6; 2005: 97; Hiekkänen 2005: 58, 71
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Difficult to assess whether the brooch could be part of a disturbed burial.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 1998 (the Hämeenkoski church site). A late Iron Age - early medieval penannular brooch of Salmo's type 13 was found in the filling under a brick floor in the south-western corner of the possible sacristy of Hämeenkoski church ruins. A couple of loose human bones were also in this same filling, but they did not seem to belong together with the brooch according to the report (Ratilainen 1998: 6). The church was built most likely in 1520–60 (Hiekkänen 2005: 71). The object is catalogued as KM 99035: 1.
Number	130
Locality	d Hämeenlinna (Hauho)
Dating	16th century (uncertain) (early modern)
Object	Axe (hatchet) (sharp tool)
Context	Church: Under floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2201: 689
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1883. A hatchet was found under the floor of Hauho church when the floor was repaired. The church is built between 1500–1520 (Hiekkänen 2007: 292–293).
Number	131
Locality	d Hämeenlinna (Renko)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Leg bones of animal (horse)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Hämäläinen 27.7.1892; 30.7.1892
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	The leg bones of horse were found under the hearth of a croft in Nevilä village in Renko during a police investigation in 1892. The police had received a tip of human bones under the run-down hearth, but the bones were recognized as belonging to horse during closer investigation.

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Number	132
Locality	d Janakkala
Dating	Early 19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Stable: Under floor/wall
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 1869: 56
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1877. The chisel was found under an old stable at Leppäkoski estate.
Number	133
Locality	d Janakkala
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Iron Age sword blade (antiquated)
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12703
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1950. The broken blade of an Iron Age sword (c. 80 cm long) was found under the floor of the dwelling house at Harmoila estate in Turenki village. The sword was found during renovation work when the cellar floor was lowered. It was only 1/2 cm deep in the soil, thus immediately under the floor, in front of the threshold to the "boiler room" (Fin. pannuhuone) close to the northern corner of the room. Note: There is a map-sketch of the find-location in the verificate.
Number	134
Locality	d Korpilahti (nowadays in e Jyväskylä)
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Silver stem of a goblet (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2214: 759
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1883. The silver stem of a goblet was found from the foundation of a building at Lallila estate in Tihala village.

Number	135
Locality	d Kuusankoski (nowadays Kouvola)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Sauna: In floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 10560
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1937. The Stone Age gouge was found in the earthen-floor by the entrance of an old sauna on Salonsaari-island in Pyhäjärvi-lake in Pilkkanmaa village when the sauna was moved.
Number	136
Locality	d Lahti
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Iron hoe (sharp tool), necks of bottles, potatoes etc.
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Poutiainen 1999a: 41–42
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The assemblage of finds from the same context makes it difficult to evaluate the deliberateness of the action.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kauppatori [Market place] site) in 1997. An iron hoe was found among the bricks of a hearth-foundation (context no. 12). Small iron objects (e.g. nails) were found inside the hearth and shards of glass in the whole area of the hearth. Necks of bottles were found in the northern side of the structure, also under the wooden base. Large pieces of window glass were found under the south-eastern corner of the wooden base. Charred potatoes were found both in the charcoal layer and in the clay under the brick layer. Note: A horse skeleton (no. 137) was found under the floor next to this same hearth-foundation.

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Number	137
Locality	d Lahti
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Horse (whole animal)
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	Poutiainen 1999a: 45; 1999b: 151, 153
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The upper layers were partly destroyed so it is difficult to assess if the burial of the horse truly belongs together with the building.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Kauppatori site) in 1997. A horse skeleton was found under the floor right next to the hearth-foundation (context no. 12) of the main building of Pekkala farm. The skeleton was catalogued as KM 97092: 74. Note: An iron hoe and some other objects (no. 136) were found in the hearth-foundation.
Number	138
Locality	d Loppi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Oxen yoke (wood) (artefact)
Context	Storage building: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4103
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1902. The wooden oxen yoke was found in c. 1890 in the structure of the roof of a shed at Kyttälä estate in Räyskylä village when the shed was torn down. The year 1741 and letters MI were inscribed on the object.
Number	139
Locality	d Luhanka
Dating	18th century
Object	Stone Age axe (with shaft hole)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 10381
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during demolition in 1935 and delivered to the museum in 1936. The two-edged Stone Age axe with a shaft hole was found in the two hundred years old hearth-foundation of the dwelling house at Uusi-Lehtimäki estate in Judinsalo village. The find is presumed to have been in a secondary context in the catalogue.

Number	140
Locality	d Mänttä-Vilppula (Vilppula)
Dating	Late 19th century
Object	Piece of bear's spine (animal bone)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Vilppula Museum; Kurppa, Maiju (pers. comm. 1.11. and 11.11.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the Vilppula Museum in 1969. The piece of a bear's spine had been concealed under the foundation stone of the hearth of Manninen cottage in Suluslahti village in 1862 to protect the building and bring good luck. The object was donated by Kalle Manninen.
Number	141
Locality	d Pälkäne
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2519: 259
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1887. The Stone Age axe was found in the foundation of a building belonging to Seppälä estate in Epaala village.
Number	142
Locality	d Pälkäne (Luopioinen)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age hoe
Context	Attic
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 6680: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1914. The Stone Age hoe made from greenish slate was found in the soil filling of the attic of an old building owned by tailor Kalle Lindevall in Aitoo village.

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Number	143
Locality	d Sysmä
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 6671: 1
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1914. The Stone Age axe with shaft hole had been found several years earlier during demolition work in the ceiling of an old building in Nuoramoinen village.
Number	144
Locality	d Tampere (b Messukylä)
Dating	15th century (medieval)
Object	Head of ceramic figurine (artefact)
Context	Church: Under floor
Reference / Source	Pylkkänen 1961; The artefact catalogue of the National Museum; Hukantaival 2006: 119–120
Strength of interpretation	Strong. The object is not likely to have ended up in its context accidentally, but it has been discussed as perhaps having belonged to a burial.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in the Messukylä old church in 1959. The head of a pipe clay figurine depicting a woman was found under the floor in the north-eastern part of the church hall. The object was about half a meter deep under the floor, c. 3 meters from the north wall and c. 3 meters from the east wall, between the altar and door to the sacristy. The find is catalogued as KM 59144: 35.

Number	145
Locality	d Urjala
Dating	Early 20th century
Object	Cow (calf) skull (split) (animal bone)
Context	Dwelling building: Under attic floor
Reference / Source	Mattila, Sanna-Liisa (pers. comm. 27.3. and 2.4.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation in 2013. The left half of a calf skull was found among the filling of the attic floor of a large farm house built in 1925 in Vahonen village (owned then by Heikki Rekunen). The skull had been placed with the cut downwards where the stairs to the attic lead, facing the stairs. The skull has been identified as a calf from an in situ photograph by Auli Bläuer (pers. comm. 5.11.2013). Note: A coin (no. 147) was found under the threshold and a hare's foot (no. 146) under the floor of the entrance hall of this same building.

Number	146
Locality	d Urjala
Dating	Early 20th century
Object	Hare's foot (magic artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Under floor
Reference / Source	Mattila, Sanna-Liisa (pers. comm. 2.4.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation in 2013. A hare's foot was found under the floor of the smaller of two entrance halls of a large farm house built in the 1925 in Vahonen village (owned then by Heikki Rekunen). Note: A half calf skull (no. 145) was found in the filling of the attic-floor and a coin (no. 147) under the threshold of this same building.

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Number	147
Locality	d Urjala
Dating	Early 20th century
Object	Coin
Context	Dwelling building: Under threshold
Reference / Source	Mattila, Sanna-Liisa (pers. comm. 27.3.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation in 2013. A coin was found under the threshold of a large farm house built in the 1925 in Vahonen village (owned then by Heikki Rekunen). The renovators also added a new coin during the work. Note: A half calf skull (no. 145) was found in the filling of the attic-floor and a hare's foot (no. 146) under the floor of the entrance hall of this same building.
Number	148
Locality	d Urjala
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 6703: 1
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1914. The Stone Age axe was found in the hearth-foundation of an old dwelling house by Kranijärvi lake in Urjala village.
Number	149
Locality	e Jyväskylä
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone hammerhead (artefact)
Context	Sauna: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2029: 7
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Could be simply used as a stove-stone.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1880. The stone with a hole was found in the sauna hearth of Tahvola estate.

Number	150
Locality	e Keitele
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Dwelling building: Under steps
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3801: 12
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1900. The Stone Age gouge was found in 1896 when the 'very old' steps to the dwelling house were disassembled at Pasala estate in Tossavanlahti village.
Number	151
Locality	e Keitele
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age tool
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3990: 1
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1901. The Stone Age tool was found in c. 1895 under the stones of an old oven on Mikkola estate in Kumpuinen village. The finder, farmer Wilho Käikkönen, had broken the tool after finding.
Number	152
Locality	e Keuruu
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone hammerhead (artefact)
Context	Wall (?)
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2029: 166
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1880. The stone with a hole was discovered when an old building belonging to Uustila estate was dismantled.

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Number	153
Locality	e Pihtipudas
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age object (stone with a hole)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 13300: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1953. The roughly rhombus-shaped stone with a hole had been found in 1951 while the site of an old smoke-cottage at Puskala estate in Alvajärvi village was levelled. The stone was found at the place of the hearth in the NE-corner of the building. Note: A map-sketch of the find location is included in the verificate.
Number	154
Locality	e Pihtipudas
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age grindstone (for sharpening)
Context	Storage building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 5414: 21
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1909. The Stone Age grindstone for sharpening tools (Fin. tahkokivi) made of a reddish stone type was found among the foundation stones of a barn at Keskinen estate in Muurasjärvi village.
Number	155
Locality	e Pihtipudas
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 5663: 8
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1910. The Stone Age axe was found in the stone foundation of the old dwelling house of Pellonpää estate in Muurasjärvi village, when the house was torn down.

