

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01582643 1

THE
TRADITIONAL POETRY
OF THE FINNS

BY
Pietro Antonio
DOMENICO COMPARETTI

SOCIO DELLA ACCADEMIA DEI LINCEI, DI TORINO, DI NAPOLI
MEMBRE DE L'ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES LETTRES, ETC

TRANSLATED
BY
ISABELLA M. ANDERTON

WITH INTRODUCTION BY ANDREW LANG

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK AND BOMBAY

1898

44433
6 | 3 | 99



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS

P R E F A C E.

FOR a long time past grammarians, classical or otherwise, have engaged in conjectural, anatomical dissections of the Homeric poems and other national epics; and they will no doubt continue so to do. Their researches are guided by a general abstract principle, and by a conception of this principle as a concrete fact. The first is absolutely true; for the second no proof can be adduced. The true and incontrovertible principle is that which, since the end of last century, has made a distinction between such poems as the *Aeneid*, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* and others (products of a learned mind when the schools and theory were flourishing), and such poems as belong to a period of spontaneous epic production, during which popular singers have elaborated numerous epic songs of greater or of less extent. These last poems are known as popular or national, not only on account of their subject, their sentiment, their use, but also and principally because the poetry which gave rise to them is natural, spontaneous, collective, impersonal, popular: hence national in its origins and its developments. The poems to which the above principle is applied are regarded as probably not the work each

of one poet. They are thought to be composed of minor poems, which, already in existence, were put together either all at once by one man or successively by several until the final collector appeared. And this putting together is imagined to be a simple stitching without any welding of the parts; so that the critical philologist can, by means of his special acumen, and of instruments and standards all his own, easily succeed in putting his finger on the joints and separating out the songs of which the poem was composed.

Such were the premises from which the critics started on the dissection of these poems. From Lachmann onwards they have continued to dissect; nor does it appear that they have any immediate intention of ceasing from a labour that has never given any positive, satisfactory, consistent results: it is true this may be the reason of their persistence. We are already tired of the restless analysis which, impatient of its own sterility, has for so long occupied itself in making, unmaking, remaking; unconvinced that its want of solid foundations, its insufficient and ill-applied criteria, render it perpetually futile. Its student is often struck with wonder at the degree of intellectual short-sightedness to which the exaggerated, exclusive habit of the analytical method leads: at the kind of man-microscope it produces, capable of seeing atoms, molecules, cells, but not organic bodies and totalities, capable of observing the mote and seeing it highly magnified, but blind to the beam and its importance.

Thus, in spite of much labour continued with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause, the so-called Homeric question has not only remained alive, but has widened, becoming a question concerning the origins of other great national epics. There is no discussion of the general principle, which is in fact incontrovertible. That during the period of epic production the epic materials of the large compositions were first worked up by the popular singers into smaller songs, is proved by facts, and no one can deny it. But what is still under discussion is the relationship in which the large poems stand to the songs which preceded them or from which they were born. Was this relationship merely mechanical, that of a material synthesis of the songs closing the period of poetic production? Or was it an organic relationship, that of a new and higher phase of the poetry, developing organically from the preceding, reaching higher, broader and more complex ideals, and a new style adapted to them? The study of written tradition has thrown no light on this question. True, it has shown the existence among the Roman and Germanic poems of the Middle Ages of considerable varieties of redactions which reflect the vicissitudes of the poems in their popular use, and hence justify the search, among these varieties, for the original form of the poem; but the manuscripts of poems of popular use, though of indubitably personal origin, present the same facts as do those of the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Nibelungen*. Written tradition enables us to study that period of epic production which may be called the period

of large poems; it shows us their progeny or branches, it shows us the rhapsodic combination of the epic masses into different poems and the co-ordination of several poems into a cycle, as among the Greeks. But it always has to do with large poems. Of the relationship in which these stand to the smaller epic songs that must have preceded them, the manuscripts teach us nothing. Epic or epic-lyric lays are, it is true, given us by written tradition: such are the romances of the *Cid* in Spain, such are the songs of Sigurd, of Helgi in the *Edda*; but they are all of such a kind as to render it impossible to form a large poem by combining them. Nor can it be said, speaking generally, that a song existing independently ever figures in a large poem.

The idea of a mechanical pasting together is not only unconfirmed by any of the facts presented by the poetry which has come down to us through written tradition; it finds no support in poetry living in oral tradition, although this has now been collected and studied among so many peoples that it may be said to be well known. The Russians, Servians, Croatians, Bulgarians, Siberian Tatars and many other peoples possess epic songs, but they have no large poem or poems; nor would it be possible to form any from their epic songs as now existing. Attempts made in this direction, like that of *Avenarius* for the Russian *byliny* and of *De Rada* for the songs of Albania, have proved unsuccessful. There exists, however, one exception: that which forms the subject of our

present work. The Finns have a poetry, thoroughly popular, oral, traditional, in which epic songs are found ; and a poem has been obtained by combining these songs without any inventions or additions on the part of the composer. This poem would, therefore, appear to have been already matured in the traditional poetry of the people. The Finnic *Kalevala* is the only example we have of a national poem actually resulting from minor songs ; these songs being not discoverable in it according to some preconceived idea by means of inductive analysis, but known as really existing independently of the large composition. Still further : this traditional poetry, dating from the time when the Finns were pagans, gave rise to dæmonic and heroic myth, as it did among the Greeks, Scandinavians and other nations in a similar condition. All this constitutes so singular and important a fact for the student of the natural history of poetry and epic production that it is well worth a close and radical examination.

Such the motive that has induced us to undertake the present work ; in which, to keep clear of any misunderstanding of the facts just mentioned, we intend to go to the heart of this poetry of the Finns, studying its origins, causes, nature and life. It is a study for which we have now sufficient though but recently acquired data. We undertake it independently of others, after a manner which is our own, and which leads to views also our own, and new both in general and particular. The labour is arduous, and may appear even rash.

when one considers the remoteness and uncommonness of a subject known and familiar to few outside Finland. But we have not approached it with levity, nor without sufficient preparation in the studies and varied information required by the subject. We have also made four visits to that excellent hyperborean people Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα, and have there learnt from courteous scholars much that is useful for the study in hand. We must thank the memory of Augustus Ahlqvist, of Julius Krohn, whom a premature death has taken from us; thank also K. Krohn, O. Donner, A. Borenius, A. Genetz, E. Setälä, R. Hertzberg, Ad. Neovius and many others.

We shall divide our work into two parts. In the first, explanatory, we shall give information and definitions regarding this traditional poetry, shall resume the contents of the *Kalevala*, shall describe the method of its composition, adding, by way of example, a translation of one of the principal songs used in putting it together. In the second part, theoretical, we shall explain the origins, the development and the life of this poetry, first in its mythic creations, both dæmonic and heroic, then in itself or in what is known as the rune. When all this has been explained, defined, illustrated, it will be easy to resume and to formulate in a final chapter the conclusions to be drawn from this poetry with regard to the origin of national epics.

INTRODUCTION.

THE question of the origin and growth of national epics may seem to have no practical importance. There are the poems, it may be said, to read or leave unread, and the problem of their authorship is indifferent. As a question of literary enjoyment the problem may be otiose, but as a question of critical science it is highly important, for, if we are to have critical science at all, nothing can be so essential as that this science should be scientific. We do not need mere "ingenious" hypotheses, formed in ignorance of the truths of history and of human nature; we need facts and the comparative study of these facts; we need soundness of method.

In this book, which, in addition to its intrinsic interest, is the prelude to a work on the Homeric poems, Professor Comparetti has recognised and met the true critical demand. He applies to the problem of the growth of national epics that comparative method which has revolutionised the sciences of Institutions, Laws, Religion and Mythology. We now examine the development of society and of civilisation by comparative observation of tribes in the earliest actual stage; thus the scrutiny of tribal society leads us on from the lowest known peoples to the feudal ages, and so to

the organisation of our modern times. Everywhere we find gradual adaptation, modification, evolution, survival and perhaps reaction. The same method of comparison of all known facts has solved the riddle of mythology, and is dealing with that of religion. Comparetti here applies it to literature : to the development of the national epic.

This has been done before, it may be said : the national poems of many civilised peoples have been placed in juxtaposition with those of Homer (as when Lachmann dissected the *Nibelungenlied*) and conclusions have been drawn. This is true, but then comparisons have been scanty, incomplete, and made, as a rule, under the control of a dominant idea—the idea that many small popular songs have been stitched into the epic, or the idea that an old poem of perhaps 3000 lines has been swollen, by later accretions of various ages, into the bulk of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Critics then lay their fingers on the joints, or disintegrate the concrete mass into its elements.

But the many and learned writers, German or English, who thus mangle the sacred body of Homer, have not, as a rule, made a thorough comparative study of national poetry as it exists among the many rude races who are either ignorant of writing or do not apply writing to the preservation of song. These critics, as a rule, have not gone to the peoples who are still in that stage of unprofessional art, out of which, doubtless, the Homeric epics were evolved. The critical theory of that age and its methods has been *a priori*,

much like Rousseau's theory of the state of Nature. A modern student of institutions does not start from a fanciful theory of early society ; he minutely examines early society where it is still in full vigour, and compares its remains in recorded ancient laws—Celtic, Indian, Teutonic. A modern student of mythology goes to races still in the mythopœic condition and analyses their myths and their psychical and psychological condition, which he then compares with the recorded myths of the old civilised periods. The same method is pursued in the science of religion. The scope of our comparative survey cannot be too wide, and our analysis of evidence cannot be too minute. Meanwhile, in the comparative study of national poetry, very few, if any, critics have gone first to races who are still in the popular, almost impersonal stage of literary art. The conditions and the grades of that art have been much taken for granted. Consequently, savants have decided that the Homeric poems were evolved in ways of which it may be said that no historical and known examples exist. The supposed *causa* is not, or is not shown to be, a *vera causa*.

The method of Comparetti is the reverse of all this. He does not rely on an unproved hypothesis, but goes straight to facts. Where, he asks, is there a living people still in the popular unprofessional stage of the literary art which possesses not only brief heroic songs (*kleine lieder*) but also a long national epic ? This people he finds in the Finns ; this epic in the *Kalevala*. Would it be

possible, then, he asks, for a Fick, a Lachmann, a Kirchhof or a Leaf to put his finger on the joints of the songs stitched together in the *Kalevala*, or to discover the original poem of say 4000 lines, and then to discriminate the various accretions of several successive ages, as the modern critics do in the case of the Homeric poems? Comparetti proves that either of these analytical processes would be impossible. Happily, the original songs welded into the *Kalevala* still exist in many variants, and these variants have been written down by collectors. No critical ingenuity could disengage these component parts of the *Kalevala* as they exist in actual fact. No critical ingenuity could correctly discern the additions and modifications by which Lönnrot, in this century, *made* the *Kalevala*. While ignorant of the actual facts of the surviving songs, critical ingenuity could only give us, at many hands and from many sides, its usual widely discrepant results. We must, therefore, distrust critical analysis where it rests (in Homeric and often in Biblical criticism) on the critic's own idea of what, in accordance with his theory, ought to be the case. In Homeric and in Biblical criticism savants are apt to reject, as "interpolations," whatever does not suit their theory. Applied to the *Kalevala*, where the method can be tested by facts, this method would necessarily reveal its naked absurdity. We cannot trust it where the test of facts, of documents, cannot be applied, as it cannot usually be applied in the criticism of the Bible or of Homer. There occur in these texts, indeed, passages which, for

archæological, historical, or (more dubiously) for philological reasons, may be marked as interpolations. But to mark a passage as relatively late, because it collides with this or the other theory, is manifestly unscientific.

So far Comparetti's study of the *Kalevala*, compared with its undeniable sources preserved in MS., teaches critical science a lesson of caution. But he goes farther. Here is a people with brief popular songs, and with an epic made out of these songs. But could the process of making popular songs into an epic (as in this case they have been made), could it conceivably have been applied 2500 years ago to the popular poems of Greece, so as to weld or fashion *them* into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? Undoubtedly, as Comparetti shows, no such process is even conceivable in ancient Greece. "When after having studied the songs in their essence, we pass on to consider who Lönnrot is, and to study his poem at close quarters, we not only see that all this is a hallucination, but we come to see the vanity of the theory that would explain in this way the origin of the great national epic cycles" (*infra*, p. 338).

If we believe that the Homeric epics were made, say in the seventh century B.C., by mechanically stitching together *kleine lieder*, or (as the *Kalevala* was made) by Lönnrot's method of selection, combination, adaptation and addition, we are forgetting that Lönnrot was a *modern* savant, with the Wolfian theory consciously present to his mind, and with a learned public to applaud

his exertions. Where was such a man of literary science to be found, where was his motive for exertion "in an age when even the thinkers were poets—the Orphics and Pythagoreans of the [alleged] commission of Peisistratos"? The idea that any man, or any committee, could perform such a task as that of Lönnrot in early Greece is a frank anachronism. "In *his* mind there is far more than there is in the mind of a popular singer," or of a committee, in an age when popular song was still potent, and scientific literary theory was not yet born.

If we believe in the theory that the Homeric epics were stitched together out of small songs, we are met by this difficulty: that the processes of such a man as Lönnrot are no argument for early Greece; that such a method as his, in the age of Onomacritus, is a fantastic anachronism. If we believe in an original *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, of say 4000 lines, to which, in three or four centuries later, great poets made additions, subordinating their work duly to that of their great dead master, we must ask ourselves, where and when are great poets known and proved to have been so humble? The process is not a *vera causa*: no known and verifiable example can be produced. Moreover, had generations of poets thus subordinated their genius to amplify and adorn the work of another, a Greek Lönnrot was still needed to select, reject and unify, so as to produce the Homeric poems as we know them. Where and when, in Greece, can he have existed, what was his motive, to whom did he appeal?

This leads to another argument. Here is the *Kalevala*, the epic, probably the best that could have been made by Lönnrot's method out of Lönnrot's materials. Here it is, but where in the chaotic narrative, stretching from the making of the world to Christianity, is the epic unity, where is the clear plain tale of the Wrath of Achilles and its fatal assuaging, or of the Return of Odysseus? Not even a scientific erudite could produce anything distantly approaching the unity of *Iliad* or *Odyssey* out of the small Finnish songs. Thus, as Comparetti says, we "are disinclined to think that he (the Greek poet) could ever bring himself to the composition of songs which should be simply added to a greater song already produced by others; and that he should have done this so rigidly, and with such respect for the work of the other, that the modern scholar can find out the joints with ease, can distinguish the nucleus, and each of the posterior additions. . . . The difficulty increases when the poems are clearly seen, in each of their parts, to be composed according to a determined plan, evident in the definite poem, but not in the supposed nucleus" (p. 357). But granting this unproved and unprecedented self-sacrifice of great poets, still there existed "the mass of poetry, which in process of time and in various countries must necessarily have been very considerable and very diverse". Who made *Iliad* and *Odyssey* out of this vast and diverse mass? When, or where, is his action even conceivable in early Greece?

These, and many other arguments, I have

ventured to urge in *Homer and the Epic*. But, as the man in Goldsmith says, "the learned took no notice of my paradoxes, no notice at all". They were not made in Germany. The learned will be obliged to reckon with Comparetti. It is not in vain that he has four times visited the blameless Hyperboreans, and minutely studied the popular and scientific literature of a difficult language.

These exertions are proofs of a truly scientific character, shrinking from no toil. Of his acuteness, his just estimate of evidence, our author had already given proof in his little tract on *The Myth of Ædipous*, which pricked the bubble of philological mythology as at that time prevalent. It cannot be but that his works on national poetry will recall criticism to sounder methods, and a system more sincerely and thoroughly "comparative".

I would not be understood to mean that the single case of the *Kalevala* and its sources, or any other single case, is a precise and just parallel to that of the Homeric poems. The Finns, for example, seem to have as many points of difference from as of agreement with other known peoples in their literary development. The absolutely un-historical character of their songs is unusual. Their lack of chiefs, kings, ranks, reminds us of the Eskimo rather than of, let us say, the Maoris. Their cosmogonic lays resemble rather the legends of the Red Indians than the hymns of the beginning, so surprisingly metaphysical among the Maoris and the Finns. The strong historical traditions of the Maoris, with their memories of great human heroes

of old times, are apparently unknown to the Finns. Again, the prevalence of the magical song in Finland reminds us of the popular poetry both of Red Indians and Australian blacks; but, among these races, each individual seems rather to make his own *rune* for each occasion than to repeat, as the Finns do, a consecrated formula.¹

The importance of the magical song, insisted on by Comparetti, has been much neglected. It is probable that such songs as were sung over the wound of Odysseus, had the same influence in Greece as in Finland had the ditty chanted over the wound of Väinämöinen. Magic was less prevalent in Greece; among the Red Indians "shamanism" exists as in Finland, but lyrics of personal emotion, love and regret, are already more conspicuous than magic runes even in America.

Such suggestions might be produced at much length. They are hinted at here for the purpose of showing that great differences, as well as close analogies, exist in the truly popular poetry of various races still in the unprofessional stage of the literary art. Differentiation must increase as a class of professional singers is evolved, and as rank in society is developed. Thus, if ever there was a Greek Lönnrot, who composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (against which we have argued), his materials must have been wholly unlike the purely

¹ Examples will be found in Schoolcraft, in *The Ghost Dance of the Sioux*, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington; in Mrs. Langloh Parker's collections of Australian traditions; in Taylor and Shortland for New Zealand, and so on.

unhistorical lays found by Lönnrot among the Finns. Like Lönnrot, indeed, he would know songs magical, dirges, cosmogonic songs, wedding songs, songs of labour, but, unlike Lönnrot, he introduced not one of these into the epic. None, indeed, would be found existing in the hexameter, whereas all Finnish songs are in the one measure. The imaginary Greek Lönnrot would have present to him nothing in the least like the extant materials of the Finnish scholar. The poetry, which he knew would be by professional minstrels, would not be actually popular. That poetry, with the accessible prose legends, would be full of matter more or less historical, "the renowns of *men*," not of mythical demi-urgic wizards. All would be concerned, or most would be concerned, with actual places, not with a misty Pohjola. The ancestors of existing kingly houses would be celebrated; conquests of actual territories and kingly alliances would be recorded. All would breathe of a society far more differentiated by blood, birth, commerce and slavery, than was the society of the Finns.

We know that this must have been so, and that Greek poetry and legend were already inspired, not merely by tribal and local, but by national sentiment, by a consciousness of distinction from "alien men," Sidonians, Egyptians and Æthiopians. Thus, whoever made the Greek epics used materials wholly unlike the Finnish popular songs. But how did he use them, and what was his motive? Why did he construct long elaborate epics? In answer to the former question we have rejected, as

inconceivable, the theories that he either stitched together little lays, or laboriously edited a "nucleus" with a vast diversified mass of concretions. In my opinion the maker of the *Iliad* did just what was done by the maker of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Out of his knowledge of facts or fancies, as existing in lays and traditions, he fashioned a long poem with beginning, middle and end, with "organic unity, harmony, proportion of parts co-ordinated among themselves, and converging towards a final catastrophe" (p. 357). "To be just we should call him not simply a redactor, but rather author, poet" (p. 358).

If this be so, his motive was the entertainment of a permanent audience, an audience which could listen to him for several consecutive nights. No wandering minstrel could expect such a circle of hearers, and we are led to think of a Court poet, like the minstrel of Alcinous.

The difficulties of this theory are not inconsiderable, but the theory at least makes the existence of the epics possible, while the current critical hypotheses do not. We can get no light on the supposed Lönnrot of Greece, the learned redactor. He cannot be thought of as existing at the time when, if at all, he must have existed.

It is to be supposed that Comparetti will, in a later work, deal with the problems (such as that of writing, of preservation, and of later editing) which beset his theory that the epics come from the mind of one who was "their author, their poet". If he can construct as well as criticise, the Wolfian

theory, in all its phases, will fall into its place as one more bankruptcy of "Liberalism". We shall learn, not to despair of critical science, but to construct that science with more caution and care, with a wider purview, with more distrust of "ingenuity" and of hypotheses which vary with the taste of the scholar. Even at present Mr. Leaf, while discriminating four or five secular strata in the *Iliad*, finds the *Odyssey* "a model of skilful construction . . . not a single episode which does not bear upon a catastrophe foreseen and aimed at without wavering". *Très bien*, but a multitude of learned Germans dissect the *Odyssey* just as Mr. Leaf dissects the *Iliad*, and regard it as the patch-work of a botcher. The question thus becomes purely a question of individual taste. Similar methods, as I have elsewhere shown, reduce *Marmion* and *Ivanhoe* to a similar patch-work. The strange psychological condition of critics, who thus fly in the face of Aristotle, is diagnosed correctly by Comparetti (pp. v., vi.).

Now, though the problem of the origin of the epics may not be of practical importance, it is of importance that all studies should be pursued with sanity of method. Of sane method Comparetti's book offers a valuable example. He does not set out, like a learned German whom he mentions, to discuss the origin of the *Kalevala* without knowing the facts in the case. The facts in the case of Homer can never be known with this precision, but, at least, we do know the facts of human nature. These contradict the modern hypothesis

in all its forms and phases. There is no known instance of a great work of literary art which has not proceeded from a single mind.

Comparetti has not dwelt much on the literary charm of the *Kalevala*. In brief, it is that of "the magical handling of Nature," the charm which (by another of our hasty modern hypotheses) has been regarded as almost exclusively Celtic. It is not Celtic though the Celts possess it; it is the expression of early humanity, above all, among races isolated, remote, defeated, abiding in the solitude of hills and forests, culling its songs "from the plumes of the pine-trees," "the winds in the woods," "the music of many waters". That is the charm of Väinämöinen's lyre, and it does not wholly vanish even in translations.

ANDREW LANG.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGES
PREFACE - - - - -	V-X
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	xi-xxiii

PART I.

CHAPTER I.—THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS	1-73
--	------

Definitions and denominations; unity of the *rune* form; varieties of the *rune*; notices on the collections, especially those of Lönnrot; the *Kalevala* and its history, p. 1—The Kanteletar or lyric songs, p. 15—The form of the *rune* (verse, alliteration, rhyme, parallelism), p. 23—The *rune* essentially Finnic; poetry among other Ugro-Finnic peoples; the Lapps; the Esthonians and the *Kalevipoeeg* of Kreutzwald, p. 36—Where the *rune* lives and where it was born; Tavasts and Carelians; the question of the Carelism of the *Kalevala*, p. 48—Whether the traditional *rune* can serve as a historical document; its indifference to history and its instability, p. 59—How the traditional *runes* are sung; the *Kantele*, p. 68.

CHAPTER II.—EPITOME OF THE "KALEVALA"	74-115
---------------------------------------	--------

CHAPTER III.—COMPOSITION OF THE "KALEVALA"	116-157
--	---------

Song of the Sampo and its parts; Song of the Creation, p. 115—First expedition of Väinämöinen to Pohjola and the making of the Sampo, p. 123—Rivalry for the Bride, p. 126—Expedition for the Sampo and Rape of the Sampo, p. 131—Final *rune*, p. 137—Groups of *runes* outside the Sampo cycle: I. Lemminkäinen *runes*, p. 139. II. Kullervo *runes*, p. 144—List showing the distribution of the songs in Lönnrot's poem, p. 149—Lönnrot's method in the partial composition of each song, p. 153.

APPENDIX - - - - -	158-168
--------------------	---------

Translation of one of the variants of the Sampo *rune* from the government of Archangel.

PART II.

	PAGES
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	169-170

CHAPTER I.—THE DIVINE MYTH - - - - -	171-214
--------------------------------------	---------

Shamanism of the ancient Finns; shamanic or magic poetry, mother of myth, p. 171—Process of personification of the things and facts of nature; value of names; ending *-tar*; ending *-la*, *father*, *son*, etc.; *Ukko*, *Akka*, *Ahti*, *Vellamo*, *Tapio*, *Mielikki*, *Jumala*, p. 174—Individualism, want of organisation, incompleteness in the development of the myth, p. 181—Animism; the *haltia*, genius or $\delta\alpha\lambda\mu\omega\nu$ of everything; dæmonic power of the wizard, or the wizard as *haltia*; the wizard as wise man or *tietäjä* and creator of myth, p. 183—Varied development of myths and reasons for this; the myth of field labour (*Pellervoinen*); the myth of the waters (*Ahti*, *Vellamo*) and of the wood (*Tapio*, *Mielikki*), p. 188—The myth of the region of the dead (*Manala* or *Tuonela*) and of *Vipunen*, p. 189—Maleficent genii (*Paha*, *Piru*, *Perkele*, *Juntas*, *Lempo*, *Hiisi*), and joyless mythical regions; Pohjola, the Lady of Pohjola; the maleficent Lapp wizards, p. 196—Mythical abodes of joy, *Päivölä*, *Saari* and its beauteous maiden; Kaleva, the son of Kaleva or Kullervo and Kalevala, p. 204.

CHAPTER II.—THE HEROIC MYTH - - - - -	215-262
---------------------------------------	---------

The sky, the world (*maailma*), the air (*ilma*); the cosmogonic myth or the *egg of the world*, p. 215—Nature (*luonto*) as bringer forth; the three Daughters of the Air (*Ilman immet*) or of nature (*Luonnotaret*); *Kave* or *Kapo*. Foreign origin of these ideas, p. 219—Absence of an anthropogonic myth. The power of the *nature* in the wizard and his word; he is the man *par excellence*. Value and origin of the words meaning hero, *urhos*, *sankari*; the Finnic hero not a warrior but a magician; absence of warlike sentiment, p. 223—Feeling that the wizard has of himself, of his worth, of his prowess, expressed in the poetry of the magic songs; heroic ideals in which he poetically embodied this; Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen; reduction to this type of personages of other origin, as Lemminkäinen, Kullervo, p. 233—The enemies of the wizard and the heroic types of the hostile camp. The wizards of the Lapps or of Pohjola; the Lady of Pohjola; Joukahainen; the *Rivalry in Song*. Ancient rivalry in magic between the Finns and the Lapps. The

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxvii

PAGES

heroic myth and the epic song record no historical event. Individualism and indeterminateness in the heroic myth, want of society and of organisation, as in the divine myth, p. 244—The two chief motives of heroic action: I. *Wooing of the Bride*. II. *The Sampo*. Meaning of this word; whether the idea has a historical or national value, p. 249.

CHAPTER III.—THE RUNE - - - - - 263-326

Finnic myth and poetry appear after the contacts with Germanic and Lithu-Slav peoples and through their influence, p. 263—How the shamanism of the Finns was modified by these contacts and approached the pagan idea of the neighbouring peoples, p. 265—Limits of these influences, p. 270—The magic of Finnic shamanism approaches that of neighbouring European peoples, the magic drum falls into disuse, the magic song is developed principally under Germanic influence, p. 274—The Finnic magic song for dislocations in horses and the *Merseburger Gebet*, p. 281—The magic of Germanic paganism; the *runa* and the *galdr*; the secret knowledge of the *Origins* of things and the power it bestows, p. 284—History of the word *runa*; the meaning with which it reached the Finns from the Scandinavians and when it reached them, p. 287—The poetry of the Finnic runes not prior to the times of the Vikings (eighth to eleventh century), p. 293—Originality in spite of foreign influences; the Finnic magic song for pleurisy and an Anglo-Saxon *gealdor* of the tenth century; poetical superiority of the Finnic magic song; passage from it to the epic song, *ex the Origin of Pleurisy*, p. 298—History of the rune, of its various and successive applications down to the present time, p. 307—
 ✓ The real concluding phase in the life of the rune represented in the songs of the *Origin of the Kantele*, p. 320.

CONCLUSIONS - - - - - 327-359

On the *Kalevala* and on the Origins of the Great National Epics.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS.

24
HOWEVER various may be the aim and subject of the innumerable songs which, for centuries past, have been produced and orally spread among the Finns, their form is always the same. The popular muse of Finland has never arrived at that degree of maturity which distinguishes special forms of poetry by special formal characteristics, creating for each special laws and moulds. The scholar who would order these songs according to ancient literary theory, dividing the epic from the magic, and these from the epic-lyric, from the lyric, etc., can do so only as regards the contents and aim of each poem. He can also discern what is more ancient and what is less so. But the unity of form prevents his classification from being, in either case, very decided. He finds that the epic song often serves a magic end, that the magic song is of a lyric nature; but it is narrative as well and may be set in the *epos* without incongruity; while the same thing may occur with the epic-lyric and even with the lyric. Further, although traditional and ancient, this poetry is living and continually renewing itself in the living word; so that the distinction between older and more recent songs can be made only within wide limits in very general terms, and can in no case be based on questions of form, or on the use of words obsolete and archaic or new and modern.

2 THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS.

Poetical outpouring and formulation of the feelings and thought of the present moment, of past memories, of fanciful imaginings, may vary with place and occasion: it may be a proverb or an adage put into verse; it may be a song of love, of joy or of mourning; it may be a wedding song, a song of women at the mill, a magic song, a song telling of ancient myths and the story of wondrous feats, or a song with some other subject; but the vein, the quality of the metal, the mould in all these effusions are ever one and the same. The singer, the *laulaja*, repeats and creates at the same time. The mass of songs he has in his mind are for him property common to others and to himself. There lies his science, there is his text-book, his material, and at the same time the instrument with which to shape his own work. Verses of a song which we should call lyric he weaves into one which we should call epic or magic, and *vice versâ*; and he does so freely, as one who employs according to his need, words, phrases, formulas of a language common to all and understood of all. This right which the singers feel that they have, and which they use abundantly, added to the alterations which poems committed to memory and propagated exclusively by word of mouth must naturally undergo, is the cause of the very large number of variants which every song presents. Each one not only differs between singer and singer, but even the same singer never repeats it twice in exactly the same manner, often going so far as to bind together and give as one those songs which but recently he recited as separate and distinct. Thus, taking them all together, the songs which have up to the present time been collected with their numberless variants, appear a fluctuating mass of verse, of poetic thought, of poetically fantastic creations in a perennial state of transformation, of decomposition and of recomposition. This is the true natural condition of popular poetry properly so called, before it becomes, or begins to become, individual and

artistic. In truth the traditional poetry of the Finns is popular poetry in the full sense of the word, so that its study may serve to correct the definition ordinarily given to the term *popular poetry*, now too often used inexactly.

Finnish poetry, of whatever kind, is song, *laulu*. Besides this generic word there are other expressions of more restricted meaning, but all these are of foreign derivation. The most ancient and characteristic is *rune*, which, strictly used, designates poetry or songs of traditional form and character. Above all, therefore, it designates the narrative, heroic or magic songs, though it is also extended to lyric songs of antique form, to wedding songs (*Häärunot*), etc. Less ancient is the use of the word *virsi*, of Latin origin, which has probably reached the Finns, as I think, from the Lithu-Slavs. Although it has in many places, and even precisely in those where the ancient songs are best preserved, supplanted the term *runo*, yet it was certainly introduced with the teachings and the sacred books of Christianity; while there is no doubt but that *runo* dates from pagan times. Thus *virsi* is also applied to hymns of the Lutheran Church, for which *runo* could never be used.¹ Altogether modern is the word *veisa*, which has nothing to do with traditional poetry, and is applicable only to translations or imitations of the popular ballads or songs of Sweden (*visor*). To sum up, there is one word, *runo*, which characterises and distinguishes the traditional poetry of the Finns whether as to subject or as to form, this last being one and essentially its own. There is one only metre for songs of every kind, epic, magic, lyric; one rule of composition for all; and in all a singular homogeneity of tone and style. One is the *rune*, one the ancestral mould, fashioned by the fathers of the

¹ *Virsiikirja* is the book of psalms or sacred songs; there is a whole literature of this kind of composition from the time of Bishop Agricola onwards. Krohn wrote a history of these books, *Suomen virsiikirjan historia*, Helsingfors, 1880.

4 THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS.

people in ancient days, which gave to this poetry the shape in which it has grown up, lived, survived and propagated itself down to the present time. The popular singer or *laulaja* is a runer (*runoja*), a smith or maker of runes (*runoseppä*) or a master of runes (*runoniekka*). The reader who passes from the *Kalevala* to the lyric and magic songs feels hardly any sense of interruption; he finds the same manner and the same form, and recognises besides a great number of lines which he has already met in the larger poem. It is, in fact, easy to see that identity of metre and homogeneity of manner and style not only facilitate the combination and interweaving of runes of every description, but almost suggest it and render it natural when they are manipulated by the people. Instances of this are given by the minute analyses of Julius Krohn, who, after an examination of the epic runes, has recognised and indicated (as we shall show in a fitting place) those parts and lines which are to be met with also in runes treating of other subjects. Transposition of this kind, in which all popular singers freely indulge, has been employed on a larger scale by Lönnrot in his *Kalevala*; for the composition of which he laid under contribution every kind of national poetry, from the mythic song to the proverb. As a matter of fact the runes or songs known to and given by the popular singers are in no case of great length; of a large poem they have no idea; of a *Kalevala* (a title evolved by Lönnrot himself) they know nothing.

Whatever we may have to say against Lönnrot's idea of composing, or as he thought of *putting together again* the *Kalevala*, against its epic and organic unity, against its nature as a continuous poem, we must nevertheless confess that it presents a marked poetic unity: that unity, and that alone, which we have defined above as common to the entire mass of runes. So that the *Kalevala* is really a synthesis of traditional Finnic poetry, whose

nature it fully represents. Lönnrot collected from the lips of the *laulajat* the living material, changeable and fluctuating, and built it firmly together into a poem which is an imperishable monument of the poetic genius of that nation.

The first rune collectors, from Porthan¹ down to Lönnrot, only considered and published detached songs, and did not even think of classifying them according to their nature and their contents. Thus Von Schröter,² Topelius,³ and Lönnrot himself in the first collection which he published under the title of *Kantele*,⁴ make no distinction between epic, lyric and magic songs. They distribute them simply into ancient songs or *runot*, *i.e.*, those that are proved by their contents or other characteristics to have been handed down by tradition from early times; and modern songs, called generically *laulut*, *i.e.*, such as are clearly recent in nature, characteristics, form and contents. The first to conceive the idea of a collection of songs combined or ordered according to a common subject was Reinhold von Bekker. In 1820 he published at Åbo, in his weekly paper (*Turun Viikko Sanomat*), a number of songs or runes relating to Väinämöinen, which he had collected in Eastern Bothnia, and to a certain extent put into order. Meanwhile Topelius discovered a rich mine of songs in Russian Carelia; while

¹ In this connection see Rothsten's introduction to the third edition of the *Kalevala* (1887), and J. Krohn's *The first Printed Runes of the Kalevala (Ensimmäiset painetut Kalevalan runot)* in the *Kirj. Kuukauslehti*, 1870, p. 47; K. Krohn, *Hist. du traditionnisme en Finlande*, in the *Tradition*, iv. (1890).

² D. H. R. von Schröter, *Finnische Runen, finn. und deutsch*, Upsala, 1819.

³ *Suomen Kansan vanhoja runoja ynnä myös nykysempiä lauluja (Ancient Runes and Modern Songs of the Finnish People)*, Åbo and Helsingfors, 1822-31.

⁴ *Kantele, taikka Suomen Kansan sekä vanhoja että nykysempiä Runoja ja Lauluja (The Cithern, or Runes and Songs, Ancient and Modern, of the Finnish People)*, Helsingfors, 1829-31.

Lönnrot, who had been appointed doctor in Cajana, Castrén, Sjögren, Ahlqvist, Europæus and others, aided and encouraged by the admirable Society of Finnish Literature founded in 1831,¹ collected a great number of songs of every kind. Lönnrot's studies and researches, directed from his earliest youth to the poetry of the people, grew more and more profound as the material for them increased.² Investigating and comparing the numerous songs he had collected, Lönnrot began to look with increasing favour on Von Bekker's idea of uniting or combining songs which treated the same or related subjects; the more so as he observed this to be constantly done by the popular singers themselves. A whole thus made up of a number of separate songs which he heard at Vuoninen in Russian Carelia in 1833 from the singer Vassili, presented him with a model on which to order the runes relating to Väinämöinen.³ His first attempt at combination, made in the same year, was a short poem (unpublished) bearing the title of *Väinämöinen*; but he quickly set to work at a longer poem, which he called the *Kalevala*. This he presented in February, 1835, to the Society of Finnish Literature, by which it was immediately published.⁴ The poem was followed by variants, and among them were epic runes for which no place could be found in the body of the work. The poem consisted of thirty-

¹ See Palmén, *L'œuvre demi-séculaire de la Société de Litt. finlandaise et le mouvement national en Finlande de 1831 à 1881*, Helsingfors, 1882.

² The little periodical, *Mehiläinen* (*The Bee*), which he started and continued for four years (1836-7 Uleåborg, 1839-40 Helsingfors), contains his own studies and a mass of material in the shape of popular literature of every kind, both in poetry and in prose.

³ See *Helsingfors Morgonblad*, 1834 to 1857.

⁴ *Kalevala taikka vanhoja Karjalan runoja, Suomen Kansan muinosta ajoista* (*Kalevala, or Ancient (Carelian) Songs of the Primitive Finnic People*), Helsingf., 1835. This first edition is now extremely rare. From it Castrén made his beautiful Swedish translation: *Kalevala öfversatt af M. A. Castrén*, Helsingf., 1841.

two cantos and over 12,000 lines; but the increase in material owing to further researches, the criticism of other scholars¹ and his own progress in these studies, induced Lönnrot to re-order the whole, adding fresh matter and inserting what he had at first left out. In 1849 a new and final edition was brought out; the poem then had fifty cantos and 22,800 lines.²

For the composition, the weaving of the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot had, as we said, laid under contribution all traditional Finnish poetry of whatever kind; the poem was based, however, on narrative, heroic songs, or epics, which were all, and some even under more forms than one, united in it. He also introduced a considerable number of magic songs, whether narrative or not, wedding songs, and those concerning the Bear; as well as many verses and extracts

¹ Especially Castrén in the preface to the Swedish translation of the first edition, and Tengström in his sensible paper in the *Fosterländskt Album*, i. (1845), p. 123 *et seq.* Lönnrot expounded his idea concerning the issue of a new edition in several articles in the *Helsingf. Litteraturblad*, 1848-9.

² Later editions of the same text were issued at Helsingfors in 1866, 1870, 1877, 1882; these last three are cheap editions (*helpohintainen painos*) with explanatory footnotes, index of names and of the words treated in the notes; they are also illustrated. The last one is the most complete as regards the explanations and the drawings, which are arranged in thirty plates. All these editions are for the use of Finns and of those who know Finnish; the explanations are therefore entirely in this language. Lönnrot was very sparing of explanations in the texts which he published, as he was already engaged on his great work, the Finno-Swedish Dictionary (issued 1874-80; supplem. 1886), which also serves for the language of the runes. In 1862, however, he edited an abridged edition of the *Kalevala* with notes (in Finnish) for the use of schools (*Kalevala, lyhennetty laitos, tärkeämmillä selityksyllä kouloujen tarpeeksi*). Ahlqvist published the first five cantos of the *Kalevala* with Swedish notes: *De fem första sångerna af Kalevala med svensk. ordbok*, Helsingf., 1853; and afterwards the first ten in his Finnish reading-book (*Suomalainen lukemisto*), which has run through several editions (third, 1883). Ahlqvist has also published a very useful and complete alphabetical list of all the words used in the *Kalevala* (*Täydellinen Kalevalan sanasto*); it forms No. 27 (Helsingf., 1878) of the *Bidrag till Kännedom af Finlands Natur och Folk utg. af F. Vetensk.-Societ.*

from lyric songs. So that, although the *Kalevala* thus became a synthesis of traditional poetry, that poetry still remains divisible into the natural categories of epic, lyric, epic-lyric and magic; the more so as, besides the epic or heroic poems, there was a mass of magic, lyric and epic-lyric songs not included or not fully incorporated in the *Kalevala* and adapted to separate publication. These Lönnrot collected, giving to the world in 1840 under the title of *Kanteletar* (which may be translated *Lyrics*) a great number of lyric and epic-lyric songs; following them in the same year with the Proverbs (*Sananlaskut*),¹ interesting and characteristic as forming an integral part of the traditional poetry and of the runes, in which they represent the didactic element. In 1844 he issued the Riddles (*Arvoitukset*),² which are also not alien to the study of this

¹ *Suomen kansan sananlaskuja (Proverbs of the Finnish People)*, Helsingf., 1842. It contains above 7000 proverbs. This, however, is not the first collection of Finnish proverbs; several others preceded it; the most ancient is that of Florinus, Åbo, 1702. After Lönnrot, Ahlqvist issued a selection of proverbs for the use of the young (*Valittuja sananlaskuja nuorisolle*, Helsingf., 1896) with explanations (in Finnish) of words and things, for the Finnish proverb is not always easy to understand. Many of these proverbs are translated in various writings, e.g., Gottlund, *De proverbiis Fennicis*, Upsala, 1818; Bertram, *Jenseits der Scheeren*, Leipz., 1854, p. 39 *et seq.*; Sjögren, *Ueber die Finn. Spr. u. Literat.*, St. Petersburg, 1821, p. 64 *et seq.* (*Gesamm. Schrift.*, i., p. 30 *et seq.*), etc. Of the proverbial didactic element of the runes Altmann gives examples in his little work, *Runen finnischer Volkspoesie gesamm. u. übers.*, Leipz., 1856; but the book contains many errors and mistaken ideas.