Number	156
Locality	e Pihtipudas
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone hammerhead (artefact)
Context	Storage building: Under step (threshold)
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2331: 6
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1885. The rounded stone with a hole was found under the stepping stone of an old storage building (Fin. aitta) of Konalamäki estate.
Number	157
Locality	e Pihtipudas
Dating	19th century
Object	Stone Age chisel, stone mould (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3801: 13; 66
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1900. The Stone Age chisel and stone mould (for ring-like objects) were found in 1894 in the stone foundation of an old building at Markkula estate in Muurasjärvi village. The finders supposed that the objects were brought by the late master Antti Tiainen in c. 1860 when he moved to Markkula from Talvilahti estate in Alajärvi village.
Number	158
Locality	e Viitasaari
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Iron Age brooch and spearhead (antiquated)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2605: 1-2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1888. The Iron Age ornamented bronze tortoise brooch and iron spearhead were found together in the stone foundation of the old dwelling house at Pietilä estate in Keitelelohja village when the building was torn down.

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Number	159
Locality	f Puumala
Dating	Late 18th or early 19th century
Object	Cannonball (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Suhonen 2005: 15–18, context-catalogue R2011, Map 12; see also Suhonen 2012: 44
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	<p>Found during archaeological excavation in 2005 (the Kukonharju canal site). A cannonball was found in the south-western corner of a hearth-foundation (context no. R201). The ball was apparently built into the structure of the hearth. The find is catalogued as KM 2005070: 71.</p> <p>Note: Other finds from this hearth include pieces of a metal pot, a key, glass shards, nails, burnt bone, and burnt clay. However, the exact contexts of these are undocumented.</p> <p>Note: Suhonen 2012: 44 suggests that the cannonball was used when warming e.g. water or a bed, but from the documents it seems that the ball was in fact built into the structure.</p>
Number	160
Locality	g Iisalmi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Spindle whorl (stone) (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3590: 8
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Though the context is clearly mentioned, it is not detailed enough to assess with certainty whether the small object was indeed deliberately concealed.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1898. The stone spindle whorl with engraved decorative circles was found in the foundation of an old building at Ulpämäki estate in Pyhälämäki village.
Number	161
Locality	g Kiuruvesi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Cowshed: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4088: 5
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1902. The Stone Age gouge was found in c. 1900 in the stone foundation of the old cowshed at Tähkø-aho croft in Kiuruvesi village when the building was demolished.

Number	162
Locality	g Kiuruvesi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age arrowhead
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12059
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the Kiuruvesi Rapakkojoki school in 1936 and from there to the National Museum in 1949. The reddish-brown flint stone arrowhead had been found during demolition among the stones of an oven at Juurikkolahti in Rapakkojoki village.
Number	163
Locality	g Kuopio
Dating	Late 18th century (uncertain)
Object	Cross pendant (artefact)
Context	Stable: Wall
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 1899
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well-documented context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1878. The orthodox cross, decorated on one side, was found in 1872 between the stone foundation and the wall timbers of the over a hundred years old stable of Mikko Räisänen's estate in Jänissalo village.
Number	164
Locality	g Kuopio
Dating	Early 19th century
Object	Coins (11)
Context	Church: Under altar
Reference / Source	Savo-Karjala 10.07.1895a: 3
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Even though coins may easily fall through cracks in floors, these coins are older than the church's use; and also the context under the altar points to deliberate action.
Notes	Found during renovation of Kuopio Cathedral in 1895. When the floor under the altar was opened the renovators found 11 coins. Most were from the 18th century, and there were both Russian and Swedish coins. At least one Swedish coin had been minted in 1715. The Cathedral was consecrated in 1816. Note: At least 33 miniature coffins with frogs inside (no. 165) were found under the floor of this same church.

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Number	165
Locality	g Kuopio
Dating	19th century
Object	Frogs in miniature coffins (at least 33)
Context	Church: Under floor
Reference / Source	Savo-Karjala no. 75 10.07.1895b; no. 75 07.07.1897; Olli 1901; NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3442: 1; Kataja 2008; Hukantaival 2015
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well documented magic practice.
Notes	Found during renovation of Kuopio Cathedral in 1895, 1897, 1900 and 1901. In 1895 the renovators found 26 wooden miniature coffins with the remains of a frog and some textile and fish net that was pinned on the frog with a needle under the floor of the Cathedral's choir. These had obviously been pushed with a long stick under the floor from the small hatches in the foundation during a long time period. One of these was kept and sent to the National Museum in Helsinki. Two years later, in 1897, the church official sent another newly found miniature coffin to the National Museum (KM 3442: 1). One coffin found in 1900 is kept in the Kuopio Museum (KHMESIE 1689). In 1901 five more frog-coffins were found. The Cathedral was consecrated in 1816. Note: Eleven coins (no. 164) were found under the altar of this same church.
Number	166
Locality	g Kuopio (Nilsinä)
Dating	19th century
Object	Frog in miniature coffin
Context	Church: Under floor
Reference / Source	Kuopio Museum catalogue: KHMESIE 477; Hukantaival 2015: 203-204
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and known practice.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1913. The miniature birch wood coffin which contained the remains of a frog, a piece of fishing net, and a piece of textile was found under the floor of Nilsinä church.

Number	167
Locality	g Leppävirta
Dating	20th century
Object	Stone Age gouge
Context	Drying barn: Corner-joint
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 13660
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1954. The Stone Age gouge had been found in a cairn in 1945 by Salomon Timonen (born 1873), who had then kept it in the corner-joint of his drying barn in Niinimäki village.
Number	168
Locality	g Tuusniemi
Dating	Late 19th century
Object	Frogs in miniature coffins (possibly up to a hundred)
Context	Church: Floor
Reference / Source	Savotar no. 120 19.10.1907: 3; Kataja 2008; Hukantaival 2015: 200–201
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well documented magic practice.
Notes	Found during renovation of the Tuusniemi church in 1907 and 1930. Several tens of miniature coffins with frogs inside were found under the floor of the church. The frogs were wrapped in fish net or fishing-line and pinned with a needle. The coffins had been put under the church floor through the hatches in the foundation. The church was built in 1869. Note: Two of the folklore-accounts in this study tells of similar finds from this same church and its bell-tower: FLS FA. Tuusniemi. 1916. Lönnbohm, O. A. F. b) 2905 and FLS. FA. Tuusniemi. Räsänen, Otto. KRK118:131; for details see Hukantaival 2015: 200–201.
Number	169
Locality	h Antrea (Rus. Kamennogorsk)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axes (2)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 5587: 1–2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1910. The two Stone Age axes were found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of an old smoke-cottage at Kalle Sirenius' estate in Syvälahti village.

APPENDICES

Number	170
Locality	h Antrea (Rus. Kamennogorsk)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age double chisel
Context	Dwelling building: Under threshold
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4421: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1904. The Stone Age double chisel (chisel and gouge) had been found years earlier under the threshold of the entrance to Matti Vappolainen's croft at Pöysti estate in Kaskinen village. The object is mentioned to have been found after a thunderstorm.
Number	171
Locality	h Kaukola (Rus. Sevastyanovo)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Whetstone pieces (3)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 6670: 9
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1914. The three pieces of sandstone whetstones were found in the hearth foundation of Elli Lankinen's old dwelling house.
Number	172
Locality	h Kurkijoki
Dating	15th - 16th centuries (Medieval)
Object	Stone Age adze
Context	Under corner
Reference / Source	Kochkurkina 2006: 60–61
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavations at the Lopotti fortified settlement. A Stone Age slate adze was found under the south-eastern corner of the foundation of a wooden house with a stone stove in the north-eastern corner.

Number	173
Locality	h Sakkola (Rus. Gromovo)
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age tools (chisel and gouge)
Context	Storage building: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2298: 122–123
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1884. The Stone Age chisel and gouge had been found on/in the roof of Loponen's barn in Noisniemi village.
Number	174
Locality	h Viipuri (Rus. Vyborg)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Dwelling building: Under steps
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2658: 27
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1889. The Stone Age chisel was found under the steps of Vilhelm Kukkaro's house in Pihkalajärvi village.
Number	175
Locality	j Joensuu (Kiihtelysvaara)
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Squirrels in miniature coffins (2), yarn-doll
Context	Church: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	National Museum main catalogue: KM 7604: 1–3; Savo no. 188 15.7.1931; Hukantaival 2015: 201–202
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well documented.
Notes	Found during renovation of the Kiihtelysvaara church in 1931. Two squirrels that were placed inside miniature coffins of alder-wood and a doll made of wool yarn were found in the stone foundation of the wall on the altar's side. They had most likely been placed there before the sacristy was built. The coffins are kept in the National Museum in Helsinki. Note: A cat inside an alder-coffin (no. 176) was found in the roof construct of this same church.

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Number	176
Locality	j Joensuu (Kiihtelysvaara)
Dating	Late 18th to 19th century
Object	Cat in a miniature coffin
Context	Church: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA Historic topographic archive: Kiihtelysvaara; Savo no. 188 15.7.1931; Hukantaival 2015: 201–202
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well documented.
Notes	Found during renovation of the Kiihtelysvaara church in 1931. A cat that had been placed inside a coffin made of a hollowed alder-trunk was found in the roof construct of the southern entrance hall. The coffin was placed in a closed space between the ceiling and the roof. Note: Two miniature coffins with squirrels inside and a doll made of wool yarn (no. 175) were found in the wall-foundation of this same church.
Number	177
Locality	j Kitee (Kesälahti)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age object (rhombus-shaped stone with hole), animal bones
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 13050
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1952. The Stone Age rhombus-shaped stone with a hole and several bones belonging to a large animal were found in the hearth-foundation of the old main building (in ruins) at Veikko Päivinen's estate in Lakovaara village. The finder assumes that the bones may have belonged to an elk (<i>Alces alces</i>). The bones were not kept.
Number	178
Locality	j Kontiolahti
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Shaped stone (other)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 17265
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1967. The shaped piece of soapstone with several signs of scraping was found in the hearth-foundation of an old house at Matikkala estate in Kunnasniemi village when the building was demolished.

Number	179
Locality	k Alajärvi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Crossbow cocking mechanism part (Fin. vekara) (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3828: 8
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is slightly vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1900. The piece of a crossbow cocking mechanism (small iron object with hooks, Fin. vekara) was found when an old hearth was disassembled at Orava estate in Menkijärvi village.
Number	180
Locality	k Evijärvi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3617: 16
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1898. The Stone Age chisel was found in the old 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of the house at Alakoski estate in Kiiskelä village.
Number	181
Locality	k Halsua
Dating	Late 19th – early 20th century (uncertain)
Object	Horse (whole animal)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Virrankoski 1961: 401
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when renovating or demolishing the building in 1956. The skeleton of a small horse was found next to the hearth-foundation of the Hotakainen Peritalo -house. The horse had apparently been buried in a standing position.

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Number	183
Locality	k Karijoki
Dating	Early 19th century
Object	Stone Age axe (thunderbolt)
Context	Dwelling building: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 852
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well-documented.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1868. The Stone Age axe (107 x 32-45 x 28 mm) had been bought in an auction in Karijoki and kept in the ceiling of a cottage as protection against lightning.
Number	184
Locality	k Kauhajoki
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2319: 947
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is slightly vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1885. The Stone Age chisel was found from the foundation of the Keskiharju dwelling house in Harju village.
Number	185
Locality	k Kokkola
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Ice-skate (horse bone) (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Kallio-Seppä 2008: 63–64, 69–70
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Exact context information is missing.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation in 2008 (the Niemen tontti site). A used ice-skate made from the leg bone of a horse was found when a hearth-structure was excavated (structure no. R209, context no. SY250). The find is catalogued as KM 2008030: 398.

Number	186
Locality	k Kokkola
Dating	Late 17th century (early modern)
Object	Whetstones (2)
Context	Dwelling building: Corners
Reference / Source	Nurmi forthcoming; Nurmi, Risto (pers. comm. 4.11.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Roos site) in 2011. Two whetstones were found under the corners of a dwelling building with a stone foundation. (The excavation report is pending, Nurmi, R. pers.comm. 12.10.2015.)
Number	187
Locality	k Kokkola (Ullava)
Dating	19th century
Object	Stone Age boat axe
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2694: 573
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1890. The Stone Age boat axe was found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of an old building on the Haapala estate in Juuankylä village. The year '1830' had been inscribed on the axe.
Number	188
Locality	k Kuortane
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Unfinished stone with hole (other)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Torvinen 1983: 144; NBA artefact catalogue: KM 22150
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1983. The unfinished stone with hole had been found in the early 1970s in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of the dwelling house at Virtaniemi estate in Ylijoki village. During the archaeological survey in 1983 (when the object was turned over to the surveyor) no signs of a prehistoric site were observed at the location.

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Number	182
Locality	k Kurikka (Jurva)
Dating	Early 20th century (uncertain)
Object	Horse (whole animal)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	Siltala 2006; Hukantaival 2007b: 25; 2009: 351
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context. However, no osteological report is available; so the observation of species and assemblage of bones relies on an eye-witness report.
Notes	Found during renovation in 1959. The skeleton of a whole horse was found in the foundation of the hearth when the main building of Reinikka farm was renovated. Reported to the newspaper Pohjalainen by Heikki Reinikka.
Number	189
Locality	k Kurikka (Jurva)
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Stone Age object (rhombus-shaped stone with hole)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 14215
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1957. The rhombus-shaped stone (13,7 x 6,7 x 2,3 cm) with a hole was found in the hearth-foundation of the Jokela croft in Närviijoki village.
Number	190
Locality	k Kurikka (Jurva)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age object (rhombus-shaped stone with hole)
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12060
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1949. The small (7,6 x 6,7 x 1,55 cm) rhombus-shaped stone with a hole had been found in c. 1920 in the hearth-foundation of an old dwelling house at Närvä estate in Närviijoki village. The object was found on the sand-layer under the hearth-foundation.

Number	191
Locality	k Lappajärvi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Mould (stone) (artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue KM 5309: 2
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the National Board of Antiquities in 1909. The stone mould for two small objects was found from the ceiling of the old dwelling building at the Winkka estate. Catalogued as KM 5309: 2.
Number	192
Locality	k Lappajärvi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone mould (artefact)
Context	Roof
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4041: 6
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1902. The stone mould for a heart-shaped object was found in the ceiling of an old building at Ahala estate.
Number	193
Locality	k Lapua
Dating	Early 19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age chisel
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 999
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context information is vague.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1868. The chisel was found under a floor at the Koski estate.

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Number	194
Locality	k Lapua
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age tools (axe and chisel)
Context	Stable: Wall-foundation (corners)
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 10654: 16–17
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1937. The Stone Age axe and chisel were found in the filling of the long wall's foundation of an old stable at Latvala (Larvala) estate in Haapakoski village. One of the objects was in one end and the other in the other end of the wall (thus in or close to the corners). They were found when the sand filling of the foundation was removed, and assumed by the finders Aukusti Rantala and Kalervo Mäki to have been there for a magical purpose.
Number	195
Locality	k Lapua
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Stone Age ice pick
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2239: 882
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Well-documented context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1884. The 327 mm long stone ice pick (Fin. tuura) had been found in the foundation of the old dwelling house at Hipakka hill in Tiistenkylä village when the building was torn down.
Number	196
Locality	k Närpiö (Pirttikylä)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone mould (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3889: 19
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1900. The stone mould for small objects (e.g. a shoe buckle) was found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of a building in Sidbäck village when it was torn down.

Number	197
Locality	k Perho
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Birch bark packet: Animal (horse) bones (3), piece of flint stone
Context	Under corner
Reference / Source	National Museum main catalogue: KM 7380: 77
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and known practice when found.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1931. The birch bark packet with a vertebra, a horse tooth and piece of jawbone, and a piece of flint stone was found under the southern corner of an old building at Vanhatalo estate in Ukoskoski village. According to the information in the main catalogue of the National Museum in Helsinki this "magic-treasure" was made to repel pests from the building and to divine if the building location was favourable.
Number	198
Locality	k Pietarsaari
Dating	19th century
Object	Horse shoes (3) (artefact)
Context	Economy building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Oikarinen 2008: 41
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and typical objects (known from folklore).
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Lassfolk site) in 2007. Three horse shoes were found when the stone foundation to an outbuilding (combined storehouse-cowshed-outhouse; building CR1) was excavated. The building was in use between 1837–1870. The objects are catalogued as KM 2007103: 96. Note: A Grafton-rifle had been concealed (possibly under the floor) by the wall-foundation of this same building (shown on Maps 9, 10). Since this is most likely a weapon-concealment differing clearly from the ritualistic practices discussed in this study, this find has not been included in the material.

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Number	199
Locality	k Seinäjoki (Ylistaro)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age pick-axe
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2392: 91
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1886 by crofter Kustaa Rajamäki. The stone pick-axe was found in the wall-foundation of an old building at the Valkiala estate in Untamala village.
Number	200
Locality	k Toholampi
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Mould (stone) (artefact)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3805: 5
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1900. Found when demolishing the building. Juho Jämssä found the mould-stone for ring-like objects in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) while demolishing an old dwelling building. The find is kept in the Ethnological Collections.
Number	201
Locality	l Liminka
Dating	Medieval
Object	Ice grip for shoe (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Salmi et al. 2012: 10–11, Fig. 9
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Heiskari village site) in 2010. A three-spiked iron ice grip was found in a hearth-foundation in a position with the spikes upwards. The ice grip is of the type that has been worn on a shoe. The object is catalogued as KM 2010096: 65.

Number	202
Locality	I Lumijoki
Dating	Late 18th or 19th century
Object	Coins (>50) in pouch
Context	Dwelling building: Wall foundation
Reference / Source	Alakangas 2013: 14
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Surely a deliberate concealment, but might be a "valuables deposit".
Notes	Found during renovation. A leather purse with more than 50 Swedish silver coins was found in the stone-foundation of the Ylilauri farm's wooden main building. The oldest of the coins was minted in 1653. The oldest of the farm buildings are from the 18th century and the farm has been owned by the same family from 1809 onwards. The find is kept by the owners of the farm.
Number	203
Locality	I Nivala
Dating	Early 20th century
Object	Unfinished Stone Age axe (with shaft hole)
Context	Dwelling building; sauna: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 19381
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1974. The unfinished Stone Age axe with shaft hole had been found c. 70–80 years earlier in a field by a man called Piippu-Juuso, and had then been immured in the hearth of the Piippola house in Karvoskylä village. Later the same axe had been immured in the sauna's hearth, where it was found during demolition by blacksmith Oiva Pölli, who delivered it to the museum.

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Number	204
Locality	I Oulu
Dating	Early 18th century
Object	Coins (2 + 1 + 2)
Context	Church: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Modarress 2009: 17, 19, 23–24, Map 41; 2011: 14, 21, Map 20; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 73, 76–78
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Two of the coins are in a clear context but the rest are more problematic.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Turkansaari site) in 2009 and 2010. In 2009 two Swedish copper coins were found under a stone that belongs to the foundation of the north-eastern wall (in the middle of the wall) of the Turkansaari chapel. The coins were: 1677, 1/6 ore (Charles XI) (catalogued as KM 2009050: 71) and 1724, 1 ore (Frederick I) (catalogued as KM 2009050: 72). A third copper coin was found under another stone in the same foundation close to the latter: 1660 (uncertain), 1/6 ore (catalogued as KM 2009050: 66). Two more coins were found in 2010 close to the ones under the stone: KM 2010038: 27 (1 ore, 1749) and KM 2010038: 28 (1 ore, 1725) (Frederick I). The chapel is built in the late 17th century, so the concealments are younger than the original time of building.
Number	205
Locality	I Oulu
Dating	Early 18th century
Object	Spoon (silver), coins (2) (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Kallio-Seppä 2007: 42–44, Map 20; 2011: 191
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Even though the spoon seems to have been deliberately pushed under the timber, there is still a possibility that all three objects could have ended up in their context accidentally.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Lyseo site) in 2007. A silver spoon was found by a wall-timber (CR 3). The spoon was situated so that the bowl-part was partly under the timber. The object is catalogued as KM 2007031: 191. Two Swedish coins were also found by this same timber. The coin KM 2007031: 193 (Charles XI, 1/6 ore, 1660–97) was found very close to the spoon. The other (KM 2007031: 192, Christina, 1/4 ore, 1633–54) was found about one meter to the north-east from the others. The layer where these objects were found (CSY19) formed the fill of a shallow pit by the wall.