² *Suomen kansan arvoituksia ynnä 189 Viron arvoituksia kanssa (Riddles of the Finnish People and 189 Esthonian Riddles)*, Helsingf., 1844; second edition with additions, 1851 (in this last there are 2224). In his collection and publication of riddles Lönnrot has been preceded by Ganander (*Aenigmata fennica*, Vasa, 1783), whose preface he reproduced in his own collection. Many riddles, translated into Swedish, were given by Lönnrot in the first volume of the *Suomi* (1841), where he also gives information and comments on the collections both of the riddles and of proverbs (*Om finska Ordspråk och Gator*), translating many of the latter. From this work of Lönnrot there has lately been drawn a little volume bearing the title *Finska ordspråk och Gator af Elias Lönnrot*, Helsingf. (Edlund), 1887.

poetry, serving to characterise its language and poetical formulas, its images, its periphrastic modes. Lastly he published in 1880, towards the end of his life, the important collection of magic songs (*Loitsurunot*) which he had withheld till then, perhaps under the idea that he had already made known the best of them in the *Kalevala*.

Finnish poetry, as presented in these publications of Lönnrot, must appear strangely anomalous to the student of popular literatures and of the ordinary history of national poetry. There are magic, lyric, epic-lyric songs; but there are no separate heroic, epic songs; nothing but one great, ancient and traditional epic. All those epic songs or runes which the popular singers or *laulajat* recite separately figure as parts or fragments of this single, ancient epic, outside of which there is no other epus or cycle of epics. And this ancient poem, unknown to the *laulajat*, Lönnrot claims to have reconstructed; whence, in accordance with the well-known German theories on the Homeric poems, he is often called the Homer of Finland. According to Lönnrot, an ancient poet, contemporary of the events (?) recorded, composed a smaller poem, which, handed down by tradition, expanded as time went on, and split up into several variants. From these a poem, naturally somewhat greater than the original nucleus, can be reconstructed.¹ Many have thought

¹ We may refer here to what Lönnrot wrote in this connection after the new edition of the *Kalevala in Helsingf. Litteraturblad*, 1849, n. 1, p. 20: "No discussion as to the mode of origin of the Homeric poems could ever have arisen had those who have written on this subject had the experience which I have acquired through the Finnish poems, of the influence of tradition on poetry. They would all have agreed that some poet first briefly sang contemporary events, and that tradition then expanded the songs and produced variants of them. He who afterwards collected these variants did much the same as I have done in ordering and weaving together those of the songs of the *Kalevala*; only I beg that no one take these words amiss, as though I wished to place my abilities or the subject I have treated on a par with that other collector and his work. The various dialectic forms which occur so often in the Homeric poems

10 THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS.

that the Homeric poems originated and were put together in the same manner. The *Kalevala*, then, was generally considered, both in Finland and abroad, as an ancient national epos, orally preserved by tradition, and collected from the mouths of the people, principally by Lönnrot. It was in this sense that Jacob Grimm understood it,¹ when, in 1845, he wrote of it with admiration; as others have also done down to the present day.

When the *Kalevala* appeared the Homeric question was being discussed with much vigour. It had received fresh life from the bold theory put forward by Lachmann, who, in his famous *Betrachtungen* (1837), picked the *Iliad* to pieces, and, applying the same principle and method to the *Nibelungen*, suggested the manner in which every other national epos might be analysed. It was not likely, however, that the men and the schools occupied with this question should see its relation to the Finnic poem; they were too full of prejudices, too narrowly classical in their scientific outlook, too far removed from the Finnish language and people. The *Kalevala*, therefore, was little known among them; though it was cited as an example to prove, in opposition to Wolf, that a large poem can, without the aid of writing, be composed and handed down

render impossible the belief that the latter were the work of one man or were handed down by tradition without many variants. He who orders and puts together these pieces of a cycle of songs must sometimes insert a connecting line, and I doubt not that such lines can be found, if we look for them, in the Homeric poem. I also have had to introduce some of them into the runes of the *Kalevala*; but it seemed to me, and to others also, that it would have been mere pedantry to draw attention to them, especially as they have nothing to do with the poem itself, and consist generally in such phrases as 'He expressed himself in words and spoke thus' (*Sanon virkkoi, noin nimesi*), or, 'Then he spoke and said' (*Siita tuon sanokisi virkki*), etc."

¹ Ueber das Finnische Epos (Hoefer's Zeitschr., 1845), *Kleine Schriften*, ii., 75 et seq.; see p. 77 et seq. This paper of Grimm was translated into Swedish in the *Fosterländskt Album*, ii. (1845), p. 60 et seq.

by tradition, and live orally for centuries.¹ It was better known in other regions of intellectual activity.² Its influence is distinctly traceable in Longfellow's "Hiawatha," where its metre and parallelism are imitated. It had many translators in various languages,³ and was even subjected to a critical analysis with the view of resolving

¹ We must except J. Cæsar, the classic philologist, who wrote an address, *Das Finnische Volksepos Kalevala* (Stuttgart, 1862), in which he hints at the affinity which possibly exists between the study of this poem and the Homeric question, but without entering deeply into the matter.

² What Rosenkranz, M. Carrière, Uhland, Max Müller, Geffroy and others have said about it was published by Rothsten in his preface to the edition of 1887.

³ First in Swedish, the first edition by Lönnrot himself (*Helsingfors Morgonblad*, 1835-6); then better by Castrén (see above); the second edition, in part translated in Swedish, by Borg (*Kullervo*, Helsingf., 1850; *Lemminkäinen*, Helsingf., 1852; "Rune XLII." in *Suomi*, 1851); then entirely by Collan (Helsingf., 1864-8), who also translates a part of Lönnrot's introduction. R. Hertzberg gives a free Swedish translation, compressing the text (Helsingf., 1884). He had previously issued a précis in prose for young people (*Kalevala berättad för ungdom*, Helsingf., 1875).

In German, Schiefner gave a useful, if not very elegant translation in the original metre, line for line (Helsingf., 1852; Ahlqvist's critique of it is important, *Suomi*, 1853; Schiefner's reply appeared in the *Mélanges russes*, ii., 435 *et seq.*). More elegant is Paul's German translation, Helsingf., 1885-6.

In English appeared first J. Porter's incomplete *Selections from the Kalevala* (New York, 1863), which was followed by J. M. Crawford's complete translation in the original metre (New York, 1889).

In French we have an attempt by Uifalvy (Paris, 1876), and a complete translation (in prose) by Léouzon le Duc (Paris, 1867).

In Hungarian, Ferd. Barna's translation has run through two editions (Pesth, 1871; Helsingf., 1877).

In Russian, besides some parts translated by S. W. Helgren (*Kullervo*, Moscow, 1880; *Aino*, Helsingf., 1880; *Rune I.-III.*, Helsingf., 1885), we have the complete translation by É. Granström (St. Petersburg, 1880).

In Bohemian, a translation undertaken by G. Holezek in the illustrated paper *Ruch*, 1884.

In Italian, Dom. Ciampoli promises us a translation of which he has already given two samples (*Runes VIII. and L.*, Catania, 1890) in heroics, an error which it is heartily to be hoped he may correct.

12 THE TRADITIONAL POETRY OF THE FINNS.

it into its component parts. But when V. Tettau undertook this task,¹ he had neither the knowledge nor the documents which we have now to enable him to obtain a clear definition of traditional Finnish poetry; and besides he had to work with facts obtained at second hand. Much interest had been excited and was still being excited among students of the natural production of the epos, by the publication of the Servian songs, and of the Russian *byliny*, which evidently furnished an example of such production during the period of small or less extended songs. The Ossianic poems, independently even of Macpherson's forgeries, began, in face of this frankly popular, primitive, virgin and, above all, authentic poetry, to fall more and more into disrepute as the product of a people which had had for centuries a history, civilisation and literature. But the Finns rank above the Servians and Russians as offering in their *Kalevala* a more advanced stage of development: that in which smaller or less extended songs have already given place to a great epic composition, or, in other words, these smaller or less extended songs are so highly developed and consistent that a great poem can be made by weaving them together; and this could not be done with the short Servian and Russian poems. Nor were those wanting who observed this, and thus determined the value of the Finnish poem.² Still, current ideas concerning the *Kalevala* were very inexact and incorrect, even among the Finns themselves, at the date of Lönnrot's death (1884) and of the publication (1885) of the late lamented Julius Krohn's (1888) thorough-going work. The latter displayed a profound and direct knowledge of all the popular literature of his country, and gave in Finnish not a simple critical analysis of the *Kale-*

¹ *Ueber die epischen Dichtungen d. Finnischen Völker, besonders die Kalevala*, Erfurt, 1873.

² Steinthal, *Das Epos in Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, v., 1867.

vala based on induction or on guess-work, but on positive facts concerning it.¹

Whatever may be the judgment pronounced by others or by ourselves on the work of Lönnrot and on the ideas which directed it, we must never fail to honour him as honest, candid, and most conscientious. Frank and upright in life and in death, he bequeathed all his manuscripts to the Society of Finnish Literature; and in them, as well as in those of other collectors, which he also laid under contribution and which now all belong to the society, his method of working can be studied by every one. A delicate feeling of respect for the man so generally honoured, hindered investigations, during his lifetime, into a work which, dear as it was to the nation, was still dearer to its author. For Lönnrot was not only a man of science; he loved to call himself also a popular singer or *laulaja*, and he combined all the conscientiousness of the former with the rights, of which he made full use, accruing to him from the latter position. But when he died (1884) and the fear of wounding his susceptibilities passed away, scientific reason could begin her work without fear of giving offence. Ahlqvist was the first to publish a work (whose audacity with regard to certain sentiments he made no pretence at dissembling) in which he critically examined and revised the text of the *Kalevala*,² showing

¹ *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden historia. Ensimm. Osa, Kalevala* (*History of Finnic Literature*, part i., "The Kalevala"), Helsingf., 1885. A Swedish and a German translation of this book are in course of preparation. The contents of the last chapter were published in German by Krohn himself under the title *Die Entstehung der einheitlichen Epen im allgemeinen* in the *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie*, xviii. (1888), p. 59 *et seq.* Précis of other chapters of the same book are to be found in the *Kalevala-Studien*, published in Swedish by Krohn in the *Finsk Tidskrift*, xxi. (1886), pp. 99 *et seq.*, 177 *et seq.*, 241 *et seq.* (German translation in the *Zeitschr. für Volkskunde*, i., pp. 117 *et seq.*, 209 *et seq.*)

² *Kalevalan tekstin tutkimusta ja tarkastusta*, Helsingf., 1856. See the important notice of it given by Krohn in the *Valvoja*, vi., 1886, p. 287 *et seq.* Of Lönnrot's methods with regard to the publication of the runes

how, in many places, Lönnrot had amplified and reformed the text of the second edition too freely, often with mistaken ideas as to language and style, introducing more lines of his own than he had proposed doing, or had actually done at first, and making use of inferior songs and variants. Krohn, too, gave to the world the book of which we have already spoken, and of which we shall have to make considerable use as we proceed; and in addition to these, the Society of Finnish Literature has already begun its edition of the *Variants of the Kalevala*, as it calls the collection of all the epic songs, under all their variations, in their genuine and original form and state, as they were received from the mouths of the popular singers and written down by numerous collectors. The small portion of this work which has hitherto been published gives already an idea of what the fundamental constituent elements of the *Kalevala* are in their primitive and natural condition.¹ Nevertheless, it will not be possible to draw any exact idea of the poem, even from the completed collection, without a study of the *Kanteletar* or lyric songs, of the *Loitsurunot* or magic songs, and of the *Sananlaskut* or proverbs. The society will doubtless do

and the composition of the *Kalevala*, Ahlqvist speaks in the biography published immediately after Lönnrot's death, *Elias Lönnrot biografiskt utkast af A. Ahlqvist*, Helsingf., 1884.

¹ Only one number, Krohn's latest work, has as yet appeared, bearing the title *Kalevalan Toisinnot: Suomen Kansallisepoksen ainekset järjestettyinä sisällyksen ja laulupaikkojen mukaan* (*Variants of the Kalevala: The Elements of the Finnic National Epos ordered according to the Contents of the Songs and the Localities from which they were drawn*). It contains the variants relating to the Creation and those relating to the Rape of the Sampo, as they were collected in the Grand-duchy of Finland, in the Gov. of Olonetz, in Ingria, and in Esthonia. We have been for some time expecting the publication, by A. Borenius, of those variants collected in the Gov. of Archangel, in which the song of the Creation is joined to that of the Rape of the Sampo by the introduction of the song of the Making of the Sampo; the real nucleus of the *Kalevala*. I have had the privilege of seeing what has been printed: the group of songs of Vuonninen and part of that of Latvajärvi.

for the lyric and magic what it is now doing for the epic songs : it will give the original variants. For here, too, Lönnrot adopted his peculiar method of composition, putting together what was best and amending one variant at the expense of others and of various songs ; so that here, as in the *Kalevala*, there is no single song which is really and unvaryingly sung by the people as Lönnrot has published it, although all the lines that compose each song are truly popular. The instability, the fluidity of this poetry as it exists among the popular singers is not apparent under the form which Lönnrot has given it ; yet it is very important that this instability should be made clear. Meanwhile the *Kanteletar*, the *Loitsurunot*, and even the *Sananlaskut* may serve, with the *Kalevala*, to complete what is characteristic in the traditional poetry of the Finns ; while they also afford an independent study of certain aspects which in the *Kalevala* appear only as parts of a whole.

In the three books of the *Kanteletar*¹ Lönnrot intended giving collections of songs which are neither strictly epic nor magic, but subjective in argument, or lyric ; the sentiment and thought being either directly formulated,

¹ *Kanteletar, taikka Suomen kansan vanhoja lauluja ja virsiä*, Helsingfors, 1840 ; 2nd ed., *ib.*, 1864 ; 3rd ed., *ib.*, 1887. This last does not give the variants, but it contains a good index (in Finnic) of the less common words, edited by J. Krohn. R. Hertzberg has issued a selection of the best of these poems for the use of young people (*Kanteletar nuorisolle ; kokous kaunimmista Kanteletaren runoista*, Helsingf., 1874). The excellent preface by Lönnrot, in which the nature and character of this poetry is treated, has been translated into Swedish under the title *Finska folksångens karaktär* in the *Fosterländskt Album*, iii. (Helsingf., 1847), p. 94 *et seq.* ; the same publication (ii., 1845, p. 3 *et seq.*) gives in Swedish several songs of the first part, and (iii., p. 33 *et seq.*) some of the third ; about seventy songs have also been translated into Swedish in Tengström's *Finsk Anthologi*, Helsingf., 1845, p. 91 *et seq.* There is no complete translation of this collection. A volume containing an excellent German translation of a good many songs was published by the late H. Paul : *Kanteletar, die Volkslyrik der Finnen ins Deutsche übertragen*, Helsingfors, 1882.

or presented in a narrative form. In addition to compositions more generic in nature, expressing the sentiment, the vocation of the poet, his state of mind at the moment of inspiration, ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν αἰεῖδειν, or other feelings, joyous or sad, equally generic, we here have songs sung at weddings, songs sung by shepherds, by children, and then those of maidens at the dance, at their games, when thinking of the bridegroom, while merry-making, jesting, feeling sad, working at the mill; and songs of brides, of women rocking their babies, etc.; and songs of youths while dancing and making merry, thinking on matrimony or in other circumstances; and songs of men in the married life, at the chase, in war, etc. Besides these we have an important group of lyrical-narrative songs (called by Lönnrot *virsilaulut*), which give us ancient myths, Christian legends, mediæval ballads, and even some few historical facts, in addition to a miscellany of various subjects, principally suitable to romances. Without a doubt many comparisons may be made between these songs and the popular poetry of other nations; and in many cases either the subject-matter or the shade of sentiment expressed reveals an origin by no means ancient; but all this poetry bears its own special impress, which distinguishes it as an original, national product, from other songs which have come into use more recently, and are nothing more than imitations or even translations from Swedish songs. Lönnrot gives a group of these as examples in his introduction to the *Kanteletar*; the difference between them and those of national origin is clear and evident, both in the metre and in the other elements of the poems.¹ There are parts of Finland where only this last kind of modern song is known, and where it spreads, printed or unprinted, side by side with the religious songs. This happens in

¹ With regard to the metre and structure of the original rune, see p. 32.

Savolaks, in Tavastland, in Eastern Bothnia; whereas the principal centre of the traditional songs is Russian and Finnic Carelia. The first characteristic of the national songs is the one unvarying form of the rune, which is the same in the lyric as in the epic lays. Neither does the tone nor the style vary much: the lyric poetry is never exalted, profound, nebulous, but gentle, sweet and clear; the epos is never solemn, broad, majestic, but simple, frank, somewhat rapid, and animated by a vivacity and heat peculiar to itself; so that the epic and the lyric are so homogeneous in form and tenor that they easily mingle. Here in the *Kanteletar* we recognise, standing alone, many songs of various kinds, which figure with the epic songs, in the web of the *Kalevala*. Lönnrot himself was unable to make any very definite distinction; for we find him giving among the lyrics songs which in the *Kalevala* are placed amongst the epics, those, for instance, about the son of Kojonen, about Lyylikki, etc., and in the *Loitsurunot* among the magic lays, e.g., that on the Origin of Beer, which also occurs in the *Kalevala*.

Very ancient is the rune. Created when the Finns were heathens and employed in the expression of their religious idea, in the formation of their poetic myth, and of the heroic ideals connected with it, it reached its first and principal development in the magic song. Very ancient and powerful is the poetical instinct among this people. They feel themselves poets and they reverence poetry: the words (*saanat*) whose power is great, and efficacy divine. The beautiful runes in the *Kalevala* on the origin of the cithern or *kantele* are an admirable poetical embodiment of such sentiment, of such reverence, of the enthusiasm which song raises among them. Those who collect the songs often testify to this.

The source is gradually drying up: new times, contact

with other peoples, external influences of various kinds, the nearer or more remote effects of general European culture and of their own which is broadening and deepening, all tend to depreciate the spontaneous work of minds that are leaving or have already left their primitive conditions, and to discredit the ancestral rune, survivor of so long a series of generations. In some regions, however, the rune still lives, the songs still abound. The *laulajat* sing and repeat at weddings, feasts, rustic merry-makings, evening gatherings, the songs which are the work of all, the songs handed down by their fathers. They sing them, and improvise new ones. Improvisation is rendered extremely easy by the metre and manner of versification, which are perfectly in harmony with the tonic and melodic character of their language. Thus, for example, the funeral chants improvised by illiterate peasants are often most charming. They are in the form of the rune, but are not traditional, not ancient, and were therefore not included in the collections of runes that have hitherto been published. Neither are the women less occupied than the men in the making and handing down of songs. In addition to the wedding runes, which it is their peculiar duty to sing, they have a great many special songs for various occasions; among others some, which are both curious and charming, for singing, as did the Lesbian women, while they turn the hand-mill. Aged women, as well as old men, often excite our wonder by the extraordinary number of songs that they know by heart.¹

¹ *Vid.* Porthan, *De poesi fennica*, in his *Opera selecta*, vol. iii. (Helsingf., 1567), p. 308 *et seq.* For notices of singers, songs, places where these last are preserved, the accounts of travels in search of runes many of which have been published, are of importance; we may cite Ahlqvist (prov. of Viborg and of Olonetz) in *Suomi*, 1856, and in his volume *Muistelmät matkoillta Venäjältä* (memoirs of journeys in Russia), Helsingf., 1859; Lenkelä (Ingria) in *Suomi*, 1859; Tallqvist and Törneros (Ingria), *ib.*, 1860; Grundstroem (Ingria), *ib.*, 1866; Borenius (Russian Carelia), *ib.*, 1876; see also *Kieletär*, iii.; also Borenius' *Runonlaulu nykyisindä*

The Finns of Finland, all Lutherans, know how to read; must know how to do so, otherwise they cannot be confirmed, and therefore cannot marry; but this obligatory instruction is not of ancient date. The rune originated while they were pagans and totally illiterate. It lived and spread after the adoption of Christianity (twelfth century); for they remained illiterate during the whole of the Catholic period (1157-1528), and a great part of the Lutheran, although their language already began to be written after the middle of the sixteenth century through the efforts of Bishop Michael Agricola. He fixed the alphabet¹ and issued a printed translation of the Lutheran catechism,² of the Gospel, the psalter, a prayer-book (*Rukouskirja*), etc. The Finns of Russia and of the Russian Church are still quite illiterate and in a state of primitive simplicity; among them the tradition of the songs has remained singularly fresh. For the genuine traditional rune is in its essence the poetry of the illiterate, the poetry of nature. The singer has gone through no course of studies; he knows it, and says so; but he also knows and asserts that he has in his soul a divine spark, a rich vein due to no study and to no school, unless it be to the

aikoina (contemporary runic songs) in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 1873; Porkka (Ingria) in *Suomi*, 1886. Julius Krohn collected, after Europæus' death, and published in the *Valvoja*, 1887, interesting accounts of the latter's travels in the provinces of Olonetz and Archangel.

¹ The *Abckirja* or alphabet of Michael Agricola is the first book printed in Finnic (perhaps at Stockholm, 1540). All trace of it had been lost, but remains of an incomplete copy were found at Upsala and at Helsingfors. A *facsimile* of what remains has recently been made by U. G. Leinberg at Jyväskylä, 1884, under the title *Suomenkielisen kirjallisuuden esikoinen. Michael Agricolan Abckirja*.

² Next to the alphabet the catechism is the most ancient Finnic book (1543). With regard to this, and the other ancient publications in this language, see Pipping's catalogue, *Förteckning öfver i tryck utgifna skrifter på Finska*, Helsingf., 1856-7. Concerning Michael Agricola, see the interesting anonymous publication in the *Fosterländskt Album*, iii., Helsingf., 1847, pp. 121-173.

school of nature and of domestic life where he learns, with his mother tongue, the songs handed down from his ancestors. The singer very frequently prefaces his song with verses laudatory of himself and his knowledge. Besides work of this sort occurring in the *Kanteletar*, a very good example is offered in the poem of the *Kalevala*, put together from many smaller poems of the same nature. Just as the Homeric bard boasts of the learning he has himself acquired, of the great variety of the songs with which a god has inspired him, so the Finnic *laulaja* also vaunts himself: ¹ *A hundred sayings do I possess, fastened to my girdle, to my ring, to my side, which not every child can sing, nor every lad the half of them.*² . . . *My songs are my learning, my verses my goods; from the roads did I dig them, from green boughs did I pluck them, I wrenched them from the heather plants, when a little one I was herding, a little child was tending lambs. Up from the honeymounds, across the golden hillocks, songs did the wind waft me, the air cradled them by hundreds, verses surged around me, sayings rained down like water,*³ . . . *my father would sing them as he fitted a new handle to his axe; from my mother would I learn them as her spindle twirled, and I, a baby sprawling on the ground, rolled at her feet, a mewling infant, a wanton youngster. . . .*

Notwithstanding this tendency towards poetry, and this feeling for it, the minstrels among the Finns have

¹ On mulla sata sanaa
 Alla vyöni ansahassa,
 Rengahassa reidelläni,
 Joita ei laulaa kaikki lapset,
 Eika poika puoletkana.

—V. Porthan, *De poesi fennica* (*Op. sel.*, iii., p. 350).

² *Kanteletar* (Alkulause), p. xlii. (3rd ed.).

Omat on viret oppimani,
 Omät saamani sanaset., etc.

³ Niit'ennen iseni lauloi

Kirvesvartta vuollessansa, etc.

—*Kalevala*, i., 36 *et seq.*

never constituted a class, nor singing and verse-making a profession. Superiority in talent, in aptitude for becoming a good *laulaja*, is felt and recognised in whoever displays it; such a man is reputed a finer singer than another or than many others; but no name ever becomes eminent; there is no record of any celebrated poet or rune-maker. Väinämöinen, the eternal singer continually mentioned in the epos, is an ancient ideal, standing at the head of a band like unto himself, of a poetry unique and so impersonal as to be not even the work of a special class. In the villages, where the tradition of song most lingers, a man will sometimes be found who is famous because he knows many runes and is a good *laulaja*; as was, for instance, in 1834, the octogenarian Arhippa, of Latvajärvi, in Russian Carelia;¹ and some singers of one or two generations back are still spoken of by those who have drawn on them. But narrow is the circle within which such names are repeated. Weak is their echo; it would already have exhausted itself had not the diligence of collectors gathered up everything concerning even the personal history of those from whom the songs were obtained.

The conditions under which poetry grew up and

¹This Arhippa, who at eighty years of age still preserved an excellent memory, was perhaps one of the principal singers, if not the principal, from whom a great number of songs were obtained for the composition of the *Kalevala*. He died about 1840, after having been visited by Lönnrot (1834), Cajan (1836), Castrén (1849). His family came from the neighbourhood of the river Oulu (Uleå). He had sons who were also singers; but he had no very high idea of their ability, although they too furnished songs to the collectors. Arhippa drew his knowledge from his father, of whom he boasted as being a much better singer than himself, a man of great stature and full of energy, known as the *Great Jivana* (*Suuri Jivana*), whose name is still remembered, as is that of one of his companions, Jivana, the Diver-bird (*Kuikka-Jivana*), with whom he used to sing runes while they were out with their fishing-nets. See Lönnrot's memoirs of his journey in *Helsingfors Morgonblad*, 1835, and Borenus' notice in *Kalevalan Toisinnot*, first series, i., p. 28.

flourished caused it to remain among the Finns in a state of primitive simplicity. It was subjected to no perfecting or refining process. A simple, easy form was created, we do not quite know when, but certainly some centuries ago, and has remained unvaried to the present day. It would be an error to class the aoidoi, bards, scalds, with the *laulajat*; not only because the latter belong to no class or profession, but also because the conditions of the society in which they exist are very different from those in which the former flourished. Born in an elementary and primitive society, the rune is adapted for that only; having its origin in the *pirtti*, in the *kota*, in the *talo*, in the lonely dwelling where the family abides, it is fitted for the *pirtti*, the *kota*, the *talo*. It penetrates as far as the *kylä* or village; this being considered, however, not as a social unit, but as a group of houses and of families. There it took root and has survived where, far from towns and noisy centres, life is still near the conditions in which the rune was born; but it has melted away and vanished where foreign influences have given rise to a more complex society and mode of life. It neither knows nor cares to know of any higher authority than that of the father or mother (*isäntä—emäntä*) as ruling the family; kingdom, state, city, palace, castle, kings, princes, knights, ladies, do not exist in its world; it knows nothing of them, does not seek them, draws no inspiration from them, gives them no place among its ideals. These things do not, in fact, form part of the society to which the rune belongs, but of that foreign society (Swedish or Russian) to which the Finns were obliged to submit, it is true, but with which they never fused. Examining it thus, in its ideal world, the faithful reflection of that from which it emerges, we find that this poetry is lacking in those two elements by means of which, even independently of writing, natural and primitive poetry is so far refined as to become a work of art:

Finland knew neither the class of professional singers; nor the powerful, noble and wealthy classes whose favour is a stimulus to competition and thus to improvement, and whose very presence suggests the idea and the need of refinement, of the nobility derived from letters and art. Every intelligent student of popular songs and epics will here ask what kind of epos, of hero, of heroic action, can be expected from a life so rudimentary, an outlook so limited on the world, on the more complex forms of society and on the forces therein at work? It is true, the *Kalevala* differs under this aspect from every other national epos. It is altogether wanting in that conception of civil aggregates which in one form or another, in a more or less marked degree, is found in the epic poetry of so many other peoples, whose epos is as closely connected with their history as the *Kalevala* is far removed from that of the Finns. We shall see this more clearly with its causes in the theoretical part of this work. Meanwhile, let us say at once what we shall discuss more fully later on, that, notwithstanding all that has hitherto been written about the *Kalevala*, we cannot understand and define the nature and origin of the Finnic epic rune, with its anomalies, except by starting from the study of the magic rune.

The magic song, or magic rune (*loitsuruno*),¹ is the

¹ Lönnrot, *Suomen kansan loitsurunoja*, Helsingf., 1880. There is no complete translation of this collection; many of the songs contained in it were, however, translated into French prose by Beauvois, *La magie chez les finnois*, in the *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, 1882; into English prose by Abercromby, *Magic Songs of the Finns*, in *Folklore Quarterly Review*, i., 1890; and some into German verse by H. Paul, *Kanteletar*, p. 327 *et seq.* Concerning magic amongst the Finns, besides Lönnrot's preface to that collection and the work by Beauvois just quoted, see Lönnrot, *Afhandling om Finnarnes magiska medicin.*, Helsingf., 1832, and at greater length in the periodical *Finska Läkaresällsk. Handl.*, vol. i., Helsingf., 1842; Lencqvist, *De superstitione veterum Fennorum theoretica et practica*, Aboæ, 1782 (reproduced in Porthan's *Opera selecta*, vol. iv., p. 23 *et seq.*); Rosenbom, *De fama magiæ Fennis attributa*, Aboæ, 1789 (reproduced in

fundamental product, the distinctive characteristic of this poetry; it is the rune *par excellence*; it is imbued with the life of the people, with its religious past, with its memories, with its ideals. The part which magic action plays in the *Kalevala*, and the numerous magic runes introduced into the poem in their entirety by Lönnrot, afford excellent proof of its reality and importance, as well as of its epic function among the Finns. The magic song is conspicuous enough among many peoples, but its poetical value is generally small, and it holds but an unimportant place in the history of their poetry. Here, on the contrary, it plays a principal part: with it appears and develops not only poetry of word and conception, but also the poetical myth, elsewhere the accompaniment and product of the ancient, sacred hymn. It is easy to recognise in this fact a result of the shamanism which was without doubt the earliest religion of the Finns; as it was and is still to some extent that of the peoples, whether European or Asiatic, Ural-Altaiic or Ugro-Finn, that are anthropologically or linguistically related to them, such as the Lapps, Ostyaks, Voguls, Mordvins, Magyars, etc.

The shamanic idea was not extinguished among the Finns, as among the Magyars, by contact with European peoples and by the resulting influences, which we shall presently study; it was only modified. Even before this people became Christians their shamanism had doubtless raised itself above the rough, primitive conditions in which it exists among other slightly civilised peoples, and had approached the paganism of Europe, of the Scandinavians

Porthan's *Op. sel.*, vol. iv., p. 181 *et seq.*); Castrén, *Om Finnarnes trollkonst*, in his *Tillfälliga uppsätser*, p. 3 *et seq.*; *id.*, *Allmän öfversigt om Finnarnes Gudalära och magi under hedendom*, *ib.*, p. 14 *et seq.*; Murman, *Några upplysningar om Finnarnes Fordna vidskepliga bruk och trollkonster*, in *Suomi*, 1855, p. 285 *et seq.*; Hertzberg, *Vidskepelse i Finland på 1600 talet*, Helsingf., 1889, which gives (p. 59 *et seq.*) several songs and magic formulas, originating chiefly in Eastern Bothnia, found written in ancient registers of that century.

and the Lithu-Slavs. The magic drum was abandoned and forgotten even while the neighbouring Lapps, related to the Finns, still used it; but the magic word, hitherto rude and disordered, received a definite form and became the poetic song, giving rise to rich production of myth. There thus sprang up a harvest of poetry and myth—not found elsewhere in the Ugro-Finnic family except among the nearest relations of the Finns, the Esthonians: a poetry which goes hand in hand with a civil development superior to that corresponding to primitive shamanism as it exists among the Ostyaks, Lapps, Samoyedes, Voguls, etc.

Magic makes itself felt among the Finns in every circumstance of material and intellectual life. For every moment, for every action, for every ill, for every good, there is the fitting magic song. As is always the case among shamanists, the magician is also the medicine-man; to him do men have recourse in every illness; the very drug can have no efficacy unless he have first looked at it (*katsotut*) or cast a spell on it (*luketut*) with his mighty words (*sanat*)¹; and the help of those words is confidently invoked by the hunter, the fisher, the mariner, the warrior, by all who hope or fear, by all who embark on uncertain undertakings. From an intellectual standpoint, the idea of magic is diffused through the whole atmosphere of popular conceptions, from those of poetry and of religious myth to those of knowledge. *Tietäjä*, which etymologically signifies wise or learned, is ordinarily used for magician; *laulaja*, singer, also means spell-maker, just as *laulaa* means to sing or to make spells. *Väinämöinen* unites in himself both aspects of the wise man; he is the powerful magician and the singer who moves all nature by the beauty of his songs, by the sweet strains of his *kantele* or cithern; and so it happens, even at the present time, that the popular singer adds to his knowledge of epic and other

¹ See Lönnrot, *Loitsurunot*, p. xi.

songs that of magic songs, and combines the characters and reputations of magician and of singer.

The magic rune is not, like the magic song in most other parts of the world, obscure and strange, composed of formulas that hang loosely together and are nearly unintelligible or totally so; it is clear, of purely poetical nature, and has the same form, the same poetical characteristics as any other rune. This can easily be seen in the *Kalevala*, which contains so many magic runes.¹ It is lyrical and also narrative; its intimate nature is to personify, and it is therefore the source of myth. It is lyrical, accompanying magic rites and operations, during which the wizard is so carried out of himself as sometimes to swoon. He works himself up with his song, he arouses the divine energy within him, boasting of it as he does of his power, of his profound, secret knowledge; or else he addresses himself to the object of the spell, praying, upbraiding, commanding, terrifying, threatening, chasing, exiling; he speaks to inanimate things—to the wood, the sea, the wind, the fire, various sicknesses, the snake, iron, just as he would to persons able to hear and feel, to be moved or frightened; or again he turns to the demons or gods that rule those things, and are but personifications of them, generated by this same poetry: thus he will turn to water, or to Ahti or Vellamo, god and goddess of the waters; to the wood, or to Tapio or Mielikki, god and goddess of the woods. Nature is thus fantastically populated by a multitude of divinities, spirits or demons, that stand for her under her multiform aspects. The rule of man, not of all men, but of one specially gifted (the shaman), over nature or over the superior beings that direct

¹ More than fifty magic runes are introduced into the *Kalevala*; too many, as more than one critic justly observe. Some are very long, as, for instance, the spell for cattle (*Karjan luku*), which has above 500 lines (rune xxxii., 37-542); but Lönnrot made up this, as he did other magic runes in the *Kalevala*, from more than one magic song.

her, is the fundamental idea of shamanism. We shall see, in a special study of this subject, how the Finns, among whom the magic song attained a greater development than elsewhere, hence excelled other peoples in poetical personifications and mythical fantasies. We may here observe that a peculiar idea, springing up within this poetry, generated therein a fresh form of being: the magician is the wise man, the sage, *tietäjä*; he knows all the demons that hold sway over nature, and the being, the origin (*synty*) of all things; hence his power, for every thing or being loses its ability for evil as soon as some one is found who knows, who proclaims its essence, its origin, its genealogy. Thus no runes will heal a wound made by an iron instrument until the *tietäjä* knows and recites the one that narrates the origin of iron (*raudan synty*); and these origins are of course poetically fantastic or mythical. Hence it comes that the magic rune is also narrative, and is related to the epic rune, with which it is often associated.¹

The magic runes are a valuable source of knowledge about the ancient paganism and myth of the Finns, although the names of the numerous divinities of former times are now mingled with those of Jesus, Mary, Peter, and other saints introduced by the Roman Catholic Church. They reveal the antiquity of this traditional poetry. They are not simply a document of popular superstition, but part of the national poetry; an essential, prominent, dominant part of it. As we shall see further on, the *epos* is quite extraordinarily indebted to them, and to the ideas which produce and accompany them, for its most intimate peculiarities.

Among other peoples we find traditional narrative in

¹ All the best and most important of the narrative magic runes are to be found in the *Kalevala*; thus, of the origin of fire (xlvii., 67-364), of the bear (xlvi., 355-458), of iron (ix., 29-258), of snakes (xxvi., 295-758), of diseases (xlv., 23-176), etc.

prose or verse indicated by terms meaning *word, saying*: thus ἔπος, fable, saga, and in Russian *slovo* (word), *skazka* (short story, from *skazati*, to say). The Finns, on the contrary, do not use the word *sana* (word, *sanoa*, to say), while they do apply *sanat* (words) to the magic song, thus, *Oluen sanat* is the magic song used while making beer, *Käärmeenluomoomasanat* that for charming snakes, etc. And this is certainly the term applied, as among other peoples, to the magic formula, even before it had become song or *laulu*. Songs in general may also be called words or *sanat*, but the idea of the *epos* is non-existent, and there is no special name to distinguish the epic from the magic song. The latter is sometimes called *luku*, which really means a reading; not because it is read, but because, instead of being sung, like other songs, it is recited after the manner of one who reads. It is, however, in its working and its aim, essentially a *word*; its efficacy is that of the word. Like the Vedic hymn, it must be recited from beginning to end, without change or omission; if one of the words is wanting, changed or forgotten, it cannot produce its effect. Thus in the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen does not succeed in building the ship by his enchantments, because he does not know three words, and he goes down to hell to seek them. Jealous for their secret knowledge, fearing to lose the power it implies, the *tietäjät*, even when after much resistance they yield to persuasion and repeat the magic runes they know to the collectors, yet never communicate them in their entirety, sure that by the omission of some part, line or word they will render them useless to their hearers. To have these runes complete we are therefore obliged to compare texts furnished by several wizard singers.¹

¹ Lönnrot, *Loitsurun.*, p. iii. The idea is that if the magician communicates the song to one who is not older than himself and at the same time leaves out only three words, then he preserves the efficacy of the song for himself, but destroys it for the other.

This idea, if it had been consistently carried out, would have stereotyped the songs in their primitive form and language; as was the case with the Vedic hymn, the *Carmen Saliare*, the *Carmen Arvale* and others, which have, with the lapse of time, become difficult to understand. But among the Finns it has not been so. The caste, the priestly sect, are unknown; the poetry of the magic rune is at bottom lay and free, like that of other runes; like them, it suffers change in word and living thought as it passes from generation to generation, and like them it has numerous variants. It is never archaic; the only thing about it which is essentially antique, less near present thought, is the myth, with the fabulous names, that do not always present the modern mind with any clearly defined conception. The idea that would lead to the stereotyping of the runes is in reality only carried out in the case of individual action. And even here there is no want of liberty; for another and intensely shamanic idea counterbalances it, that, namely, of personal prestige and genius. Magic action is conceived as taking its rise in a special energy proper to that man who, although using a song, *words*, which are traditional, uses them as his own words, clear, therefore, warm and living. Thus he is as untrammelled as the popular poet-singer, who perennially renews the poetry of tradition, without depriving it of its characteristics.

In a more fitting place we shall undertake to prove that the epic rune is an offshoot of the magic rune; that is to say, that the Finnic epos has its roots in magic song. It has, however, been already observed by others that the magic is the most ancient of all runes; that the rune was, in the beginning, magic.¹ This is proved by various facts

¹ "Itaque hæc carmina gentilismo incunabula sua debere, quamvis postea varie interpolata et papisticis superstitionibus nugisque locupletata, mihi certum videtur. Antiquitate igitur reliquas runas nostras sine dubio vincunt; quæ quoad metrum et poeticam rationem, ad illa ut exemplaria

and considerations, and especially by the word *runo* itself, which, although now applied to various kinds of traditional song, and, as a literary term, to poetry (*runous*) and poetical composition in general, is still used by popular singers in its original sense as meaning all songs recited for some magic purpose.¹ It is a well-known, ancient Teutonic word signifying, first of all (Goth., *runa*), secret thought, mystery, word spoken privately, whispered under the breath (mod. Ger., *raunen*).² There is no doubt but that when the Finns, in very ancient times, adopted the word, they used it in its original sense as expressing the secret, murmured, magic word or the magic song, and that they were entirely ignorant of its Scandinavian application to the mystic, and later the alphabetic sign. Among them, as among the Scandinavians, the rune was associated with the idea of magic action; with this difference, that the Scandinavians, having besides the magic inherent in the word, also that inherent in the sign, applied the term rune principally to this latter, using other expressions for the magic word or song (*galdr*); while the Finns, who had no magic signs, as they had no writing, but only the magic word or song, applied the word *rune* to this. We shall treat elsewhere of this interesting word, historically important in the study of the origin of Finnic poetry, and of the relations of the Finns with neighbouring European peoples.

The rune, being the poetry known to the people from ancient times, could alone, when the language became literary, furnish a word to express the abstract, generic idea of poetry; the form of the rune, of traditional poetry of whatever kind being unvarying, no other term than

et archetypus deinde conformata esse videntur. Hodie quoque, apud supersticiosos nullæ aliæ runæ cum illis dignitate et prestantia comparandæ existimantur." Porthan, *De poesi fennica* (*Op. selecta*, iii., p. 373).

¹ Cf. Ahlqvist, in *Kieletär*, iv., p. 35.

² To "round in the ear". Scots.

this, absolutely incorporated with the form,¹ could be used to indicate it. In the same way, ἔπος among the Greeks came to signify that form, that verse, which essentially distinguishes epic poems. In Finland, however, since there is no difference in form between ἔπος and μέλος, the word *rune* has a wider, more extended application. The form it represents, created without doubt originally for magic song and then used for all other poetry, bears the marks of great antiquity. Several Finnish scholars have already studied it, defining its metre and its structure: Porthan first, then Rennval, V. Bekker, Europæus, Lönnrot,² and, most thoroughly of all, Ahlqvist.³ Of natural, spontaneous origin, it is very simple, primitive and easy, and has its roots in the nature, in the phonic and tonic laws of the Finnic language. The long and short vowels in the latter are so sharply defined that they are distinguished even in writing; there is a fixed law for the accent, which falls invariably on the first syllable of every word, never on the last, while secondary accents are found on uneven syllables, third, fifth, etc.; and there is besides, as in all other languages of the same family, the well-known law of vocalic harmony, which predisposes the ear

¹ For instance we have the expressions *tehdä runoiksi*, to make verses; *runonrakennus*, metrical structure; *runooppi*, knowledge of metre; *runon mitta*, metre; *runon jalka*, metric foot, etc.

² Porthan, *De poesi fennica* (*Op. sel.*, iii.); Rennval, *Försök till Finsk Prosodie* (*Mnemosyne*, 8, 19); V. Bekker, *Finsk Grammatik*, Åbo, 1824; Europæus, *Pieni runoseppä* (*The little Rune-smith*), Helsingf., 1847.

³ *Suomen kielen rakennus* (*The Structure of the Finnic Language*), Helsingf., 1877, p. 119 *et seq.* See also Genetz, *Suomen kielen ääne-ja muotooppi ynnä runous-oppi* (*Phonology and Morphology of the Finnic Language and of its Metre*), Helsingf., 1882, and *Vähä lisää Kalevalan mitta-oppiin* (*Some Additions to the Metric Laws of the Kalevala*), in the *Suomen ylioppilaskunnan Albumi Elias Lönnrotin kunniaksi* (*Album in Honour of Elias Lönnrot, by Students in the Universities of Finland*), Helsingf., 1882, p. 138 *et seq.*; in the same album, p. 141, there is an article by E. K. on the development of the national Finnic metre (*Suomen kansallis-runomitan kehittimisestä*).

to find pleasure in consonance. The trochee is the foot which recurs most frequently, being almost implied in the accents of the single words. Each line of the rune consists of eight syllables, forming four trochaic feet.¹ It is a short line, evidently not created for poems of great length, often appearing in the poetry of other European peoples, even in languages of a different class.² It is emphasised and rendered more pleasing to the ear by certain consonances, alliteration (*alkusointu*) and rhyme (*loppusointu*). The first and most stable law is that of alliteration, according to which each line must contain at least two words beginning with the same letter whether consonant or vowel. Alliterative consonants must generally be followed by the same vowels; but alliterative vowels need not necessarily be the same; it is quite sufficient that they should be in some way related.³ There is, however,

¹ Some have thought, with Rennval, that the line of the rune was founded on accent, but most have defined it as a prosodic line. Ahlqvist (*Suomen kielen rakenmus*, p. 136) has drawn attention to the fact that the *cæsura* always divides the word in such a manner that the accent of the word yields to that of the metre—in other words, that the *arsis* falls on an unaccented syllable; while, on the other hand, the syllable that bears the principal accent is often found in an unaccented part of the line.

² Thus, for example, in St. Augustine's well-known popular rhythmic poem (*Vid. Du Méril, Poés. pop. lat.*, p. 120 *et seq.*):—

Abundantia peccatorum
Solet fratres conturbare

is the same as the metre of the runes:—

Veli kulta veikkoseni
Kaunis kasvin kumpallini.

³ As an example:—

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen
Otti ruskean orihin,
Pani varsan valjahisin,
Ruskean re'enetehen.

—*Kal.*, x., 1 *et seq.*

Oi Ukko ylinen luoja,
Taivahallinen Jumala,
Tule tänne tarvittaessa,
Käy tänne kutsuttaessa.

—*Kal.*, ix., 103 *et seq.*

freedom in the use of alliteration, and the *laulaja* does not feel much disturbed if a line occurs without any. Rhyme also is of frequent occurrence, not only between the lines, but in the lines themselves. It is used, however, with much freedom, and is never obligatory: sometimes it does not occur for many lines, sometimes the rhymes are near together, sometimes far apart, sometimes the same rhyme is repeated through a long series of lines, so that one is reminded of the well-known *tirades* of ancient French poems. Rhyme, or some sort of similarity of sound at the end of the lines, is rendered frequent by the great abundance of grammatical forms in this very synthetic language; for the rhymes are for the most part substantive or verbal endings: for example (*Kal.*, xli., 219 *et seq.*):—

Onko tässä nuorisossa,
Nuorisossa kaunisessa,
Tässä suuressa su'ussa
Isossa isän alassa, etc.,¹

where we find the similar endings of nine locatives. Such rhyme of substantive or verbal endings is rendered almost necessary by another characteristic law of the rune, that of repetition or parallelism (*runon kerto*), which may be formulated as follows: "Every line must contain a complete idea, or a part complete in itself of a greater idea, and this must be repeated in different words in the succeeding line". An example is given by the lines quoted above, where it is evident that to this law alone are due the final consonances. There are many varieties of parallelism, of which we need not speak here, but it is to be observed that repetitions of the kind often occur in more than two lines, and, especially in magic songs, may be continued for a great number of lines. Sometimes parallelism is absent, and there are even lines whose sense

¹ Literally: "There is among these youths, (among these) beautiful youths, in this great race, (in this) renowned ancestral descent," etc.

is completed in that which follows ; repetition, however, is extremely frequent, not only from line to line, but also in the same line, and with it rhyme, perfect or imperfect, but generally perfect.

The *laulaja* is bound to use alliteration, rhyme and parallelism, but he reserves to himself full liberty as to the mode of employing them, so that he can improvise without being unduly hampered. Neither is he bound with regard to the length of his periods, for he is wholly ignorant of division by verses. One necessity there is, however, to which the *laulaja* must bow : the invariable, inviolable metre, to which, it is true, the melodic *motif*, the rhythm with which he recites or sings, naturally binds him ; but it is a short, easy, elementary metre, springing so spontaneously from the intimate nature of the language as to be easily improvised. The song may be lyric, epic or magic ; it may be a love song, a wedding song, a narrative song with heroic or romantic argument ; a song of exorcism, a song of origins : but of whatever kind it be, the metre, the laws of its composition, are always such as we have described. It is obvious that these laws must influence not only the material form, but also the very substance and ideas of the poetry they govern. The division between line and line consequent on the complete idea, or complete part of an idea which each one offers, so that each printed line has at least a comma at the end of it, establishes a rhythmic division in the ideas themselves, in their order and succession, and this division is felt in direct proportion to the shortness of the lines ; while parallelism, with its ever-varying repetitions, colours, heightens, multiplies poetic expression, generates emphasis and warmth. Hence that homogeneity of tone and style which, in addition to identity of metre, permits the weaving of every kind of song, whether epic or lyric. The great rapidity of the foot and of the metre renders it impossible that the epos should be distinguished by calm solemnity

of tone ; while the sameness of the verse, the smallness of resource afforded by the parallelism that governs it, quite prevent the attainment of lyric warmth, movement and impetus. The rune thus places *epos* and *melos* on the same level ; but the dominating note, if there be one, is lyric, as is that of the magic or primitive rune.

The rune form characterises this people's poetry, unifies it and proves it to have existed as tradition from ancient times. It is curious that while it has the fixedness and stability of a thing that is mature, it has also characteristics that are proper to a poetry still in its infancy : it uses elementary means that the rest of Europe forgot long ago ; those means that many peoples have used to distinguish noble, elevated, poetic thoughts from ordinary language, even before versification, properly so called, arose. Such is, above all, parallelism of which every one will remember an example in ancient Hebrew poetry ; such also is the search after the harmony and repetition of sounds whether in the first, in the last or in several of the last syllables of the words : alliterations and rhymes or assonances. These were already in use in poetical prose before verse began, and were also used in verse by peoples among whom poetical forms have never reached any high degree of development or perfection ; as, for example, the Altai Tatars and the Western Kirghis, the Kara Kirghis, the Uigurians and other peoples having affinities with the Finno-Ugrian stock, among whom poetical forms, as Radloff observes,¹ developed naturally and spontaneously, in accordance with the laws of their language, without any outside influences from nations that had already a literature. It is unnecessary to draw attention here to the prevalence of alliteration in Europe

¹ *Ueber die Formen der gebund. Rede bei d. altaischen Tataren*, in the *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychol.*, iv., p. 85. With regard to less original forms and Persian influence among the Kirghis, *vid. id.*, *Proben d. Volkslitt. d. türkischen Stämme Süd-Siberiens.*, iii., p. xxii. *et seq.*

among Celtic and especially among Teutonic peoples; and of the use, even in barbaric times, of consonances at the endings of words, or of rhymes, both in vulgar tongues and in the but half-dead classical languages. But when poetry is in a primitive condition and makes abundant use of parallelism, and of consonances and assonances of every kind, then the metrical verse, if it exists, is apt to be roughly indicated, unequal or variable in length and in the number of its syllables—as it was in ancient Germanic poetry. As soon, however, as metre makes good its claims, as soon as number imposes rhythmical rules not so much on the quality as on the quantity of the sounds, then the verse assumes various forms; and the law that governs the quality and recurrence of sounds is either limited or lost in proportion as that of number becomes more complicated or rigorous. This is seen in ancient classical languages. The use of alliteration, so prevalent in barbaric poetry, entirely vanished when rigorous metrical forms prevailed. Rhyme remained, but no longer free, as it is in primitive poetry and as it is among the Finns; linked rather with the most complex laws of metre, especially with those that rule the grouping into verses; obedient, that is to say, to a law of symmetry as regards distribution, position and combination. In the Finnic rune, on the contrary, the metre is not rudely indicated, but perfectly and severely defined, regulated by an invariable law; and this should be a characteristic of maturity. But at the same time this rune only knows one kind of metre, has not yet arrived at the stage of producing various forms, as it has not yet learned to group the lines into stanzas, and has not advanced beyond the use of such primitive, even archaic means as alliteration, free rhymes, parallelism.

A study of the poetry of the other Finno-Ugrian peoples simply leads us to a clearer recognition of the uniqueness of the rune. Nothing similar is found in the

literature of any one of them, except, indeed, in that of the Esthonians, who are almost one with the Finns. Some songs bearing a resemblance to the rune form may be found occasionally among the Lapps, as well as among the Mordvinians, who, after the Lapps, are most nearly related to the Finns;¹ except, however, where such runes are due to Finnic influence, as among the Lapps, they represent simply one of the many forms which a poetry still rude and uncertain may take on: theirs is not the only form; it is not determined, not stable; it has not the decided impress of an organ of secular, traditional use. Neither can any different result be obtained from a study of the poetry of peoples of a different stock, of those who, being nearest to the Finns, exercised the greatest influence over them: the Teutonic peoples, that is, especially the Scandinavians; and the Lithu-Slavs and Slavs, especially the Lithuanians and the Russians. The Lithuanians have no trace of an epic poem; the lyric abounds among them, but the varying form of their *Dainos* has nothing in common with the Finnic rune.

Like the Finns, the Russians have an important and characteristic traditional poetry, the most ancient amongst the Slav peoples; but the Russian *bylin* in no way re-

¹In addition to the Mordvinian songs given by Ahlqvist in his *Versuch einer Mokscha-Mordwinischen Grammatik* (St. Petersburg, 1864), *vid.* p. 129 *et seq.* of the same author's *Einige Proben mordwinischer Volksdichtung*, in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, viii. (1890), p. 23 *et seq.* In the same volume, p. 135, H. Paasonen communicates an Erza-Mordvinian song which recalls the rune form. Ahlqvist observes (p. 26): "Was die Form betrifft steht die Erza-mordwinische Volkspoesie bedeutend höher als die ostjakischen, syriänischen, wotjakischen und anderen ost-finnischen Lieder-proben, die zu meiner Kenntniss gelangt sind; in mehreren dieser Lieder wird ein bestimmtes Metrum angetroffen; gewöhnlich besteht die Verszeile aus drei und ein halb Trochäen". But this metre is only found in some songs; in a few we have four trochees as in the rune, in others the metre is variable and unstable; final and other rhymes are used, but not alliteration; *vid.* also the Mordvinian songs in the posthumous work of Mainoff, *Les restes de la mythologie mordvine*, in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, v. (1889).

sembles the Finnic rune: it differs from it profoundly in form, not only with regard to the quality and length of its line, but also because the metre¹ is variable, and there is neither alliteration, rhyme nor parallelism. In one only fact, and that a negative one, does the *bylin* resemble the rune: in the absence, that is, of all division into verses, there being nothing more than the usual division into lines, each complete in itself. Although it is epic, traditional, thoroughly popular, although its birth-place is near that of the rune (Onega, Olonetz, Archangel), the *bylin* is yet very different, in the freedom and youthfulness of its form, from the rigidity of its more venerable neighbour. As to the Scandinavians, the rune not only bears the impress of being more ancient than their existing popular poetry, but is entirely dissimilar from the ancient Eddic poems, notwithstanding the fact that these are alliterative. The characteristics of the ancient Scandinavian and Germanic versification, moreover, are not to be found in that, less free, of the rune; just as this latter, long as it has lived, neither reflects the variety of forms reached by the Scandinavians and Teutons in the most ancient period, when all their poetry was alliterative, nor has adopted their ancient and general use of verses.

How the Finnic rune arose, under what conditions and influences, we shall see when we come to study the origins and formation of the myth and the poetical creations of this people. Hitherto we have confined our-

¹ Regarding the metre of the *byliny*, *vid.* Hilferding, *Oniezsckija byliny*, p. xxxiii. *et seq.* The author defines it and describes its varieties with much clearness and concision. One characteristic of this metre is its extendibility (*rastjažimost*); another is the free way in which it is used by singers or narrators (*skaziteli*), so that Hilferding distinguishes those who in every *bylin* keep rigidly to a regular metre, those who adopt a metre which is not always regular, and those who take no thought of metre. I shall not mention the ancient *Slovo o polku Igorevie*, whose metrical form, if indeed such exists, is very uncertain, and has been much discussed; nor the consonances which some have thought to find in it: *vid.* Barsov, *Slovo o polku Igorevie*, Moscow, 1887, i., p. 168 *et seq.*

selves to an exposition and clear definition of facts: we have shown what the rune is in its substance and its form, proving that it is essentially and exclusively Finnic, not Germanic, not Slav, not even Finno-Ugrian, but altogether proper to the Finns in the strictest sense of the term, to the *Suomalaiset*, as they call themselves, and to their brothers the Esthonians or *Viirolaiset*. An analysis of the vocabulary used, especially of that relating to culture, has revealed the profound and ancient influence exercised on these peoples by the Germanic races (beginning with the Goths), by the Lithuanians, and more recently by the Russians. On the poetry, the Germanic peoples have had the greatest influence, as a study of the myth, and especially of its nomenclature, clearly shows; but this influence is manifest in the ideas, in the names, not in the poetic form. The fact that such an influence had really made itself felt, and that the very word *runa* is of German origin, gave rise to the idea that the only element common to Germanic and Finnic poetry — alliteration — must have come to the Finns from the Scandinavians. But Ahlqvist, who maintained this idea,¹ was contradicted; and justly so. The alliteration of the Finns differs widely from that of the Teutons both in nature and in its position in the verse; but besides this it is evident that any borrowing would imply a more intimate contact between the poetry of the two races than we have any indication of; a contact which would render it difficult to understand how nothing but the alliteration should be borrowed. The taste for this kind of consonance, too, is found among peoples to whom the Germanic influence never penetrated: among some of the Ugro-Finns (the Voguls,

¹ *Arveluja alkusoimnun altaisesta alkuperäisyydestä* (*Reflections on the Altaic Origin of Alliteration*), against Humfalvy, in the *Kieletär*, iv., p. 33 *et seq.*; letter of Humfalvy in reply, *ib.*, v., p. 27 *et seq.*, and Ahlqvist's reply, *ib.*, vi., p. 1 *et seq.*

for example), and the Altaic races. Neither should we forget the very small success which alliteration met with among the Latin and Slavonic peoples, notwithstanding the close contact of these latter with the Teutons, and notwithstanding the triumph throughout the whole of mediæval Europe of the other kind of consonance, rhyme. It should also be observed that the taste for alliteration would be almost certain to arise spontaneously among those who speak such a language as the Finnic, which, in accordance with an invariable law, accents the first syllable of every word. But at whatever conclusion we may arrive on this subject, we should not, on the other hand, dream that all Ugro-Finnic¹ poetry sprang from a common root, already existing before the various members of the family branched off, and still dimly traceable among them, for instance in the rune of our Finns. The theory is too vast to be applied to these peoples, most of whom are quite primitive, with a poetry, when it exists, entirely rudimentary; and the mere fact, so natural and elementary, of finding among some of them a taste for consonances and parallelism, that is for repetitions of sound and idea, cannot be considered as any indication of a tradition deriving from the Ugro-Finnic root-stock. All poetry that is natural and spontaneous, fixed in form and characteristics, is the product and property not of a race or family of peoples and languages, but of *one* national individuality, of *one* language. We should be acting in opposition to every sound scientific principle were we to seek in a common primitive poetry or art the springs of Greek art and poetry: were we to expect to find similar artistic facts and productions presented by peoples of the same family or even of the same group. In other subjects, in the case of myths for instance, a comparative search among kindred peoples and languages proves fruitful of results. It

¹ Humfalvy in *Kieletär*, i., p. 5 *et seq.*; Donner, *Lieder der Lappen*, p. 37 *et seq.*

gives us the first reason of the Finnic Jumala and of the Greek Zeus ; but between the original idea expressed by the Aryan *div* and the ideal type of the Greek Zeus, there is a poetic elaboration, a genius of creation which is purely Greek. Now, the Ugro-Finns are bound together not only by the affinities, close or distant, of their languages, but by the fact that all actually are, or have hardly ceased to be shamanists ; but the shamanic or magic word took on no stable poetic form, did not become a rune or a stable poetic type even without magic intention, except among those of their race who inhabit the north of Europe. Not only was this form not reached by the distant Ugrians (Ostyaks, Voguls, Magyars) and the Finno-Tartars (Chuvashes), but it was not attained even by the Permian group (Siryanians, Votyaks), nor by the Volga group (Cheremisians and Mordvinians), which are much nearer the Finns.

The group that we have called Northern, now formed principally of the Lapps, Finns, Esthonians,¹ is bound together not only by close affinity of language, by geographical position, by contact between the peoples, but also by a common influence of neighbouring Aryan nations. True, it is no longer believed, as it was not very long ago, that these people inhabited Europe in remote or prehistoric times, before the coming of the Aryans ; it is thought, on the contrary, that they entered it long after the Aryans were settled there ; but the antiquity of their contact with the European Aryans is shown by the very ancient character of the German words (northern Gothic²) found

¹ To the same group belong the Krevins, now extinct, the Livonians, of whom few now remain, as is also the case with the Vepses and Votes. Faint echoes of the rune are found among the Livonians (Sjögren, *Gesamm. Schr.* ii., 1, p. 365 *et seq.*) ; and among the Votes (Vatjalaiset) ; *vid.* Ahlqvist, *Vatisk Grammatik*, in *Acta Societ. scient. Fenn.*, v., 1856 ; *Bulletin de la classe hist. etc. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, xiii., 1856, p. 353 *et seq.* ; and *Suomalainen murteiskirja (Book of Finnic Dialects)*, Helsingf., 1869, p. 157 *et seq.*

² Thomsen, *Ueber den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die Finnisch-Lappischen*, Halle, 1870.

among them, as well as by that of Lithu-Slavonic expressions.¹

Anthropologists have shown that the Lapps, although speaking a language closely akin to the Finnic, are people of another race (Finno-Mongolic). It is certain that they originally spoke another tongue, but how or when they became Finns in language it is not possible to determine: the very name of Finns or *Fenni* was in ancient times applied, first by the Latins and then by the Scandinavians, rather to them than to the people that now bear the name, who were often confounded with them; and they themselves enhance the confusion by calling themselves *Sabme*, which is the Finnic *Suomi*. Notwithstanding all this, they are two diverse peoples, by no means friendly with each other; at any rate since the time when the Finns, becoming civilised, began to despise the Lapps as *savages*. The latter, whose boundaries once extended farther south (although some people think this was not the case), were driven back towards the north by the Finns, an incident which has been supposed, erroneously as we shall see, to be described in the *Kalevala*. The Lapps were till quite recently shamanists, like the Esquimaux and Samoyedes; a fact confirmed by the great fame which they enjoyed in ancient times as magicians among the Scandinavians. In spite of this, and in spite of the frequent mention made of them as magicians in the *Kalevala* and in the magic rune, they have no magic songs properly so called, like those of the Finns; although the *word* was used² with a magic purpose by their *Noaids* or shamans,

¹ O. Donner has already given a list of Lithuanian words that have been absorbed into Finnic. Thomsen has published another important work, *Beröringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (littauisk-lettiske) Sprog*, which shows the antiquity of this influence.

² Spoken in a sing-song manner, which they call singing (*joige*); an example of this singing, with which they accompanied the roll of the magic drum, may be seen in Scheffer, *Laponia*, p. 138 *et seq.*; and more fully in Setälä, *Lappische Lieder aus d. xvii. Jahrh.* (in the *Journal de*

who were accustomed to employ for this end a special language, or at any rate the Lapp word in a special sense.¹ They are not entirely without poetry, but it is a poetry as rudimentary as their society; it has not even reached a decided verse form; it knows only a metre that is scarcely even metre, oscillating and variable, a kind of rhythmic prose. Poor in poetry, they are also poor in myth, especially as compared with the Finns; prose stories and narratives are more abundant than poetry.² It is true, however, that we know some few epic (mythic) Lapp songs not entirely devoid of merit. In the chief of these (there are three or four of them), which relates the deeds of the Child of the Sun (Päiven Parneh), the form of the Finnic rune is clearly recognisable, with its metre, alliteration, parallelism; slightly corrupt, but less so than in other songs, where the metre is treated with the strangest licence. It is beyond a doubt that in those few songs that display this form the Lapps have simply imitated the Finns, with whom they are in close contact in the places where these songs were collected.³ The word *runo* is, however, un-

la Société Finno-Ougrienne, viii., 1890, p. 121 *et seq.*). On the Lapp song, which is the reverse of pleasing or melodious, whatever others may say about it, *vid.* Sommier in the *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia*, xvi., 1866, p. 164 *et seq.*

¹ Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, p. 6; in the same way the *angakok* of the Esquimaux (*vid.* Friis, *op. cit.*, p. 14 *et seq.*); on the magic song of the Samoyedes, formless and improvised by their shamans or *Tadibe*, *vid.* Castrén, *Nordiska Resor o. Forskn.*, i., p. 202 *et seq.*

² Friis, *Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn*, Christiania, 1871; Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen, Volkssagen, Räthseln u. Sprichwörter*, Wien, 1886; Qvigstad og Sandberg, *Lappisk Eventyr og Folkesagn*, Christiania, 1887.

³ Cf. Donner, *Lieder der Lappen*, p. 37, in which, however, the author discusses a primitive poetry of the Ugro-Finns, and finds connections in form between Lapp, Syrianian, Mordvinian and Finnic songs, a theory in which, as above stated, we cannot follow him. We may observe that those Syrianian songs which he believes original are, like so many others, of Russian origin. One of these, for example (p. 29 *et seq.*) the song to the willow, is nothing but the well-known *Ivuschka, ivuschka, zelenmaia moia*, which is to be found in more than one Russian *Piesennik*.

known to them, although they have the verb of German origin *rudnat*, to murmur (*rudna*, sermo, rumor), which the Finns do not possess.

Whether on account of the difference of race, or by reason of unfavourable climatic conditions, or from some other cause, the Lapps, unlike the Finns, have remained refractory or indifferent to the civilisation which for centuries past has been gradually surrounding them; and this in spite of that close intercourse which introduced many Germanic words into their language. While the Finns early began to engage in agriculture and to advance towards civilisation, to modify their primitive shamanism and to approach the pagan idea existing among the neighbouring European peoples, the Lapps long preserved that rude and primitive shamanism, proper only to a people still far back on the road to civilisation, which Christianity had much difficulty in eradicating. There is no wonder, then, that they have not yielded what the Finns have, and have not even, profiting by their intercourse and affinities with these latter, continued the style of poetry adopted by them. Not so the Esthonians. Closely connected with the Finns in language and in other ways, we seem to see the time in which the two formed but one people south of Lakes Ladoga and Onega; so that the dialects of Esthonia resemble those of Finland in direct proportion to their antiquity.¹ The same relationship may be observed in the poetry common to both peoples. The Esthonians are rich in traditional songs, epic, magic and lyric, having the rune form, although the word *runa* is unknown; and there is also a poem put forward as the *Kalevala* of the Esthonians, the *Kalevipoeq* (the son of Kalev), which Kreutzwald, following Lönnrot's example, constructed and published in

¹ *Vid. Weske, Bericht über die Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Ehstland im Sommer 1875*, p. 50 (*Verhandlgn. d. gel. ehstn. Gesellsch.*, viii., No. 4).

1857-9.¹ But it is a far cry from Kreutzwald to Lönnrot: the delicacy which characterised the latter is not to be found in the former, and the success of the *Kalevipoeg*, small even among the Esthonians themselves, cannot be compared with that of the *Kalevala*. The liberty which Kreutzwald allowed himself in the composition of the poem (he even went so far as to versify prose stories and sagas),² and the ugly fact that he burned his manuscripts, discredited the *Kalevipoeg* as a national product in the sense in which the *Kalevala* can be called so, and render the student distrustful even of those numerous parts which are really of popular origin. Here also, and even more than in the *Kalevala*, it is clear that there is not, and never has been, any great traditional epos; and although a popular Esthonian singer may say that his song forms part of an ancient, very long song (*vana, väga pikka laulusõnad*),³ he does not at all refer to a great poem, but to the unity of the subject or even of the hero in many songs relating to the Son of Kalev. Independently, however, of the childish desire of possessing or of discovering an ancient poem, Kreutzwald himself,⁴ Weske,⁵ Neus,⁶ Hurt,⁷ and

¹ *Kalevipoeg, eine estnische Sage, verdeutscht von Karl Rheinthal*, Dorpat, 1857-61. The poem has twenty cantos, much longer than those of the *Kalevala*. The text with Rheinthal's translation (finished by Bertram) was published in the *Verhandlgn. d. gel. estn. Gesellsch. zu Dorpat*, iv., v.; there is no other edition. Cf. Schiefner u. Wiedemann, *Bericht über Kreutzwald's Kalevipoeg*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, ii. (1860), p. 273 et seq.; Schiefner, *Ueber die estnische Sage von Kalevipoeg*, in *Mélanges russes*, iv., p. 126 et seq.; Schott, *Die estnische Sage von Kalevipoeg*, in *Abhandlgn. d. Ak. de Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1862.

² The places where this has been done are marked in the poem.

³ Blumberg, *Quellen und Realien des Kalevipoeg nebst Varianten und Ergänzungen*, Dorpat, 1869 (*Verhandlgn. d. gel. est. Gesellsch.*, v., p. 16).

⁴ *Eesti rahvalaulud*, Tartus (*Esthonian Popular Songs*, Dorpat), 1879.

⁵ *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten gesammelt u. herausg. v. Fr. Kreutzwald u. H. Neus*, St. Petersburg, 1854.

⁶ *Ehstnische Volkslieder, Urschrift u. Uebersetzung v. H. Neus*, Reval, 1850-2.

⁷ *Vana Kannel, täieline kogu vanu eesti rahvalauluzid välja annud Dr. Jakob Hurt* (*The Ancient Lyre, Complete Collection of Ancient*

other learned Esthonians collected and published a great number of native epic, magic and lyric songs of various kinds,¹ which clearly prove the close connection of Esthonian with Finnic poetry.

It is certain that, on examining the songs and the prose traditions concerning the son of Kalev, we find that they are in general very different from those of the *Kalevala*, as regards the characteristics of their heroes, the nature of their action, the style of their ideals, and their poetic character. The son of Kalev, massively gigantic, has really very little in common with such types as Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, Lemminkäinen; he approaches more nearly to certain types in the Russian *byliny*, Sviatogor for example. The Finnic songs present the *Kalevan poika* (son of Kaleva) or Kullervo as a hero of strength, it is true, but of much milder and gentler proportions. Like Kullervo himself, however, as seen in the *Kalevala*, so the Esthonian *Kalevipoeq* compared with the *Kalevala* appears (as far as poetry goes) a secondary formation of diminished import and with an excess of fantastic elements.² On the other hand, there are numerous points of contact with the epic lays of the Finns that treat of the

Esthonian Songs Published by, etc.), Dorpat, 1886. Only one part of these songs (which are almost all lyric) is accompanied by a German translation.

¹ Principally in the *Verhandlgen. u. Sitzungsberichte d. gel. estn. Gesellsch. z. Dorpat*, Rosenplänter's *Beitrage z. genauer Kenntn. d. estn. Spr.* (Pernau, 1813-32), in the "Inland" and in other collections. As regards bibliography, *vid. Bibliotheca Livoniæ historica*, by E. Winckelmann (2 Ausg., Berlin, 1878), and also Ahlqvist's temperate work, *Wiron nykyisemmästä Kirjallisuudesta (On Recent Esthonian Literature)*, in *Suomi*, 1856, p. 1 *et seq.*

² This refers to the poetry, to the application of the rune to this subject; as regards the myth the thing is different. The type of *Kalevipoeq* is nearer than Kullervo to the naturalistic sense of Kaleva; and in spite of the title of *Kalevala* which Lönnrot has given to his poem, the name of Kaleva in the poem itself and in Finnic tradition generally is far from holding the place which it does in the Esthonian traditions. See what is said about Kaleva in the chapter on the heroic myth.

son of Kalev or other subjects ; and the songs of the Finns, turned (as they easily are) into Esthonian, are found to be abundant in Esthonia ; so that the collectors of Finnic variants have to take account not only of those obtaining in different parts of Finland, but also of such as exist in Esthonia.¹ There were not wanting reciprocal influences between the poetry of the two peoples, but it is quite clear that the fatherland of the runes, their centre of radiation, is the country of the Finns. Although it may almost be said to have a common origin, still the Esthonian traditional poetry, as we see it and know it now, holds a secondary, dependent place with regard to that of the Finns. It is similar to this latter in its ancient religious idea and in its evolution of shamanism. The myth, except for some variation of names,² has the same characteristics ; but the remainder is poorer, not only because the position and history of the Esthonians caused their tradition to be more easily weakened and overcome, but also because the poetry which among the Finns developed and enriched the myth was native and original to Finland and was not spontaneous in Esthonia.

Although, as we have said, the word *runo* does not now exist in Esthonia, yet the form of the traditional poetry there is identical with the Finnic rune, and, as among the Finns, is found also in songs of modern origin and in those which are imitations. But it is also observable that that form did not originate in and for this language. The verse of the Esthonian songs is constructed with less rigid obedience to its laws than that of the Finns :

¹ As regards the elements of the *Kalevala* in Esthonia, *vid.* Krohn, *Suomal. Kirjallis. hist.*, i., pp. 157-186 (*Kalevalan runot Vironmaalla*).

² In addition to the notices contained in the above-mentioned books of Kreutzwald, Neus and Blumberg, see Boecler's old book (seventeenth century) *Der einfältigen Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen u. Gewohnheiten*, in Kreutzwald's reprint (St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1854) ; Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren and äusseren Leben der Ehster*, St. Petersburg, 1876.

a dactyl often slips in among the trochees; and above all the mould is often surprisingly broken, especially in the magic songs. As to magic, the *tark* (wise man, magician, pl. *targad*) of the Esthonians corresponds to the *tietäjä* or *loitsija* of the Finns; and the magic song, which as in Finnic is the word, expression (*sôna*, *lauz*; in Finnic, *sana*, *lause*) that is read or recited (*lugema*, in Finnic *lukea*), is so completely identified with that of the Finns as to be almost one with it. But the richness and variety of the Finnic magic rune, especially in the part that treats of the origins, is not to be found in Esthonia; the ideal and fantastic world of the Finnic magicians with Pohjola, the Lapps, etc., is not here completely reproduced; and there is not the same connection between the magic and the heroic action. The lofty Finnic types Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen are found in Esthonian poetry only as faint echoes of far-off utterances (Vänemuine, Ilmarine). In addition to this it has come much more than Finnic poetry under the influence of the magic formulas of other peoples, especially of the Teutons.

When we say that the centre of radiation for the runes is among the Finns or Suomolaiset, we must make a distinction which (perhaps by a mere coincidence) corresponds to that made by anthropologists; who tell us¹ that the Finns of Carelia differ in type from those of Tavast (Finn., *Hämä*), or as they are called *Hämäläiset*. Moreover, although the language is one, there is still a difference of dialect between Carelian and Tavastian. The literary language of Finland is at present based on the speech of the Tavastians, and that of Carelia appears as a dialect. Now, runes are no longer in existence among all the Finns, but are concentrated in Carelia, and especially Russian Carelia (Venäjän Karjala), which is in Russia, outside the Grand-duchy of Finland. The place richest in runes is the

¹ V. Retzius, *Finska Kranier*, p. 154 *et seq.*; De Quatrefages, *Hommes fossiles et hommes sauvages* (Paris, 1884), p. 619 *et seq.*

parish (*pitäjä*) of Vuokkiniemi in the government of Archangel (Finn., *Vienan lääni*, or district of the Dvina); and next come other parishes lying to the east and to the north. Well-preserved runes are also found farther to the south at Repola and Himola in the government of Olonetz (Finn., *Aunus*); across the frontier, in Finnic Carelia, at Ilomants, Suojärvi Suistamo, Impilaks, Sortavala; and also, but these are defective, along the western bank of Lake Ladoga and in Ingria or Ingermanland (Finn., *Inkeri*). Outside this zone some have been found in adjoining districts, as the north of Eastern Bothnia (Finn., *Pohjanmaa*), the region of Kajana, the sea-coast of the Province of Uleåborg, and to the west in Savolaks. This applies principally to the epic and in part also to the magic runes; the latter, however, are not found in Ingria, while in the southern villages of Uleåborg they are corrupt and fragmentary. A greater variety, though for us less important, may be noted in the places where lyric runes abound; but among these there are many that are modern or at least less ancient. To recapitulate, there is a region which may be called the region of the runes: it has its principal centre in Russian and Finnic Carelia; on the north it stretches from Northern Finnic Carelia through Cajana as far as the Province of Uleåborg; on the south it stretches west of Lake Ladoga, turns round through Ingria, and reaches as far as Esthonia; but outside Carelia the form of the runes is inferior, they are less complete, and are fewer in number. In one region runes of every kind are entirely, or almost entirely, wanting:¹ in Western Finland, namely; chiefly in so-called Finland proper (*Varsinainen Suomi*) where is the ancient capital Åbo, in Nyland (*Uusimaa*) where is the present capital Helsingfors (*Helsinki*), and also in Tavast, Satakunta, and the south of Eastern Bothnia.

¹ For further particulars *vid.* Lönnrot's preface to the second edition of the *Kalevala*, § 3, to the *Kanteletar* and to the *Loitsurunot*; and Krohn's additions, *Suom. Kirjallis. hist.*, i., pp. 119 *et seq.*, 140, 148.

We should of course take into consideration the influence that Sweden and her culture must have exerted over a certain distance round the capital Åbo, and other cities founded by her after her conquest; and we must not forget that Lutheranism, by obliging every one to know how to read, caused much of the ancient pagan tradition to be forgotten; whereas this did not happen in countries under the Russian Church, into which culture penetrated less or not at all. But this does not explain everything; and for this reason, and because the runes are more abundant and better preserved in Carelia, whether Russian Church or Lutheran, than elsewhere, Lönnrot,¹ and with him Ahlqvist² and others, consider Carelia, especially Russian Carelia, as the fatherland of the rune, and think that it spread thence to the other places where it is now found. The cradle of the rune is to be found, they think, on the Dvina, as the name of their principal hero Väinämöinen (Väinä, Dvina) indicates; where flourished in old times those Biarms, in reality nothing but Carelians, of whom from the ninth to the twelfth centuries Scandinavian tales and sagas and Russian chronicles continually make mention. This *Carelianism of the Kalevala* was opposed by several scholars,³ and

¹ *Mehiläinen*, March, 1836; preface to the second edition of the *Kalevala*.

² *Kieletär*, iv., p. 33 *et seq.*; *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus Kalevalasta itsestään ja muualta todistanut* (*The Carelianism of the Kalevala Proved by the Kalevala Itself and other Arguments*), Helsingf., 1887.

³ Borenus, *Missä on Kalevala syntynyt?* (*Where was the Kalevala Born?*) in the *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 1873, No. 23, maintains that the *Kalevala* came to Russian Carelia from Finland, and not *vice versa*. Retzius, *Finska kranier*, p. 128 *et seq.*, reasoning as a naturalist, maintains that the *Kalevala* had its birth west of Russian Carelia, perhaps on the shores of Ladoga, between 800 and 1300 A.D. (fixing the first date from mention of hops in the making of beer). Neovius, *Kalevalan kotiperästä* (*On the Fatherland of the Kalevala*), Helsingf., 1890, does not deny the Carelianism of the *Kalevala*, but shows that many arguments used by Ahlqvist to prove that its origin is in Russian or Northern Carelia are of equal worth for Southern Carelia or Ladoga.

among others by the lamented Julius Krohn,¹ who maintains that this poetry is proper to all the Finns, and has been preserved more, less, or not at all, according to special circumstances; that it must have originally belonged rather to the western or Tavastian branch than to the eastern or Carelian, although the latter also contributed to its development. We shall not discuss the question here, as it is of no great importance for our inquiries; we shall only say so much as may be useful for the clear understanding of the historic existence of the rune.