Number	206
Locality	I Oulu (Yli-Ii)
Dating	Early 20th century or older
Object	Stone Age ice pick
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 20955
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1980. The Stone Age ice pick was found in the stone foundation of the old dwelling house at Siirtola estate in Karjalankylä village while the building was demolished.
Number	207
Locality	I Pyhäjoki
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Commemorative coin (antiquated)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 4117
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context and not a coin in common circulation.
Notes	Found and delivered to the museum in 1902. The commemorative coin of queen Christina's crowning in 1644 was found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of the dwelling house at Wuotila estate in Pohjankylä village during improvement work.
Number	210
Locality	I Siikalatva (Piippola)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Crossbow cocking mechanism part (Fin. vekara) (artefact)
Context	Roof (ceiling)
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3671: 60
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1899. The piece of a crossbow cocking mechanism (small metal object with hooks, Fin. vekara) was found in the soil filling of the ceiling of an old building at Pussila estate in Tavastkenkä village, when the building was torn down.

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Number	208
Locality	I Siikalatva (Rantsila)
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Sheep (whole animal)
Context	Church: Under altar
Reference / Source	Kopperoinen, Esteri (pers. comm. 30.10.2013)
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation of Rantsila church in 1983–4. The skeleton of a lamb was found when the floor under the altar was opened. The informant Esteri Kopperoinen, who is the wife of the priest at the time, guesses that the bones were put back in their place before the floor was rebuilt. The find was published in a small local newspaper (Siikajokilaakso?) in 1984 or -85. The church is built in 1785.
Number	209
Locality	I Siikalatva (Rantsila)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Spindle whorl (ceramic) (artefact)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3744: 4
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Though the context is clearly mentioned, it is not detailed enough to assess with certainty whether the small object was indeed deliberately concealed.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1899. The ceramic spindle whorl was found in the foundation of an old building at Alaheikkilä estate in Kerälä village.
Number	211
Locality	I Vaala
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age spearhead
Context	Dwelling building: Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 12108
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1949. The Stone Age slate spearhead had been found in 1929 in the hearth-foundation of an old dwelling house (in ruins) at the Vaala common school's property during clearing work.

Number	212
Locality	m Kajaani district (municipality-information missing)
Dating	Early 19th century or older
Object	Axe (sharp tool)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2302: 9
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found in c. 1860 and delivered to the museum in 1885. The axe (root axe) was found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of the old dwelling house of Tapiola estate in the Kajaani district.
Number	213
Locality	m Pudasjärvi
Dating	19th century (uncertain)
Object	Mould (stone) (artefact)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Sarkkinen 2009: 221
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when demolishing an old house by the Jongunjärvi-lake. The stone mould for casting belt fittings that had also been used as a whetstone was found in the hearth-foundation. The object is catalogued as KM 11302.
Number	214
Locality	m Pudasjärvi
Dating	19th century
Object	Stone Age chisel (thunderbolt)
Context	Dwelling building: By chimney
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3296: 1
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Documented meaning.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1896. The Stone Age chisel had been kept as a 'thunderbolt' at the base of the chimney at Matti Petäjärvi's estate in Ranta village, so that lightning would not set the house on fire.

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Number	215
Locality	m Puolanka
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Dwelling building (vicarage): Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 13295
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the National Museum in 1953. The Stone Age axe had been found in 1905–06 in the stone foundation of the dwelling house of Puolanka vicarage by the vicar Kärki's children.
Number	216
Locality	m Puolanka
Dating	Early 19th century or older
Object	Axe (hatchet) (sharp tool)
Context	Dwelling building: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 2302: 8
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found in c. 1850 and delivered to the museum in 1885. The blade of a hatchet was found in the 'soil bench' (insulation structure by the walls, Fin. multapenkki) of an old dwelling house in the parish village.
Number	217
Locality	n Enontekiö
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Coins (2)
Context	Church: Corner
Reference / Source	Halinen 2000: 8; 2007: 174
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context. Has been published as a possible but uncertain concealment (Halinen 2007: 174), but seems strong in the light of the information in the original report (Halinen 2000: 8).
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Markkina site) in 2000. Two Swedish copper coins (öre) were found between the stones of the foundation of the south-eastern corner of Markkina church. The coins were minted in 1760, and 1761. Note: A concealment of three coins (no. 218) was discovered in the foundation of the eastern wall of this same church.

Number	218
Locality	n Enontekiö
Dating	Late 18th century
Object	Coins (3)
Context	Church: Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Halinen 2000: 8; 2007: 174
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context. Has been published as a deliberate concealment (Halinen 2007: 174).
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Markkina site) in 2000. One Swedish copper coin and two Danish silver coins were found under a stone in the middle of the eastern wall-foundation of the Markkina church. The coins were minted in 1686/7, 1724, and 1779. Note: The coins are minted by three different kings. Note: A likely coin-concealment of two copper coins (no. 217) was discovered in the south-eastern corner of this same church.
Number	219
Locality	n Kolari
Dating	Late 18th century or 19th century
Object	Coin
Context	Dwelling building: Roof
Reference / Source	Oksala, Hilikka (pers. comm. 26.10.2013); The Municipal Museum of Kolari
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found when the building was dismantled for moving to the Museum site in Sieppijärvi village in 1981. The donator of the building showed a Danish shilling minted in 1771 that had been found under the ridge beam of the building. The find was photographed, but remained with the owner. The building, so called Joki's cottage (Joen tupa), had been moved from Juurakkovaara in Saarenpudas village. The building had been moved once in the 19th century on the same estate, and the donator believed that it had originally been a smoke cottage on the Swedish side.

APPENDICES

Number	220
Locality	n Pello
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age ice pick
Context	Dwelling building: Attic
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 10249: 8
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Delivered to the museum in 1935. The Stone Age ice pick was found in the filling of the attic of Eero's house in Pello village. A note has been added in the marginal of the catalogue that the object must be cleaned from tar.
Number	221
Locality	n Rovaniemi
Dating	Early 19th century
Object	Coins (3)
Context	Dwelling building: Roof
Reference / Source	Sarvas 1982: 180–181; Hukantaival 2006: 99
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found while demolishing the building in 1978. Three Swedish coins were concealed under the ridge beam of a two-roomed cottage. The coins were: Frederick I, 1 ore, minted in 1722, Gustav II Adolf, 1/12 shilling, minted in 1802, and Charles XIII, 1/24 riksdaler, minted in 1810. The oldest was found in the oldest part of the building and the younger from a newer part of the building. Note: The coins are minted by three different kings, but they have not necessarily been concealed at the same time.
Number	222
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	Early 17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron bar (artefact)
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Herva 2002: 15, Map 4; Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 237, Figs. 2–3.
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Clear context, but there is a possibility that the iron bar had only been stored under the building.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. The iron bar was found next to the logs supporting the floor of a log building (building A). The find is catalogued as KM 2002080: 263. Note: A concealed pipkin pot was found under the north-western corner of this same building (no. 223).

Number	223
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	Early 17th century (early modern)
Object	Redware pipkin pot (artefact)
Context	Under corner
Reference / Source	Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 236–237; Nurmi 2011: 146–147
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. The body of the pot had been concealed under the north-western corner of a log building (building A). The handle to the vessel had been separately deposited in a pit nearby on the yard. Note: A possibly concealed iron bar was found under the floor of this same building (no. 222).
Number	224
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Bear claws (9) (animal bone)
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Herva 2002: 16; Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 237, Fig. 2.
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. The nine bear claws were found in the clay lining of the foundation of the south-eastern wall of a log building (building B). These claws were found in a single lump and a tenth one was found in the yard. The place of the concealment was between two separate buildings. Note: A concealed spoon handle was found in a possible hearth-foundation, and possibly concealed iron slag was discovered in the clay-lining of the wall-foundation of this same building (no. 225–226).

APPENDICES

Number	225
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Spoon handle (antler) (artefact)
Context	Hearth-foundation
Reference / Source	Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 240
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. The interpretation of the context is slightly unclear.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. The handle of an ornamented antler spoon was found in a tightly-packed clay feature which has been interpreted as a probable foundation of a hearth. The structure belonged to a re-build-phase of the log building (building B). Note: A concealment of nine bear claws was found in the foundation of the south-eastern wall, and possibly concealed iron slag was discovered in the clay-lining of the wall-foundation of this same building (no. 224, 226).
Number	226
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron slag
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 240
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Not recognized in the field, so exact context was not documented.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. A concentration of iron slag was found in the clay lining of the wall-foundation of a log building (building B). Since no other finds were discovered from the context, it is possible that the slag was concealed intentionally. Note: A concealment of nine bear claws was found in the foundation of the south-eastern wall, and a spoon handle was found in a possible heart-foundation of this same building (no. 224–225).
Number	227
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron slag
Context	Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 240
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Not recognized in the field, so exact context was not documented.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. A concentration of iron slag was found in the clay lining of the wall-foundation of a log building (building E). It has been published as possible that the slag was intentionally put in the clay.

Number	228
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron slag
Context	Between floors
Reference / Source	Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 240
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Not recognized in the field, so exact context was not documented.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. A concentration of iron slag was found between two floor layers of a log building (building D). It has been published as a uncertain deliberate concealment. Note: Two cannonballs and a variety of other finds may have been deliberately enclosed in the filling of a cellar-pit of this same building (not included in the material of this study).
Number	229
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	Early 18th century
Object	Axe-head (sharp tool)
Context	Under floor
Reference / Source	Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 237, Fig. 2.
Strength of interpretation	Problematic. Context is slightly unclear.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Rakennustuote site) in 2002. The axe-head was found under the floor of a log building from c. 1700. It has been published as a plausible foundation deposit.
Number	230
Locality	n Tornio
Dating	18th century
Object	Axe-head (sharp tool)
Context	Cowshed (?): Wall-foundation
Reference / Source	Hyttinen 2011: 66; 2012: 47, 49
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Suensaari site) in 2010. The head of an axe was found under the north-western wall-timbers of a possible cowshed (context no. AR15/ASY104). The find is catalogued as KM 2010045: 1234.

APPENDICES

Number	231
Locality	q Lintujärvi (Rus. Lindozero)
Dating	19th century or older
Object	Stone Age axe
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 3627: 227
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context (displayed?).
Notes	Recorded in 1897. The collector L. W. Pääkkönen mentions that one large Stone Age axe was immured on an oven in Lintujärvi village (as an explanation for not delivering it to the museum). It seem that this object has been visible, not concealed.
Number	232
Locality	å Jomala
Dating	14th century (Medieval)
Object	Coin (bracteate)
Context	Hearth
Reference / Source	Cederhvarf 1910: 94
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during archaeological excavation (the Jomala kyrkobacke site) in 1910. A 14th century bracteate was found under the bricks in the corner of a hearth. The site is a medieval vicarage. The coin is catalogued as KM 5662: 158.
Number	233
Locality	å Sund
Dating	Early 17th century (early modern)
Object	Iron cannonballs (11) (artefact)
Context	Castle: Wall
Reference / Source	Elfwendahl 1989
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear and well documented context.
Notes	Found during building historical research in 1984 in the Kastelholm castle. Eleven small iron cannonballs (diameters between 36-93 mm) were found in a walled-up scaffold hole in the south wall of the medieval castle. The hole was situated next to the westernmost doorway in the northern long wall. It was interpreted to have been walled-up in the early 17th century. The finds are catalogued as 556: 4900-4910. Note: A coin inside a wall between two rooms was found in 1908 in the bailey of this same castle (no. 234).

Number	234
Locality	å Sund
Dating	Late 16th century (uncertain) (early modern)
Object	Coin
Context	Castle: In wall
Reference / Source	NBA artefact catalogue: KM 5213: 14
Strength of interpretation	Strong. Clear context.
Notes	Found during renovation work in 1908 in Kastelholm castle. The Swedish silver coin (Johan III) minted in 1572 was found between the stones in a wall between two rooms in one of the bailey's wings. Note: A concealment of 11 small cannon balls was found in a scaffolding hole in the outer wall of this same castle in 1984 (no. 233).

APPENDIX 4

TABLES FOR CHAPTER 9.2

Appx. 4.1. The relationships between types of building and context in the building in the Finnish folklore. See Fig. 29.

Context	Dwell- ing	Cow- shed	Sta- ble	Animal shelter	Storage building	Drying barn	Sauna	Church	Total
Thresh- old	15	149	64	4	0	7	2	0	241
Corner	65	48	15	6	1	4	2	1	142
Wall	50	41	15	3	0	0	1	6	116
Roof	43	21	10	2	2	1	1	1	81
Hearth	53	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	61
Floor	15	17	15	15	2	1	0	6	71
Other	2	13	17	1	0	0	0	5	38
Total	243	289	136	31	5	13	14	19	750

Appx. 4.2. The relationships between concealed objects and contexts in the building in the Finnish folklore. See Figs. 31–32.

Object / context	Threshold	Corner	Wall	Roof	Hearth	Floor	Other
Mercury	161	35	32	5	6	10	10
Coin	32	97	31	58	1	8	2
Horse skull	0	0	5	0	46	5	0
Animal part	0	2	4	1	14	10	3
Snake	9	3	10	0	16	3	3
Whole animal	1	3	2	2	6	14	1
Human remains	0	2	4	0	1	3	2
Artefact	7	4	7	11	5	6	2
Sharp metal artefact	5	3	4	8	1	1	1
Magic artefact	2	4	5	5	1	2	2
Magic pouch	2	1	2	0	1	1	2
Book/leaf	2	0	3	8	0	1	1
Sulphur, arsenic, asafoetida	12	2	4	0	2	0	1

Appx. 4.3. The relationships between meanings and choices of context in the Finnish folklore. See Fig. 33.

Meaning	Threshold	Corner	Wall	Roof	Hearth	Floor	Other	Total
Against evil	101	16	11	27	1	3	7	166
For luck	66	45	20	18	2	24	8	183
Repelling pests	2	12	19	3	68	8	0	112
Against disease	11	0	5	0	5	1	5	27
Against fire/lightning	1	5	4	6	1	2	0	19
Malignant	7	7	11	1	0	11	4	41
For wealth	1	13	8	15	0	0	0	37
Offering	0	8	4	1	1	4	2	20
Guardian spirit	2	9	3	4	1	1	0	20
Fertility	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	5
Counter-magic	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	6
Total	194	117	86	75	81	57	26	636

Appx. 4.4. The relationship between types of objects and meanings of the concealments in the Finnish folklore. See Fig. 35.

Object	Protective magic	For luck	Repelling pests	Malignant magic	Interaction with guardian spirit	For wealth	Total
Mercury	117	71	10	6	3	2	209
Coin	41	58	7	0	28	33	167
Horse skull	4	1	45	0	1	0	51
Animal part	3	8	13	4	2	0	30
Snake	9	6	24	2	0	0	41
Whole animal	3	9	5	9	0	0	26
Human remains	1	0	0	8	0	0	9
Artefact	21	11	5	1	0	0	38
Sharp metal artefact	16	3	1	3	0	0	23
Magic artefact	8	5	0	2	0	0	15
Magic pouch	0	1	1	4	1	0	7
Book/page	6	6	0	1	0	0	13
Sulphur, arsenic, asa-foetida	8	2	2	1	0	0	13
Total	237	181	113	41	35	35	642

Appx. 4.5. The amount of selected object types (mercury, coin, horse skull, and snake) of folklore accounts from each culture area. See Fig. 39.

Area	Mercury	Coin	Horse skull	Snake	Other	Total
a Finland Proper	16	5	0	2	7	30
b Satakunta	52	35	15	3	27	132
c Uusimaa	13	10	0	1	13	37
d Tavastia	24	12	1	5	12	54
e Central Finland	18	16	7	4	29	74
f South Savonia	26	8	0	3	13	50
g North Savonia	4	10	2	2	16	34
h South Karelia (Russia)	15	9	0	1	10	35
i Ladoga Karelia (Russia)	12	3	0	3	8	26
j North Karelia	7	14	7	5	27	60
k South Ostrobothnia	31	42	6	7	17	103
l North Ostrobothnia	10	20	13	4	12	59
m Kainuu	7	14	3	2	10	36
n Lapland and Far Bothnia	2	8	0	2	3	15
p Dvina (Russia)	5	12	1	0	11	29
q Olonets (Russia)	1	4	0	0	1	6
s Ingria (Russia)	6	2	0	0	1	9
å Åland-islands	0	0	0	0	1	1
o Settlement areas	0	1	0	0	2	3
Total	249	225	55	44	220	793

Appx. 4.6. The popularity of contexts in the folklore from different culture areas. See Fig. 40.

Area	Threshold	Corner	Wall	Roof	Hearth	Floor	Other	Total
b Satakunta	63	20	17	10	15	2	3	130
k South Ostrobothnia	44	20	11	9	10	3	3	100
d Tavastia	24	8	9	7	2	2	2	54
a Finland Proper	19	1	4	5	0	1	3	33
f South Savonia	18	10	11	3	2	2	6	52
c Uusimaa	14	4	5	9	0	3	1	36
e Central Finland	14	17	6	6	14	13	3	73
l North Ostrobothnia	8	5	5	17	13	9	3	60
j North Karelia	5	17	12	6	8	12	2	62
h South Karelia (Russia)	5	13	12	2	1	1	1	35
g North Savonia	3	6	6	3	6	10	2	36
m Kainuu	3	6	6	7	5	7	1	35
n Lapland	2	1	3	6	0	0	3	15
p Dvina (Russia)	1	9	4	2	5	6	1	28
i Ladoga Karelia (Russia)	1	5	10	3	5	1	0	25
Total	224	142	121	95	86	72	34	774

LYHENNELMÄ

RAKENNUSKÄTKÖPERINTEET SUOMESSA N. 1200–1950

JOHDANTO

Väitöskirjatutkimukseni käsittelee Suomessa historiallisena aikana (n. 1200–1950) rakennuksiin tarkoituksellisesti kätkettyjä esineitä. Sen aineisto ja alueellinen raja-
aus (koko Suomi) ovat aikaisempaa, pro gradu -työtäni laajemmat (Hukantaival 2006). Lisäksi käsittelytapa on erilainen, sillä kansanperinne- eli folklore-aineisto (laajuus 775 tietuetta) on tässä työssä nostettu tutkimusaineistoksi, aikaisemman analogia-aineiston sijaan. Näin ollen työssä on kaksi pääasiallista aineistokokonaisuutta. Toinen näistä on kätkö-
löydöt, joita on tutkimuksessa yhteensä 234 tapausta. Laajemman näkökulman valossa tutkittava ilmiö avautuu huomattavasti aikaisempaa monipuolisempaan.

Tutkimuksessa käytetään moniaineistoista, kontekstuaalista analyysiä, joka on saanut vaikutteita myös niin sanotusta historiallisen jatkuvuuden lähestymistavasta (*direct historical approach*). Lähtökohtana ovat pro gradu -tutkimuksen havainnot kätköperinteen liittymisestä kansanuskoon ja erityisesti rakennusten suojelutaikuuteen. Työn tavoitteet ovat:

1. Perustutkimus, eli ilmiön kartoittaminen: sen ilmenemismuotojen, laajuuden sekä mahdollisten paikallisten ja ajallisten erojen tarkastelu.
2. Erityisenä tavoitteena on selvittää kätköjen merkityksiä ja motiiveja niitä harjoittavien ihmisten maailmankuvassa, sekä mahdollisia muutoksia näissä merkityksissä. Kätköperinteitä tarkastellaan niiden laajemmassa yhteydessä yhteiskunnan ja maailmankuvan osana.
3. Arkeologian kannalta erityisenä tavoitteena on kehittää historiallisen ajan kansanuskon arkeologiseen tutkimukseen soveltuvaa teoreettista viitekehystä ja moniaineistoista metodia.