Bishop Agricola, in the verses which precede his translation of the Psalms (1551), speaking of the superstitions and pagan ideas that still lived among the Finns, mentions a good many ancient divinities with their names and attributes.² In this catalogue, which is the most ancient document we possess concerning the mythology of the Finns, the Tavasts (*Hämäläiset*) and Carelians (*Karjalaiset*) are distinct peoples; and the gods of the Tavasts are first enumerated, then those of the Carelians. It must be understood that by *Hämäläiset* is here meant not only the Tavasts of Tavastland, but all those Suomalaiset who are not Carelians. We cannot quarrel with this distinction, nor with the general assertion that there are many differences between the myths of the two branches, but it would be absurd to think, as the catalogue indicates,³

¹ *Viirolaiset ja ylimalkan Länsi-suomalaiset aineet Kalevalassa* (*Estonian Elements and Western Finnic in General, in the Kalevala*) in *Suomi*, 2nd edit., ser. x.; *Suomal. Kirjallis. hist.*, pp. 352-378; *Finsk Tidskrift*, 1886, No. 8, p. 99 *et seq.*

² The text, together with an ancient Latin translation in verse, is given by Schiefner in his notes to his translation of Castrén's lessons on Finnic mythology (St. Petersburg, 1853), p. 316 *et seq.*

³ As Tavastian gods are mentioned: *Tapio*, who protects game; *Ahti*, the god who makes fishers prosperous; *Rahkoi*, who darkens the moon; *Liekio*, ruler over herbs, roots, trees; *Ilmarinen*, who produces calm and tempest, and is a guide to travellers; *Turisas*, giver of booty in war;

that these myths had nothing in common ; facts prove the contrary. It may be urged that Agricola confined himself to registering the names in which the difference lay. But even so objections arise: the traditional runes handed down to us, including those of the Esthonians who are directly connected with the Hämäläiset or Tavasts, show that the bishop is mistaken in considering certain divinities as proper rather to the one branch than to the other (*e.g.*, Ukko, the supreme god), and that he also errs in attributing to the Tavasts what is proper to Carelia, and *vice versa*. The fact is that he was more intimate with the Finns of the western or Tavastian branch, among whom indeed he lived, than with the more distant Carelians of the east ; so that he gives Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen as Tavastian, although we find them repeatedly in the runes of Carelia and seldom in those of Esthonia. It is, moreover, evident that even in his time the Tavastians knew these two only by hearsay and incompletely, for Väinämöinen becomes Äinämöinen, and Ilmarinen is no longer the wondrous smith or *seppä* of the Carelian runes, but only the maker of good and bad weather. But the errors of the good bishop, who perhaps did not care to be very exact in giving the damnable, pagan ideas of a people he was trying to enlighten by the translation into their language of the Hebrew Psalms, do not

Kratti, god of riches ; *Tonttu*, who presides over the economy of the household ; *Piru*, seducer of many men ; the *Kapeet*, who devour the moon ; the *Sons of Kaleva*, who mow the meadows. As Carelian : *Rongoteus*, the rye-giver ; *Pellonpekko*, who causes barley to germinate ; *Virankannos*, protector of oats ; *Egres*, who produces peas, beans, turnips, cabbage, flax and hemp ; *Köndös*, who presides over the digging of the fields ; *Ukko*, who makes a noise when his wife, *Rauni*, does, and then gives thunderstorms and new harvest ; to him is quaffed the Cup of Spring-sowing ; *Käkri*, who causes cattle to multiply ; *Hiisi*, giver of prey from the forests ; *Weden emä*, who brings fish to the net ; *Nyrkkes*, giver of squirrels from the wood ; *Hittavanin*, who brings hares from the thickets ; the *Meningäiset*, to whom widows and married women sacrifice ; and many others were worshipped—stones, tree-trunks, the sun, the moon.

deprive his catalogue of all value. Those mythic names lived not only in superstitious usages and stories, but also in the poetry, in the rune, in those ancient pagan songs which he was trying to supplant by the biblical psalms, the Christian song. From his words it is clear that the rune, a powerful preserver of pagan tradition even in the midst of Christianity, survived or had survived among both Tavastians and Carelians. Exactly what it was at the time of Agricola, we cannot say ; but it is almost certain that there was a time when the rune, even if not common to all the Finns, was at any rate far more widely spread than at present. Savolaks, for instance, was certainly richer in runes once than it is now ; and this is clearly proved by the fact that the Finns of Wermland in Sweden, who came thence from Savolaks towards the end of the sixteenth century, preserve songs which are no longer found in Savolaks.¹ Since the rune existed among both branches it was natural that exchanges should be made during the constant and easy intercourse that existed between them. Krohn notices a movement of songs from west to east. Borenius² gives an example of it in the Christian song on the Virgin Mary and others found in Russian Carelia, though they certainly did not originate there but in the west, in Catholic times ; neither can the song on the " Great Oak " have arisen where the oak does not exist, nor that on the " Origin of Beer " where beer is not made. It is also a fact that many rune-singers of Russian Carelia are of Finnic families established there for not many generations ; although this does not prove that indigenous singers are wanting or have always been wanting, or that the influx of certain songs from without may not be in reality a return. These facts

¹ Collected there by Gottlund. Cf. Aminoff, *Tietoja Wermlannin Suomalaisista* (*Notices of the Finns of Wermland*) in *Suomi*, 1876, p. 161 *et seq.*

² *Missä on Kalevala syntynyt ?* p. 62 *et seq.*

and others indicating an easterly movement of songs should not, however, hide a more ancient, contrary movement. If no other proof of this existed, we have the analysis of the Ingrian and above all of the Esthonian runes, in which both mythic names and stories (and Krohn registers them) are echoes and remembrances of Carelian runes. Lönnrot himself recognises this interchange, and, while maintaining his idea on the original Carelism of the *Kalevala*, has in his second edition suppressed the addition *ancient Carelian* runes with which he had accompanied the title of the poem in the first edition : he knew well from how many parts of the country of the Finns he had drawn songs and variants for the composition of his poem both for the first, and still more for the second edition. But the interchanges took place within certain limits ; the same manner of poetising produced different mythic and heroic ideals in the two branches ; and thus Agricola's distinction is, broadly speaking, a just one. Even if we leave on one side what is peculiar to Ingria,¹ we see that among the Esthonians the rune elaborated Kalevipoeg, a type of hero so different from any found in the Carelian songs, that he would be entirely out of place in the *Kalevala* ; and there is no wonder that Agricola should place Kalev among the mythic personages of the Hämäläiset, to whom this myth originally belonged. On the other hand, Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, the Lady of Pohjola, together with the Sampo, the Lapps, etc., fundamental in the *Kalevala*, are so intimately at one with the Carelian songs that one cannot imagine their forming part of any other poem : in them we feel the neighbourhood of the sharper North and of the Lapps, as in the name of Väinämöinen we recognise the Dvina. And in this we are in agreement with Ahlqvist.

¹ Ingria is Carelian ; but not all the Finns of Ingermanland are Carelians. Vide Porkka, *Ueber den Ingrischen Dialekt mit Berücksichtigung der übrigen finnisch-ingermanländischen Dialekte*, Helsingf., 1885.

Now, if I have explained myself clearly on the life and essence of this traditional poetry, every one will understand the value of the question: "Where did the *Kalevala* arise?" As for the poem, generated within the mind of Lönnrot, we have said when and how it saw the light. As for the mass of songs which have served for its composition, they date from different—nay, very different—times and places, although at present contemporaneous and found principally in Carelia. A generic question of this kind can be asked only of something that is more concrete and at the same time common to all this poetry: its manner, its unique form. It diffused itself among all the Finns, lived for centuries applied in different ways, in different times, in different places, but it certainly was not born among all of them; a manner, a time, a place of its origin there must have been. The question, then, is legitimate and rational: "How, when, where did the rune have its birth?" The how and the when we will discuss in another place. The less important question of the where is rendered difficult, if not impossible, of solution, by what is certain regarding the when. Because, however careful one may be to avoid the exaggerations into which some have fallen in speaking of the antiquity of this poetry, one cannot possibly deny that it was anterior by some centuries to the introduction of Christianity among the Finns. And those were dark, troubled times, in which we have scanty, uncertain notices of those peoples. They were little cared for or esteemed (except as magicians) by the neighbouring Scandinavians and Slavs; and there is indeed no agreement even in the names applied to them. There was at that time in the northern part of Eastern Europe a movement among the peoples in consequence of which, in the second half of the ninth century, the Russian state emerged and entered on its phase of historical activity; taking, although a Slav people, the name *Ros*, which was proper to the Scandinavians and is still used in this sense

by the Finns (Ruotsalaiset = Swedes). The written records of the Russians relate the birth of their state from a group of peoples, barbarous and without laws, a mixture of Slavs and Finns of various names, who said to the Varjags (Scandinavians), *Come and be our lords and rulers*. And there, to the south of the Gulf of Finland, among Slavs and Finns, arose the Slav city Novgorod the Great. It was Norse in its instincts, warlike, pushing, rapacious, the hammer of the neighbouring peoples : of such Čuds or Finns as held aloof from the new state, and lived without lords and rulers. In that long period of movement, when, for instance, Finns go and settle in the land of the ancient Æstii and become Esthonians, how can we, unlighted by history, have any clear vision or distinguish one people from another—distinguish them by their abodes, their languages, their dialects or other peculiarities? ¹ How can we determine up to what point the peoples of that time resembled those of the present day? It is certain that the difference between Hämäläiset and Carelians, being not only one of dialect but also anthropological, must necessarily be very ancient, just as the relative position of the latter to the east of the former dates from times far back. But we must remember that there is a question discussed by Lehrberg ² and Sjögren ³ about the original abode of the Hämäläiset and that there was a time in which the Hämäläiset lived south-west of Lake Ladoga, where we

¹ On the few dubious notices that we have *vid.* Koskinen, *Tiedot Suomen suvun muinaisuudesta* (*Notices on the Antiquity of the Finnic Stock*), Helsingfors, 1862, p. 129 *et seq.*; Ignatius, *Finlands Geografi* (Helsingfors, 1881), p. 5 *et seq.* Concerning the coming of the Finns to the Baltic *vid.* the discussion between Aspelin, Koskinen and others in *Suomi*, 1882, p. 353 *et seq.*

² *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung d. älteren Gesch. Russlands*, St. Petersburg, 1816.

³ *Ueber die älteren Wohnsitze der Jemen* (*Gesamm. Schrift.*, i., p. 461 *et seq.*).

afterwards find Carelians.¹ Historical records know no distinction between Hämäläiset and Carelians before the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The first mention of the Hämäläiset is found in the Russian chronicles of 1043, when the men of Novgorod go out against them under the leadership of the kniaz Vladimir Iaroslavič.² The Carelians are spoken of for the first time in 1143, when, in alliance with the Russians, they attack their brethren, the Hämäläiset.³ And did the Carelians reach as far as the present Russian Carelia, as far as the Dvina, as the present government of Archangel? There on the Dvina Scandinavian legends and sagas place the prosperous people of the Biarms, concerning whom they recount semi-fabulous stories from the ninth century onwards;⁴ and this people excited the covetousness of the Norse, as well as of the Bulgarians and of the Russians, until they were overpowered after the twelfth century, and vanish. The Russian chronicles place there the Čuds or Finns, calling the country *Zavoločeskaja Čud*, that is, the Finnic (Čud) country across the *Volok*, the vast forest region (*volok*) extending from Vologda and Bjelozero northwards towards the Dvina.⁵ In spite of the affirmations to the

¹ Sjögren, *Gesamm. Schr.*, i., p. 594.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 463 *et seq.*, 481 *et seq.*, 590 *et seq.* ³ *Cf. ibid.*, i., p. 594 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 312 *et seq.*, 390 *et seq.*, etc. The most ancient notice is that given by the Scandinavian Otho to King Alfred the Great and inserted in that king's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius; *vid. Works of King Alfred the Great* (ed. Giles), London, 1858, vol. iii. (n. xxiii., T. Hampson, *Essay on the Geography of King Alfred the Great*), and *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius*, ed. Bosworth, London, 1859; Porthan, *Försök at upplysa konung Aelfreds geograph. Beskriften. öfver den europeiske Norden* (*Opera Selecta*, v., p. 43 *et seq.*). Other notices on the Biarms existing in Scandinavian writings are collected in the anonymous article *Isländarnes berättelser om de forna Finnar*, in *Fosterländskt Album*, i. (Helsingfors, 1845), p. 73 *et seq.*

⁵ Sjögren, *Gesamm. Schr.*, i., p. 515 *et seq.*; Castrén, *Anmärkningur om Savolotscheskaja Tschud* (*Nordiska Resor och Forshningar*, v., p. 40 *et seq.*).

contrary of Lönnrot, Ahlqvist and others, the Biarms were certainly not Carelians, the Carelians of the runes. What is told of them, even if it be exaggerated, gives a very different idea of their social conditions from that reflected in the runes. They belong to the family of the Finnic peoples; not to the group of the Suomalaiset, but to that, as their name shows, of the Permians, to which the Syrianians and the Votyaks also belong. But beside the predominant Biarms, there were more obscure Finns in that part of the Dvina and of Onega. It was certainly a Finn of the Suomalaiset who declared to Scandinavian visitors in 1026,¹ that the image existing in a rich temple of the Biarms was a *jumala* (jomale): a word for God quite peculiar to the Suomalaiset, from whom the Lapps have taken it (ibmel). But leaving the Biarms out of the question, Castrén and Ahlqvist have shown with weighty arguments, that Finns properly so called, and these Carelians, really did live there.²

The clearest inference to be drawn from this exposition of obscure facts is the difficulty of determining, by means of what we now know of the rune, whether it originated among the Hämäläiset or the Carelians. Our own opinion is that the probability lies with the Carelians, among whom there is a clearer connection between the magic and the heroic rune, between the heroic ideals and the magic song. That is to say that the Carelians, those Carelians who told of the "Old man of the Dvina," the *vanha Väinämöinen*, as the most miraculous of their ancient magicians or shamans, wove the formless magic word into a song of stable, determined form: the rune. But in the myth elaborated by the rune we find, as we shall see, a great influx of Germanic words and ideas, especially in the names, many of which are ancient, as Haltia, Hiidet,

¹ *Vid.* the tale of Thore Hund in the saga of King Olaf the Holy, c. 129.

² *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, cap. i.

Kave, etc. ; even the word Sampo is Germanic. So that the rune must have developed in a region more exposed to those influences than could have been the northern, far-off Carelia, which touches the Dvina and that shore of the White Sea called by the Russians the Carelian shore (*Karielski bereg*).¹ The very word *runo* certainly could not penetrate so far.

The poetry itself, mobile, continually renewed, indifferent to history, cannot afford us the light we might expect. As to the language, since the countries where the rune still flourishes are Carelian, Carelian is the dominant tongue, and Carelian is the language of the *Kalevala* : forms and words are therefore found that need explanation, being some of them dialect and differing from the ruling and literary speech, which is Tavast. There are also varieties in Carelian itself. During the passage of the songs from one place to another, a word will find itself in some spot where it is alien to the local dialect ; and he who learns it there, will either replace it by the local equivalent or will repeat it mechanically without knowing what it means ; but in one place or another the words and forms that are found in the runes in general and in the *Kalevala* are all living : there is no archaism, no tradition of ancient words become lifeless and stereotyped. Wherever the rune lives it speaks the living language of its abode : it speaks Esthonian in Esthonia ; and if it existed among the Tavasts, it would speak Tavast there. We have already said that this power of adaptation may be observed in all runes of every kind, even in the magic rune, where we should least expect it. The present Carelism of the *Kalevala*, therefore, by no means proves that this was the original language of the rune.

On the other hand, as we have just hinted, and as we shall see at greater length elsewhere, the poetry of the

¹ Sjögren, *Gesamm. Schr.*, i., p. 324, note 262.

runes takes no account of historical events, does not reflect them, does not mention them. This is a characteristic fact where we have, as we have here, narrative poetry, heroic epos. The rune may be found applied to some historical-religious fact in Catholic times, and also to some fact in secular history after the Reformation; but such cases are few and of small importance; the ancient, traditional, narrative and heroic rune, the rune of the *Kalevala*, is quite outside history. The ancient intercourse of the Finns with Germanic and Lithu-Slavonic peoples, which an analysis of their language reveals, is unknown to it; of the ancient incursions of the Scandinavian vikings into Finnish territory and of those of the Finns into Scandinavian territory, it does not speak; the Novgorod events with which the Finns had so much to do, those of the Swedish conquest, the frequent, bloody struggles between Swedes and Russians and the part which the Finns took in them on one side or the other, the ancient conflicts between the Finns themselves, between Hämäläiset and Carelians,—all this finds no echo in the poetry of the runes, is outside the epic ideals that the runes have worked out, of the heroic action which they narrate. The *Kalevala* not only makes no distinction between Carelians and Tavastians; it does not even give a definite idea of the Finnic country, whether in itself or in its relations with surrounding countries, nor of a people, nor of a nation. The only real people that figure in its action are the Lapps. The Finns are represented by individuals such as Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, etc.; Kalevala and Pohjola are mythical and indefinite regions except so far as the latter lies north of the former; rare is the mention of actual, recognised countries and places; vague, generic, incidental, inconsistent as in stories for little children, is the idea given of the place where the hero lives, through which he passes, where he acts. No hint is to be found of a constituted society; there is nothing beyond the individual and the

family. How can we ask the rune, deaf as it is to history, for information as to its origin, its fatherland, its stock? How can we ask it these things when the very subject of its tales is a problem to scholars? The problem will have its reply in what we shall say elsewhere, but must here be mentioned in its general formula, leaving on one side the solutions which have been offered. Many have asked and have tried to find out: What does the *Kalevala* mean? Has it a historical meaning, or a mythical one (symbolising summer, winter, for instance), or an allegorical one? Any one can find mythical and allegorical symbols where and in what number he likes; but history cannot be invented. The only concrete fact of a historical character to which more than one scholar has considered the runes to make allusion, is the movement by which the Finns pushed the Lapps farther north, and took their land. It is by no means unlikely that such a movement should take place in ancient times, and that poetry should express it in verse and hand it down to posterity. But the definition we have given of this traditional poetry and of its perennial life, renders it an inconceivable anomaly that, through centuries of production, it should still preserve a record of that ancient fact and not of many others more certain and more important; that it should remember the conflict with the poor, honest Lapps, and not that with the more famous Scandinavians and Slavs, with whom the Finns had, from the most ancient times, far more to do than with the Lapps, and of whom their language bears a profound impression. He who seeks a historical kernel in the *Kalevala*, will find the nut empty: the epos of the Finns is not, like that of other peoples, a product of the historical sentiment. Epic ideals must here be studied in conjunction with mythic ideals, heroes side by side with demons or gods. They will be seen to emerge from one and the same poetry based on the shamanic or magic idea: it will become clear that the

epic rune, with its heroic types, is nothing but an offshoot from the magic rune, mother of the demonic myth. But in pursuing this study we must abandon all idea of symbolism, more or less profound, and of thought-out allegory: things far removed from the frank, simple mind of the *laulajat*.

It would seem that a traditional poetry, especially narrative poetry, should, if it does not record historical events, be at least a document of the ancient culture, the ancient manner of life, of its people; or, that it should help us, with what it says of nature, plants, animals, waters, etc., to distinguish and recognise its origin and derivation rather from one region than from another. The *Kalevala* was, and is still, considered and used in this way by many: by Aspelin the archæologist, for instance, Retzius the anthropologist, Ahlqvist the philologist, who sustains its Carelism; Koskinen the historian, etc. Where other documents are wanting, and one has a tradition of ancient date, the idea of interrogating this as a document is legitimate; but one must first clearly understand what that tradition is, being careful not to mistake it for what it is not. If there were a poem, or even a mass of songs composed or generated in ancient times and handed down without alteration by oral tradition, we should certainly have in them a precious historical document for those distant ages so different from our own. But here we must bear in mind what we have already said of the *Kalevala* and of the rune. The *Kalevala* is not the Rig-Veda, the *laulajat* are not the *rishis*. The *Kalevala* is by no means, as some have thought, an ancient poem of which Lönnrot has found the scattered members. The poetry of the runes, although traditional, is not crystallised, dead; it is active and constantly renewing itself. In it there are in truth many things that date from ancient, pagan times; but these are still in existence in present thought and life, are still to be found in those modest, out-of-the-way places

where the rune flourishes. A study of the culture, customs, ideas of those places, illustrates the *Kalevala*.¹ In many places ancient customs were forgotten and changed ; in many the poetry of tradition became extinct ; in others life is taking on new forms and the rune is dying out ; and the time is perhaps not far off in which the manner of life and way of thinking will be transformed and the ancient rune entirely forgotten. Then the *Kalevala*, and all the runes collected and written in our days, will be truly a historical document of an age that was. The same considerations must be applied to the deductions which appear to follow from the idea of nature revealed in the *Kalevala*.² The living rune does not long continue to repeat mechanically that of which it has no experience ; it reflects present nature, that in which it lives. Even if, as Ahlqvist would have it, we can show that the nature described in the *Kalevala* is really that of N. Carelia, we have then only proved that at the present time the rune is more abundant there than elsewhere, and that the greater part of the runes composing the *Kalevala* come from there, a thing already well known ; but we have not proved anything with regard to the rune several centuries back. The rune speaks of the flesh of the pig, it speaks of the oak, of the apple tree, and in the east of N. Carelia pigs are not raised, oak and apple do not grow. But although not native there, they are not unknown. They were introduced into the poetry of the runes in more southern and western regions, where they really existed, and are still spoken of where they are known, though not indigenous. This may prove that the boundaries in space of the life of the rune are more

¹ This is what A. D. Heikel does in his little essay illustrative of several objects mentioned in the *Kalevala*, *Kansatietellinen sanasto kuvien kanssa* (*Illustrated Ethnological Glossary*), Helsingfors, 1885 (from *Suomi*).

² Retzius, *Finska Kranier*, p. 28 *et seq.* ; Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, ch. v., p. 112 *et seq.*

extended than some have thought. But this only refers to the present time; historically, with regard to the origin of the rune, it proves nothing. Of a truth, there is not to be found in the *Kalevala*, in any rune of any kind, mention of anything which is not, directly or indirectly, known to all the Finns of whatever district. The *laulaja* would feel himself at perfect liberty to suppress what was unintelligible, substituting a known word or idea. Instead of oak he would say birch or fir; instead of apple, fruit, berry, strawberry, etc. Even without the inducement of a reason of this kind, substitution, variation is for him so natural a fact that it occurs without any intention on his part, nay, without his perceiving it. I say without his perceiving it; for two singers will begin to quarrel, and with some heat, one persisting in saying no, the rune does not say like that, but like this, and the other in maintaining that it says as he has recited it.¹ This is naturally caused by the different spring from which each one drew the song, but it also reveals a feeling of faithfulness and respect for the traditional word such as should prevent it from varying. Yet the variants are innumerable, not only in the different districts from the government of Archangel to Esthonia, but also in the same locality or group of places. The differences consist in the language, which, in various places, receives the impress of the local dialect or vernacular; in the facts, narrated differently in different places; in the names of personages and localities; in the particulars of the narration; and also in the expression of the same idea in more or in fewer lines, by one word instead of another, or by this epithet rather than that. We can form no idea of the extent of this instability, in

¹ Such, for example, was the question between the old woman-singer Olena and the other old woman Okoi in the village of Audista (Western Ingria), spoken of in *Kalevalan toisinnot*, p. 207; and the other between two old men-singers, Simana and Sissonen, in Mekrijärvi (Ilomants), *ibid.*, p. 87, n. 227.

the midst of which we still recognise the permanent form of an ancient tradition, unless we have the mass of the variants before us to study and compare. To illustrate what we have said as far as is possible in this place, we may take from the runes that give the myth of the Creation, that place where the bird that flew (*Kalevala*, i., 188 *et seq.*) is spoken of, and observe all the varieties in the expression of this simple idea: "a bird went flying in search of a place in which to lay its eggs".¹ In the *Kalevala* it is a duck, of the kind called *sotka* (*fuligula clangula*), and so it is in many variants; but in others it is a duck of another species, a *haapana* (*anas penelope*), a *sorsa* (*anas boschas*), an *alli* (*fuligula glacialis*), a *telkkä* (*fuligula cristata*); but it is also often a goose (*hanhi*); sometimes an eagle (*kotka*); in many Ingrian and Esthonian variants it is a swallow (*pääsky, pääskynen, pääskyläinen*); but in some of those of Russian Carelia it is a drone (*herhiläinen*) or a bee (*mehiläinen*), which, like other winged insects, is known in the runes as bird of the air (*ilman linnut*);² sometimes it is any kind of bird, a little bird (*pieni lintu*), a big bird (*suuri lintu*). One of the simplest variants tells the thing, as do others, in two lines, *e.g.* :—

Ilman lintu pikkaraini (A tiny bird of the air)
Etsivi pesän sioa. (Was seeking a place for its nest).

Others express it in three, four lines and even more, saying that the bird flew and flew desirous, flew wearily, that it flew "over the translucent back of the sea" (*selvällä meren selällä*), that as it flew it skimmed the sea, touched the waves; that this happened on a summer's day, on an autumn night; that the bird flew afar off, that it flew

¹ In the published part of the *Kalevalan toisinnot*, pp. 1-77, 158-163, there are 200 and more variants, without those of Russian Carelia, some of which, printed but not published, lie before me.

² *Lintu*, bird, is from *lentaa*, to fly; it is hence also applied to flying creatures which we could not call birds.

over the sea, over the land, to the north, to the west, and found not where to settle to make a nest for its young ones, to dig, to scratch for its nest, etc. About all this and about other incidents, some runes tell us less, some more, some are shorter, some more diffuse and circumstantial; but amidst all the varying and fluctuating which a comparison of the variants reveals, we follow the thread unbroken, the fundamental unity of a poetical tradition, whose identity is as clearly recognisable in the Esthonian variants as it is in those of the more remote Russian Carelia, *e.g.* :—

<i>Esthonian var.</i>	<i>Var. from Vuonninen (Russian Car.).</i>
Lendelie linnukene	Hanhut on ilman lintu
Lendelie, liugelie	Lentävi, lekuttelevi
Lendas meie koppelie	Liittelekse, loattelekse
Otsis maad munadaksena	Etsivi pesän sioa.
Piesast pesa tehaksena.	

And if we wished to do so we could make the identity still clearer by choosing lines here and there among the numerous variants of Russian Carelia. Of differences in narration we shall have to speak when we come to consider the composition of the *Kalevala*. Here we may observe that this story of the bird seeking where to lay its eggs is a poetic motive frequently and variously used in the runes: it serves in the runes that tell of the creation of the world, in those that narrate the creation of the celestial bodies,¹ in those that relate the origin of the island of Saari,² as well as in those (and these are magic runes) which give the origin of seals and fish.³ And there is in this poetry a great abundance of these fantastic themes of variable usage, as there is also a great abundance of lines and poetical formulas that serve for every kind of song, epic, magic and lyric. He who, with such

¹ *Kalevalan toisinnot*, n. 155 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, n. 78 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, n. 72 *et seq.*

an enormous number of variants before him, should set to work to determine the text of a song, observing the procedure of the singers themselves, will easily understand Lönnrot's method, if not in composing the *Kalevala*, at any rate in establishing the text of the runes.

With regard to what we call the *mobility* of the rune, which we have here thought necessary to define clearly, it is to be remembered that definiteness and consistency are not the distinguishing features of this poetry. This may be observed in each song taken separately, as well as in the mass of songs and their varieties. It is very clear to any one who studies in them the mythic idea. Parallelism itself, the commonest and most distinctive resource of this poetry, instead of sharpening the outlines of the idea, often renders it tremulous, undetermined, or generic. Finding no exact synonym, no image or periphrasis adapted to repeat the same idea in other terms, the *laulaja* substitutes another, which he thinks approximate; with the result that the specific idea becomes blurred and is forgotten, and there remains only the generic idea that includes different things placed in relation by the singer. Thus he will say: "The little bird was flying one fine day in summer. One fine night in autumn the little bird was flying"; whence it results that the little bird flew in a time that is quite undetermined. He will say that Väinämöinen by his enchantments caused a fir with a golden top to spring up, and placed on it a marten with a golden breast, saying then to Ilmarinen: "Hallo, smith Ilmarinen, Come to see the marten, To kill the squirrel, There on the fir with the golden top"; so that what first appeared clear becomes undecided, and the impression left is that of any kind of animal with a golden breast. Lönnrot has here substituted the moon and the constellation of the Great Bear (*Kalevala*, rune x., i., 115 *et seq.*), which is the same, and better. The *laulaja* will say that Väinämöinen, having fallen into the waters, "Went about

there for six years, There for seven summers, Tossed for nine years"; where the numbers oscillate by reason of the parallelism, and we obtain the result of a long, indeterminate period of time.

Of this indeterminateness we shall often speak in treating of the myth; and the inconsistencies we shall also discuss when examining the *Kalevala*, where they abound in spite of all Lönnrot's care. One curious example of them, however, may be given here as especially instructive and adapted to this place. In addition to that strange Lapp who exists before the world was created (as we see in the first edition of the *Kalevala*, and as is really the case in the runes of Russian Carelia), those same runes relate how Väinämöinen, wandering through the sea after the creation of the world, reaches Pohjola and bemoans the fate that led him to those strange, inhospitable shores, fatal to heroes—"To that land without a priest, to that country unbaptised". This expression, so crude an anachronism, comes from a rune that arose among the Finns of the West within historic and Catholic times: the well-known rune that tells the death of Bishop Henry,¹ the apostle of the Finns. In it those lines are quite in place. There the holy bishop exhorts the king of Sweden to undertake the conversion of "That country without priests, Of that land without baptism". The song passed from west to east, from Catholic and later Lutheran Finns to those of the Russian Church in the government of Archangel; and its lines, like those of so many other runes of every time and every place, have been applied by the *laulajat*, without regard to propriety, to songs entirely different in subject.

Lönnrot gives a clear account of the natural way in which the rune passes from man to man, from generation to generation. On the occasion of a wedding-feast or of

¹ *Kanteletar*, iii., n. 28.

some other gathering, a man hears a new song and he tries to remember it. But when, after a time, he sings it before other hearers, he recollects rather the facts of the story than its precise tenor, word for word. The places that he does not remember exactly he expresses in his own words, which are often better than those he heard; and although in this way some minor circumstance of the story may be omitted, it frequently happens that another is substituted in its place. The song is treated in the same way by a second, by a third hearer, and is thus gradually changed, though rather in single expressions and passages than in its main facts. Side by side with this manner of poetic tradition there is another which better preserves the ancient form of the song and the sequence of its parts: the handing down for generations from father to son. But while this mode of tradition prevents the former from getting too far from the original, it is itself constrained to follow its sister to a certain extent; otherwise the differences would become too great.¹

Thus did the rune live, thus was it handed down through the centuries, thus has it continued to flourish till the present time, always old and always new, always the same and always different. We must make mention here of the singular and characteristic way in which the narrative rune, that which interests us most, is recited; for this, too, has a bearing on the changes of its life. It is an ancient custom for the runes to be sung by two men, of whom one is the first or chief (*päämies*), he who precedes (*edeltäjä*), the *precentor*, in fact, the principal singer; the other is the assistant (*puoltäjä*), the accompanist (*keralinen*), the repeater (*kertoja*), or, still better, is he who twists the thread, the cord of the song as it is gradually formed, developed by the other (*säistäjä* from *säistää*, to twist,

¹ Preface to the second edition of the *Kalevala*, § 5.

make cords or threads).¹ Seated side by side or opposite to each other, so near as to touch knee against knee, each holds the other by the hands, and swaying slightly they sing together in the following manner: the first begins by singing about half a line alone; at the third foot the other comes in, and after singing with him the last two or three syllables, repeats the whole line while the first is silent. Thus they go on from line to line, continuing the song with earnestness and gravity, intent on their work, while their hearers throng around them listening with the most lively attention. The second singer, when he repeats the line, generally introduces some term of approbation ("I say," *sanon*; "is," *on*) after the first foot, if this falls at the end of a word. Let us suppose that the line given out by the first singer is:—

Vaka, vanha Väinämöinen.
(The strong, the old Väinämöinen.)

Then the second, after singing the last syllables together with the first, sings it through alone, saying:—

Vaka (*sanon*) vanha Väinämöinen.
(The strong (I say), the old Väinämöinen.)

It is a way of singing that appears suggested by the conservative spirit of the tradition which is better assured by the agreement of two memories. As a matter of fact, however, the second simply follows and repeats the first; he does not correct him, does not vary, adds nothing; only, by repeating each verse, he gives time to the first to remember what follows, and even to improvise, if his memory fails him. Thus opportunity is afforded for that variation in the rune of which we have already said so much.² The difficulty to be overcome by the second

¹ The Greeks use a like similitude for long songs without verses, *σχοινορευτῆς ἀοιδῆς*.

² Castrén (*Nord. Resor och Forskningar*, i., p. 202) describes a similar usage among the Samoyedes. The Samoyede shaman (*Tadibe*) is aided by

(and not all are adapted for this part) lies in knowing or guessing in time the end of the line that he is to sing with the first, especially if the line is improvised; there are some less ready who are reduced to coming in on the last syllable. Another effect of this way of singing is to cause the narration to proceed much more slowly than it would seem to do to a reader. If we remember that every verse is sung twice over, if we take into consideration the use of parallelism which follows each line by at least one other, repeating the same thing in different words, we can easily imagine the slowness with which the contents of the rune are conveyed to the audience.

The magic rune is murmured, said, recited. Epic and lyric runes are sung to a musical phrase which is the same for every line; only the key is varied every second line, or in the epic runes at every repetition of the line by the second voice. The phrase is sweet,¹ simple, without emphasis, with as many notes as there are syllables. It is certainly ancient; this is why rune and poetry were known as song (*laulu*). As soon as it came to know itself, the rune created a poetical idea of its own essence in the *eternal singer* (*laulaja iän-ikuinen*) Väinämöinen, its Apollo or its Orpheus. It also idealised with a poetic story, as the Greeks did, the musical instrument which accompanied the song, the cithern, the *Kantele*, which, as we see in the *Kalevala*, being constructed and played upon by the eternal

another shaman of less merit. The first begins by beating the magic drum and singing a few words to gloomy, awesome music; then the other comes in, and both of them, like the singers of the Finnic runes, sing the same words together, after which the first remains silent while the other repeats alone what he sang. But the song of these Samoyede shamans consists of but few words and is almost entirely improvised. Among the Finns, although the epic song is sung by two, as above described, the magic song is, at the present time at any rate, pronounced by one only; *vid. Lönnrot, Loitsurun.*, p. x.

¹ It is given by Tengström in the work quoted below, p. 279, and in *Fosterländskt Album*, i. (Helsingf., 1845), in the table at the end of the volume.

singer, fascinates all beings and stirs them by the vibration of its strings. This instrument, now falling into disuse, was in fact the ancient companion of the rune it is abandoning. A drawing by Acerbi,¹ who visited those countries at the end of last century (1798), gives the interior of a *pirtti* (the old, rustic Finnish dwelling, which is also now giving place to houses of a different form) with two men seated opposite each other singing runes, while at a little distance there is another, playing an instrument which he holds upon his knees. This is the *kantele*, a kind of *cithern* played with the fingers and placed either on the knees or on a table. It formerly had not more than five strings, originally of horse-hair, afterwards of wire. Later on, like the Greek lyre, it had more; at present it may have as many as twelve or sixteen. Recently it has been made with a closed body; anciently it consisted of a thick plank of birch wood, hollowed out on one side, and on the other furnished with five strings stretched by means of pegs. Thus the body was not closed in; the sounding-board was formed by the table on which the player put the instrument.² In parallel passages the *kantele* is replaced by an instrument bearing the German name *harpu*, which is not a harp but a sort of three-stringed viola, played with a bow.³

¹ *Travels through Sweden, Finland and Lapland to the North Cape in the years 1798-9*, London, 1802. Cf. Skjöldebrand (Acerbi's companion), *Voyage pittoresque au Cap Nord*, Stockholm, 1801-2. The drawing is reproduced in Retzius' *Finska Kranier*, p. 132; *Finland*, p. 126, and in the third cheap edition of the *Kalevala* (Helsingf., 1887), plate 29.

² On the *kantele* and its varieties see Porthan, *De poesi fennica* (*Op. selecta*, iii.), p. 336; Tengström, *Om de fornda Finnars Sällskap-Nöjen och Tidsfördrif*, 1795 (in *Vitterh. Hist. och Antiquit. Akadem. Handlingar*, Stockholm, 1802), p. 280; Heikel, *Kansatietellinen Sanasto*, p. 10; Gottlund, *Muistutuksia meijän vanhoista kansallisista soitoistamme* (*Account of our Ancient Popular Instruments*); Otava, i., 267 *et seq.*; Retzius, *Finska Kranier*, p. 137 *et seq.*; *Finland*, *Schilderung*, etc., p. 135 *et seq.*, gives carefully gathered notices with several drawings.

³ *Vid.* the drawing of it in Retzius' *op. cit.*, p. 138, and Porthan's definition, *op. cit.*, p. 336. *Harpu* is found once only in the *Kalevala* in a

But the ancient national instrument, the companion of the runes, is the *kantele*. In his ingenious compilation of the last song of the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot introduces Väinämöinen disappearing before the rule of Christ and leaving the *kantele* to his people:—

Jätti kantelon jälille,
Soiton Suomelle soeraan,
Kanselle ilon ikuisen,
Laulut suuret lapsillensa.

He left behind him the *kantele*,
His beloved instrument to Suomi,
To the people an eternal joy,
Lofty songs to his children.

The hard conditions of Finnic life have long been consoled by this legacy. The time is at hand in which the ancestral rune will be forgotten by the people and will have to be studied in libraries as the old *kantele* already is in museums; but the *Kalevala* will remain, a national monument of patriotic import for the Finns, an attractive study for themselves and for others. We, too, far removed as we are by birth and race, feel its spell; as we close our long preamble and go on to consider the poem itself, the principal subject of our inquiry.

passage (485, *Veivät harpun hau'inluisen, Kantelon kalan-eväisen*) in which it is used in parallelism as an equivalent with *kantele*. Its use in the runes is much more frequent than would appear from the *Kalevala*, in which Lönnrot has only allowed this single example to appear.

CHAPTER II.

EPITOME OF THE *KALEVALA*.

PROEM: Invitation to the song.

Rune i. The daughter of the air, the beautiful child of Nature (*Luonnotar*), tired of her long solitude, came down from the vast untrodden regions of the air on to the surface of the waters. The waves were driven hither and thither by a stormy east wind; they embraced the fair maiden as she gleefully played amongst them; and by them she conceived. And for seven hundred years did she float hither and thither as Lady of the Waters, bearing her offspring within her, for she could not give birth to it. Weary and worn she raised her voice in prayer towards the supreme god, the ancient of years, Ukko, beseeching him to free her, in pity, from the anguish of her burden. And lo, a duck came flying, anxiously seeking a place whereon to settle and build its nest. The daughter of the air saw the bird, and raised a knee above the surface of the waters where she lay. The duck saw it, settled upon it, made its nest, layed its eggs, and began to sit. And as it remained sitting for a long time, it warmed the knee so much that the daughter of the air felt lively pain from the heat, and her knee shook. The eggs fell into the sea and broke, and the fragments underwent a transformation. From the two halves of the shell arose the vault of the sky and the terrestrial hemisphere below it, from the yolk the sun took form, from the white the moon, from the more shining parts the stars, from the darker parts the clouds. And time passed and still the

daughter of the air floated up and down in the sea, when after the ninth year she raised her head from the waves and began to create. As she moved her hands, her feet, her flanks, her back, there came into existence capes, grottoes, marine abysses, level and rocky shores, gulfs, rocks and islands. But Väinämöinen, the eternal singer, still remained imprisoned within his mother. For thirty-four years more did he stay there, until having vainly invoked the aid of the sun, of the moon, of the stars, he set to work to procure his own liberty, and having opened a passage by force through his mother's side, came forth to the day, falling headlong into the sea. Here he wandered for eight years until at last he came to shore on a tongue of land without trees and without a name. Thus was Väinämöinen, the eternal singer, the powerful magician, born of the daughter of the air.

Rune ii. After some years Väinämöinen thought of causing the earth to be covered with plants and trees. For this he called on the youth Sampsa Pellervoinen; son of the field, who sowed plants and trees of every kind. And these all sprang up and grew except the oak, the tree of God. Väinämöinen noticed this, and called five sea-maidens to mow and heap up the vegetation. Tursas, an evil genius of the sea, set the heap on fire. Then underneath the ashes sprouted and grew the beautiful tree; grew till it touched the sky, darkening sun and moon with the thickness of its foliage. But Väinämöinen resolved to hew down the tree which robbed the earth of celestial light, and he begged his mother Luonnotar to send him from the waters some one who could do this. And lo, there emerged from the waters a little man as tall as one's thumb, all dressed in copper, with an axe in his belt. Väinämöinen was astonished and mocked at him, but the little man suddenly changed into a giant, who touched the clouds with his head. With three strokes of his axe he overthrew the huge tree, and having cut it

into logs threw them into the waters, which carried them northwards to the shore of Pohjola. Now vegetation thrived in the warmth of the sun, and singing birds of every kind enlivened the woods and the flowering fields. But among all these beautiful and useful plants, the barley alone had not yet sprouted. Väinämöinen gathered many seeds of it, but a bird's voice told him that they would not grow unless the trees were burned and destroyed. Väinämöinen immediately cut down all the trees except a birch which he left as a shelter for the birds. The eagle, grateful for this thoughtfulness, set fire to the trees that had been cut down. Then, when the seeds had been sown and rain obtained by prayers to the supreme god Ukko, the barley sprang up and grew.

Rune iii. Väinämöinen, the eternal rune-maker, sang divinely, and his songs recounted, with profound and unattainable wisdom, ancient legends and the beginnings of all things. His great glory spread far and wide. The Lapp Joukahainen heard of him and was filled with envy. He decided to go and measure himself against Väinämöinen, and notwithstanding the opposition of his father and mother, set out. Having found the great singer he challenged him to single combat in song and wisdom. Väinämöinen agreed to hear him, but then mocked at his scanty learning and trivialities. The Lapp took offence and provoked him insolently. Then Väinämöinen begins to sing songs of most powerful magic which sink the Lapp into the marshy soil. Joukahainen prays for mercy, offering him gifts of every kind if he will call back the terrible magic words and liberate him. But Väinämöinen takes no notice of his offers and continues until the Lapp, who has already sunk so low that his mouth is on a level with the roots of the plants, offers him his own sister, Aino, to be his servant. Väinämöinen is softened by this promise. By a fresh song he takes off the spell and sets free the Lapp, who returns home humbled and sad. With much

weeping he tells his mother what has happened, and the promise he has made. His mother consoles him, rejoicing that her daughter should become the handmaid of the great Väinämöinen. But Aino, her daughter, weeps despairingly because she is forced to leave her maiden life and her father's house. Her mother comforts her with wise words.

Rune iv. Aino, the beautiful maiden, was in the wood picking birch boughs when Väinämöinen met her and claimed her as his own. But the maiden grew vexed, repulsed him, and throwing away her pearl necklace and beautiful bridal ornaments, ran off weeping. When her father, brother and sister questioned her she said she was crying because she had lost her fine ornaments; but she told everything to her mother, who comforted her and begged her to put on the beautiful dresses and adorn herself with the precious jewels that had belonged to her mother and had been given to her that she might be the flower and joy of the family. But the maiden remained weeping in great affliction, seeking out lonely places to think over her sad lot. Then she told her mother that she was continually crying because she would not, could not, be the wife of an old man, the support and guardian of one who tottered in decrepitude. Nevertheless she took the beautiful clothes, she put them on and she adorned herself with gold, with silver, and with silk. But in the extremity of her anguish she invoked death as her deliverer. And she fled away, over field and forest and desert heath until she reached the sea; where, benighted, she rested upon the shore. At dawn she observed three maidens bathing in the waves, and wished to join them. She took off her clothes, swam out towards a rock, and climbed up on to it; but hardly had she done so when the rock shook and plunged headlong into the abyss, carrying the maiden with it. Thus perished the gentle dove, with heartrending words on her lips. Who carried

the evil news to the mother? It was neither the bear, nor the wolf, nor the fox; but it was the hare. She ran, she leaped hastily along until she reached the women's bath. They were rejoiced and took her to make a feast of her, but the hare spoke and uttered words of dismay. Tears ran from the poor mother's eyes to her feet, so many tears that three rivers sprang from them, with three waterfalls and an island in the middle of each, and on each island a mountain, and on the peak of each mountain a birch tree. On the top of each birch tree was a cuckoo, and one of the cuckoos sang *love!* another *bridegroom!* and a third *joy!* The poor mother found the song of those birds too sad, and she took means to hear it no longer.

Rune v. Väinämöinen wept much when he heard the fate of the maiden, and thinking how he could get her again, he went to ask Untamo (god of dreams) where was the abode of the maidens of Vellamo (the wife of Ahti, lord of the waves). When he knew this, he went thither with his fishing boat, and, having thrown the hook, drew out a fish. He examined it, and thought that he had caught no maiden of the waves but a simple salmon. He took out his knife and was preparing to open the fish and make it ready for his meal, when it slipped from between his fingers and again plunged into the waves. And from the waves the fair Aino, who had become the maiden of Vellamo, addressed him and mocked him because he had not recognised her, but had taken her for a salmon. The aged Väinämöinen sadly besought her to return to him once more, but he never saw her again, and however much he dredged with silken nets, he never after that got anything but fish. The aged singer was very sad at this, and one day, as he was talking to himself about it in great desperation near his house, he thought of his mother who would have advised him had she been alive. "Your mother is alive," she said to him, rising suddenly from the tomb; and she advised him to go to the land of Pohjola,

where he would find girls even more beautiful than the one he had lost; let him choose one of them, the most lovely, the best of all, for himself.

Rune vi. Väinämöinen followed his mother's advice and set out on his journey towards Pohjola. Meanwhile the Lapp Joukahainen nourished a fierce hatred against him. Having made himself a mighty bow he lay in wait for Väinämöinen wherever he thought he would pass on his journey to surprise and kill him. His mother tried to dissuade him from slaying the lord of song, the fount of every joy, but in vain; hate and the thirst for revenge were more potent than any reasoning. Having laid an ambush, he let fly his arrows. The first two missed their mark, but the third hit the horse and Väinämöinen fell into the sea. A tempest immediately arose, enveloped him in the waves and carried him far, far away. For eight years the hero wandered in the power of the waters. Joyful and triumphant, Joukahainen returned home, boasting to his mother of what he had done. But she reproved him severely.

Rune vii. Driven hither and thither by the billows, Väinämöinen felt his strength ebbing away. But when he had begun to despair, a huge eagle, flying overhead, spied and recognised him. Having heard the story of his misfortunes, the eagle, in token of gratitude for the tree which he had left standing that the birds might take shelter in it, offered to save him and carry him to Pohjola. So he got on to the back of the powerful eagle, which flew away towards the region of Pohjola, alighted on the sea-shore, put down his burden and soared away again among the clouds. Alone, in wretched plight, in a strange land, Väinämöinen wept and moaned aloud. Pohjola's fair-haired servant-maid, who had risen before daybreak to do her work, was throwing the sweepings into a field at some distance from the house, when she heard cries and lamentations. She ran and told Louhi, the Lady of

Pohjola, who heard them as well, and going to the spot whence they came, found Väinämöinen trembling and crying, in the swamp. When he had told her his name, she took him with her, washed him, fed him, and exhorted him to remain in her hospitable dwelling. But the hero could not bring himself to do this, and longed to return to his own country. Louhi, the Lady of Pohjola, proposes to give him the means of returning home, if he can make the *Sampo* for her. If he makes it, she will also bestow on him a beautiful maiden. Väinämöinen declares himself unable to make the *Sampo*, but in his country there is the cunning smith Ilmarinen who will certainly know how to do so, for he made the vault of heaven. To him let her give her beautiful maiden. And the Lady of Pohjola gave Väinämöinen her red horse and her sledge and sent him away, exhorting him not to raise his head, nor to stand up, unless his horse were tired or the night had come on; if he did so, ill luck would betide him. Thus Väinämöinen took leave of the gloomy, misty Pohjola.

Rune viii. On his way home, Väinämöinen saw the maiden of Pohjola, beyond description beautiful, dressed in white, seated on the vault of the sky, leaning on the rainbow, as she wove a web of gold and silver on a silver loom with a golden shuttle. Väinämöinen, overwhelmed by her beauty, spoke to her and begged her to come down to him, to come into his sledge with him. But the girl had no wish to take a husband. At last she said that she would come if he could split a horse-hair with a blunt knife and if he could make an invisible knot with an egg. Väinämöinen succeeded in these and other difficult trials. At last the virgin of Pohjola told him that she would come down for him who should make a boat with the fragments of her spindle and of her shuttle and should launch it without touching it. Väinämöinen set to work; but on the evening of the third day the evil

genii Hiisi and Lempo turned aside the stroke of his axe, and the axe came down on to his knee and wounded it deeply. The blood gushed forth in torrents. In vain did the hero try to staunch it with his magic songs; he did not remember the rune for wounds inflicted by iron. He harnessed his horse to his sledge and set out in search of some one who knew the spell and could heal the painful wound. He stopped at the first house he came to, but no one knew it there; at the second, with no better success; but in the third he found an ancient greybeard who agreed to help him, saying that with his magic words he could arrest the course of greater things than blood.

Rune ix. Väinämöinen entered the hut of the old man, who was astonished at the quantity of blood that welled up from the wound. The words of the spell he knew were not enough to heal it; he must know the origin of iron. *That I know*, said Väinämöinen; and he immediately pronounced a long rune on the origin of that metal and all the incidents connected with its history, and on Ilmarinen who was the first to conquer it. As soon as he knew the origin of the metal which had produced the gash, the old man set to work and recited the magic song for the wounds produced by iron. Then he closed the wound, and with the help of one of his sons compounded, from an oak tree, a balm able to fasten together wood, stones and rocks. With a magic song he applied it and healed Väinämöinen's knee, calmed the pain and bound up the injured part. Then Väinämöinen, healed, and with his strength restored to him, thanked the Supreme Being for his safety and deplored the foolhardiness with which he had undertaken the construction of a ship such as God alone could make.

Rune x. Väinämöinen resumed his journey on his sledge, and when he saw his country again, the lovely borders of Kalevala, he cursed the Lapp who had declared that he would never more be seen alive. By the power

of his song he caused a fir tree to rise as tall as the sky itself. Its crest was covered with flowers, its branches were of gold, and the moon and the constellation of the Great Bear went and placed themselves in its highest branches. Then, as he proceeded, he heard the sound of Ilmarinen's forge, and went thither. He told him the story of his journey to Pohjola and of how he had promised the Sampo in exchange for the beautiful maiden. Ilmarinen was vexed when he heard that he had liberated himself by a promise of him and his work, and declared he would never go into the misty Pohjola, the curse of heroes. But the cunning Väinämöinen then told Ilmarinen about the beautiful fir tree there was near by, on whose crest the moon and the constellation of the Great Bear had disposed themselves. Ilmarinen was incredulous, and not till he had seen the marvel with his own eyes would he be convinced. At Väinämöinen's instigation he climbed into the tree to get the moon and the stars. But when he was well off the ground, Väinämöinen by a magic song raised a wind so violent as to blow Ilmarinen off the tree and carry him away to Pohjola. Louhi, the Lady of Pohjola, met him, and when she heard who he was, received him with joy. Then she dressed her daughter in most splendid robes, and asked Ilmarinen if he would make the Sampo and win the lovely maiden. Ilmarinen set to work at once, made the forge and blew up the smelting furnace. First of all there came forth a bow made of gold, silver and copper, but this was not what he wanted, and he threw it into the fire; then a golden boat with a copper rudder, but this did not satisfy him, and he threw it into the flames again. Then a beautiful cow appeared with golden horns, but that did not please him either, and he threw it back into the furnace. Then came a ploughshare of gold, copper and silver, but neither was that what he wanted. At last the Sampo appeared, the beautiful variegated lid. On

one side was a flour mill, on the other a salt mill, and on a third a mill for coining money. The Lady of Pohjola was overjoyed and hid the precious Sampo in a rock of copper which had its roots one in the water, one in the earth, and one in the hill on which the house stood. Then Ilmarinen demanded the beautiful maiden. But she wished to remain a maiden and to fulfil the duties which she owed to her mother. Ilmarinen was sad, and was seized with a longing to see his country again. The Lady of Pohjola helped him to return thither, giving him a beautiful ship and ordering the wind to waft him quickly to his native land. As soon as he reached home, Ilmarinen narrated what had occurred to Väinämöinen.

Rune xi. The time has now come to speak of Lemminkäinen, the youth of Saarela, who was also called Ahti and Kaukomieli. Lemminkäinen was blooming and handsome, brave and enterprising. But he had one great fault: he was too fond of women. Now there was in Saari a very beautiful girl, the charming Kyllikki, of good birth. She lived with her parents, and refused every offer of marriage. She had refused the sons of the sun, moon and stars. Now bold Lemminkäinen was seized with the desire to conquer the reluctance of the lovely maiden. Trusting to his attractions he harnessed his sledge in spite of his mother's dissuasions and galloped towards Saari. But just as he was entering the place triumphantly, attracting the glances of many maidens, the sledge overturned, and the girls laughed heartily, mocking him. At this he took great offence, and swore to revenge himself. He immediately began to insinuate himself into the assemblies of the girls, to be present at their dances and amusements, and it was not long before, beautiful and attractive as he was, there was but one virgin left in Saari, and she was the most lovely of all, Kyllikki, the delicate flower whom no man could please. To his entreaties she always opposed a haughty resistance.

But one day Lemminkäinen surprised her while she was dancing with her companions, took her up in his arms, placed her beside him on the sledge, and carried her off. Her prayers availed nothing: he spoke to her so sweetly of love that the fair one yielded and promised to become his bride on the condition that he would never undertake any warlike enterprise. He swore not to do so, but exacted in return a promise from her that she would never wander through the village for dance, game or amusement. She also gave her word, and then the joyful hero spurred his horse and took his lovely bride home to his mother, who received her with affectionate rejoicing.

Rune xii. Lemminkäinen and his bride lived happily together. But one day, Lemminkäinen being out fishing, the beautiful Kyllikki forgot her promise, went into the village and mingled in the dances and games of the young women. Her husband heard of it, for his sister told him. His anger was hot and furious. He at once declared that he would arm himself and go to fight against the land of Pohjola. Vain were the prayers of Kyllikki and his mother. To Pohjola he would go, in spite of their forebodings, at Pohjola he would seek another wife who should turn a deaf ear to the blandishments of the maidens. He took a comb and hung it from the ceiling, saying: *When this comb shall drip blood, I shall have received a mortal wound.* Then, having put on strong, magic armour, and taken a wondrous sword and horse, he set out on his perilous adventure. At the first and second houses he came to he could not even find any one capable of unharnessing his horse. Then he reached a third, and by virtue of his magic power, entered it unseen of dogs and guards. Looking about, he found that it was full of magicians, seers, wizards who were singing the magic runes of Lapland with the Lady of Pohjola. He came down among them unexpectedly and raised such mighty songs of magic as to disperse them all, mocking and

destroying young and old, heroes and warriors. One only did he spare, out of scorn, an old shepherd, who, angry at finding himself despised, determined to avenge himself, and went and lay in wait for the joyous Lemminkäinen, the handsome Kaukomieli, on his way back to his own country.

Rune xiii. Then Lemminkäinen begged the Lady of Pohjola to give him the most beautiful of her daughters. She refused, because he had already a wife. But he said he did not care for her and wanted to get rid of her. Then the Lady of Pohjola said that she would not give him her daughter unless he should overtake on foot the elk belonging to the evil genius Hiisi. Lemminkäinen had no snow-shoes, but he caused some to be made by the Lapp smith Lyylikki, and having put them on, took his iron-shod stick and his bow and arrows and set out to look for the elk, which Hiisi with his evil spirits had made expressly that it might never be overtaken. Lemminkäinen caught sight of it, and followed it through marsh, lake, desert and forest, overturning everything that came in his way, until he reached the farthest boundary of Lapland. At last he came up with it, stopped it and fastened it to a tree; but the elk broke loose and fled away again. Lemminkäinen pursued it, until at last he was obliged to stop because the straps of his snow-shoes broke and his stick was shattered. He altogether lost sight of the elk.

Rune xiv. Lemminkäinen did not despair of succeeding in his enterprise, but sought another way out of his difficulty, asking the aid of the forest gods, Tapio and Mielikki. He recited the magic song of the hunters and set out afresh. In the forest, the very dwelling-place of Tapio, he repeated the song again, and with the help of the gods caught and bound the elk of Hiisi. Then, having sung the song of sacrifice, he asked the Lady of Pohjola for her daughter. But she imposed a new condition: that he should bridle the fiery horse of Hiisi.

With the aid of Ukko, the supreme god, he succeeded in this enterprise too. The Lady of Pohjola then imposed a third condition, that he should kill with an arrow the swan that lives on the black waters of the river of Tuoni, lord of the dead. And Lemminkäinen went down into the abysses of Manala, the abode of the dead. But there, near the river, lay in wait for him the evil-minded shepherd whom he had despised, and when Lemminkäinen came near, this shepherd pulled from the waters a monstrous serpent and hurled it against him. The viper penetrated into the very belly of the hero, and he died, thinking on his mother. Then the shepherd threw him into the waters of the black river, and Tuoni, the lord of the dead, cut him to pieces with his sharp sword and strewed his limbs on the stream. Thus perished the gay Lemminkäinen.

Rune xv. Kyllikki and Lemminkäinen's mother were sad at receiving no news from him. And lo! Kyllikki noticed one day that the comb her husband had left was dropping blood. They were both overcome with grief; but the mother lost no time in setting out towards Pohjola. The Lady of Pohjola at first gave riddling answers, but at last narrated the facts about her son, and how he was now gone to kill the swan on the river of Tuoni, and was not yet returned. The mother immediately started to look for him, asking trees and roads, sun and moon whether they had seen him. And from the sun she learned her son's sad end. She begged the cunning smith Ilmarinen to make her a raft of iron, and having persuaded the god Jumala to cast a sleep upon the savage dwellers of the infernal regions, she launched the raft on the river of Tuoni and found in the waves the trunk and the scattered limbs of her dead son. She put them together and made up the body again, but the life was wanting. Then she recited the magic song of the veins, and the blood circulated and the body revived, but speech was still wanting.

Then she recited the song of the balms, addressing Mehiläinen (the bee), the graceful winged creature that reigns over the flowers; and the active little Mehiläinen helped her. After several vain efforts she raised herself to the skies, and in the store-house of God, the supreme creator, of omnipotent Jumala, drank in much vivifying balm. With this the mother anointed her son's limbs, and he, as though awakening from a dream, rose and spoke. He told his mother how he had perished by the hand of the shepherd, defenceless, because he knew not the origin of serpents. His mother reproved him for his boldness in venturing among the Lapland wizards without knowing it, and repeated it to him. But Lemminkäinen was not satisfied. He thought of the maiden of Pohjola and of the swan he was to have killed. His mother turned him away from such thoughts, and took him back with her to the quiet of his home.

Rune xvi. Väinämöinen, the eternal rune-maker, was busy constructing a ship, and Sampsa Pellervoinen, son of the field, had undertaken to procure him the wood for it. After having applied in vain to a poplar and to a pine which declared themselves unfit for the purpose, he had found an enormous oak which he had cut down and sawn into innumerable planks. With these Väinämöinen had set to work at his difficult task, helping himself out with his magic songs. But when he came to give it the finishing touch, putting in the prow and the stern, he found he did not know the necessary song. He wanted three words of it; nor could he find them, however much he sought them. In vain he looked on the head of the swallows, on the neck of the swans, on the back of the geese, under the tongue of the reindeer; he found a number of words, but not those he needed. Then he thought of seeking them in the kingdom of Tuoni, in Manala, the country of the dead. He went thither and asked the daughters of Tuoni for a raft to cross the black river. *But*

why do you come down here, asked the daughters of Tuoni, if you are not dead ? After many lying answers Väinämöinen at last told them the true reason of his coming. The daughters of Tuoni disapproved the foolhardiness which led one not yet dead to visit the country from which none ever returns ; nevertheless they gave him the raft. The lady of the land of Tuoni offered him drink, but he refused, for he saw frogs and worms in the vessel. He told her why he had come ; but she replied he should never have the words, nor should he return again among the living ; and she caused him to fall asleep. The son of Tuoni threw into the river an immense net which an old man and an old woman had made, so that Väinämöinen might never get away again. He saw his danger, however, changed his form, and darting through the black water like an alga, like a serpent of iron, passed through the net of Tuoni and got away. Arrived in the land of the living, he advised men never to trust themselves in the dwellings of Manala in the abysses of Tuonela whence no one returns ; and he related the torments reserved for the wicked.

Rune xvii. So Väinämöinen returned among the living. But still he did not know how to find the three words. Then a shepherd advised him to search in the mouth, in the belly of Antero Vipunen, the giant and powerful magician. Difficult was the road that led to him : first over the points of women's needles, then over those of men's swords, and finally over the sharpened edges of heroes' axes. Ilmarinen, the wondrous smith, made him shoes, shirt and gloves of iron, and a staff of steel which should help him in the undertaking ; but he dissuaded him from the enterprise as a vain one, because the great Vipunen was dead. Nevertheless the hero went. The giant lay underground with all his songs within him ; and trees of every kind grew over his head. These Väinämöinen cut down, and planted his staff in the giant's mouth.

The giant awoke, opened his huge mouth, and Väinämöinen approaching, slipped into it, and was swallowed. As soon as Väinämöinen reached Vipunen's enormous stomach he began to think how he could get out again and at the same time obtain the magic words. So he built a ship and sailed in it up and down the inside of the giant ; but this made no impression on him. Then he thought of changing himself into a smith, and with what iron he had he made a smithy and began to work hard, hammering iron on the anvil, torturing the entrails of Vipunen, who, feeling he could bear it no longer, broke out into magic songs to free himself from the torment. But Väinämöinen replied that he was very comfortable and would not go away unless he first heard the secret words that he wanted. Then Vipunen unlocked the treasure of his magic songs, of his powerful, prodigious runes. Many days and many nights he sang ; and the sun and the moon and the waves of the sea and the waterfalls stood still to hear him. Then Väinämöinen agreed to come out. Vipunen opened his enormous jaws, and the hero issued forth ; and having thus learnt the magic words he needed, finished his ship without the use of the axe.

Rune xviii. As soon as the ship was finished, Väinämöinen made ready to go to Pohjola and ask the hand of the fair maid of that misty country. Shortly after he had set out, Annikki, Ilmarinen's lovely sister, spied him from afar, and approaching the ship asked him where he was going. Väinämöinen at first answered her with lies. But in vain ; he was finally obliged to reveal to her the true intent of his journey. Then Annikki ran as quickly as possible to her brother Ilmarinen to tell him that another was going to Pohjola to fetch the bride that should have been his. Much vexed was the cunning smith. He took the bath which his sister prepared for him ; he clothed himself in the beautiful raiment she put ready for him ; he told his servant to harness his finest

horse to the sledge; and having implored the help of Ukko, set out for Pohjola. He overtook Väinämöinen, and the two agreed in a friendly manner, that they would use no violence, but that the maiden should belong to the one whom she should herself choose. And so each went on his way. Now the watch-dog begins to bark at Pohjola. The Lord of Pohjola goes to find out the reason, and sees the ship approaching on one side and the sledge on the other. They ask the lots and find that these predict woovers. The Lady of Pohjola recognises Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen from afar, and asks her daughter which of the two pleases her most. Against her mother's counsel, she prefers youth and beauty to age and wisdom, and chooses Ilmarinen. Väinämöinen arrives first, asks the maiden if she will be his, and shows her that he has performed the task she set him: the ship made without the use of the axe. But she refuses him, the seafarer has no attractions for her.

Rune xix. Immediately after Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen entered the house of the Lady of Pohjola, and found her alone. She told him that she would not give him her daughter, unless he first ploughed the field of vipers. Then he saw the girl and told her the matter, and she taught him how he should set about it, and so he ploughed the field of vipers. Other difficult tasks he performed at the behest of the Lady of Pohjola with the maiden's help: he put a bridle on the bear that lives in the infernal regions of Tuoni, and led him away; without net or other fishing tackle he caught and carried off the great pike from the black infernal river. And then the Lady of Pohjola made no more opposition. She yielded her lovely daughter to Ilmarinen, and the betrothal took place with song and with the poetical forms customary on such occasions. Väinämöinen sadly returned to his own country, reflecting how foolish a thing it was that he, an old man, should seek a young bride.

Rune xx. Splendid and solemn was the wedding-feast celebrated in Pohjola. One ox only was slaughtered for the banquet, but that was an immense one. The swallow took a day to fly from horn to horn, the squirrel a month to run up its tail. No one could have laid it low had not a miraculous old man come out from the waters and offered his strength for the deed. And a house was built in Pohjola so huge that from the floor one could not hear the cock crowing on the roof, nor from the door the dog barking at the farther end of the room. The Lady of Pohjola undertook to provide the wedding guests with beer. An old man sang the magic song of its origin, and the brewing was at once begun. Lemminkäinen saw the steam from afar, the steam of the beer prepared for the wedding, and shook with envy. Then the Lady of Pohjola made the bread and the oatmeal porridge (*talkkuna*). But the beer, swelling and foaming, demanded a singer, with threats demanded him, and none was at hand. The Lady of Pohjola immediately sent out on all sides to bid the guests. She sent her hand-maid to call the ancient Väinämöinen, the sweet singer, to call all the men of Pohjola, and all the men of Kalevala; all except the light-hearted Lemminkäinen, for he was too bold and quarrelsome and wanton.

Rune xxi. The wedding began. With much pomp, and followed by a numerous retinue, the bridegroom arrived at the bride's house, and then the wonted songs were sung, and the feast was spread. Joyously they feasted while Väinämöinen, the eternal singer, sang the runes of grace and of blessing, praying Jumala, the all-powerful creator, for happiness and prosperity on the house of the newly-married couple.

Rune xxii. Then the Lady of Pohjola said farewell to her daughter, that she might leave her parents' house to follow her husband. Sad, very sad was the picture which her words called up of the life of a married woman, so

different from that of a maiden living securely under her father's roof. Much afflicted by her mother's sayings was the bride, and broke out into loud wailings. Then an old servant of the household began to speak, and insisting on what the mother had said, uttered words of still greater discouragement, so that the new-made wife shed bitter tears over her unhappy lot. But lo! a boy raises his voice and comforts the bride greatly, telling her of the advantages of her new state, of the virtue, valour, wealth of the young bridegroom.

Rune xxiii. And now who will give counsel to the young bride? Counsel which shall guide her conduct, point out her duties, and instruct her in her new life? Kalevatar, the woman of the race of Kaleva, will give counsel to the bride of Ilmarinen; and long did she speak with the wealth of advice and wisdom that come of long experience. But then an old beggar woman rose. Great evil had she suffered in her married life, bitter disappointments, unfeeling persecutions of father-in-law and mother-in-law, cruel ill-treatment. Forced to fly from her husband's roof, grown a stranger to that of father and brother, she was reduced to wretchedness and beggary. All these woes did the miserable hag relate to the young bride.

Rune xxiv. Then came the turn of the bridegroom to be instructed in the duties of a husband towards his wife. And long was the list of instructions that was given him, of wise warnings, of prudent counsels. And lo, an old vagabond rose, and began to tell the bridegroom the story of his own married life, how he reduced his wife to respect and obey him. At last came the heartrending moment of parting, when bride and bridegroom must set forth for their own abode. Touching were the words which the weeping bride uttered as she bade farewell to her mother, to her father, to her brother, to the house in which she was born, to every animal and object which was dear to her. Then Ilmarinen placed her in his sledge, and with a last greet-

ing to that land, amidst the lamentation of the children who saw their gentle friend go from them, he urged his horse to a gallop, and in three days reached his home.

Rune xxv. Great was the joy of the family at the return of Ilmarinen with his bride. Affectionate and solemn her reception. Lokka, the mother of the wondrous smith, addressed words of love and praise to the young groom, then turned benignly to the bride, whom an ill-conditioned lad had provoked with insolent words, and spoke with her long and in terms of approbation, welcoming her to the new family which was already hers. Then the banquet began, and Väinämöinen gladdened it with his presence, and with his wise and beautiful songs. He lauded the master and mistress of the house, the ruler of the feast, the bridemaids and the guests. After this he entered his sledge and, still singing, turned homewards. And behold the sledge suddenly hit against a stone and broke to pieces. To make another he needed a centre-bit from the infernal land of Tuoni. No one would go down there for him, so he went himself for the second time and got the centre-bit. He made a new sledge, and soon reached his home.

Rune xxvi. Unwonted sounds and a secret presentiment assured Lemminkäinen that a wedding was being celebrated in Pohjola, and fierce anger seized him. He bade the women get ready a bath and his finest garments, for he would go to Pohjola, to the wedding at Pohjola. His mother and his wife dissuaded him from going to a feast to which no one had bidden him, but he spurned their woman's counsel. His mother set forth the grave dangers he ran by the way. She told him of the eagle of fire, of the fiery abyss, of the bear and of the wolf, of the barrier interwoven with serpents, and other terrible obstacles; but he was too bold to feel fear, confident that he should overcome everything. He took his trusty armour, his bow and his mighty sword, harnessed his best battle-

horse to his sledge, and after his mother, with wise counsels, had accompanied him for some little way, he set off at full speed. True, he encountered on the road the terrible obstacles of which his mother had warned him, but with his skill in magic arts and songs he came safe through them all until he reached the last, the great serpent, which he tamed with the verses that charm serpents.

Rune xxvii. Lemminkäinen arrived at the abode of Pohjola when the wedding feast was already ended. Neither was he received in any flattering manner. He complained that he had not been invited, and asked for something to drink. They brought him beer, but in it were worms and reptiles. Then he reviled the Lord of Pohjola; who caused a river to arise, that he might drink from that. Lemminkäinen, ever ready, conjured up a bull to drink the river; but the wolf which the Lord of Pohjola then caused to appear devoured the bull. Long did this struggle of spells last, until the Lord of Pohjola seized his sword and challenged the joyous Lemminkäinen to single contest. He accepted gladly, and the two went to the open field to measure their strength in fierce fight. Soon the head of the Lord of Pohjola rolled bleeding to the earth. The hero stuck it on a pole and asked the Lady of Pohjola for water to cleanse his hands. But she, furious beyond measure, called up by her arts a whole army of armed and threatening heroes, before whom even the bold Lemminkäinen thought it well to draw back.

Rune xxviii. Thinking to save himself by flight, Lemminkäinen sought his horse and sledge, but they had disappeared. In the last extremity of danger he found a way to change himself, by his magic arts, into an eagle, and rose high into the air. He met a vulture which recognised and addressed him. It was the Lord of Pohjola whom he had beheaded; but he did not dare measure his strength with the eagle's, and Lemminkäinen soon reached his own land, took on his original form, and went

home sadly and dejectedly. His mother questioned him repeatedly, but he refused at first to open to her the reason of his melancholy. At last, however, he told her everything, and how there was an army ready to kill him to avenge the death of the Lord of Pohjola. How should he hide himself? His mother, after thinking for some time and abandoning several methods of concealment, decided on one; but before telling him of it wished him to promise her never more to engage in battle, and to this the crest-fallen hero readily agreed. Then his mother told him of a far-away island, ten seas off, where his father had once lain hidden in time of war. Let him take his father's ship, sail thither, and remain there quietly for two or three years.

Rune xxix. Having furnished himself with stores for his journey and said farewell to his mother, the joyous Lemminkäinen, the handsome Kaukomieli, sailed towards the distant isle of Saari, where he was hospitably received by the beautiful maidens who were on the seashore and saw him arrive. And he raised such wondrous songs, and performed such marvels by his spells, that he won the admiration of all. Beautiful and seductive, wanton and inclined to pleasures, there was soon no woman in the island, whether maiden, wife or widow, whom he had not bent to his will. One only, an old maid who lived in a remote part of the island, he left unnoticed, and she was wroth, and told him she would wreck his ship on his voyage home. The pleasure-loving Lemminkäinen had no time to appease the old maid's anger, as indeed he wished to do. By this time all the men in the country had taken up arms against him and were plotting his death. His ship had been burnt, and his magic songs alone enabled him to build another without delay. On this he quickly fled from the danger that threatened him. The lovely maidens of the island wept and were very sad at his departure, and he also deplored the loss of their

love. But lo, as he was sailing on, a great tempest arose. The ship, tossed and shattered by the waves, was swallowed up by the deep; the young hero, at the mercy of the waters, at last reached an unknown island. There he found a good woman, who comforted him with food and drink and then gave him a ship on which to continue his journey. Thus Lemminkäinen reached his fatherland and came again to the beloved haunts of his boyhood. But he no longer found his house, his beautiful dwelling-place. Instead of it, there was a heap of ashes. And where was his mother? Where was his loving nurse? With much anxiety and with cruel fear he searched around, and noticed some footsteps which led him to a humble cabin. There he found his mother, his loving nurse. Joyful at seeing him again, she told him that the men of Pohjola, inflamed to madness against him, had come to kill him, and not finding him had destroyed everything. She had hardly found safety by hiding in the forest. The handsome hero comforted his mother, promising to build her a house better than the last one, and to punish the men of Pohjola. Then he told her how happily he had lived at Saari, and left it only because the men had grown jealous of him, fearing he might pervert their women, and had driven him away with threats.

Rune xxx. Lemminkäinen's ship was full of sorrow and bewailed its idleness, for its lord no longer took it out to war. The handsome Kaukomieli comforted it, promising that it should soon be called out into action, and told his mother that he was going to wage war on Pohjola; neither could he give heed to the counsel of his loving nurse, who tried to turn him from his intent. He sought himself a comrade, however, and his choice fell on the hero Tiera, who had long been his companion in arms. Tiera's father and brother did not wish him to go; but he responded nevertheless to his friend's call, armed himself, and embarked with him. The Lady of Pohjola became

aware of their journey and of its purpose; and by a magic song, created great cold, which she sent against the sea where they were sailing. Already the waves were freezing, and the heroes themselves were on the point of turning to ice when the handsome *Kaukomieli* uttered in anger the long and powerful song that tames the cold. Thus he forced it to give way. But the sea was frozen, and the two heroes left the ship and pursued their journey on foot. Wandering about without a guide they reached an unknown country and fell into despair, for they saw that they were lost. *Tiera* bewailed the sadness of his lot, and the handsome *Kaukomieli* cursed his enemy. But then, imploring the divine aid, urged on by suffering and anxiety, he retraced his footsteps and made his way back in safety, followed by *Tiera*, to the place he had started from, to his own home.

Rune xxxi. *Kalervo* and *Untamo* were two brothers. *Untamo*, who was surly and easily roused to anger, came to blows with his brother for a question of fish caught in his waters, but neither overcame the other. Then, furious because one of his sheep had been killed by *Kalervo's* dog, he gathered armed men together and attacked him, massacring his family and burning his house. The men spared the life of a woman who was pregnant, and carried her with them as a slave. In the house of *Untamo* she brought forth a son whom she called *Kullervo*. On the third day the child tore off his swaddling-clothes and broke up his cradle. *Untamo* hoped to make a hero of him; but at three months the child, who already spoke, began to think of avenging his father's griefs and his mother's anguish. *Untamo* tried to get rid of him. They put him into a barrel and threw him into the sea; but when they went to see what had happened to him, they found him quietly seated on the waves fishing with a copper rod and a silken line. Then they thought of consuming him on a burning pyre; but they found him unscathed and calm,

playing with the blazing logs. They hanged him on a tree and went to look at him, but they found that he was amusing himself by cutting all kinds of figures in the bark. Unable to get rid of him they thought they would attach him to themselves by all kinds of promises. When he got bigger they gave him a child to take charge of. On the third day the child was dead. Then Untamo sent him to cut down a forest, for he wanted to turn it into cultivated land. Kullervo destroyed it so completely that no seed would ever spring up there. So Untamo, when he saw that everything Kullervo put his hand to turned out badly, took him into Carelia and gave him to Ilmarinen, the cunning iron-beater, in exchange for a little old iron.

Rune xxxii. Kullervo, son of Kalervo, the fair-haired handsome youth with the blue stockings, lived with Ilmarinen, and asked his lord's beautiful but evil-minded wife for work. She told him off to herd the flocks, and gave him as his provisions a loaf she had prepared; in the midst of which she had, from pure malignity, hidden a stone. After begging the gods in a long prayer to protect the cattle, and after also imploring Otso (the bear) not to attack them, she drove the herd out of doors, and bade Kullervo lead it to the grazing-places.

Rune xxxiii. The fair-haired Kullervo, bewailing his lot as he pastured the cows and the bulls, invoked the protection of the sun. When it was time to eat, he pulled the loaf from his bag and began to cut it with a knife. The knife struck against the stone and broke. This knife was a treasured memory of his father. Hot was the shepherd's wrath against his perfidious mistress, and he began to turn over plans of revenge. The rook raised her voice from the depths of the wood and suggested a way of avenging himself, by turning the herd into wolves and bears. Kullervo followed the rook's counsel, and returned home at milking time blowing on a far-sounding

horn that he had taken from a slain bull. His mistress, the wife of Ilmarinen, was astonished at hearing so loud a noise, and was glad when she saw the cows returning; but when she stooped to milk them the wolf and the bear sprang upon her. She reproved the shepherd, but he upbraided her for the stone in the bread and the broken knife. Feeling that she was being devoured, she begged him with many prayers to take off the spell, and prayed Ukko instantly to punish him. But her words were vain, and she lay dead before the threshold of her house. This was the end of the lovely bride whom Ilmarinen had so ardently sought and desired, had won with so much toil.

Rune xxxiv. After what had happened, Kullervo thought how he might place himself in safety, and left Ilmarinen's house at headlong speed. Bitterly did Ilmarinen weep when he came forth from his smithy and beheld the piteous sight. Meanwhile Kullervo wandered on thinking over his sad lot, an orphan without house or home; and he knew not whither to turn. He thought he would go and have his revenge on Untamo. But lo, the Old Woman of the Thicket appears to him, wearing a blue veil. She asks him what he intends doing; and then makes known to him that his father and mother are not dead, tells him where they are, and puts him on the right road to go to them. He immediately sets out and finds them. When he has declared himself, his mother bursts forth into words of joy because she has found her son again, but at the same time into expressions of grief because she has lost a daughter and has no hope of finding her. The girl had left the house to gather blackberries and had never returned to it. Far and wide had her loving mother sought her in affliction. She had climbed the hills and called her, but the hills replied: *Never more will thy daughter return to her mother's house, never more.*

Rune xxxv. Now that he was at home again, Kullervo began to think seriously of ordering his life, of living wisely. But rebellious nature thwarted his good intent. He tried to work and took a boat to go fishing, but he rowed so vigorously that he broke the boat to pieces. Kalervo then set him to beat the water for the purpose of driving the fish towards the nets; and he beat it with so much energy that he reduced it to mud, the nets to tow, and the fish to a sticky paste. Then Kalervo was discouraged and bade him go pay the taxes, for perhaps travelling would suit him better. And the handsome Kullervo with his golden hair and his blue stockings, set out on his sledge and paid the taxes. As he was returning, behold a beautiful maiden came gliding towards him on her *suksit* (snow-shoes). He held in his horse and invited her to come into his sledge; but she refused scornfully. Fair-haired Kullervo went on and met another maiden who likewise met his desire with scornful refusal. A third fair one did he meet, with her breast adorned with a pewter buckle; and she answered him as the others had done. Nevertheless he took her and by force placed her in the sledge. She resisted, but Kullervo drew out from a casket splendid gowns and belts and buckles of gold, and the maiden submitted. When the next day dawned the fair maiden who had been deflowered asked the bold youth who he was and of what family. He told her he was Kullervo, son of Kalervo, and recounted to her all his story. Then he wanted to know in his turn who she was. The girl answered him frankly that she was the daughter of Kalervo: she had gone out blackberrying and had lost her way. In vain she had sought it, in vain had she called aloud. Wandering about in desperation she had held herself as dead, and would that she had really died! Hardly had she finished her story than the beautiful maiden whom her own brother had deflowered, sprang from the sledge and running off at

full speed plunged headlong into the torrent, where she found refuge and pardon in the bosom of death. Then Kullervo wept, wept bitterly. Tormented by shame and remorse he cursed himself and the sad, unlucky hour of his birth; for he felt that he had been born only to misfortune. In despair he hastened home and gave vent to his anguish in his mother's bosom. He told her everything, and she grieved with him. He decided to die by whatsoever death he might find, so as not to outlive his unworthy deed, his unhappy victim. His mother persuaded him to live, and told him of a place where he could hide, where he could wipe out his shame through long years of penance. But Kullervo shrank from this. Untamo, their cruel enemy, was still alive and unpunished. This idea crossed his mind and he determined to go against Untamo and seek death on the battle-field, in manly combat.