TEOREETTINEN VIITEKEHYS JA METODOLOGIA

Tutkimuksessa käytettyjä avaintermejä ovat maailmankuva, kansanusko, rituaali, uhri ja taikuus (magia). Kaikki nämä käsitteet ovat luonteeltaan abstrakteja rakennelmia, joita ei ole helppo rajata yksiselitteisen määritelmän sisään. Siksi määritelmiä ei pidä nähdä ehdottomina, vaan joustavina. Maailmankuva on termeistä laajin, se sisältää uskonnon lisäksi muutkin totena pidetyt oletukset, joiden kautta maailma koetaan ja ymmärretään (ks. esim. Vidal 2008: 3–5). Kansanusko puolestaan sisältää ne tuonpuoleiseen liittyvät

uskomukset ja tavat, jotka eivät sellaisenaan kuulu virallisen (institutionalisoituneen) uskonnon oppijärjestelmään (ks. esim. Yoder 1974: 14).

Rituaali on toimintaa, joka on erilaisin tehokeinoin erotettu tavanomaisesta toiminnasta (ks. esim. Bell 1997: 91–169). Rituaaleja esiintyy usein uskonnon piirissä, mutta ne eivät silti ole pelkästään uskonnollista (tuonpuoleiseen liittyvää) toimintaa. Täysin maallisiakin rituaaleja on monenlaisia. Rakennuskätköjen kannalta keskeisiä rituaalimuotoja ovat uhri ja taikuus. Uhri on usein määritelty tavalla, joka tekee siitä selkeästi uskonnollista toimintaa: Se on tuonpuoleiselle toimijalle, kuten jumalalle, haltialle tai esi-isälle osoitettu lahja tai korvaus (ks. esim. van Baal 1976).

Taikuus eli magia on perinteisessä tutkimuksessa usein haluttu rajata uskonnon ulkopuolelle. Syyt tähän ovat enemmän poliittisia kuin todellisiin eroihin perustuvia, riippuen luonnollisesti valituista määritelmistä (ks. tämän tutkimuksen liite 1). Taikuus on itseasiassa pelkkää toimintaa laajempi käsite. Tässä työssä taikuus kuitenkin ymmärretään tavoitteellisena toimintana, joka perustuu erityiseen kausaaliteetin, eli syy- ja seuraussuhteen, käsitykselle. Monet magian klassikkoteorioissa (ks. Frazer 1992 [1890]; Mauss 2006 [1902]) esitetyt taikuiden lainalaisuudet ovat edelleen käyttökelpoisia näkemyksiä, tosin niiden toimimiseen universaaleina ja erityisesti tiukkarajaisina lakeina on suhtauduttava epäillen. Edelleen päteviä huomiota ovat niin sanotut sympateettiselle magialle ominaiset periaatteet ”osa edustaa kokonaisuutta” ja ”samanlainen vaikuttaa samanlaiseen”. Toiminnan vaikutuksia ohjaa taikojan intentio, eli aie. Samoin huomio taikuudessa hyödynnettävästä esineisiin ja materiaaleihin sisältyvästä (tuonpuoleisesta) voimasta, joka suomalaisessa yhteydessä tunnetaan *väkenä* (ks. esim. Issakainen 2002; Koski 2003; 2011), on tämän tutkimuksen kannalta keskeinen ajatus. Noituus määritellään tässä tutkimuksessa pahantahtoiseksi taikuudeksi.

Tutkimuksen moniaineistoinen metodologia on kehitelty kontekstuaalisen arkeologian (ks. Hodder 1987) ja historiallisen jatkuvuuden lähestymistavan (*direct historical approach*) pohjalta. Kontekstuaalisessa metodissa analyysi aloitetaan tarkastelemalla aineistossa esiintyviä kuvioita: yhtäläisyyksiä ja eroja (ajallisia, tilallisia, typologisia, ja niin edelleen). Ian Hodderin mukaan merkityksellisen kuvion tulisi olla tilastollisesti merkittävä. Kun materiaalisien kulttuurin aineistot ovat riittävästi verkostoituneet, on mahdollista tulkita myös merkityksissä tapahtuvia muutoksia, sillä verkostot heijastavat ihmisten taipumusta jäsentää maailmaansa (Hodder 1987: 5–8). Tässä työssä kokeillaan myös Clive Gamblen (2008: 127, 139) esittelemää kaavaa, jossa merkitys syntyy objektin ja sen paikan (kontekstin) summana (*meaning = object/style + placelandscape*). Tutkimusaihetta varten kaava on muokattu muotoon merkitys = kätköobjekti + kätköpaikka.

Kontekstuaalisen metodin suurin heikkous on sen nojaaminen tilastollisesti merkittävään huomioon. Tilastollisesti merkittävä tarkoittaa todennäköisyyttä, että huomio heijastaa todellista tilannetta, eikä johdu sattumasta. Jotta tilastollinen merkittävyys voidaan luotettavasti laskea, tarvitaan tieto tai arvio tutkittavan ilmiön kokonaisuuden (ns. populaation) koosta. Tämän tutkimuksen osalta tulisi siis arvioida, montako kätköä Suomen alueella on yhteensä tehty vuosien 1200–1950 välisenä aikana. Tällainen informaatio on usein arkeologian tutkimuskohteissa saavuttamattomissa. Toisen ongelman muodostaa se, että tilastoanalyysi olisi mieluiten tehtävä satunnaisotoksesta. Kuten Robert Drennan (2009: 82–89) huomauttaa, arkeologinen aineisto ei ole satunnaisotos vaan vinoutunut otos, johtuen arkeologisista muodostumisprosesseista. Näiden seikkojen huomiotta jättäminen johtaa helposti hätäiseksi yleistykseksi kutsuttuun argumentaatiovirheeseen (ks.

esim. Damer 2005). Kontekstuaalinen metodi sopii siis parhaiten suurten aineistojen käsitteilyyn ja silloinkin havaintojen edustavuutta on pohdittava tarkoin.

Historiallisen jatkuvuuden lähestymistavassa ilmiön tarkastelu aloitetaan hyvin tunnetusta (hyvin dokumentoidusta) ajankohdasta, josta sitten lähdetään seuraamaan sen ilmenemismuotoja ajassa taaksepäin (esim. Steward 1942). Toimiakseen hyvin, tämä metodi vaatii aineistoja, joissa ei ole merkittäviä katkoksia. Lähestymistavassa ei ole tarkoitus siirtää merkityksiä sellaisenaan kauas menneisyyteen, vaan nimenomaan ilmiössä tapahtuvia muutoksia tarkkaillaan. Metodi sopii hyvin yhteen kontekstuaalisen lähestymistavan kanssa, sillä siinä ilmiöitä havainnoidaan niiden laajemmassa yhteydessä.

Kuten mainittu, tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään useampaa erilaista lähdeaineistoa. Koska eri lähdetypit ovat muodostuneet eri tavoin, ne ovat myös eri tavoilla vinoutuneita otoksia tutkittavasta ilmiöstä. Vinoutumien tunnistamiseksi jokaisen lähdetypin muodostumisprosessit ja lähdekritiikki on tunnettava hyvin. Moniaineistoinen menetelmä on tämän vuoksi työläs, mutta tuo tutkittavaan asiaan useiden näkökulmien edun.

Kontekstuaalisen moniaineistoinen menetelmän työvaiheet ovat:

1. Tutkimuksen kannalta merkittävien erilaisten lähdeaineistojen kokoaminen, ja kuhunkin lähdeaineistotyyppiin liittyvään lähdekritiikkiin ja vinoutumiin tutustuminen.
2. Ilmiön tarkastelu kustakin lähdeaineiston näkökulmasta erikseen. Tässä analyysivaiheessa aineistossa havaitaan kuvioita ja arvioidaan niiden edustavuutta.
3. Eri aineistojen tulosten yhdistäminen synteetiksi ja niiden liittäminen laajempaan yhteyteen tutkittavassa yhteiskunnassa.

AINEISTOT

Tutkimuksessa käytetyt aineistot ovat folklore-tiedonannot, kätkölöydöt ja historialliset lähteet. Näistä kaksi ensin mainittua ovat päälähteitä. Lähdeaineistojen laajuudet on esitetty Taulukossa 1.

Taulukko 1. Lähdeaineistojen laajuudet.

Aineisto	Kpl
Folklore-aineisto	775
Kätkölöydöt	234
Historialliset lähteet	7
Yhteensä	1016

Kuten Taulukosta 1 näkee, folklore on suurin käytetyistä aineistoista. Folklore, eli suullista kansanperinnettä, on Suomessa kerätty ahkerasti 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun alussa arkistoihin. Suurin osa tässä käytetystä folkloresta on arkistoitu Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kansanrunousarkistoon (SKS KRA) Helsinkiin. Pieni osa tästä materiaalista on julkaistu lähdejulkaisussa Suomen Kansan Muinaisia Taikoja (SKMT). Tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään lisäksi suomenruotsalaista kansanperinnettä, jota on julkaistu Finlands Svenska Folkdiktning (FSFD) -lähdejulkaisussa.