Rune xxxvi. Kullervo was bent on making war against Untamo, although his mother sought to dissuade him. But he gave heed neither to father, to mother, to brother, nor to sister, but he said farewell to them, asking each one whether he would bewail his death. *No* replied the father, and *no* said also the brother and the sister. The mother alone said that she would weep for him; and with how many, many bitter tears! And the young hero set out wearing his blue stockings. He set out over heath and field, blowing his shepherd's horn. And lo, a messenger came to tell him of his father's death; but it grieved him not. Then another announced to him the death of his brother; but that also did not grieve him. Neither did the young hero grieve when a third messenger informed him that his other sister was dead. But when another messenger overtook him and told him that his mother was dead, then he wept bitterly and ordered her to be buried with all loving care; for he could not himself turn back from the adventure he had undertaken. As he

went on his way he invoked Ukko, the supreme deity, begging him for a wondrous sword of destruction. And he received it, and conquered Untamo and killed him and quenched all his race and overturned his houses and reduced them to ashes. Then he returned to his father's house, but he found it silent and deserted and the hearth cold. He fell to weeping in his loneliness and called on his mother, saying: "Oh, gentle mother, what hast thou left thy son?" Neither did he hope for a reply. But his mother, awaking in her tomb, heard the voice of her son, and from amid the dust of the grave replied that she had left Musti, the faithful dog, to be his companion in the wild wood, in the chase, that he might get himself food. Kullervo took the faithful dog and went towards the forest. He happened to find and recognise the place where he had deflowered his sister. All nature seemed to bewail the lot of the unhappy maiden: no heather bloomed there, there was no leaf, no plant that had not dried up and withered. Then Kullervo stayed his steps, unsheathed his sword and asked it whether it would find a pleasure in tasting the flesh of the guilty man, in drinking the blood of him that is infamous. And the sword answered: *How should I not taste with pleasure the flesh of the guilty man, and drink the blood of him that is infamous, when I taste the flesh and drink the blood of the innocent?* Then Kullervo, son of Kalervo, the bold youth with the blue stockings, placed the hilt of his sword on the ground, and throwing himself upon the point drove it deep into his breast. This was the end of the man of ill-luck. Old Väinämöinen uttered wise words as to the way of bringing up children when he heard of the sad end of the young hero.

Rune xxxvii. Silent was the smithy, idle the hammer, for the excellent smith Ilmarinen was overwhelmed by sorrow and mourning. Unbearable was his widowhood and his loneliness. A bride, a gracious companion must

he have to take the place of her whom he had lost ; such was his dream. A bold thought, born of longing, flashed upon his mind. He took a block of gold and silver, blew up the smithy fire with the full force of his bellows, melted the precious metal to form his companion for himself. First there came out a golden sheep with fleece of silver. Not satisfied with that, he threw it again into the fire. He added metal and a colt issued forth. Displeased with this, he threw it back into the flames and added still more precious metal. Then a beautiful maiden appeared, with head of silver, hair of gold, and of gold her exquisitely formed body. With ceaseless hammering he made her hands and feet, ears, mouth and eyes. But motionless remained the hands and the feet, speechless the mouth, deaf the ears, fixed the eyes. He put her into his own bed and lay down beside her. But cold was the fair maiden ; and cold so icy, streaming from her side, took possession of him who lay by her that neither wraps nor furs were able to overcome it. Then the excellent smith reflected that that woman was perhaps better suited to old Väinämöinen than to himself. He went and offered to the eternal rune-maker the beautiful maiden of gold to be his bride for ever, his dove which should rest in his arms. But old Väinämöinen, astonished at such a gift, refused it, as being unworthy a man of his birth to seek a bride of gold and silver. *The splendour of gold, he said, gives no warmth, and cold is silver, for all its sheen.*

Rune xxxviii. Ilmarinen the eternal iron-beater left his statue of silver and gold there and set out for Pohjola, to ask the hand of another maiden. But the Lady of Pohjola was angry when she heard the fate of the first one. She repented of having given her to him, neither would she grant him a second. Ilmarinen turned to the maid herself ; but was answered with harsh words by a youth who stood near, and received a refusal from the

maiden. Then he was wroth. Quick as lightning he took her in his arms, put her on his sledge, and carried her off at headlong speed. Long did the maiden weep, in vain thinking how she might escape him, in vain protesting that she would rather follow the hare, rather the fox, rather even the wolf. Ilmarinen bit his lip and urged on his horse to a gallop. When they arrived at a village, weariness and sleep overcame him. Whilst he slept another man put him to shame. When he awoke Ilmarinen observed this, and would have run through the woman with his sword. But the sword said it was not made to kill the weak. Ilmarinen contented himself with changing her, by means of his magic songs, into a sea-mew, which should cry from the rocks in the midst of the tempests. On his return, Väinämöinen asked him why he came back so sadly from Pohjola. *Pohjola*, replied Ilmarinen, *is a happy land since it possesses the Sampo, spring of all wealth.* But then he told him about the maiden whom he had turned into a sea-mew.

Rune xxxix. Väinämöinen proposed a great undertaking to Ilmarinen, to go to Pohjola, get possession of the Sampo and carry it off. Ilmarinen did not conceal the great difficulty of the enterprise, so firmly fixed in the soil was the Sampo, guarded in so inaccessible a spot. Väinämöinen was not to be turned aside, and thought of preparing a ship. But Ilmarinen found the sea dangerous, preferable the way by land; and in this they were agreed. The cunning smith made for Väinämöinen a wondrous sword which would cleave stone and iron. Then he made a breastplate. They also sought out a colt with short mane, and had found it when they heard a moan. It was the ship complaining because it was left idle although so beautiful and well built. Väinämöinen comforted it and promised that it should soon be of service. But can the ship move without some one to launch it, can the ship move without rowers? *No*, replied the

ship, *without all that I cannot move. And can you bear a great weight?* *Yes, I can,* replied the ship. Then Väinämöinen, by the power of his magic songs, launched the ship into the sea and raised a bevy of youths, of maidens, of old men, who, each one in his turn, fell to rowing. But the ship did not move. Only when Ilmarinen took the oars did she glide off majestically, with Väinämöinen at the helm. They arrived at a promontory, where was a wretched village. There Lemminkäinen lived in great poverty, sad and humbled. He saw the ship come near, recognised Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, and learnt the object of their journey. The fearless hero was attracted by the difficulty and danger of the undertaking and begged them to receive him among them. Väinämöinen willingly consented, and the three heroes rowed off in the powerful steel-armed ship whose strength was Väinämöinen's boast.

Rune xl. Joyful songs did Väinämöinen sing as they sailed along, and the girls on the neighbouring banks heard them with wonder. They came to dangerous rapids, and Väinämöinen pronounced a magic song: the Song of the Waterfalls. Across the furious, foaming waves, across the threatening rocks passed the ship unhurt. But lo, beyond the rapids the ship stopped, neither would she move for all the force of the rowers. They looked for the hindrance which prevented her, and they saw an immense pike on whose back the ship had caught. Lemminkäinen and Ilmarinen tried to kill the monster, but in vain; the sword broke to pieces. Väinämöinen alone with his wondrous sword succeeded in slaying the enormous fish. He dragged it out of the water and hewed it in pieces; the head rolled upon the deck, the rest of it sank to the bottom. The girls cooked the head of the monstrous fish and feasted off it. Väinämöinen examined the bones that remained. *What can we do with the bones?* he asked every one, but no one could tell him. He fell to work,

and with those bones he made the first *kantele*, spring of melody, of infinite joy. From the jaws he made the resonant body of the instrument, from the teeth the pegs, and from the hair of the horse Hiisi he made the cords. But who will know how to play the new instrument which all admired? Väinämöinen gave it to every one to try, to old and young, maidens and youths; but no one knew how to draw joyous harmony from it. Lemminkäinen tried, but produced no pleasant sound. They landed and sent the instrument to Pohjola, but there too, it gave forth only harsh and strident notes. The men of Pohjola sent it back whence it had come, and it was again put into the hands of its author, the eternal rune-singer.

Rune xli. Väinämöinen the old and strong, the eternal rune-singer, got ready to play and went up to the top of a hill. There he sat on the singer's stone, and having invited all who loved the joy of sweet songs, of melodious strains, to listen to him, he ran his fingers over the strings with mighty cunning; and the first notes were as a spell, a universal ecstasy. Squirrels and lynxes and elks and wolves and bears and every animal from the wood came to hear him. The god Tapio himself, lord of the wood, and his austere spouse in holiday attire with blue stockings, with red ribbons, listened intently from the tops of the trees. And in dense clouds, in myriads, did birds of every kind fly up, from the eagle to the lark, from the swan to the duck. Attentive, ecstatic, did the fair virgins of the air listen to him, seated some on the rainbow, some on purple clouds; and so also did Kuutar, daughter of the moon, and Päivätär, daughter of the sun. In innumerable shoals did fish of every kind, large and small, emerge from the waters, and Ahto, lord of the blue waves, gave ear in wonder to the new miracle. The virgins of the waters let their golden combs fall in their transport, their silver brushes with which they smoothed their

beautiful long hair. Vellamo, the supreme lady of the waters, leaning in ecstasy against a rock, was bathed in sweet drowsiness. And all human beings, of every age and sex, listened with emotion and shed tears of tenderness: old men and children and sucklings wept, brides and bridegrooms wept, the marriageable and those already married, girls and boys, maidens and matrons. And carried out of himself, intoxicated by his own song, by the sweetness of his own melody, old Väinämöinen himself wept. Tears many and large ran down his beautiful face, down his broad breast, rolled down over his knees, his feet, to the earth, rolled along till they reached the sea, and plunged into its depths. And Väinämöinen offered a valuable gift to whoever would go down there, would gather them together, and bring them back to him. The crow tried but did not succeed. Then the little blue duck came, dived down into the water, found the tears of Väinämöinen at the bottom of the abyss, brought them back and put them into his hand. But behold a marvel: the tears were no longer tears but pearls; beautiful, precious pearls, an ornament for a king, joy for great lords.

Rune xlii. The three heroes re-embarked, Ilmarinen and Lemminkäinen taking the oars, and Väinämöinen the helm. And when they arrived at Pohjola they drew the ship up on the beach and made known to the Lady of Pohjola their intention of taking their part of the Sampo. But the Lady of Pohjola declared the thing impossible; she wanted to keep it all for herself. Then Väinämöinen sang on the *kantele* so sweet a strain that all the people of Pohjola fell into a deep sleep. By their magic arts the heroes opened the gates of the copper mountain where the Sampo was hid, and with the help of a powerful bull uprooted it. They put it on the ship and sailed swiftly off, discussing as to where they should carry it, and invoking a favourable wind. On the way the joyous Lem-

minkäinen had a great longing to hear songs, but the wise Väinämöinen did not think the time fitting and refused. Then Lemminkäinen began himself to sing. His harsh and strident voice carried far and frightened a stork, which, rising into the air with much clamour, flew off towards Pohjola. The people of Pohjola awoke at the noise, and Louhi, the Lady of Pohjola, saw that the precious Sampo had been stolen. By her magic arts she raised a thick fog, which wrapped round the ship of the three heroes, but Väinämöinen was able to scatter it with his sword. She called up the sea-monster Iku Turso to throw the heroes headlong to the bottom of the abyss, but Väinämöinen succeeded in frightening him so much that he never more came back to molest travellers on the road. At last she prayed to Ukko, lord of the gods, to raise the winds and a tempest. The fury of the waves burst upon the ship, and to Väinämöinen's great grief swept away the *kantele*. The heroes were almost discouraged by the threatening fury of the tempest, when they were saved by a prayer which Väinämöinen put up to Ahto, lord of the waters, and by the way in which Lemminkäinen strengthened the ship.

Rune xliii. The Lady of Pohjola, when she saw her arts were vain, fitted out a ship, a great war-ship, loaded it with warriors, herself embarked upon it, and sailed away after the heroes to get back the Sampo. The heroes saw the ship nearing them rapidly with all sails set. It looked like a distant cloud; but they recognised Louhi, the Lady of Pohjola, with her people, and knew the danger which threatened them. It was useless to work harder at the oars. They saw themselves overtaken and lost, when Väinämöinen, with his cunning arts, caused a rock to arise, upon which the ship of Pohjola struck and broke into a thousand pieces. The Lady of Pohjola then transformed herself quickly into an immense eagle, took all the warriors under her wings and under her tail, rose

into the air, overtook the heroes' ship and settled on the mainmast. Ilmarinen was terrified and uttered a prayer. In vain did Lemminkäinen hammer the bird's talons with mighty sword-strokes. Väinämöinen alone succeeded in dislodging it with the rudder, and all the warriors and the great eagle itself fell upon the deck. While she was trying to get possession of the Sampo she overturned it into the sea. The Sampo broke into many pieces; some fell to the bottom of the sea, which thus became a spring of wealth; others were thrown by the waves upon the land, which they rendered prosperous for ever. True, Louhi threatened to destroy this prosperity by her spells, hiding the sun and moon, sending the bear; but Väinämöinen paid no heed to her threats. She went away covered with scorn, carrying with her only a few pieces of the Sampo. Therefore Pohjola of the Lapps has ever been a sad, poverty-stricken country. Väinämöinen gathered together the fragments of the precious Sampo in his sweet land of Suomi, in his beauteous Carelia, praying Jumala, the god who creates, to be its protector and defender.

Rune xlv. Then, since his enterprise had succeeded thus, Väinämöinen wished to give himself up to joyous songs and sweet melodies. But the *kantele* he had constructed was at the bottom of the sea. He begged Ilmarinen to make him a great iron rake to seek the *kantele* in the abyss of the waters. And the rake was made, but all search was vain: Väinämöinen could not find the harmonious instrument. Sadly was he turning away home when he heard a birch tree lamenting and bewailing the sadness of its lot: always barked, cut about, deprived of its branches, without ever an hour of comfort. Väinämöinen consoled it and told it that henceforward it too should know what joy was. And from its wood he made a new *kantele*, furnished it with pegs and screws of gold and silver, and made the strings with hairs taken from a

beautiful maiden who was awaiting her bridegroom. Then the strings began to vibrate, intoning sweet songs, and all nature was moved and shaken by them : mountains and rocks stirred, the fields smiled, houses and roofs and doors and beams trembled, the trees of the forest bowed, every animal stood still, overcome by wonder and enthusiasm, every human being, with smiles or with tears, bent before the mighty power of those unwonted melodies.

Rune xlv. The Lady of Pohjola could not contain her envy, her wrath, at the prosperity which Kalevala enjoyed now that it possessed the Sampo. She sought how she might put an end to such happiness and bring down on the land curses and death. A wicked, horrible creature, the most despicable of the daughters of Tuoni, sprung from hell and the regions of death, was with child ; for a tempestuous wind had embraced her in a lonely field. Her time was fulfilled, but the wretched being could find no spot to be delivered in, although she sought diligently. At last she went to Pohjola, where Louhi received her kindly and helped her in her need. She brought forth nine children and called them Pleurisy, Colic, Gout, Consumption, Ulcer, Itch, Cancer, Plague. The ninth had no name ; it was the evil genius, Envy. The Lady of Pohjola persuaded this fierce, forbidding family to go and settle among the people of Kaleva ; and it was a great curse. Weighed down by sickness of every kind was the people of that once so happy land ; and extinguished would it have been had not Väinämöinen found a remedy. He withdrew into the bathing-room, and there recited the powerful verses that exorcise ills. Then with nine balms he cured the sick, invoking the benevolence of the creator, and thus saved the people from death, Kaleva from perdition.

Rune xlvi. The Lady of Pohjola, enraged at finding that she had sent so great a scourge in vain, cast about

to find another. She sent the bear to destroy flocks and herds in Kalevala. Väinämöinen caused Ilmarinen to make an enormous boar spear, and went in chase of the bear. He killed it and brought it back in triumph to the people of Kaleva, who joyfully and respectfully welcomed the beautiful Otso, the dear apple of the forest, the honey-footed. And the ceremonies befitting such an event were all observed with songs which have remained national, expressing regard and affection for the terrible yet valuable creature. The skin having been removed, a sumptuous, animated funeral banquet was held in his honour, and Väinämöinen sang the origin and story of this lord of the forest. Then the teeth were taken out of the head, and the skull hung on a high fir tree. Finally Väinämöinen sang the song of thanks to Jumala, the creator.

Rune xlvii. Väinämöinen was playing the *kantele*, and the moon came down to the top of a birch tree to listen, the sun to the top of a fir tree. Louhi, the old toothless Lady of Pohjola, caught the moon and the sun, carried them to her land of darkness, and there hid them within a rock, within a mountain. Then she took away every fire, every light from the *tuvat* (dwellings) of Väinölä, from the *pirtit* (households) of Kalevala. Ukko, lord of the gods, was astonished and inconvenienced by so great a darkness. He looked everywhere for the moon and the sun, but in vain. At last he drew his sword, struck one of his nails with it, and thus produced a spark in the height of heaven. He put the spark into a golden bag and gave it to one of the maidens of the air to rock gently, to take care of and make into another sun, another moon. But the maiden soon grew negligent, and the beautiful spark fell headlong from the sky. Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen saw it fall from afar, and went in search of it. They had to cross a river as broad as the sea, and therefore made a boat for the purpose. Then they met Il-

matar, chief of the virgins of the air. When she knew their intent she told them the unfortunate results of the fall of the fire from heaven, and the great evils and the deaths produced by it: how the celestial fire had ended by falling into the water, putting everything into confusion, until a trout swallowed it, and then in its agony was swallowed by a salmon, which, agonised in its turn, was devoured by a pike; and this was still in great suffering, as it could find no one to swallow it. When Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen heard this they made a great net to catch the pike. They threw it into the waters and searched everywhere, but the pike was not taken. The fishes were astonished at the failure. *Is the noble race of Kaleva extinct?* they asked each other. *No, said Väinämöinen, the race of Kaleva is not extinct; if one man dies, two better than he are born.*

Rune xlvi. To get an enormous net, better than the first, Väinämöinen caused flax to be sown. It sprouted and grew in a night, and women and youths set to work to spin and to weave, and a huge net was soon made. Long was the fishing. Ilmarinen and Väinämöinen found help in a little man who rose from the waves, and undertook to beat the water with a huge pole, chasing the fish towards the net. At last the much sought for pike was taken. But how to cut it open? The child of the sun would have undertaken it, if only he had had his father's knife. And lo, the knife fell from the sky, and the child of the sun opened the pike and the salmon that was in it and the trout inside of that, and behold at length the precious spark. The child of the sun took it into his hand, but it suddenly escaped him, burnt Väinämöinen's beard, Ilmarinen's arm and cheeks, and fled away, setting fire to woods and forests. But the eternal singer followed it and caught it. Thus fire and light shone again in the abodes of Kaleva, warming and illuminating them. Ilmarinen plunged into the water near a rock, repeated the

verses for the exorcising of fire, and was healed of his burns.

Rune xlix. Still the moon and sun were wanting. Plants, beasts and men felt their need. How to do without them, how to live in their absence? Youths and maidens appealed to Ilmarinen, the cunning smith, who made a moon and a sun of gold and silver, and fastened them on the top of a pine and of a fir. But Väinämöinen had disapproved the madness of the undertaking; and in fact this moon and this sun gave out no rays whatever. Then Väinämöinen decided to have recourse to the lots, to try to find out by means of divination where the sun and the moon were. The lots revealed to him that they were in Pohjola hidden in the mountain of copper, in the rock of stone. Väinämöinen quickly went to Pohjola, swimming across the river, because the men of Pohjola would give him no boat: nay, they came to meet him armed, ready to hinder his intents. Unsheathing his powerful sword, Väinämöinen affronted them all and slaughtered many. But when he reached the place where the sun and the moon were hidden, he could not open the nine gates of iron, could not slip back the hundred bolts of iron, and went away humbled. Bold Lemminkäinen reproved him for not having sought his companionship; but Väinämöinen begged Ilmarinen to make for the enterprise keys and wedges and a strong iron trident. While he was fashioning them, behold the Lady of Pohjola came flying up in the form of a grey vulture to ask him about his work, to see what he was preparing. Frightened at what she saw and heard, she went away, set free the sun and moon, and then, changing herself into a dove, returned to Ilmarinen to tell him what she had done. Ilmarinen came out of his smithy, and when he saw the heavenly bodies again shining in the sky, he called Väinämöinen, the eternal rune-maker, who greeted with words of great beauty the return of the givers of all life, of all joy.

Rune 1. Marjatta, the beautiful maiden, had long lived in her father's house in such chastity that she would eat no flesh but that of virgin animals, would milk no cows, would have colts only for her sledge. She was herding the sheep one day when a blackberry asked her to gather it, and when she tried to do so, threw her to the ground. Then it mounted along her as far as her mouth, descended into her breast, and she found herself with child. Although she told her mother, told also her father, how the matter had happened, and said that she should bring forth a hero mightier than Väinämöinen himself, her parents turned her away in scorn. She sent her serving-woman Piltti to Sariola to ask Ruotus (Herod), *the ugly man who wears a shirt* (ruma paitulainen), lord of the land, for a bathing-room where she might be delivered; but she received a scornful refusal. Ruotus' wife told her of a stable on Mount Kytö whither she might go in her misfortune. Marjatta went thither tormented by the pangs of travail; and there in a horse's stable, on the straw, she brought forth a man child; who, however, shortly after disappeared suddenly. Marjatta asked the sun and the moon, but the sun only was able to tell her that the babe was in the marsh, sunk in it up to his waist. Marjatta went thither, found him, and brought him back home. When the mother wished to baptise him, old Virokannas refused unless he should first be examined and pronounced upon. Old Väinämöinen, the eternal rune-maker, was charged with this task, and when he heard the story of the babe's birth and of the marsh, he decided that it should be put to death. But the babe, who was only two weeks old, began to speak, and with bitter words reproved the old rune-maker for the injustice of such a sentence. Then old Virokannas baptised him, and named him lord and king of Carelia. Thus humbled, Väinämöinen went away along the shore, and there sang for the last time. Then he made a boat, and embarking

on it sailed away to the far-off horizon to wait till his time should come round again, till Suomi, the beautiful country of Finland, should again feel the need of his benefits. But his *kantele* he left to his lovely fatherland, his solemn songs he left to his children to be to them a joy for ever.

Closing song of farewell.

CHAPTER III.

COMPOSITION OF THE *KALEVALA*.

AMONG the Finns of the Russian Church in the government of Archangel (*Vienan lääni*, i.e., *department of the Dvina*) is to be found a more extended and complex form of the Song of the Sampo. This song, under one form or another (we give a specimen of it in the appendix), furnishes the fundamental note to the whole of the *Kalevala*. Its various parts, distributed throughout, serve as the connecting thread on which the other songs of various kinds and subjects are strung. We here resume the contents of the song, quoting the lines of the specimen given in the appendix, and indicating the corresponding portions of the *Kalevala* :—

Rune	VI.	The Lapp shoots at Väinämöinen ll.	1-17
„	I. (in part).	Väinämöinen falls into the sea, creates -	„ 18-66
„	VII.	Väinämöinen ar- rives in Poh- jola. Request for the Sampo	„ 67-158
„	X.	Väinämöinen sends Ilmar- inen to Poh- jola; he makes the Sampo and returns - -	„ 159-245

Rune XXXVIII. (end).	Benefits of the Sampo - - ll.	246-256
„ XXXIX.	Expedition of Väinämöinen and others to get the Sampo	„ 257-290
„ XLII. (in part).	Rape of the Sampo - -	„ 291-349
„ XLIII. (in part).	Pursuit of the robbers, etc. -	, 350-435

The following three principal parts may be distinguished :—

- I. The shooting at Väinämöinen, who falls into the water and creates.
- II. The arrival of Väinämöinen in Pohjola, demand for the Sampo, the making of it.
- III. The rape of the Sampo.

The parts are thus combined only among the Russian Finns, never in Finland. There, the first part or *Song of the Creation* always stands alone, as also does the last, the *Expedition for the Sampo* (*Samporetki*) or the *Rape of the Sampo* (*Sammon ryöstö*). The middle part is altogether unknown in Finland, and is, in fact, nowhere found as a separate song. It is a later production intended to form a link between the other two songs, notwithstanding the strange inconsistency that he who has made the Sampo should take so much trouble to get possession of it. Lönnrot also took no notice of this inconsistency when he wove the middle part into his poem for the sake of continuity.

To develop and increase these parts Lönnrot availed himself of numerous variants. He also introduced, by way of a connecting thread, a considerable number of separate songs which might be considered to refer, closely or remotely, to the parts in question. He made

use, too, of songs that have nothing whatever to do with what we may call, as do the scholars of Finland, the series or cycle of the Sampo (*Sampojakso*), of groups of songs constituting different cycles, which he wove, with some adaptation, into the web of the poem. Using as a guide Krohn's¹ book and such of the variants as have already been printed, we will here point out, part by part, the various songs of which Lönnrot's *Kalevala* is composed.

Song of the Creation.

This part appears in the first edition of the *Kalevala* as a single rune, the first; in the second edition it runs through six runes (i.-vi.). The songs composing these runes are as follows:—

- Rune I., 1. Second part of the Song of the Creation, or *Luomisruno*.
 2. Birth of Väinämöinen (*Väinämöisen syntyminen*).
 ,, II., 3. Ploughing and Sowing of the Earth (*Maailman kyntö ja kylvä*).
 4. The Great Oak (*Iso tammi*).
 5. The Cultivation of Barley (*Ohran viljelys*).

¹ Krohn's book being, until all the *Variants* are published, the only source of information on the different songs, I have here reproduced such information as exactly as possible, giving when necessary a translation of the author's own words. Besides the *Variants*, J. Krohn and A. Borenius undertook the reprint or publication of the *First Labours for the Kalevala* (*Kalevelan esityöt*). J. Krohn's and A. Borenius' courtesy procured us the first two numbers of the work while our own book was printing (Helsingf., 1891; extr. from *Suomi*). In the first number we find a reprint of the first attempt at composition, that of v. Bekker (see above, p. 5), and the publication of some of Lönnrot's first attempts, among which a *Lemminkäinen* (1833) of 825 lines and a *Väinämöinen* (also 1833) of 1867 lines. In the second number is published a larger composition of Lönnrot's dating from the same year, under the title *Väinämöinen*, in 16 cantos and 5052 lines. A useful table of the difference between the first and second edition of the *Kalevala* is given by Lönnrot in the first impression of the latter (1849).

- Rune III., 6. Competition in Song (*Kilpalaulanto*).
 „ IV., 7. The Aino-rune (*Ainon runo*).
 „ V., 8. The Fishing for the Maid of Vellamo (*Vel-
 lamon neidon onkiminen*).
 „ VI., 9. First part of the Song of Creation (*i.e.*, the
 Shooting at Väinämöinen, *Väinämöisen
 ampuminen*).

The first canto of the first edition gave: 1. Birth of Väinämöinen; 2. Shooting of the Lapp at him and his fall into the water; 3. Creation of the world by Väinämöinen. The last two parts really exist thus in the songs of the people. But the absurdity of the existence of the Lapp before the creation of the world seemed to many to be too extravagant; so Lönnrot, in his second edition, placed this incident after those of the creation, separating one from the other. Nor can he be said to have taken any undue liberty in doing so; for, as Krohn observes, these two songs were certainly distinct in origin. It is true that the incident of the Lapp's shooting is never found now without that of the creation from the egg; but the latter is very often found without the former, and that over a vast region: in Esthonia, in Ingria, and in Savolaks.

In the Song of Creation, in all its known variants, the creator is always *Väinämöinen*, and this fact Lönnrot himself faithfully follows in his first edition.¹ In the second he combines the *Birth of Väinämöinen* with the *Creation*, and makes the Virgin of the Air (*Ilmen impi*) mother and creator.

The *Birth of Väinämöinen* (*Väinämöisen syntyminen*) is a song altogether foreign to the *Song of Creation*, whether

¹ He himself says this is the case in the *greater part* of the variants (*Litteraturbladet*, 1849, p. 6). It is the case, however, in *all* known variants. Krohn supposes (p. 385, note) that he may have found information of another variant with another name for the creator in some prose exposition.

this latter stands alone or whether it is found combined with the Song of the Sampo as in the government of Archangel. It is sometimes popularly united with other songs, as with that on the *Origin of the Kantele*, and oftener with a medley formed of the *Rivalry for the Bride* (*Kilpakosinta*), the *Visit to Vipunen* and the *Rape of the Sampo*. But properly speaking the song of the *Birth of Väinämöinen* stands originally alone, and is, even so, very rare. Lönnrot, when he introduced these songs into the second edition of the *Kalevala*, followed most closely a variant proper to Finnic Carelia. Having, in this edition, attributed the creation not to Väinämöinen but to the Virgin of the Air, he makes Väinämöinen, too, spring from her. Nor arbitrarily: Väinämöinen's mother is sometimes called the virgin Iro, sometimes is not even named, sometimes by a strange confusion is called the virgin of Pohja; but in certain magic songs (*Taudin synty Origin of Sicknesses*) she is called *Ilman impi*, the *Virgin of the Air*.

To Väinämöinen, no longer the first creator, Lönnrot assigns, in his second edition, a part in the perfecting of the creation. This is the subject of the whole of the second rune, which is composed of three different songs, popularly sung independently of each other. These are magic songs, or special songs for holidays or agricultural labours, rather than epic runes. That of the *Ploughing and Sowing of the Earth* (*Maailman kyntö ja kylvö*) is almost always found as a magic song and goes together with the exorcising of wood, intended to heal wounds produced by wooden objects. The song of the *Great Oak* (*Iso tammi*) is very rarely found united with that of *Ploughing*. For the most part it is sung separately, and contains the description of the growth of the gigantic tree. Lönnrot has joined this on to the song of Pellervoinen's planting. The song of the oak is widely diffused throughout the whole region of Finnic and Esthonian songs, and has propagated

itself in an uninterrupted line from the Baltic coasts to the borders of Lapland. It presents numerous variants and diversities ; of these the most common is that under which it figures in the magic song on the *Origin of Pleurisy* (*Pistoksen synty*).¹ The song of the cultivation of barley and corn (*Ohran viljelys*) was still sung forty or fifty years ago in some parts of Ingria in an almost entirely pagan spring festival. Its contents in most examples are : Pikki, Pikka, or Pekko fells a wood to make a clearing, but leaves a birch tree as a shelter for the birds. A wind, either from the north or the south, sets fire to the wood, and old *Onni* (happiness) sows barley, from which beer is made. In other songs and in other variants occur the names Sampsa Pellervoinen, Pellon Pekka, and these are certainly one and the same thing : the personification of the germinating power of the field (*pelto*, field). Properly speaking, the sowing of the trees and that of the barley or corn are sung separately ; but examples are not wanting in which they are united, and thus Lönnrot can adduce the usage of popular singers as a precedent for his own combination of them.²

After the incidents of the creation should come the shooting of the Lapp at Väinämöinen ; but Lönnrot has thought well to insert here a group of runes, some of which he had placed in the first edition at the end of the poem (runes xxx., xxxi.). These are the runes of the Aino-cycle, which, as placed and given in the second edition, appeared as a prelude to the Lapp's wrath against Väinämöinen, and give the incidents preceding the shooting at the latter, narrated in canto vi. This is a composition of Lönnrot's own, put together from three popular runes quite distinct and independent of each other. They are :—

¹ *Vid.* concerning this and the other variants, Krohn, p. 403 *et seq.*

² Krohn gives them, p. 396 *et seq.*

(*Kalev.*, rune iii.) *The Competition in Song (Kälpalaulanto).*

(*Kalev.*, rune iv.) *The true Aino-rune (Ainon runo).*

(*Kalev.*, rune v.) *The Fishing for the Maiden of Vellamo (Vellamon neidon onkiminen).*

The *Competition in Song* exists in the mouth of the people as a distinct rune; if ever it is joined to another song, it is united with that of the Sampo, never with that of Aino. Aino, or rather Anni,¹ is never said to be sister to Joukahainen, neither is it Väinämöinen who aspires to her hand, but Osmoinen, Kalevainen. The only hint of an incipient inclination among the people to unite the two runes is the apparition of Anni under the name of Joukahainen's sister in a few rare specimens of the *Competition in Song*. Hence Lönnrot doubtless drew a reason for his combination.

The *Aino* or *Anni-rune* is really a ballad: it has no epic character, and bears no relation to the runes with which Lönnrot has joined it. It does not exist popularly as Lönnrot has presented it in the second edition of the *Kalevala*, but is a mosaic put together by Lönnrot himself from a variety of ballads. As sung by the people, and as given in part in the first edition of the *Kalevala*, its contents are: Anni, the gracious maiden, goes to the wood to make brooms of twigs, and finds young Kalevainen or Osmoinen, who abruptly tells her that she is his. She replies haughtily, but at home breaks out into weeping and lamentation. Her mother bids her go to the *aitta* and deck herself in her finest ornaments. She does so, but hangs herself with her mother's golden girdle which she finds in the *aitta*. Follows the description of the grief and tears of the mother, as in the *Kalevala*. In the

¹ Lönnrot has replaced the name Anni by the epithet *aino* (*ainon*, the only one, dear), thus forming a pretty name. The line runs popularly: "Anni tyttö, aino neito," Anni the maiden, the dear child. *Vid. Kanteletar*, iii., No. 61.

first edition, Lönnrot made her throw herself into the sea, as being more poetical than hanging; in the second he has made more and better variations, using elements drawn from other ballads.¹

The *Fishing for the Maiden of Vellamo* (*Vellamon neidon onkiminen*) is never united by the people with the Aino-rune. In one only case has it been put together with the *Competition in Song*, but by chance and without any continuity between the two. From the *Competition in Song* comes, too, the lamentation of the fisher with the mother and her attempt at consolation, found in most examples. So that although the people may be said to have pointed out the way for Lönnrot's combination, they certainly did not prepare or smooth the road for him. The name of the fisher is really Väinämöinen in most examples, but these are almost all drawn from Vuonninen in the government of Archangel or thereabouts. Elsewhere it is *Lemminkäinen* or *Kaukamoinen*, and this is certainly the original form. The substitution of Väinämöinen in Vuonninen seems to have been suggested by the fact that in other songs, like that on the *Origin of the Kantele*, and in the magic song on fire, Väinämöinen is introduced as occupied in fishing. The girl is never called Joukahainen's sister, but always the *Maiden of Vellamo* (the sea goddess), *Daughter of Ahti* (the sea god). She is also called the *Daughter of the Waters* and is really divine, not human. In only two examples we find the advice given to Väinämöinen by his mother, to seek consolation by going to look for a bride in Pohjola. This connects the rune with the *Rivalry for the Bride* (*Kilpakosinta*), and therefore Lönnrot made use of it.²

¹ Described by Krohn, p. 544 *et seq.*

² The absurdity of Väinämöinen's mother rising from the tomb, as Kullervo's does, to console her son, when Väinämöinen is the son of the immortal Virgin of the Air, has been accepted by Lönnrot notwithstanding that it is not in all the variants, and that, even where it occurs, it is due to one of those confusions of names and facts so frequent in oral tradition.

Väinämöinen's First Expedition to Pohjola, Making of the Sampo.
(Runes vii.-x.)

This part of the Song of the Sampo, which, as we before said, is only found in the government of Archangel, and even there in composition, and in no place as an independent song, has been developed by Lönnrot with the help of variants and additions. He has divided the argument into two parts, to each of which he has dedicated a rune (vii. and x.); and between them he has intercalated two runes (viii., ix.), which he has drawn from two popular, independent runes, *viz.*, the *Wooing of the Daughter of the Air (Ilman immen kosinta)*, and the *Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee (Väinämöisen polven haava)*.

In developing and enlarging this part of the Song of the Sampo, Lönnrot has really done nothing but imitate and continue the work of its composers, the popular singers of the government of Archangel. They put it together by weaving elements from various songs¹ around a motive proper, as Krohn shows, to another song, to the *Rivalry for the Bride or Kilpakosinta*.² According to some

¹ We give Krohn's list of them (p. 408):—

Rune vii., 133-161: Morning occupations of the Lady of Pohjola and her servant, from a ballad common along both frontiers.

Request for a reward on giving him the means of returning home, doubtlessly modelled on tales.

Rune i., 333-338: Ilmarinen has made the sky, from a rune proper to the Finnic territory (concerning which *vid.* Krohn, p. 392).

The materials for the Sampo, from the Expedition of Kojonen's son (*vid.* Krohn, p. 415, note).

Rune x., 31-42, 113-178: The fir with the flowering top, and Ilmarinen sent to Pohjola by means of the wind; the first doubtlessly invented, the second perhaps modelled on the passage which, in the song of the *Liberation of the Sun and the Moon*, tells how Väinämöinen was carried by the wind to the river of Pohjola.

Rune i., 83-86: Description of the maiden who refuses her suitors; belongs in Finland to the song of the *Maiden who sits on the Rainbow (Ilman inman kosinta, vid. Kalevala, rune xxxviii.)*.

² Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen's sister; *vid.* rune xviii. of the *Kalevala*.

variants, Väinämöinen, after his horse has been killed and he arrives in Pohjola, makes the Sampo, receives the girl as a reward, and carries off the Sampo with him. But the best singers speak of two journeys, one in which he promises to send Ilmarinen to make the Sampo, as he really does; the other in which he carries off the Sampo. Lönnrot has followed the latter version, treating in two runes of Väinämöinen's journey to Pohjola (rune vii.) and then of Ilmarinen's, who makes the Sampo (rune x.).

The *Wooring of the Maiden who sits on the Rainbow* is the subject of a song that is never found in direct relationship with those of the Sampo; neither is it known in the government of Archangel, although the song of the Sampo is there found in a more complete form. Lönnrot's motive for the union is that the rune in question is always united in Finland to that of the *Wound in the Knee*, and that this last is sometimes found at the beginning of the *Expedition for the Sampo* (*Samporetki*). The maiden wooed is, according to the *Kalevala*, the maiden of Pohjola; that is, the same who figures in the song of the Sampo. But this is an invention of Lönnrot's to combine that rune with the poem. In the songs sung by the people she is never called the *Maid of Pohjola*, but the bride of Henkela, Tuulikki, the daughter of Tapio (god of the woods), the Fair Woman of Salakarto. Originally, however, her true name is *Virgin of the Air*, as Krohn proves when he explains the confusion that gave rise to these other names. The Virgin of the Air appears in fact in many of the songs as an object of courtship; but her suitors are the child of the Sun, or of the Moon, or of the Star. The last obtains her. This form arose in Esthonia, travelled thence into Ingria, and into the land of Viborg. In Finland the suitor is Väinämöinen, a form certainly anterior to the other, but yet not original.

The song of the *Wound in Väinämöinen's Knee and its Healing* is found united with that on the *Origin of the*

Kantele oftener than with that on the *Expedition for the Sampo*. In that case we sometimes find prefixed to it the song of the *Wooing of the Maiden who sits on the Rainbow*, as in the printed *Kalevala*. But for the most part the rune of the *Wound in Väinämöinen's Knee* appears separately, both in the Finnic region and in the Russian; the combination of these two above-mentioned runes certainly occurred some time after their birth. The song itself is quite unknown in Ingria and in Esthonia; and this proves that it cannot be very old.

Rivalry for the Bride (Kilpakosinta).

(Runes xvi.-xxv., xxxvii., xxxviii.)

The making of the *Sampo* is immediately followed, in the songs of the government of Archangel as in the example given in the appendix, by that of the expedition undertaken to obtain the *Sampo*. These songs, however, already hint at the promise of giving the *Maiden of Pohjola* in marriage: an argument also found treated independently of the *Sampo* in special songs, which represent the maiden as being asked for by both Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen at once. Taking this as his subject, and making use of these songs and others like them, Lönnrot has given greater variety and range to his poem. He has also still further extended it by weaving in with this subject the *Wedding Runes* (runes xix.-xxv.), and two rune cycles far removed from that of the *Sampo*: the runés of Lemminkäinen (runes xi.-xv., xxvi.-xxx.), and of Kullervo (runes xxxi.-xxxvi.). Of these two cycles of runes we shall speak separately at the end. Let us here treat of the group which is more closely bound up with the fundamental subject of the poem; with the group, that is, which has as its principal motive the *Rivalry for the Bride* or *Kilpakosinta*. The combination made by Lönnrot on this motive (we give the titles of the separate runes by him combined) is as follows:—

- Rune xvi. Journey to Tuonela (*Tuonelassa käynti*).
 Rune xvii. Journey to Vipunen (*Vipuessa käynti*).
 Runes xviii.-xix. Rivalry for the Bride (*Kilpakosinta*).
 Runes xix.-xxv. Wedding Songs (*Häärunot*).
 Rune xxxvii. The Golden Maiden (*Kultaneito*).
 Rune xxxviii. The Son of Kojonen's Search for a Bride
 -(*Kojosen pojan kosinta*).

The *Journey to Tuonela* (rune xvi.) and the *Journey to Vipunen* (rune xvii.) are introduced as preparatory to the runes of the *Rivalry for the Bride*; all of them springing from the construction of the ship in which Väinämöinen goes to Pohjola to ask for the bride. The *Journey to Tuonela* really belongs to the song on the *Origin of Beer* (*Oluen synty*).¹ The beer requires a singer; Väinämöinen offers himself; his sledge breaks; he goes to Tuonela to get a centre-bit to mend it with. This variant was used by Lönnrot at the end of rune xxv. Here, in rune xvi., he follows a rare variant, certainly corrupt, in which Väinämöinen goes to Tuonela to fetch a centre-bit, not for his sledge but for his ship; and another, also rare and less ancient, in which he goes to Tuonela in search not of a centre-bit but of magic words. With the *Journey to Vipunen* is combined sometimes, but very rarely, the *Journey to Tuonela*. The latter is also found among the various runes combined in some examples from the government of Archangel, with the song of the Sampo.

The *Journey to Vipunen*, always in connection with the construction of the ship, ordinarily stands by itself, as it certainly did originally. It is very rarely found combined with the song of the Sampo, but frequently with that of the *Origin of the Kantele*, and its wide diffusion through both Russian and Finnic Carelia proves that it is comparatively ancient. But both are also found separate;

¹ *Vid.* Krohn, p. 500.

and the fact that the *Journey to Vipunen* is so found, especially in Finland, whence comes, too, the only example of it already discovered during the last century, proves that the union of the runes took place considerably after their birth. The Vipunen-rune is, however, always united with the building of the ship. The placing of the Vipunen-rune, as Lönnrot has done, by way of preparation to the *Rivalry for the Bride*, is not without precedent among the people, but it is extremely rare. Lönnrot has followed the Archangel variants. In the eastern variants, Väinämöinen (or Ilmarinen) fells the trees that have grown on Vipunen's tomb, awakes him, and obtains from him the magic words that he desires (or the reply that Vipunen has none to give).

Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen's *Rivalry for the Bride* or *Kilpakosinta* is found in the government of Archangel united with the song of the Sampo. In a variant from Ilomants it is also found united with the song of Vipunen and the construction of the ship. Lönnrot's composition is thus founded, in general as in this last particular, on the usage of popular singers. But, as a rule, the *Rivalry for the Bride* is sung as a separate song. The variants from the government of Archangel and from that of Ilomants agree in general, but differ in certain particulars. Very different is the variant furnished by Ingria.¹ Lönnrot's *Kalevala* here closely corresponds to the common variants in the government of Archangel. There, as elsewhere, the rune, as sung by the people, does not close with the fulfilment of the tasks exacted by the bride, but continues to narrate the home-carrying of the bride, and commonly, at least in many more complete examples, the making of the golden maiden. These incidents Lönnrot has introduced in other places: the first in rune xxxviii. (Ilmarinen's second journey for his bride), the other in rune

¹ *Vid.* Krohn, p. 125 *et seq.* Of the other two he speaks at length on p. 459 *et seq.*

xxxvii., as Ilmarinen's attempt to seek consolation for the wife he had lost.

Properly speaking, according to the Ilomants' example, Ilmarinen, while taking his bride home, changes her into a sea-gull, because, according to several variants, she was unfaithful to him while he slept overcome with fatigue. In the more complete examples he seeks comfort after this, by making himself a golden maiden (*Kultaneito*). In western Ingria,¹ the thing is related differently. Ilmarinen goes to Saari, but fails to please the maidens of the country with the products of his art, and tired of being alone, he makes himself a golden bride, whom he then finds too cold. Lönnrot has placed this incident of the Golden Maiden after the *Kullervo* runes which he has introduced into the poem. He makes *Kullervo* kill Ilmarinen's wife; and this is not in the *Kullervo* songs, as we shall see further on, neither is it in the special songs of the *Kilpakosinta*, as we have already shown. He has transposed the incident which in these versions of the *Kilpakosinta* precedes that of the *Golden Maiden*—the changing, that is, of the wife into a sea-gull—and has placed it after the *Golden Maiden*, on a second journey undertaken by Ilmarinen in search of a bride. Here he has also made use of the examples from the government of Archangel. In these, as they narrate the incident, we recognise the elements of a popular rune very common in Russian and in Finnic Carelia: that of *Ivan, son of Kojonen* (*Jivana Kojosen poika*), in which we even sometimes find the name Ilmarinen alternating with that of Kojonen.² According to the Ingrian versions, the son of Kojonen executes several

¹ I know this version only from Krohn's *précis* of it, p. 25 *et seq.* In this Ilmarinen appears as already a widower, since his father-in-law and mother-in-law are mentioned.

² This Finnic rune comes, as Krohn shows, from a Russian *bylin*, which narrates an incident concerning Ivan Godinovič, a boyar at the time of Vladimir. *Vid.* Hilferding, *Onežskija byliny*, pp. 889, 915 *et seq.*

difficult and dangerous tasks for which the bride was to be the reward. Then he commands her to do the like for him : to weave a shirt, for instance, from a single thread of flax, etc. ; and when she declares this impossible, he cuts off her breasts, roasts them, and bears them to his mother-in-law as a gift. In the northern versions, the bride, whilst the groom is taking her home, laments that she has been sold, and says that she would rather be the companion of any animal that may cross their path. The son of Kojonen, in a fit of anger, asks counsel of his sword, and the end is the same as in the other version. In several examples from Ingria and Finnic Carelia, the son of Kojonen is called not Ivan but Ilmari, perhaps on account of the identity of the first letters, as he is sometimes called Ignatti and Jivari. In those songs in which Kojonen is called Ilmari, the two journeys for the bride are placed one after the other, and the reason for the refusal in the second case is, as in the *Kalevala*, because he *killed the wife he had first married*. These were certainly the models used by Lönnrot, who based his arrangement on the work of the popular singers.

The *Wedding Songs* (*Häävirret* or *Häärunot*) implicating the description of the marriage feast extend through seven runes of the *Kalevala* (xix.-xxv.). Lönnrot put them together from the ancient usages of the people in some parts of Finland, which resemble those in Esthonia (Krohn, p. 168 *et seq.*). It is easy to understand that they are songs used on the occasion of weddings, and are quite independent of epic songs ; they are therefore also found, although not in all their varieties, in the collection of lyric songs, the *Kanteletar*, i., 126 *et seq.* Even popular singers, however, connect them with the epic runes, either singing them, or else saying when they reach the proper place, "Here should come the wedding songs which the women sing".¹

¹ "Siitä tulee häävirret laulettavaksi joita saatta naisilta." So says Lönnrot in his Introduction to the second edition of the *Kalevala*, p. 3.

To work these songs in with the details of the poem, Lönnrot must have added something of his own; but Krohn says nothing about this, for his book does not analyse this part as it does the epic portions. Neither does the publication of the variants enlighten us, as they have not yet reached the *Kilpakosinta* series. All this does not apply, however, to rune xx., introduced by Lönnrot into the description of the wedding festivals. It belongs to the Lemminkäinen cycle, and more exactly to the *Journey to Päivölä (Päivölän retki)*, which finds its continuation in runes xxvi., xxxix. Of this we shall speak further on. From this song Lönnrot has taken not only the part concerning Lemminkäinen, but the feast itself, the making of the beer, etc.; applying all this, however, to Ilmarinen's wedding (with which it has really nothing to do), and substituting Pohjola for Päivölä, the real place of the banquet described in the Lemminkäinen rune.

Journey for the Sampo and Rape of the Sampo (Samporetki ja sammen ryöstö).

(Runes xxxix.-xlix.)

The variants of Finnic Carelia, as we have already seen, give the song of the Sampo by itself, telling of the expedition to carry the Sampo off, and knowing nothing of the story of its making, which is a recent production of the singers in the government of Archangel. Now and then we find at the beginning of the song that tells of the expedition for the Sampo and its rape, the *Journey to Vipunen*, or the *Wound in Väinämöinen's Knee*, or even the search for the horse and the lament of the ship (*vid. Kalev.*, rune xxxix.), which properly form part of the song on the *Origin of the Kantele*. These three forms are, however, very rare, which means that they are chance combinations. The real and original contents of the song, as we know it at present, may be résuméd as follows: Journey to Pohjola;

demand for the Sampo, and refusal; putting to sleep of the people of Pohjola by the sound of the kantele; rape of the Sampo on a ship after obtaining it with difficulty; invitation to a song of joy at the success of the undertaking; awakening of the people of Pohjola consequent on the cries of a crane; pursuit with a ship; wreck of the ship of Pohjola on a rock of flint stone; change of the Lady of Pohjola into an eagle; combat with the latter; fall of the Sampo into the water, only a small part of it being saved.

In the Archangel example of the song of the Sampo (given in the appendix), this closes the song and occupies about 200 lines (246-435). As in the composition of the singers of Archangel, so in the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot has used it for the final runes of the poem (xxxix.-xlix.). Both in the people's songs and in the *Kalevala*, the expedition for the Sampo is occasioned by the words of Ilmarinen to Väinämöinen concerning the benefits that the Sampo has brought to Pohjola (end of rune xxxviii.). There is, however, this natural difference: that in the people's songs Ilmarinen says these words when he comes back from making the Sampo; whereas in the *Kalevala*, where so many incidents, as we have above explained, have been intercalated between the making of the Sampo and its rape, he utters them on his return from his third journey to Pohjola, whither he had gone to ask for his second bride.

Lönnrot has enlarged and enriched the narration with a number of important details drawn from people's songs; and although many of these are quite foreign to the subject, he has still based his combinations on the usage of popular singers. One change of small consequence which he has allowed himself in this part of the poem is the name of the third companion who joins Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen in the undertaking. A third companion often actually occurs in the people's songs, but this is never Lemmin-

käinen.¹ He is called sometimes *Vesi-Liitto*, who properly belongs to the song on the origin of water (*Veden synty*), sometimes *Iku-Tiera*, who is not the same as *Lemminkäinen*, but calls to mind a personage in a rune relating to him, of which we shall speak in the proper place (*vid. Kalev.*, rune xxx.). In many other variants from the government of Archangel it is *Joukahainen*, as it is generally in the songs of Finland proper. *Lönnrot* has placed *Lemminkäinen* here in order to form a bond of union, which would otherwise be wanting, between the *Sampo* cycle, and the runes relating to this hero that had already been introduced into the earlier parts of the poem.

Further, *Lönnrot* has enlarged the argument of the song of the *Sampo* in this last part: first, by introducing the song on the *Origin of the Kantele* and ingeniously developing it in accordance with two different variants; second, by developing the theme of the persecutions used by the Lady of *Pohjola* against the robbers of the *Sampo*, multiplying them in various ways to admit of the introduction into the poem of popular songs of every kind.

The various songs or runes which *Lönnrot* has thus combined in these final runes are as follows:—

Runes xxxix.-xli. Journey by Boat (*Laivaretki*); Origin of the *Kantele* (*Samporetki-Kanteleen synty*).

Runes xlii.-xliii. Rape of the *Sampo* (*Sammon ryöstö*).²

Rune xliiv. Origin of the *Kantele* (another variant).

Runes xlv.-xlix. Persecutions of the Robbers of the *Sampo*; this is divided into the following songs:—

Rune xlv. Magic Song on the Origin of Evils or of Sicknesses (*Pahojen tai tautien synty*).

Rune xlvi. Songs on the Capture and Funeral of the Bear (*Karhun pyynti ja peijaiset*).

¹ *Vid.*, however, below, the discussion on the *Origin of the Kantele*.

² The *Samporetki* and the *Sammon ryöstö* are parts of one song.

Runes xlvii., xlviii. Magic Song on the Origin of Fire
(*Tuleen synty*).

Rune xlix. Liberation of the Sun and the Moon (*Auringon
ja kuun päästö*).

The song of the *Origin of the Kantele* is found combined with various other songs: with that of the *Journey to Vipunen*, of *Väinämöinen's Wound*, and even of the *Expedition for the Sampo*; but it stands originally by itself. In the *Kalevala* it is introduced twice: first as an episode in the journey for the Sampo (runes xxxix., xli.), and then after the rape of the Sampo has been accomplished (xlvi.). The first combination is founded on several examples from the government of Archangel. The second (loss of the first kantele and making of a new one) was certainly invented by Lönnrot himself as a means of utilising another beautiful variant of the same song. The first gives the song as it exists among the singers of Russian, and a great part of Finnic Carelia; the second keeps chiefly to the form proper to the region of Ingria and Esthonia. From the latter variant a new branch has sprung, on which Lönnrot has also drawn. Referring the reader to Krohn's book¹ for the analysis and history of these variants, I here confine myself to pointing out that the fundamental difference between the northern and southern variants lies in this: that whereas in the first, where the incident occurs on the sea, the kantele is made from the head of a pike, in the second, where the sea-voyage is unknown and the incident occurs on land, the kantele is made from a birch tree. In the *Kalevala*, where the incident occurs as an episode in the expedition for the Sampo, the same three heroes take part in it, who are associated in the expedition. This also naturally occurs in such of the popular songs of the government of Archangel as present this combination of the two runes;

¹ P. 454 *et seq.*

except that in these, as we have already said when speaking of the *Expedition for the Sampo*, the third companion is not Lemminkäinen¹ as in the *Kalevala*, but Joukamoinen or Joukahainen. It is somewhat commoner to find this latter as the only companion and aid of Väinämöinen. But in the greater part of the examples of the *Origin of the Kantele*, the only hero named is Väinämöinen, and this is doubtless the most ancient form.

Ingria and Esthonia know only as a separate song that which in the northern variants precedes the *Origin of the Kantele*, and tells how the heroes went by sea rather than by land (*Laiivaretki*). Krohn's information as to the variants of this song (p. 465 *et seq.*), and on their relation to the *Origin of the Kantele* (p. 182), is a little confused. Lönnrot has made use of these southern variants in rune xvi., where is the description of the building of the ship. Here, while using the southern variants to a certain extent, he has principally followed the northern form, especially as in this the songs of the *Origin of the Kantele* are already in combination with that of the *Sampo*. The lamentation of the ship does not occur in all examples, but is found in many from various places.

The song of the *Origin and Healing of Sicknesses* has nothing to do with the incidents of the *Sampo* and with epic runes in general. It stands by itself and belongs to the numerous class of magic songs. Lönnrot has introduced it into the *Kalevala* on an occasion invented by himself. Sometimes, however, the *Healing of Sicknesses* is found connected, by reason of the names introduced into it, with the epic songs. Arhippa of Latvajärvi sang how Väinämöinen prepared unguents with which he healed the strange maladies, many of them unknown even by name, that attacked the sons of Väinölä. Certain magic songs, too, of the government of Archangel and one of

¹ Except a fragment given by Ganander, *Mythologia Fennica*, p. 49.

Finnic Carelia, speak of "Pohjola's sick sons," of "Luotola's wasted children". But, generally speaking, no mythic name is ever mentioned in Finland by these songs.

Curious and characteristic are the songs and ceremonies in use among the Finns in the *Capture and Funeral of the Bear* (*Karhun pyynti ja peijaiset*); but they have no connection with the epic song, and Lönnrot has been obliged to invent the occasion for introducing them into the *Kalevala*, namely, that the bear had been sent by the Lady of Pohjola, etc. Neither is the bear-slayer ever called Väinämöinen.

Beautiful and interesting for the myth it contains is the magic song on the *Origin of Fire* (*Tuleen synty*). It is, however, quite foreign to the incidents of the Sampo, with which Lönnrot has bound it, for the sake of introducing it into the poem, on a pretext invented, like the two preceding, by himself.

The matter is somewhat different in rune xlix., which narrates the *Liberation of the Sun and of the Moon* (*Auringon ja kuun päästö*). This song is really found in continuation with that on the *Origin of the Kantele*, and is thus joined to the song of the Sampo by the people themselves. The two luminaries are taken while they stoop to hear Väinämöinen play, and are shut up behind nine locks, behind ten bolts. In vain do Ilmarinen and Joukahainen seek to liberate them; Väinämöinen alone succeeds. But there is only one example of the variant in which this form occurs, and even this bears evident signs of corruption. In it the sun descends to a tree to listen, as in all the other examples does the lord or the lady of the wood. This is evidently a faint echo of the song of the Sampo as it exists in the government of Archangel. So that although Lönnrot can cite an example somewhat analogous among popular usages, still the rune of the *Liberation of the Sun and of the Moon* really stands by itself as it is found in eastern

Bothnia, in Savolaks, and in the north of Finnic Carelia : it has no actual connection with the song of the Sampo. The whole of rune xlix. in the *Kalevala* was completed by Lönnrot with additions of his own. The additions which, as he confesses in a letter to Keckman, he made *in his own words* are, according to Krohn, the incident of the making of a false sun and of a false moon, and the rape of the celestial luminaries by the Lady of Pohjola (beginning of rune xlvii.). The name of the liberator is not always Väinämöinen ; nor was he certainly the original hero, still less Jesus or Mary, who are sometimes substituted for him. Sometimes *Kave* is found, sometimes *Kapo*, sometimes *Turilas*.

Final Rune (l.).

The rune which brings the poem to so opportune a conclusion with Väinämöinen's departure and the vanishing, at the advent of Christ, of the ancient pagan, Finnic phantasms, is too ingenious an artifice to have been conceived by the popular singers. In this affair the latter only succeed in producing in their songs a singular mixture of Christian and pagan ideas, names and incidents. Lönnrot, however, has availed himself of the confusion to compose this final rune ; using popular elements, it is true, but combining them so as to give rise to an idea that is completely foreign to them.

He has thus combined two perfectly different songs : the Song (*virsi*) of the Virgin Mary (*Neitsy Maarian virsi*),¹ which tells of the birth of the Redeemer, and the *Judgment of Väinämöinen* (*Väinämöisen tuomio*), which really belongs to the Kullervo cycle.

The story of the virgin of great chastity who becomes pregnant on eating a blackberry, is found among the variants in connection with the birth of Väinämöinen, as

¹ This long song is given in its entirety in the collection of lyrics. *Kanteletar*, iii., n. 6.

we have before seen. There the virgin is called Iro, a woman's name very common in the government of Archangel. In consequence of the confusion just mentioned, and which often occurs in other countries besides Finland, this incident was introduced by the popular singers into the story of the birth of Christ; where, as in that just spoken of, the virgin Maaria or Marjatta, conceives, not by a miracle of the Holy Ghost, but by means of a black-berry (*marja*). From this song Lönnrot drew all or nearly all that part of rune 1. which tells of the chaste Marjatta: how she became a mother, how the babe was born (with the connected incidents of Herod or Ruotus), how it was lost and how found again.

The song of the *Judgment of Väinämöinen* is often found in the villages of Vuonninen and of Lonka in the government of Archangel. It tells of a fatherless babe found in a pond, of the question about its baptism, of the harsh judgment given by Väinämöinen and the reply of the babe, that is finally baptised and declared king of Metsolä, guardian of Rahasaari. Väinämöinen, feeling himself shamed, embarks in a copper boat and goes away for ever. Some variants of this song, whose contents are, as we have seen, introduced bodily into the *Kalevala*, give the name of the child's mother as Marjatta; and this has afforded Lönnrot an excuse for combining it with the song of the birth of Jesus, who thus comes to be judged by Väinämöinen. The name of this hero is not, however, originally found in the latter song. In one example which comes from Finland, certainly the oldest, and the parent of all the others, the judge is called Virokannas. Neither does the close, the departure of the judge, which is often wanting in the examples from Ingria and from northern Finnic Carelia, belong to this place originally. The withdrawal of the ancient hero-ruler from before the new one occurs in a prose tale, of very different nature, from western Finland (Krohn, p. 153). Without doubt there is, as Krohn observes

(p. 339), a reminiscence of the life of Christ in the babe condemned to die and then made king of the land ; but there is never, among the people, any allusion to Christ, nor mention of him in this song. On the contrary, the danger the child runs of being killed, would rather bring him near to Kullervo. In one example the new-born babe throws away its coverings and rends its swaddling bands, as Kullervo does ; sometimes, moreover, in the government of Archangel, he is called, like Kullervo, *Kaleva* or *Kalevan poika* (Krohn, p. 181). Lastly we may observe that the child is never named king of Carelia, as in the *Kalevala*, but king of Metsolä (the abode of Tapio, god of the woods), and guardian of Rahasaari (island of wealth).

Groups of Runes outside the Sampo Cycle.

The Lemminkäinen Runes (xi.-xv., xx., xxvi.-xxx.).

All those runes which in the *Kalevala* treat of Lemminkäinen have very slight connection with the fundamental story of the poem. Even the connection that actually exists is due to Lönnrot, who to unite this cycle to the poem has had to work on the very small foundation afforded him by the people's songs. Lemminkäinen is related to the incidents of the Sampo only in so far as he was the third (and not very important) companion in the expedition to carry it off. We have seen, however, that in the people's songs that third is never Lemminkäinen, but some one else. Lönnrot has no other precedent for introducing Lemminkäinen than a fragment given by Ganander (*Mythologia Fennica*, p. 49), and perhaps another little fragment of two lines which he picked up and inserted, we know not why, among the variants of the *Origin of the Kantele*.

Apart from the Sampo, Lemminkäinen appears in connection with the runes relating to the wooing of the maid of Pohjola. And this in two ways : first, as himself

the wooer of the maiden (runes xii., xiii. *et seq.*), but this stands quite alone and is independent of the stories of the other wooers; second, as offended at not being invited to Ilmarinen's wedding and as avenging himself for the slight (runes xx., xxvi.-xxix.). A second less fortunate expedition to Pohjola (rune xxx.) is the ultimate consequence. But in the popular runes Pohjola is not always found where Lönnrot uses the name.

Lemminkäinen is the hero of several popular songs, some of them great favourites with the people; but these songs are independent of each other, and, even if they are put together, are never combined as Lönnrot has combined them. The connecting thread is the hero's name, or rather his several names (Lemminkäinen, Kaukomieli, Ahti), which Lönnrot has used promiscuously, not without the sanction of popular usage; but it should be observed that in some songs we find only the name of Ahti Saarelainen, and never that of Lemminkäinen. Ahti is properly the name of the god of the sea, and was improperly applied to Lemminkäinen.¹ Kaukomieli, Kauko, Kaukumöinen, on the other hand, is really an epithet derived from a second name of Lemminkäinen indicating his adventurous nature (Kauko-mieli, he who thinks of things far off).²

The popular runes which Lönnrot has combined either among themselves or with the parts of the poem, are four in number:—

Rune xi. Ahti and Kyllikki (*Ahti ja Kyllikki*).

¹ Lönnrot, as a distinction, calls the god of the sea *Ahto*. But this is merely a diminutive of Ahti, and no such distinction exists in the popular songs. Cf. Castrén, *Finsk Myth.*, pp. 73, 308 *et seq.*

² In the same way, other ordinary qualificatives of Lemminkäinen are "the sanguine rogue" (*veitikka vereva*), "the fickle youth" (*lieto poika*). According to Krohn, however, p. 497, Kaukomieli simply arises from a popular etymology of the original name Kaukos (gen., Kauko), that comes from Lithuania, and has nothing to do with the Finnic *kauka* (a distant place), with which the northern Finns have confused it.

Runes xii.-xv. Lemminkäinen's Death (*Lemminkäisen surma*).

Runes xx.-xxv., xxix. Expedition to Päivölä (*Päivölan retki*).

Rune xxx. Ahti's Expedition by Sea (*Ahdin meriretki*).

The first and last of these runes are very rare. We have only two examples of each, and one of these is common to both, as in it they are found combined: that is to say, the incidents of Ahti and Kyllikki are prefixed to Ahti's Expedition by Sea. Kyllikki having broken her oath, Ahti breaks his too, and goes to war. Here the hero's name is always Ahti Saarelainen and never Lemminkäinen. The two examples of the rune of Ahti and Kyllikki are both from the government of Archangel; in one, that from Uhtu, it is combined with the other rune; in another, that from Repola (Olonetz), it stands entirely alone. Entirely alone, but incomplete, stands also *Ahti's Expedition by Sea* in a version from western Ingria. Lönnrot has not followed the popular example in combining them, but has quite separated these two runes, placing one at the beginning, the other at the end of those parts of the *Kalevala* that give what we may call the real Lemminkäinen cycle (runes xii., xxx.). He prefixed the first as an introduction to the rune of *Lemminkäinen's Death*, which he greatly extended by the use of variants and of other songs; the second he added as a further undertaking, connecting it with the subject of the *Journey to Päivölä*, which he also greatly developed. The rune that tells of the *Death and Resurrection of Lemminkäinen*, to which Lönnrot has also made many additions, contains already in the mouth of the people elements that do not belong to it originally, but were joined to it rhapsodically by popular singers drawing on other songs. The incident which to a certain degree connects all this story with the subject of the *Kalevala*—Lemminkäinen's wooing of the maiden of Pohjola—is found in only two examples, and these bear marks of foreign origin. The tasks which the hero must accom-

plish to obtain his bride are in great part drawn from various songs. Among others, the hunting of the stag of Hiisi on skates is the subject of a song that stands alone, of which Lemminkäinen is but rarely the hero (Krohn, pp. 516 *et seq.*, 130 *et seq.*).¹ Stripped of the additions, the song is reduced in its original form to the *Death and Resurrection of Lemminkäinen*, narrated in very different ways in the variants. This may be seen in Krohn's book (p. 517), and need not be repeated here.

The *Journey to Päivölä* or *Song of Lemminkäinen* (*Lemminkäisen virsi*) really stands alone. It is rarely found combined with Lemminkäinen's death (Ilomants, *vid.* Krohn, p. 494, note 5; p. 495, note 1), and then prefixed to it, not suffixed as in the *Kalevala*. It is a favourite rune in both Russian and Finnic Carelia, and is also often found in Eastern Bothnia, in Savolaks, in Ingria; while Esthonia furnishes many variants of it. Being so widely diffused it naturally presents many varieties; it generally, however, begins with the origin and making of beer, and ends with Lemminkäinen's doings at Saari and his departure from that island. Its principal incidents therefore correspond with runes xx., xxvi., xxix. in the *Kalevala*. The singers of Archangel say that this rune should be sung when beer is made; it cannot therefore be original in their country, where brewing is unknown. The one who comes uninvited to the banquet is not always called Lemminkäinen, but Kaukomieli, Ahti Saarelainen, and *veitikka vereva* (the sanguine rogue). According to Krohn, the original name is Kaukomieli, or more exactly Kauko, Kaukamöinen.

To combine this rune with the poem, Lönnrot has connected it with Ilmarinen's wedding, thus laying the scene in Pohjola. This is not entirely his own invention, but the variants in which the banquet is said to have

¹ See *Kanteletar*, iii., n. 7.

been held in Pohjola are very rare; the real name, which occurs in almost all the variants, is Päivölä. The master of the house, too, with whom Lemminkäinen quarrels and whom he kills, is called in only one variant "the old man of Pohja" (*Pohjan ukko*). In the government of Archangel he is almost always called Lord of Päivölä (*Päivölän isäntä*) or Päivöläinen, son of Päivölä or of Päivä (*Päivölän* or *Päivän poika*). In other places differently, but never Lord of Pohjola.¹

According to the *Kalevala*, Lemminkäinen, on his return from his hiding-place in Saari, finds that his home has been laid waste by the men of Pohjola to avenge their lord whom he had killed. He promises his mother that he will be revenged and sets out on a new expedition against Pohjola, with Tiera, his brother in arms, but is unsuccessful. This expedition is the subject of the popular rune *Ahti's Expedition by Sea* (*Ahdin meriretki*), which, as it appears in the *Kalevala*, seems to be a continuation of Lemminkäinen's first expedition to Pohjola, of which we have spoken above. But these two runes have no connection with each other among the popular singers. The lines which close rune xxix. in the *Kalevala* (i., 449 *et seq.*), foreshadowing the second expedition, are put together by Lönnrot from every kind of songs, principally lyric. *Ahti's Journey by Sea* is a very rare rune, as we have said, and is only in one instance found united with that of *Ahti and Kyllikki*. References to it are found in the magic songs on the origin of ice (*Pakkasen synty*), and from these and from other signs it is evident that we have to do with the remains of a myth once generally known, now almost forgotten. In the *Kalevala*, notwithstanding the connecting links invented by Lönnrot, this rune (xxx.) is one of the poorest and most inconclusive.

¹ We may here observe that the names Päivölä and Pohjola give two opposite ideas: one is the land of the sun and of the day, Päivä; the other the land of the extreme north, Pohja, qualified constantly as *pimeä*, dark.

The Kullervo Runes. (Runes xxxi.-xxxvi.)

Kullervo is removed still further than Lemminkäinen from the principal subject of the *Kalevala*: he is in no sort of connection with the other heroes of the poem, nor does he take any part in its action. The runes relating to him form a minor poem inserted into the larger. They constitute a beautiful and tragic episode, it is true, but one so little bound up with the rest that if it were taken out the poem would not suffer. Lönnrot has been able to find only one pretext for introducing them: the murder by Kullervo of Ilmarinen's wife. True, that is not his own invention; but he has a very slight precedent for it among the popular singers, since, as we shall see later on, the smith whose wife Kullervo slays is in only two among the many variants called Ilmarinen. The murder of Ilmarinen's wife has served Lönnrot as a pretext for introducing into the poem some other runes, besides this of Kullervo, as we have seen above (p. 129).

In the first edition of the *Kalevala* Lönnrot introduced only such incidents relating to Kullervo as immediately precede and concern the slaying of Ilmarinen's wife (rune xix. in that edition), and there retained the hero's most common name, *Kalevan poika*, or son of Kaleva, with that of Kullervo. In the second edition Kullervo became the son of Kalervo, and his deeds were set forth at length in six cantos of the poem. Krohn gave still greater importance to the little poem by publishing it separately with variants collected in Ingria.¹

In spite of the apparent unity observable in this

¹ *Kullervon runot Inkerin toisinhoista lisähty*, Helsingissa, 1882 (*The Runes of Kullervo with the Addition of Variants from Ingria*, Helsingfors, 1882, published by the Society for Finnic Literature). This work of Krohn's has been adversely criticised on account of the introduction among the Kullervo runes of elements too modern in character. The author himself, at least while speaking with me, acknowledged the defect.

pathetic little poem, a unity certainly greater than is to be found in all the rest of the *Kalevala*, it is, as it stands, quite unknown to the people, and is the result of several songs originally independent one of another, and not even referring to the same hero. The very name of Kullervo, not even now common to all the songs, is not original. Lönnrot has put these songs together with extreme cleverness, making far more of them than the people could have done, yet founding his work on examples of combination, rare or otherwise, afforded by the people themselves.

The runes here combined, but standing originally alone, are four :—

Runes xxxi.-xxxiii., and part of xxxvi. 1. The Son of Kaleva's Vengeance (*Kalevan pojan kosto*).

Runes xxxiv., xxxv., and part of xxxvi. 2. The Deflowering of the Sister (*Sisaren turmelus*).

Rune xxxvi. (part). 3. Setting out for the War (*Sotaaanlähtö*).

Rune xxxvi. (part). 4. Death Tidings (*Kuolonsanommat*).

Kullervo's name does not occur originally, as we have said, in these runes. It is chiefly found in the *Death Tidings*, accompanied as elsewhere by the qualifying Son of Kaleva (or of Kalervo), which in some runes is often the only name. Perhaps, as Krohn thinks, that name arose from the expression constantly recurring in the *Death Tidings*: *Kullervoipi kankahalle* (sounded his horn across the moor). From the *Death Tidings* the name spread to the closely related *Setting out for the War* and thence to the *Deflowering of the Sister*.

The fundamental rune is the *Son of Kaleva's*¹ (or of *Kalervo's*) *Vengeance*. This rune may be said, in a certain sense, to be double, for it has two very different forms; with

¹ Son of Kaleva (*Kalevan poika*) is a very vague epithet; not only Kullervo is so called, but also Väinämöinen, Lemminkäinen, and others.

this in common, however, that they both treat of vengeance. One relates how Kaleva's son, soon after he was born, rent his swaddling bands, broke his cradle, etc. ; how he was sold to a smith whose wife used him as a shepherd and gave him a loaf with a stone inside, and how he revenged himself by killing her. The other narrates the family feud between the two brothers, Untamo and Kaleva ; how the latter was conquered and killed by the former, and how the son of Kaleva (or of Kalehva or of Kalervo) avenged his father. This last part, however (the revenge), is found in only two examples. Besides the hero's name these two forms have in common also the shepherd's revenge, which is, however, often wanting. The people, especially in the government of Archangel, partly combine these two songs ; Lönnrot has availed himself of this combination in the composition which he has introduced into the second edition. The story of Kullervo's vengeance on Untamo in rune xxxvi. of the *Kalevala*, is based on only two examples, as we have said. Following these, Lönnrot has introduced it into his poem, developing it still further by the combination of two other runes, viz., the *Setting out for the War* and the *Death Tidings*, which he has placed at the beginning of rune xxxvi. These two runes are originally distinct. In the *Setting out for the War*, Kullervo's name is found in only two examples. The man who is setting out and who asks his relations if they will weep for him, etc., is generally called *Anterus*. What war is referred to does not matter. In the replies two different forms are to be distinguished : sometimes the bride is the only one who promises to weep ; sometimes and oftener, it is the contrary. The beautiful words placed by Lönnrot in the mouth of the mother are very rare.¹

The *Death Tidings* runs to a certain extent parallel to

¹ Krohn knows of only one complete example, which, however, could not have been known to Lönnrot.

the *Setting out for the War*. As in the latter we have the replies of the relations as to what they would do if the hero died, so in the former we have the replies of the hero at the news of the deaths of his various relations. It is therefore easy to combine these two runes, and they are, in fact, combined by the people. The death tidings are brought to the hero, as in the *Kalevala*, while he is on the road to the war. But it is not always thus. The two runes are independent of each other and of different origins. The hero sometimes receives the death tidings while he is sitting in the tavern, while he is going to school, etc. The replies are also various. For the most part the hero is moved only at the death of his wife, though sometimes the contrary occurs. Lönnrot has substituted mother for wife, as more in accordance with preceding incidents. The hero's name is Kullervo, son of Kaleva, in many northern examples (Olonetz, Salmi, Archangel, Ilomants). South of Viborg and in Ingria the name is *Anterus* or *Pääskynen*, and he goes to war against the Turks or Tatars. In the government of Archangel we find the name of Kullervo, and also, added to the rune, a part of the excesses of the son of Kaleva, with whom everything turns out badly. Thus Lönnrot found amongst the people hints for his combination.

The pathos, even tragedy, of this little poem on Kullervo arises from the deflowering of the sister and the consequent double suicide. This is the subject of a special popular rune which, as sung by the people, is not as closely united to the rest as would appear from the *Kalevala*. Examples of this rune containing the name of Kullervo only occur among the songs of the government of Archangel. They are moreover distinguished by the fact that in them the incident does not occur on the journey undertaken to pay the tribute, but the girl is carried off from amid a group of festive maidens. This form, certainly not original, was used by Lönnrot for the story of Kyllikki

(rune xi.).¹ Generally, however, the fact occurs, as in the *Kalevala*, during the journey to pay the tribute, and the name of the man who deflowers his own sister is not Kullervo but always Tuiretuinen, both in the government of Archangel and in northern Finnic Carelia. Around Käkisalmi and in northern Ingria it is sometimes *Tuurituinen*, oftener *Tuurikkinen*; in western Ingria *Turo*. The tribute-payer is also very often said to be returning from Tuuri (or Turki). There is no doubt that Krohn is right in comparing this rune with the Russian *byliny* of Dobrynia and of Aljoscha Popovic. Although very different from this last, the Russian elements are still quite clear, not in the *Kalevala*, where Lönnrot could not admit them, but in the original popular variants.

The rune of the *Deflowering of the Sister* originally closed, not with the suicide of the hero, but with an expiation consisting in the offering of an animal. So in Ingria, whence it sprang; so also sometimes to the north of Lake Ladoga. The name of Kullervo, son of Kaleva, having become permanent, there was added the shepherd's vengeance, and sometimes, though rarely, the felling of the forest: hence the making of the axe and also the making of the sword; this last giving rise to the addition of the suicide. All this is found in only two examples, and is certainly an erroneous though beautiful form which Lönnrot has with fine intuition turned to account in his composition. Kullervo's finding his family alive at home, after they were said to have been killed by Untamo, is a contradiction that betrays the joining together of several runes, and Lönnrot has faithfully let it stand in his poem.

With the Kullervo runes is also connected that of the *Judgment of Väinämöinen*; but Lönnrot has preferred to use it in weaving the close of the poem, as we have already seen. Krohn has introduced it into his edition of the

¹ Lönnrot found occasion for doing this in a couple of examples that erroneously call the ravisher Lemminkäinen.

Kullervo runes (p. 5), reverting however, in place of Väinämöinen, to the more original name of Virokannas.

The composition of the *Kalevala* from the various independent songs of which we have spoken above, will become clearer on reference to the following table of the distribution of these songs or runes in the poem, according to the order of the fifty runes into which it is divided. We retain the names of the songs as given above and as used also by Krohn, and we indicate the place in this author's book where he speaks of each song.

Rune	I. Part of the <i>Rune of the Creation</i> (<i>Luomisruno</i>) and of the <i>Archangel Song of the Sampo</i> , Krohn, 384 <i>et seq.</i> (<i>vid.</i> below, rune vi.).
	<i>Birth of Väinämöinen</i> (<i>Väinämöisen syntyminen</i>), Krohn, 450.
„	II. <i>Ploughing and Sowing of the Earth</i> (<i>Maaailman kyntö ja kylvö</i>), Krohn, 393 <i>et seq.</i>
	<i>The Great Oak</i> (<i>Iso tammi</i>), Krohn, 402 <i>et seq.</i>
	<i>The Cultivation of Barley</i> (<i>Ohran viljelys</i>), Krohn, 395 <i>et seq.</i>
„	III. <i>Competition in Song</i> (<i>Kilpalaulanto</i>), Krohn, 536 <i>et seq.</i>
„	IV. <i>The True Aino-Rune</i> (<i>Varsinainen Aion runo</i>), Krohn, 543 <i>et seq.</i>
„	V. <i>The Fishing for the Maiden of Vellamo</i> (<i>Vellamon neidon onkiminen</i>), Krohn, 540 <i>et seq.</i>
„	VI. Another part of the <i>Rune of the Creation</i> (<i>Luomisruno</i>) and of the <i>Archangel Song of the Sampo</i> , Krohn, 384 <i>et seq.</i> (<i>vid.</i> above, rune i.).