Folklore-tiedonannot ovat muodoltaan lyhyehköjä kuvauksia kätköntavoista. Informatiivisimmat niistä sisältävät kuvauksen siitä, mitä on kätketty, mihin rakennukseen, mihin kohtaan rakennusta ja vielä mikä kätkemisen tarkoitus on ollut. Eniten folklorea on kerätty Satakunnasta, Etelä-Pohjanmaalta ja Keski-Suomesta, mutta tiedonantaja esiintyy koko maasta. Tavallisimmat mainitut kätketyt esineet ovat elohopea, rahat ja eläinten jäänteet, joista hevosenkallot ovat yleisimpiä. Kätköjen sijainnit rakennuksessa ovat yleisyyssjärjestyksessä: kynnyks, nurkka, seinä, katto, tulisija ja lattia. Rakennuksista korostuvat sellaiset, joiden pääasiallinen tarkoitus on toimia ihmisten tai eläinten asuin-suojina: asuinrakennus, navetta, talli ja muut eläinsuojat. Joitakin tietoja on myös saunoissa, riihissä ja aitoissa tehdyistä kätköistä. Lisäksi aineistoon kuuluu joitakin tietoja kirkoissa sijaitsevista kätköistä. Selvästi yleisimmät merkitykset kätköille ovat rakennuksen suojele ulkoapäin tulevalta pahalta ja onnen turvaaminen. Rakennuksen pitäminen puhtaana syöpäläisistä (rotat, hiiret, torakat, sirkat, luteet ja kirput) on myös yleinen syy kätköille. Muita syitä ovat esimerkiksi kommunikointi rakennuksen tai maan haltian kanssa ja pahantahtoinen noituus. Viimeksi mainittu eroaa muista merkityksistä, sillä se on tehty jonkun toisen omistamaan rakennukseen, kun muut on tehty kätkijän omaan rakennukseen.

Folklore-aineisto on riittävän laaja, että siinä havaitut kuviot antavat viitteitä kätköperinteen muodoista. Aineistossa näkyy, että tietyt kätköpaikat ovat yleisempiä tietyissä rakennuksissa ja tietyt esineet ovat kytköksissä tiettyihin paikkoihin. Samalla tietyt merkitykset liittyvät yhteen kätköobjektin ja -paikan valinnan kanssa. Selkeimpänä esimerkkinä on kynnyskätköjen korrelointi eläinsuojien, erityisesti navettojen, kanssa. Kynnyskätkön yleisin kätköobjekti on elohopea ja merkityksenä noituuden torjuminen. Toinen selkeä kuvio on tulisijakätköjen yhteys eläinjäännösten (erityisesti hevosenkallojen) kanssa ja niihin liittyvä merkitys syöpäläisten karkottajina. Folklore-aineistossa on lisäksi huomattavissa alueellisia eroja, erityisesti juuri kynnyks- ja tulisijakätköjen kohdalla: kynnyskätköt ovat yleisempiä länsisuomalaisilla alueilla, kun taas tulisijakätköt korostuvat itäisillä kulttuurialueilla.

Kätkölöydöt on analyysiä varten jaettu kolmeen aikaperiodiin: keskiaika (noin 1200–1500), uusi aika (noin 1500–1700) ja uusin aika (noin 1700–1950). Keskiaikaisia löytöjä on aineistossa 29 kpl, uuden ajan löytöjä 40 kpl ja uusimman ajan löytöjä 165 kpl. Runsain löytöaineisto ajoittuu siis suunnilleen samoin kuin folklore-aineisto. Mitä suurimmalla todennäköisyydellä löytöjen lisääntyminen siirryttäessä ajassa eteenpäin johtuu tutkimustilanteesta, ei todellisesta perinteen kasvusta. Lähdekriittisistä syistä löydöt on myös jaoteltu tulkinnaltaan vahvoihin (75 % löydöistä) ja tulkinnanvaraisempiin (25 %) kätköihin. Tutkimustilanteesta johtuen löytöjä on eniten Varsinais-Suomesta ja Uudeltamaalta, silti aineistossa on löytöjä koko maasta.

Historiallisen jatkuvuuden lähestymistavan mukaisesti tarkastelu aloitetaan parhaiten tunnetusta tilanteesta. Uusimman ajan löydöissä korostuu kivikautisten kiviesineiden esiintyminen kätköissä. Tilanne johtuu kiviesineiden ahkerasta keräämisestä museoihin 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun alussa. Monet museokokoelmiin päätyneistä kiviesineistä ovat löytyneet rakennuksia purettaessa tai remontoitaessa, ja tämä tieto on monissa tapauksissa talletettu kiitettävällä tarkkuudella. Folkloressa yleiset rahat ja eläinten jäänteet näkyvät myös uusimman ajan löydöissä, mutta elohopeakätköjä on dokumentoitu ainoastaan kaksi. Löydöissä korostuvat erilaiset esineet todennäköisesti tutkimustilanteesta johtuen. Kätköpaikoista seinälinjat ja tulisija ovat uusimman ajan löydöissä tavallisimmat. Tunnistetuista rakennuksista asuinrakennukset ovat yleisimpiä.

Uuden ajan löydöissä ei havaita yhtä selkeästi muita yleisempää tiettyä kätköobjektia, vaikkakin ihmisen valmistamat esineet hallitsevat selvästi löytöaineistoa. Rahoja, eläinjäänteitä ja rautakuonaa esiintyy jossain määrin. Tässä aineistossa on myös ainoa dokumentoitu hevosenkallolöytö. Kätköpaikoista tavallisimmat ovat seinälinjat, lattianaluset ja tulisijat. Tunnistetuista rakennuksista varastorakenteet ovat yleisiä, sillä monet löydöistä on löydetty kellareiden yhteydestä. Asuinrakennukset ovat yleisiä kätköpaikkoja myös uuden ajan aineistossa. Keskiajankin löydöissä erilaiset esineet ovat tavallisia, mutta rahoja ja eläinten jäänteitä tunnetaan vain muutamia tapauksia. Tulisija on keskiajan aineistossa yleisin kätköpaikka, mutta myös seinälinjat ja lattianaluset esiintyvät usein.

Löytöaineisto on sen verran niukka, että siinä havaittavia kuvioita ei voi pitää todellisuutta vastaavina, vaan ne ovat todennäköisesti sattumaa. Siksi löytöaineistossa jonkin ilmiön esiintyminen kertoo enemmän, kuin sen puuttuminen aineistosta. Selvää on, että rakennuksiin on kätkeyty esineitä koko tutkittavana ajankohtana ja kaikki folkloressakin tunnetut kätköpaikat, paitsi kattorakenne, ovat havaittavissa koko tutkimusjakson ajalta. Kätköt asuinrakennuksissa sekä kätköobjekteista terävät metalliesineet, rahat ja eläinten jäänteet esiintyvät myös kaikkina ajanjaksoina.

Kahden pääaineiston lisäksi tutkimuksessa on huomioitu muutamia historiallisia lähteitä. Nämä ovat noituus- ja taikusoikeudenkäyntien pöytäkirjoja, joista kuusi ajoittuvat uudelle ajalle (1552–1695) ja yksi uusimmalle ajalle (1886). Näistä seitsemästä tapauksesta kuudessa syytetty on mies ja ainoastaan yhdessä nainen. Kaikki uuden ajan tapaukset sijoittuvat läntisille kulttuurialueille ([b] Satakunta, [c] Uusimaa, [d] Häme ja [ä] Ahvenanmaa) ja uusin tapaus sijoittuu Keski-Suomeen (e). Kahdessa tapauksessa kätkö on tehty asuinrakennukseen, yhdessä mahdollisesti keittokotaan, yhdessä navettaan ja yhdessä muuhun talusrakennukseen. Kahdessa tapauksessa kätkö liittyy kirkolliseen yhteyteen. Kätkemisen mainittuja merkityksiä ovat pahantahtoinen noituus (neljässä tapauksessa), parantaminen (kahdessa tapauksessa) ja kätkön yli astuvan manipulointi. Tapauksissa on ilmeistä, että syytökset ovat saaneet alkunsa yhteisön sisällä. Vastaava huomio on myös todettu suomalaisista noituussyytöksistä yleisemmin (esim. Nenonen & Kervinen 1994: 200, 202).

Eri aineistotyyppinä verratessa ilmenee sekä yhtäläisyyksiä että eroja. Parhaiten dokumentoidun uusimman ajan aineistojen vertailu paljastaa, ettei kumpikaan pääaineistoista yksinään riitä antamaan kattavaa kuvaa kätköperinteistä. Ensinnäkin folklore-aineistossa kuvataan myös kätköobjekteja, joita on vaikea havaita arkeologisesti. Huomattavin esimerkki on elohopea, joka folkloren valossa on ollut suosituin kätkettävä 1800-luvun loppupuolella. Tämän arkeologisesti vaikeasti havaittavan aineen selkeä yhteys kynnyskontekstiin (ja karjasuojiiin) saattaa aiheuttaa vääränlaisen mielikuvan kätköpaikoista ja niihin liittyvistä merkityksistä, jos kätköjä tarkastellaan ainoastaan löytöaineiston avulla.

Löytöaineistokin paljastaa kätkemisestä puolia, jotka eivät näy folkloressa. Näistä selkeimmät ovat kivikautisten kiviesineiden ja muiden vanhanaikaisten esineiden suosio. Folkloressa on viitteitä tähän asiaan, mutta vain yksittäisinä tai muutamina mainintoina. Kivikautisten kiviesineiden, jotka liittyvät laajalle levinneeseen ukonvaajaperinteeseen (ks. esim. Blinkenberg 1911; Huurre 1965; 2003; Muhonen 2006), runsaasta löytöaineistosta ilmenee erilainen kätkemiskuvio, kuin vähälukuisesta folkloresta (ks. Fig. 53, sivu 183). Yksittäinen folklore-tiedonanto mainitsee myös vanhan miekan kätkemisen. Löytöaineisto antaa tälle maininnalle lisäpontta, sillä on ilmeistä, että rautakautisia kalmistolöytöjä on kätkeyty historiallisena aikana rakennuksiin. Vanhanaikaisten esineiden kätkeminen on ollut muutenkin tavallista, mikä käy ilmi esimerkiksi rahojen osalta.

KESKUSTELUA

Kätketyt objektit eivät eroa kansanuskossa yleisesti hyödynnetyistä esineistä. Esineiden käyttökelpoisuus on selkeästi kytköksissä käsitykseen väestä, eli tietyissä esineissä, materiaaleissa ja paikoissa olevasta (tuonpuoleisesta) voimasta eli toimijuudesta. Kansanuskon väki voi ilmetä sekä tuonpuoleisten olentojen että abstraktimman voiman muodossa (ks. esim. Issakainen 2002; Koski 2003; 2011; Stark 2006: 254–262). Esineissä väki kytkeytyy niiden valmistusmateriaaliin ja käyttötarkoitukseen arkipäiväisissä yhteyksissä. Terävät, kovat, tai muutoin voimakkaat esineet ovat erityisen väekkäitä. Normaalitylanteissa piilevä väki aktivoituu kun esinettä käytetään rituaalissa.

Kätköpaikat rakennuksessa voi karkeasti jakaa rakennuksen rajoilla oleviin (kynnys, seinälinjat, nurkat, kattorakenteet) ja rakennuksen sisäpuolella oleviin (tulisiija, lattia). Rajoilla olevat paikat liittyvät luonnollisesti useammin rakennuksen suojeluun ulkoapäin tulevilta pahoilta vaikutuksilta, kuin sisäpuolella olevat kätköt. Kätköperinteessä näkyvä rajojen suojelun tärkeys sopii yhteen muiden tutkijoiden havaintojen kanssa, että uuden ja uusimman ajan maailmankuvassa kotitalouden rajat koettiin heikoiksi (esim. Eilola 2003; 2004; Issakainen 2005; Stark 2006). Rakennuksen rajalla olevan kätkön ajateltiin vällään estävän pahojen vaikutusten sisäänpääsyn. Tulisijakätköjen yleisin syy folklore-aineistossa on syöpäläisten hävitys. Näyttääkin siltä, että tulisijakätkön tehtävä oli häätää jo rajojen sisäpuolella olevat hyönteiset ja jyräjät. Nurkkien kätköillä näyttää olevan erityinen suhde rakennuksen haltiaan.

Folklore-aineiston perusteella kaikkein eniten huolta on aiheuttanut naapurin kateudesta johtunut noituus. Onkin ilmeistä, että kätköt liittyvät varallisuuserojen ja muiden jännitteiden aiheuttamaan sosiaaliseen paineeseen. Vastaava yhteys on ilmennyt myös 1800-luvun noituususkomuksissa yleisemmin (ks. Stark 2006). Silti on selvää, että kätköperinteessä on erilaisia merkityssisältöjä. Tosin myös rakennusten haltioilla oli yhteys sosiaalisten suhteiden kanssa. Haltian uskottiin olevan vastuussa kotitalouden varallisuudesta, ja tämä seikka on Sarmelan (1974) mukaan toiminut varallisuuseroista johtuvan paineen lieventäjänä yhteisöissä.

Alueelliset erot, jotka näkyvät folklore-aineistossa länsisuomalaisten ja itäsuomalaisten alueiden välillä, viittaavat siihen, että sosiaalisesta paineesta johtunut noituuden pelko on ollut lievempää harvemmin asutuilla itäisillä alueilla. Tämä on sinänsä odotuksenmukaista. On kuitenkin ilmeistä, että alueelliset erot johtuvat eri kätköobjekti–kätköpaikka–merkityskuvioiden erilaisesta painotuksesta. Kyseessä ei siis ole toisistaan täysin eriävät perinteet. Ajallisesta muutoksesta on vaikeampaa tehdä päätelmiä vähäisen aineiston vuoksi. Aineisto näyttyy melko samankaltaisena koko tutkitun ajanjakson ajan, vaikka vähäisiä eroja on havaittavissa. Rakennuksen sisäpuoliset sijainnit ovat tavallisimpia keskiaikaisessa aineistossa (64 % löydöistä sijoittuu niihin), uuden ajan aineistossa rajakontekstit ovat lähes yhtä tavallisia kuin sisäpuoliset ja uusimman ajan löydöissä rajakontekstit ovat hiukan tavallisempia (59 %) kuin sisäpuoliset sijainnit. Folklore-aineistossa rajakontekstien hallitsevuus on selvä (79 %). Vaikka havainnot näyttävät johdonmukaiselta trendiltä, on vaikea päätellä, johtuvatko löytöaineiston vähäiset erot todellisista muutoksista perinteessä vai ovatko ne puhtaasti sattumaa. Uusimman ajan löytöjen ja folkloren erossa käy selkeästi ilmi, että rajakätköt (erityisesti juuri kynnyskätköt) saattavat olla vaikeasti havaittavia arkeologisesti, sillä kynnyskätköä varten valittu objekti on usein ollut huonosti säilyviä lajia.

Tämänhetkisessä tutkimustilanteessa aineisto kuitenkin viittaa siihen, että läntinen keskiaikainen kätköperinne muistuttaa ulkoiselta muodoltaan folkloressa näkyvää itäistä perinnettä. On oletettavaa, että kätköjen merkitys on ollut vähemmän suuntautunutta sosiaalisesta paineesta johtuneeseen noituuteen ja enemmän tuonpuoleisten haltiaolentojen tai syöpäläisten kaltaisten luonnontojimijoiden kanssa toimeen tulemiseen. Noituuden merkitys olisi siten kasvanut kaupunkien ja ryhmäkylien koon kasvaessa ja toisaalta toimeentulon hankaloituessa uuden ajan huonojen sääolosuhteiden vuoksi. Näin ollen itäisten alueiden perinne olisi säilynyt vanhantyyppisenä, kun läntisillä alueilla tapa sai uusia painotuksia.

Tutkimuksessa on keskitytty hyvin pieneen osa-alueeseen laajassa kansanuskon kentässä. On kuitenkin ilmiselvää, että kansanusko on jättänyt jälkensä arkeologiseen aineistoon, ja näiden jälkien ymmärtäminen parantaa huomattavasti menneiden yhteisöjen ymmärtämistä. Kansanuskon arkeologia tuo aiemmin vähälle huomiolle jääneen aineellisuuden (ks. Issakainen 2006) kansanuskon tutkimuksen keskiöön. Arkeologian kannalta on myös tärkeä huomata vanhanaikaisten esineiden (erityisesti rahojen) arvostus taikaperinteissä ja päällisin puolin ”roskalta” näyttävän aineksen mahdollinen tärkeä rooli. Folkloressa käy hyvin ilmi, miten rikkinäiset esineet, luunpalaset, ja esimerkiksi rautakuona on nähty voimallisina objekteina, jotka ovat olleet osa rituaalista toimintaa vielä 1800-luvun loppupuolella. Tutkimuksessa käytetty kontekstuaalinen moniaineistoinen menetelmä soveltuu myös muiden kansanuskon ilmiöiden tutkimukseen tulevaisuudessa.

PÄÄTELMÄT

Kätköperinne (tai -perinteet) on tunnettu Suomen alueella vähintään koko historiallisen ajanjakson aikana, mutta se on painottunut eri alueilla, ja todennäköisesti eri aikoina, eri tavoin. Folklore-aineistossa käy ilmi, että kätkötapahtuman merkitys heijastuu sekä valitussa esineessä että valitussa kätköpaikassa. Tämä ei kuitenkaan yksinään riitä, vaan ulkoisesti samankaltainen kätkö on voinut olla merkitykseltään erilainen riippuen kätkijän aikeesta. Pahantahtoiset kätköt eroavat hyväntahtoisista vain kätkijän aikeen ja ulkopuolisuuden osalta. Nämä kaksi asiaa eivät näy arkeologisesti. Niinpä merkityksen yhtälö on todellisuudessa: **merkitys = kätköobjekti + kätköpaikka + kätkijän aie**. Arkeologista kätköä tulkittaessa, kun on ensin tulkittu esineen olevan löytöpaikassaan tarkoituksellisesti, yhtälö voidaan huomioida seuraavanlaisena: **merkitys ≈ kätköobjekti + kätköpaikka**. Silloin merkityksen tulkinta ei ole täysin varma, vaan osviittaa antava. Silti tulkinnan tekeminen vaatii kansanomaisen maailmankuvan ja erityisesti väki-uskomusten tunteesta. Ilman tätä *emic*-näkökulmaa kätkön tulkinta jää vieläkin enemmän arvailujen varaan. Folklore-aineisto kuitenkin näyttää, että esineen rituaalinen merkitys on kytköksissä sen merkitykseen muissa yhteyksissä, joten täysin sattumanvaraisista tulkinnoista ei ole kyse.

Folkloressa kuvatut rituaalit voidaan jakaa kahteen pääryhmään: a) perustuserituaalit ja b) kriisirituaalit. Ensimmäisen kaltaiset rituaalit suoritettiin rakennuksen rakentamis-, siirto- tai korjausvaiheessa. Toiseen ryhmään kuuluvia kätköjä voitiin tehdä esimerkiksi kun rakennukseen tuli uusi asukas, karja tuotiin syksyllä laitumilta navettaan tai jonkin onnettomuuden uskottiin olevan noituuden aiheuttama. Kätkörituaalit voi myös jakaa tarkempien merkitystensä mukaan. Tällöin on myös huomattavissa joidenkin kätköpaikkojen, esineiden ja ilmiöiden korostuminen:

1. Suojelevat kätköt
 - Kynnys-kontekstit; elohopea, esineen toimijuus (väki), noituus.
2. Haltian kanssa kommunikointi
 - Nurkat, (lattiat); rahat, hyvä onni, varallisuuden varmistaminen.
3. Syöpäläisten hävitys
 - Tulisijat; eläinten jäännökset.
4. Parantava taikuus, noituuden vastataikuus
5. Pahantahtoinen taikuus
 - Esineen toimijuus (väki), naapurin rakennus, kätkijän aie.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että kätköperinteet kuuluivat kiinteästi yhteen sosiaalisten suhteiden ja varallisuuden kanssa. Tämän vuoksi eroja on havaittavissa alueilla, joissa on erilainen asutus- ja elinkeinorakenne. Nämä antavat osviittaa myös mahdollisille ajallisille eroille. On ilmeistä, että käytetty kontekstuaalinen moniaineistoinen menetelmä on mahdollistanut huomattavasti monipuolisemman näkökulman tutkittavaan aiheeseen, kuin mitä mikään yksittäinen lähdeaineisto olisi voinut antaa.