- Rune VII. *Väinämöinen's First Journey to Pohjola and the Making of the Sampo.* (This does not exist as a separate rune, but is the middle part of the *Song of the Sampo*, as it is found composed in the government of Archangel.) Krohn, 478 *et seq.* (*vid.* below, rune x.).
- „ VIII. *The Wooing of the Virgin of the Air (Ilman) (immen kosinta)*, Krohn, 483 *et seq.*
Wound in Väinämöinen's Knee (Väinämöisen polven haava), Krohn, 449 *et seq.*
- „ IX. Continuation of the *Wound in Väinämöinen's Knee.*
- „ X. Continuation of the rune of number vii. from the government of Archangel. Krohn, 478 *et seq.*
- „ XI. *Ahti and Kyllikki*, Krohn, 512 *et seq.*
- „ XII. End of *Ahti and Kyllikki*, then the *Death of Lemminkäinen (Lemminkäisen surma)*, Krohn, 514 *et seq.*
- „ XIII. Continuation of the *Death of Lemminkäinen.*
- „ XIV. Continuation as above.
- „ XV. Continuation as above.
- „ XVI. *The Journey to Tuonela (Tuonelassa käynti)*, Krohn, 439-500 *et seq.* (*vid.* below, rune xxv.).
- „ XVII. *The Journey to Vipunen (Vipusessa käynti)*, Krohn, 438 *et seq.*
- „ XVIII. Part of the *Rivalry for the Bride (Kilpakosinta)*, Krohn, 468 *et seq.* (*vid.* below, runes xxxvii., xxxviii.).
- „ XIX. Continuation of the *Rivalry for the Bride—Wedding Runes.*

- Rune XX. *The Origin of Beer (Oluen synty). The Journey to Päivölä (vid. below, runes xxvi.-xxix.), Krohn, 490 et seq.*
- „ XXI. *Wedding Runes.*
- „ XXII. *Idem.*
- „ XXIII. *Idem.*
- „ XXIV. *Idem.*
- „ XXV. *Idem and the Journey to Tuonela (Tuonelassa käynti), a variant (vid. above, rune xvi.), Krohn, 501.*
- „ XXVI. *The Journey to Päivölä (Päivölän retki), Krohn, 491 et seq. (vid. above, rune xx.).*
- „ XXVII. *Idem.*
- „ XXVIII. *Idem.*
- „ XXIX. *Idem.*
- „ XXX. *Ahti's Expedition by Sea (Ahdin meriretki), Krohn, 509 et seq.*
- „ XXXI. *Family Feud between Kalervo and Untamo (Kalervon ja Untamon sukuriita), Krohn, 530 et seq. (vid. below, runes xxxiv.-xxxvi.).*
The Vengeance of the Son of Kaleva (Kalevan pojan kosto), Krohn, 527 et seq.
- „ XXXII. *Continuation of the Vengeance of the Son of Kaleva.*
- „ XXXIII. *Idem.*
- „ XXXIV. *The Deflowering of the Sister (Sisaren turmelus), Krohn, 520 et seq. (with a few lines of the Family Feud, etc. (vid. above, rune xxxi., Krohn, 530).*
- „ XXXV. *Continuation of the Deflowering of the Sister.*

- Rune XXXVI. *Setting out for the War and Death Tidings (Sotaanlähtö ja kuolonsanommat)*, Krohn, 525 *et seq.*, with some lines of the *Family Feud*, etc. (*vid.* above, rune xxxi., Krohn, 530), and a part of the *Deflowering of the Sister* (*vid.* above, runes xxxiv., xxxv., Krohn, 521).
- „ XXXVII. Another part of the *Rivalry for the Bride (Kilpakosinta)*, or, to speak exactly, the *Golden Maiden (Kultaneito)*, Krohn, 469 *et seq.* (*vid.* above, rune xviii.).
- „ XXXVIII. *Idem*; to speak exactly, however, the *Son of Kojonen's Wooing (Kojosen pojan kosinta)*, Krohn, 469 *et seq.*, 480 *et seq.*
- „ XXXIX. *Expedition for the Rape of the Sampo (Sammonryöstö-retki)*, Krohn, 410 *et seq.* (*vid.* below, runes xlii., xliii.).
Expedition by Boat (Laivaretki), Krohn, 465.
Origin of the Kantele (Kanteleen synty), Krohn, 453 *et seq.*
- „ XL. Continuation of the *Origin of the Kantele*.
- „ XLI. *Idem*.
- „ XLII. *Expedition for the Rape of the Sampo (Sammonryöstö-retki)*, Krohn, 410 *et seq.* (*vid.* above, rune xxxix.).
- „ XLIII. *Idem*.
- „ XLIV. *Origin of the Kantele (Kanteleen synty)*, Krohn, 454 *et seq.*; variant of the same song given above, runes xxxix., xli.
- „ XLV. *Origin of Evils or of Sicknesses (Pahojen tai tautien synty)*, with other magic songs, Krohn, 428 *et seq.*

- Rune XLVI. *Songs on the Capture and Funeral of the Bear (Karhun pyynty ja peijaiset)*, Krohn, 428.
- „ XLVII. *Origin of Fire (Tuleen synty)*, Krohn, 429 (the lines 1-36 of this rune belong to the song in rune xlix.).
- „ XLVIII. *Idem.*
- „ XLIX. *Liberation of the Sun and the Moon (Auringon ja kuun päästö)*, Krohn, 428 *et seq.*
- „ L. *The Song about Mary (Maarian virsi)*, Krohn, 339 *et seq.*; *Väinämöinen's Judgment (Väinämöisen tuomio)*, Krohn, 534 *et seq.*

The preceding exposition has made clear: first, from what songs, independent or originally so, the *Kalevala* has been composed; second, in what way Lönnrot's combinations of certain of these songs are founded on the habit among popular singers of combining or of in some manner connecting songs originally different and independent, and still often sung as such; third, how and on what grounds Lönnrot, extending this manner of combining far beyond the boundaries of popular usage, sometimes even changing, with a certain amount of liberty, names of persons and of places, has strung together various groups, has added to each one of them, and has built them up into a great poem. To complete our observations on the composition of the poem we must describe Lönnrot's method in the partial composition of each song.

He never gives a song as it occurs in one variant; but he forms his text in every case from the union of all the variants of the song in question, taking from each the best as regards poetical form, the most fit for the composition of the poem as regards details of narration. In doing this he gives no heed to the various places from

which the different variants are derived, nor to the vicissitudes of the song in those variants, some of which are corruptions, others more ancient and better preserved examples. If he had had scruples of this kind, he would not have been able to compose his poem; but even in this he does but follow the usage of popular singers, who freely combine the songs they know without asking whence they come.

Lönnrot does not always give the song in its complete, original continuity; he often splits it up and distributes the parts throughout the poem, in accordance with his ideas of its composition.

Many additions are made to the text of the songs, some to establish a connection between the songs themselves, others for the sake of ornament, others to introduce into the poem certain beautiful and characteristic products of national poetry, which are not strictly epic. One principal and essential addition, giving a more pronounced character to the poem, is that of the numerous *magic songs*. Among the songs above enumerated as forming the poem, several are really magic songs. Such are the three in rune ii., the *Origin of Sicknesses* (rune xlv.), the *Origin of Fire* (runes xlvii., xlviii.), etc. Besides those which appear in the poem with a proper epic function, there are many others which stand there simply as magic songs: when in the action of the poem a prayer occurs, an exorcism, the magic cure of a wound, of an ill or the like, then the relative magic song is often inserted in the narrative. Lönnrot is authorised in introducing them by the methods of the popular singers, who do not, it is true, give the text of the magic song, but refer to it, saying at a given place in the song: Here would come this or that magic song, and, omitting it, go on with the narrative.¹

We should observe that the text of these magic songs

¹ *Vid.* Preface to the second edition of the *Kalevala*, § 5.

as given in the poem is treated by Lönnrot like that of all the other songs, that is to say, it is put together from the many variants of one song and even of various magic songs relating to the same subject. Hence the difference between the magic songs as given in the *Kalevala* and as published in the special collection of the *Loitsurunot*. Other numerous additions consist in lines or groups of lines introduced by way of embellishment or to form a connecting link. These are taken from other epic songs and also from ballads, from magic, lyric, didactic songs; some are even composed by Lönnrot. To the greater part of the special songs above mentioned, Krohn has appended a list of *Lönnrot's additions*. After examining all the variants of each song he has registered the lines in the *Kalevala* which do not occur in those variants, but do occur in those of another song, epic or epic-lyric, magic, didactic, etc., together with the lines wanting in all songs known to him from the manuscripts of the collectors; which Lönnrot must therefore have obtained from an unknown source, or have composed himself.¹

¹ We may here give as an example a translation of Krohn's (p. 479 *et seq.*) note on Lönnrot's additions to that part of the Archangel song of the Sampo which describes the making of the Sampo (*Kalevala*, rune x.) :—

Ll. 13-20, 43-52 (*Väinämöinen returns Home*), probably by Lönnrot.

Ll. 67-80 (*Conversation with Ilmarinen*), *idem*.

Ll. 119, 120, 142, 143. According to the original songs of the people, there is neither moon nor constellation of the Bear on the golden fir, but a *marten* and a *squirrel*.

Ll. 151-158 (*Words of the Fir-tree*), probably by Lönnrot.

Ll. 217-250 (*Dressing of the Maiden*), probably put together from various songs.

Ll. 281-413 (*Description of the making of the Sampo*), from the beginning to l. 318 and lines 391-402 from the *Origin of Iron* (magic song), the rest from the making of the *Golden Maiden* (*Rivalry for the Bride*, *vid.* rune xxxvii.). By the popular singers the preparation of the Sampo is never described in more than four lines (By day he made the Sampo, Adorned the coloured cover; And he had made the Sampo, Had adorned the coloured cover). In the first edition Lönnrot had drawn additions only from the *Origin of Iron*; in the second he also laid under contribution the

In thus transporting lines and groups of lines from one song to another, taking them from the mass of runes of every kind which he knew by heart, Lönnrot has followed the examples abundantly furnished by popular singers. Popular usage sanctions, too, his introduction here and there of lines improvised by himself. His additions are, however, in no case of great consequence, and he generally models on lines of popular singers, if he does not always use them. Sometimes, however, he combines popular lines in such a way as to express ideas which by no means exist in the popular mind, *e.g.*, the triumph of Christ in the last rune, the symbolism of the 'earliest human resources in the construction of the Sampo, etc. He also adds now and again a flower of his own to the blossoms of the popular poetry, *e.g.*, at the end of the song of the *Origin of the Kantele* (rune xli.) the change of Väinämöinen's tears into pearls, an incident not found in any known text of that song or of other songs, and seemingly invented by himself.¹ But all these are matters of no very great importance; on the whole, the *Kalevala* is composed of matter and of lines that are purely popular.

Finally we must observe that, especially in the second edition, Lönnrot has retouched the language and the metre of the songs he has introduced, refining and better-

southern variants of the *Golden Maiden*. He therefore changed the *sword* of the popular song into a *bow*, and himself invented the appearance of the *plough-share* in order to present the four principal resources of human life.

Ll. 430-432 (*Guarding of the Sampo*), taken from an example of the song on Vipunen.

Ll. 433-462 (*Ilmarinen's Proposal and the Girl's Reply*), the first put together from the *Rivalry for the Bride*, the second from a lyric song.

The following passages are rarely found, and for the most part in only one example: ll. 21-26 (*Väinämöinen's cursing of the Lapp*); ll. 183-200 (*Arrival of Ilmarinen unobserved by the Dogs*); ll. 414-416 (*Enumeration of the things ground out by the Sampo*); ll. 423-426 (*The Sampo shut up in the Hill of Stone*); ll. 473-483 (*Ilmarinen's Home-sickness*).

¹ Krohn, p. 454.

ing them with the intention of producing a homogeneous whole. In doing this he has not always been able to conceal the marks of his own work.¹

We may conclude these observations with the words in which Lönnrot himself defines the principles that have guided him in the great work which he has performed so well and so honestly:—

“The order in which the singers chant their runes should certainly not be entirely overlooked. At the same time I have not thought well to attach too much importance to it, as it is a matter in which they differ much from each other. This very difference in the ordering of the runes confirmed me in the idea I had already conceived: that all runes of this kind could be combined among themselves. For I had observed that the disposition adopted by one singer was not the same as that adopted by another; so that, after a great copying of runes recited by various singers, I found very few that had not been sung, by one or another, in various connections. I could not consider one singer’s ordering of the runes as more original than that of another; but explained each case by the natural desire of man to bring order into his knowledge, a desire which produces differences according to the different conception of the individual singers. As a consequence, since none of the singers could compare with me in the mass of runes I had collected, I thought that I had the same right which I was convinced most of the singers assumed: the right, that is, of ordering the runes according as they best fitted into each other.”²

¹ *Vid.* Ahlqvist’s critical examination of the text of the *Kalevala* (*Kalevalan tekstin tutkimusta ja tarkastusta*), Helsingf., 1886.

² *Helsingfors Literaturbladet*, 1849, p. 16. We may here remind the reader of other words of Lönnrot given in chapter i., p. 9.

APPENDIX.

By way of illustrating the epic runes as they actually exist, as they are sung by the popular singers, we here give the translation, as nearly literal as possible, of one of the most important variants of the Sampo rune from the government of Archangel: of the rune, that is, which runs, as the warp, through the texture of the *Kalevala*. In the second edition of the poem, the subject-matter of this rune is distributed in the following manner: runes i. (in part), vi., vii., x., xxxviii., xxxix., xlii. (in part), xliii. (in part).

The text we have used comes from Vuonninen, a village very rich in songs in the government of Archangel, in the parish of Vuokkiniemi, two or three miles from the Finnic frontier. It was sung in this form to Sjögren in 1825, and to Lönnrot in 1833, by the same singer, Ontrei, second only as a rune-singer in those parts to Arhippa of Latvajärvi. Ontrei died in 1856 at the age of seventy-five. His family came from Finland, from the neighbourhood of Uleåborg. The text used is formed from the combined manuscripts of Sjögren and Lönnrot. We have drawn it from the part that is already printed, but not yet published, of the *Variants of the Kalevala* (*Kalevalan toisinnot*). From this source are also taken the above-cited facts, given us by Dr. A. Borenius.

The Lapp with the crooked back
Fostered an ancient feud,
A spite from long past time
Against old Väinämöinen.

5. On the sea a dark spot spied he,
A blue speck on the crest of the billows.¹
The Lapp with the crooked back
Quickly bended his bow,²
Quickly near to his hut, (?)
10. Far as his right hand reached.
Once with his arrows shot he,
Aimed he too high ;

¹ That is, Väinämöinen clad in blue riding along the sea-shore.

² Really *the bow of fire near the hut of fire*.

- Again with arrows shot he,
Aimed he too low ;
15. A third time tried he,
And at length he struck
Of the azure oak the flank.
Then fell Väinämöinen,
With his fingers in ocean fell he,
20. With his hands thro' the waves he rolled ;
There went he six years wandering,
Roaming for seven summers.
Where'er beside the shore the sea-ground touched he,
There he created a fishing place,¹
25. Let hollow fishy caverns.
Whenever in the midst of ocean stayed he,
There he created ridges of rock,
He caused skerries to grow up,
Upon which ships are hurled,
30. Where merchants lose their lives.²
The goose, the bird of air,
Flying, hovering, roams,
Seeking a spot for her nest.
Then ancient Väinämöinen
35. From ocean heaves his knee,
Like to a grassy hillock,
Like a paddock with sweet grass.
The goose, the bird of air,
Is scooping a place for her nest,
40. Is scooping a nest of grass,
Scratched in her nest of heather
On the knee of Väinämöinen :
Six eggs she laid,
An egg of iron the seventh.
45. The goose, the bird of air,
Kept rubbing, sat hatching
On the knee of Väinämöinen.
And ancient Väinämöinen
Felt then his knee to burn,
50. Felt then the joint grow hot.
Shook he his knee.
Into ocean rolled the eggs ;
Broke on the rocks of ocean.
Old Väinämöinen spake :
55. " Let the egg's lower part

¹ Properly, produced by magic, with magic words (*siunata*).

² *Their heads.*

- Earth's base become,
 Let the egg's upper part
 Become the sky above,
 Let the egg's yellow yolk
60. Become the radiant sun
 In the firmament above ;
 What the egg has of white
 Let it be the moon far-shining
 In the firmament above.
65. Let every bit of skin ¹
 Become a star in the sky."
 And the wind rocked him,
 The sea-breeze made him float
 As far as gloomy Pohjola,
70. To the unknown gates,
 To the strange abodes,
 To lands without a priest,
 To countries unbaptised.
 " Behold me tossed, poor wight,
75. Tossed on a rolling tree,
 Tossed on a weltering trunk ;
 Now feel I ruin upon me ;
 The day of dole hangs o'er me ! "
 There six years went he wandering,
80. For eight years was he harried,
 Like a sprig of fir went wandering,
 Like the top of a pine trunk wandered.
 To himself then spake he words :
 " The branch is a hindrance in the water,
- 85 The poor man in the road of the rich !
 Bring hither a boat, O maiden !
 Across the river of Pohjola
 From the infernal land of Manala ! " ²
 The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
90. Was cleaning her little room,
 Sweeping her pavement of copper ;
 Was carrying the sweepings to the yard,
 Into the farthest field,
 To the lane afar (behind),
95. In a dust-pan of copper.
 To listen stood she still
 And weeping in ocean heard.
 " This weeping is no child's crying
 Nor yet a woman's weeping.

¹ Really of bone (*luun*).² Abode of the dead.

100. It is of a bearded man ;
 A hairy chin groans grimly."
 The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
 Herself began to row,
 Rowed up to Väinämöinen ;
105. And went, yes made she haste.
 There weeping was Väinämöinen,
 His mouth twitched, trembled his beard,
 But his chin did not hang down.
 Then reached she him and said :
110. " Ho there ! unlucky old man,
 How didst thou reach, poor wight,
 Reach the abode of strangers,
 The land without a priest,
 The country unbaptised ? "
115. Then into her boat she took him.
 A hundred wounds had his side,
 Of the wind a thousand whippings.
 The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
 Made the man eat his fill,
120. Made the man drink his fill,
 Made him sit in the bow of the boat ;
 Then towards Pohjola she rowed.
 She spake on their arrival,
 On their arrival at Pohja :
125. " Up now, old Väinämöinen,
 If thou canst shape the Sampo,
 Canst paint the coloured cover
 From two bones of a lamb,
 From three small grains of barley,
130. From even the half of these,
 The maid shalt thou have in guerdon ".
 Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 " I know not to shape the Sampo,
 To paint the coloured cover.
135. A smith there is in my land,
 More cunning smith there is not,
 No locksmith more diligent.
 He hammered out the sky,
 The world's cover with hammer blows,
140. Yet no hammer marks remain,
 No pincer marks are seen."
 Replied the lady of Pohjola :
 " He who should shape the Sampo,
 Should paint the coloured cover,
145. The maid would have in guerdon ".

- Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 " But send me safe to my land,
 Thou shalt have smith Ilmarinen,
 And he will shape the Sampo ".
150. The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
 Made the man eat his fill,
 Made the man drink his fill,
 A red boat gave him then,¹
 And to his own land sent him.
155. By magic sailed the boat ; ²
 One day on the ocean waters,
 One day on the river waters,
 A third on his native waters.
 Then Väinämöinen sang,
160. Come free to his native land,
 He crooned, called up his cunning ;
 A gold-topped fir created,
 A gold-breasted marten created
 On the golden-toppèd fir.
165. He spake on his home-coming
 To the house of his ancient mother,
 Of his many-yearèd care-taker,
 To the blacksmith Ilmarinen :
 " Hola ! smith Ilmarinen ;
170. For there's a maid in Pohjola,
 In the icy village a virgin
 World-famous, chosen of the waters ;
 The half of Pohja lauds her,³
 The youths of Suomi seek her ;
175. Through her flesh you see the bone,
 Through her bone you see the marrow.
 He who can shape the Sampo,
 Can paint the coloured cover,
 From two bones of a lamb,
180. From three small grains of barley,
 From even the half of these,
 Shall have the maid in guerdon."
 Spake the smith Ilmarinen :
 " Oh, thou old Väinämöinen !
185. Well do I know the liar,
 The chatterer know well ;
 Me hast thou doubtless promised

¹ Because it was new and freshly pitched.

² *The boat sang to the water.*

³ *Pohjan-maa*, properly Eastern Bothnia.

- To liberate thine own life,
As ransom for thyself.”
190. Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
“Hola! smith Ilmarinen,
Go we to see a fir tree
That up to heaven reacheth ;
There’s a gold-breasted marten
195. On the golden-toppèd fir ”.
And the smith Ilmarinen
Went out to view the marten.
Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
“Hola! smith Ilmarinen,
200. Climb up, oh youthful brother,
Climb up and catch the marten,
Climb up and slay the squirrel
On the golden-toppèd fir ”.
Then the smith Ilmarinen
205. Went out to catch the marten,
Went out to catch the squirrel,
Climbed up into the tree-top
As high as the sky itself.
Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
210. “Awake, oh wind, oh whirlwind,
Rage with great rage, oh heavens,
Within thy boat, wind, place him,
Within thy ship, oh east-wind,¹
With all thy swiftness sweep him
215. To Pohjola the gloomy ”.
Awoke the wind, the whirlwind,
Raged with great rage the heavens ;
And so he went, yea hurried
To Pohjola the gloomy.
220. Then spake the lady of Pohjola :
“Art thou smith Ilmarinen ?”
Answered smith Ilmarinen :
“I am smith Ilmarinen.
No smith is there more cunning,
225. No locksmith more diligent.”
Then said the lady of Pohjola :
“Canst thou then shape the Sampo,
Canst paint the coloured cover,
And have the maid for guerdon ?”
230. “I know to shape the Sampo,
To paint the coloured cover,

¹ *Ahava*, the cold dry wind of spring.

- From two bones of a lamb,
 From three small grains of barley,
 From even the half of these."
235. The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
 Made the man eat his fill,
 Made the man drink his fill,
 Laid him beside the maiden.
 And thus smith Ilmarinen
240. By day shaped forth the Sampo,
 By night the maid's mind softened;
 Painted the coloured cover,
 Prepared thus the Sampo.
 The coloured cover was painted.
245. He goes to his own country,
 He speaks on his home-coming
 To the house of his ancient mother:
 "Oh thou, old Väinämöinen,
 Since the Sampo is in Pohjola,
250. The coloured cover painted,
 Now plough they there, now sow they,
 Grow crops of every kind.
 But safe is locked the Sampo,
 Behind nine locks shut fast;
255. Deep-rooted are its roots,
 To a depth of nine ells delve they."
 Spake ancient Väinämöinen:
 "Arise, smith Ilmarinen,
 Go we to steal the Sampo,
260. To crib the coloured cover
 From Pohjola the gloomy!"
 Set they out to steal the Sampo,
 To crib the coloured cover;
 They set out, yea, they hasted,
265. One the old Väinämöinen,
 With him smith Ilmarinen.
 In their road a headland found they:
 Turned he (Väinämöinen) his noisy rowing
 To the point of the misty headland,
270. Towards the fog-swathed island.
 Speaks from the headland's ending
 Vesi-Liito, youthful Laito:
 "Ho, there! old Väinämöinen,
 Take me to travel with thee.
275. I, too, am a man for those lands,
 To be third of the heroes
 When thou shalt raise the Sampo,

- Shalt crib the coloured cover.”
 And ancient Väinämöinen
280. Took him to travel with him.
 With a great plank then came he,¹
 Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 “ What is this wood thou bringest ?
 In my boat there’s wood in plenty,
285. Without this wood of thine.”
 Said Ljito, youthful Laito,
 “ A ship’s not wrecked by foresight ;
 A prop won’t spoil a hay-stack ”.
 His noisy course then turned he (Väinämöinen)
290. Towards Pohjola the gloomy.
 Then sang old Väinämöinen,
 Laid magic sleep on Pohjola,
 To rest the land malign.
 Shut up was there the Sampo,
295. Locked safe behind nine fastenings.
 At once old Väinämöinen
 Like to a fine worm wriggled ²
 Through each crevice in the fastenings.
 He greased the locks with butter,
300. With lard of pig he smeared them.
 The roots were rooted deep there,
 To a depth of nine ells’ delving.
 Pressed he to breast the Sampo,
 With arms sought to dislodge it ;
305. But the Sampo does not budge,
 The hundred-hornèd heaves not.
 Vesi-Liito, then, young Laito,
 A bullock took of Pohjola,
 From the edge of a field a plough-share ;
310. Round the roots of the Sampo ploughed he.
 This made the Sampo tremble,
 The hundred-hornèd totter.
 Then ancient Väinämöinen
 Bore to his boat the Sampo,
315. On to his ship he haled it ;
 With noisy course then sped he,
 His red-dyed sail wide spreading,
 To the point of the misty headland.
 Spake the smith, Ilmarinen
320. To ancient Väinämöinen :

¹ For repairing the ship in case of need.

² The worm known as *Gordius aquaticus*.

- “ Why sing'st not, Väinämöinen,
 Why croon'st thou not, oh well-born ?
 Thou hast gotten the good Sampo,
 Hast cribbed the coloured cover.”
325. Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 “ Too soon is it for mirth, still,
 Too early yet for singing.
 Then would the song be fitting
 (If I my gates should view).¹
330. Hola ! smith Ilmarinen,
 To the top of the ship's mast climb thou,
 Close clinging to the yard-arm,
 Look eastward and look westward,
 Look northward along the coast.”
335. So the smith, Ilmarinen,
 Climbed to the top of the ship's mast,
 Clung close there to the yard-arm,
 Looked eastward and looked westward,
 Looked northward along the coast.
340. Words spake he then and uttered :
 “ The hawks crowd in the aspens,
 In the woods the gaudy eagles ”.
 Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 “ Well do I know the liar,
345. The chatterer know well !
 Look eastward and look westward,
 Look northward along the coast.”
 And the smith, Ilmarinen,
 Looked eastward and looked westward,
350. Looked northward along the coast.
 The swarthy bird, the ant,
 The double-jointed² giant³
 On the crane's legs made water.⁴
 The crane a strange cry uttered ;
355. Cried with a strident cry.
 Hopes the devil to hear his cow,

¹ *Kun omat ovat näkyisi.* This verse, wanting here, has been added from another variant.

² *Kaksi jatkonen*, having two joints, two parts joined together, as in the case of the body of the ant.

³ *Kaleva*, heroic giant, ironically.

⁴ That is, emitted its acid juice, which stings and irritates. From this making water (*kusta*) the Finns call the red ant *kusiainen*. The name *muurahainen* adopted in this song is of Indo-European origin (*myra* Swedish, *muravei* Russian, *myrmex* Greek, etc.).

The demon his long-tailed¹ beast.
Then Pohjola was roused,
The land of ill awoke.

360. Spake of Pohjola the lady :
" They have carried the Sampo from Pohjola,
Have cribbed it without our leave ".
The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
Set a hundred men to row,
365. A thousand at the oar-handles.
Then set she out to row,
To follow Väinämöinen.
Spake the smith, Ilmarinen :
" Behold the ships of Pohja ;
370. Its hundred oars² (beat the waters),
A hundred men sit rowing,
A thousand at the oar-handles ".
Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
" A wondrous thing have found I ;
375. A skerry I'll create now,
Cause a point of rock to grow.
A piece of flint will take I,
A little piece of tinder ;
A skerry I'll create,
380. Above my left-hand shoulder,³
Where Pohja's ship shall strike,
The hundred-oared be shivered."
At once took Väinämöinen,
Took a little piece of flint-stone,
385. A little piece of tinder,
And a rock in the sea created ;
Behind his left-hand shoulder,
Caused a point of rock to grow.
The ship of Pohja struck there,
390. The hundred-oared was shivered.
The whore, the lady of Pohjola,
Began alone to fly,
She rose up with a lark's flight,
Aloft with bird's wings rose she,
395. Flew on to the top of the ship's mast,
Clung close unto the yard-arm.
And ancient Väinämöinen
Raised the rudder from the ocean,⁴

¹ That is, cow with a long tail.

² *Sata-hanka*, having a hundred rowlocks.

³ That is, throwing the tinder, etc.

⁴ *Mela*, oar that serves as a rudder.

- The fir-trunk¹ from the billows ;
 400. With it struck he the talons,
 And naught of them remainèd
 Except the smallest only.
 Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 " Come now, thou dame of Pohjola,
 405. Go we to share the Sampo,
 To see the coloured cover,
 On the point of the misty headland,
 On the height of the fog-swathed island ".
 Says of Pohjola the lady :
 410. " I'll not go to share the Sampo,
 To see the coloured cover ".
 Then ancient Väinämöinen
 Sieved mist within a sieve,
 And round about fog sowed he
 415. At the foggy headland's ending ;
 And thus in words then spake he :
 " Here ploughing and here sowing,
 Here every kind of grain-crop
 For the wretched northern country,
 420. For the wide-spread soil of Suomi.
 Moons here, and here be suns,
 Here stars be in the skies ! "
 Says of Pohjola the lady :
 " To this I'll find a hindrance ;
 425. A wondrous thing have found I
 For thy ploughing, for thy sowing.
 I'll create a hail of iron,
 Of steel a raging rain-storm,
 To strike thy crops so tender,
 430. To scourge and waste thy field ! "
 Spake ancient Väinämöinen :
 " Create thy hail of iron,
 Yea, cause to fall thy steel storm,
 Upon the lane of Pohjola,
 435. On the crest of the cliff of clay ".

¹ *Lastu*, properly, splinter, piece.

PART II.

NATIONAL epic poetry is most genuine when it springs from free, natural polytheism, untouched by dogmatic or hieratic influences. The hyperbolic type of the hero, of the epic man, and the character of his action then harmonise perfectly with the anthropomorphic types of the divine personalities, with the current conception of their actions, lives, society. The two ideal types, those of the god and of the hero, have a close, visible affinity with each other: we see and feel that both are products of one poetic genius, of one creative spirit that worked towards the idealisation of the facts of nature and its forces on the one hand, towards that of the acts of man and of human society on the other. Gods, demi-gods or heroes, and men are thus akin, forming one large family; gods are national, as heroes are national. Common to both is the *mythos* which recounts their origins, the incidents of their lives, their relationships, genealogies, history; common is the *epos* or poetical history which, working out their ideals and their mode of action, connects them with the national history, whose beginnings it represents. Quite different is the case with those epic cycles or epic songs, whether popular or national, which arose and spread abroad in Europe in writing or by word of mouth, in historical times, when Christian monotheism was already firmly established. It is clear to all that Roland, Damesdex, the archangel Gabriel, Archbishop Turpin are not, cannot be, the products of one poetic inspiration as are Achilles, Zeus, Athena, Chryses the priest of Apollo. Neither can

we avoid observing that the Sigurd of the songs of the pagan Edda, with Odin, with the Valkyries, lives in poetical surroundings that are truly and originally his own ; while the Sigurd of the Niebelungen passes, transformed, into a Christian, chivalric poetry among elements of very different origin from his own.

The epic songs of the Finns have this essential quality : that they were born during the time of Finnic polydæmonism and are essentially mythic in their subject. They accord with and continue the poetical-religious idea and the dæmonic myth of the nation, for they spring from a like source, and a like poetic feeling. Considered, then, as part of the great body of epic production among the nations, they take their place among the most truly primitive and natural ; the more so, as all idea of history is quite foreign to them. Since the divine or dæmonic myth and the heroic are here creations of the same poetry, we must begin our study of the essence and origin of these creations by a description and definition of the dæmonic and heroic myth, and then of the poetry which produced it, of the *ἔπος* or epic song, here known as *rune*.

CHAPTER I.

THE DIVINE MYTH.

ALL Ugro-Finnic peoples were, or are still, shamanists. The Lapps, Siryanians, Votyaks, Cheremissians, Mordvinians, Voguls, Ostyaks, converted or unconverted to Christianity or to Islamism, are still pagan, and the remains of their paganism are so permanent that its shamanic character is still, though in varying degrees, clear.¹ Yet shamanism, and still more fetishism, is a religion (if it can be called a religion) so gross in character, so imperfect and irrational, as to be able to satisfy none but barbarous, nay savage, peoples, living in rudimentary conditions of culture and civil development; as do those whom we have mentioned, the Esquimaux, Samoyedes, and the like. The first among the Ugro-Finns to be converted to Christianity and to adopt European civilisation were the Magyars; they have lost every trace of their primitive shamanism. The Finns proper were converted to Christianity in the twelfth century, but had been for some time previous in close contact with Germanic and Lithu-Slavonic peoples. This contact occasioned among them a certain amount of social progress, as well as a development that may also be termed progress, in their idea of religion; which, while preserving its fundamental shamanic character, took on nobler, more refined forms, and gave rise to a poetry that is quite unknown to other related peoples. And this is an

¹ Cf. Ahlqvist, *Om schamanismen och öfriga religionsformer hos de turanska folken* (*Finska Vet.-Societets Förhandl.*, xxiii.), Helsingf., 1881.

indication of the character of their national genius. For the Lapps (who, in spite of similarity in language, are anthropologically a people of a different stock), though subjected to influences almost identical and no less ancient, have remained up to the present day absolutely incapable of civil development, rebellious and indifferent to it; have retained, moreover, until the most recent times, a shamanism as rude as that of the Esquimaux and Samoyedes.

Shamanism, as is well known, differs from other religions in this: that, in addition to prayer and sacrifice, it believes in the coercive influence which man or some specially endowed men (shamans) exercise by means of acts, by secret operations, or by words, over nature or over the divine or dæmonic beings which represent and rule nature. Magic, therefore, which in other religions is outside religion and contrary to its spirit, being despised as superstition or condemned as impiety, is in shamanism the very essence of religion; what we shall call the *magic word* is in it no less legitimate, lofty and noble than are the hymn and the prayer in any other religion. The shaman is more than a simple priest, he is the seer, he is the medicine-man, he is wise and powerful above all others and is capable of miraculous actions. With his action and his word he dominates things and men and animals and spirits; he cures ills or prevents them; he can even produce them; he can propitiate superior beings and obtain benefits; can ensure good luck for the hunt, the fishing, the journey; can raise winds and storms and clouds and fog and tempests, and can lay them, scatter them, disperse them; he can transform himself and others; he can rise in spirit into the realms of air, go down into those of the dead and carry off their secret. This type of man, whom we, using a word of ill-repute, shall call *wizard*, may have a certain degree of nobility and even appear poetical where he does not come into contact with a high

and noble religious idea that dwarfs him and fights against him. Greek polytheism also poetised the wizard-power in certain mythical figures, like those of Circe and Medea, not extraneous to the heroic *epos*, and united, by poetical genealogies, to the divine myth; but the Greek conception of the divinity, and of the direct, immediate and potent action implied in its very nature, gave to the magic action and power of these witches a merely secondary and reflected importance, depending in the last resource on the god, not imposing itself upon him. Hence the wizard played a small and incidental part in the Greek *epos*. The idea took deeper root in the polytheism of the north, where the conception of the deity was less delicate, less rational, than it was among the Greeks: there the divinity itself often acts as a wizard by runes and incantations (*galdr*). Christian monotheism necessarily rejected the wizard and reduced him to a child of the nether world, in league with Satanic powers or sold to them.

In shamanism things are very different, nay, exactly the opposite. The idea of the divine being may be said to be almost subordinate to that of the shaman, who in fact more than any one else defines, develops, elaborates and forms it. Generally speaking, peoples who have remained long in shamanism have never progressed beyond a very confused and limited idea of the divine being, particularly of *one* divine being; and this either from the poverty of their civil and intellectual development or from the poverty of their genius. The conception proper to them, which indeed fits well with their idea of the shamanic power and action, is that of a number of spirits presiding over nature, and of the power of the spirits of the dead; is, in fact, what we may call, using a word recently coined, *animism*. Little myth is produced among them, and that little is in the rudimentary state of incipient personification. Such among

the shamanists as were capable of some amount of progress in this class of ideas, associated with their own thought the idea of some other religion with which they found themselves in contact—Christianity, Islamism or Buddhism—or adopted this other religion right out, forgetting their ancient beliefs. Thus the Magyars have done. The Finns are an exception; they rise above all other shamanists, even those of the same race as themselves. While still under the influence of the shamanic idea they created a mythology of their own, rich in names and in personalities, divine, dæmonic or even heroic. This is not the case in any other people belonging to the same family. Their mythology still lives and may be plentifully gathered (witness the work of Ganander,¹ Castrén² and others) from traditional songs which had their origin in pagan times, and which many centuries of Christianity, first Catholic, then Lutheran, then in some parts Russian Orthodox, have not been able to suppress. We are now about to examine the way in which the shamanic idea originated this mythology; and the influences and circumstances that caused it to develop together with the national poetry, so that the history of the one is interwoven with that of the other.

As in all natural religions, the Finnic myth is based on a personification of nature, both in her general divi-

¹ *Mythologia Fennica af gamla Runor samlad och uttydd af Christfrid Ganander*, Åbo, 1789. Chr. Is. Petersen's translation and reordering of this work is of little use. He published it in the *Beiträge* of Rosenplänter, n. 14, 1822, and arranged systematically the material which Ganander had arranged alphabetically, adding information on the corresponding Esthonian myth.

² *Föreläsningar i Finsk Mythologi*, Helsingfors, 1853; it is vol. iii. in the *Nordiska Resor och Forskningar af M. A. Castrén*. We always quote this Swedish edition, without neglecting, however, A. Schiefner's German edition with additions, M. Alexander Castrén's *Vorlesungen über die Finnische Mythologie*, St. Petersburg, 1853. Other writings on this subject will be quoted when necessary. With regard to the Esthonian, we may remind the reader of the note on p. 47.

sions and in the details of those divisions. All natural things with which man comes in any way into contact are looked upon as doing and willing, and are hence personified. This conception is universal and permanent. Thus the road to personification is always open, as the same method of personification may be applied to anything at will or as opportunity may offer. Hence the catalogue of Finnic deities is never closed, but can grow indefinitely. The process is very simple: the primitive method of designating the personifications with the ordinary name of the thing personified is above all adopted. Thus Päivä, Kuu, Otava, Tähti, etc., are considered as divine personages, active and powerful; but the names mean nothing else but sun, moon, Great Bear (the constellation), star, etc. A further step towards the individualising of the personification is that of giving it a name and calling it *son* or *daughter* of the thing personified. Since the Finnic language has no grammatical gender, these expressions define a sex and hence change the common into a proper noun or the name of a person; thus *päivän poika*, son of the sun, *ilman tytär*, daughter of the air. In these expressions the idea *son* is not always to be understood literally; originally *sun* and *son of the sun* mean the same thing, as is also the case in other mythologies, e.g., in the Greek Helios and his son Phæthon; and this may be proved by a comparison of various passages in the songs showing that the two expressions are equivalent. The thing is still more plain in the case of a feminine personification. For this the language offers an ending *tar* which is simply a contraction of *tytär*, daughter,¹ and not a distinctive grammatical

¹ Vid. Ahlqvist, *Suomen kielen rakennus*, p. 16, § 30. The use of this ending is proper to Carelia; it is found chiefly in Northern Carelia, though there are traces of it in the south. Vid. Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, p. 17; Neovius, *Kalevalan kotiperästä*, p. 15 *et seq.* The Tavasts know nothing of it.

gender-ending. This is the mode of expressing *daughter of . . .* and we often translate thus words having this ending; but the most common meaning is that of the feminine personification, thus *luonto*, nature, *Luonnotar*, daughter of nature or Nature personified; *ilma*, air, *Ilmatar*, daughter of the air or Air personified, etc. This method has been also artificially applied outside the myth to distinguish, *e.g.*, between king and queen, *Kuningas*, *Kuningatar*; or even to form certain nouns applying to literary or scientific matters, or representing abstractions, *e.g.*, *Kanteletar*, which, from *Kantele*, cithern, personifies the instrument and comes to correspond to the idea of lyric poetry; *Kieletär*, which, from *kieli*, tongue, comes to mean *glottology*. But the people and the popular singers find this an excellent method of personifying everything, with a noun-form that has the character and value of a proper noun. Thus, for example, every tree may be personified in a feminine being who represents it and presides over it, a kind of dryad: *kataja*, juniper, has its genius *Katajatar*; the pine, *honka*, has *Hongatar*; the service-tree, *pihlaja*, has *Pihjalatar*, etc. And there is nothing, no part of a thing, which cannot be thus personified: the veins (*Suonetar*), the tissues (*Kankahatar*), the colours (*Sinetär*), etc. Thus the Finns are rich in names of divinities, or gods, or genii, or spirits, in the same way as among historic peoples the Romans are; and their mythology is nearer to the poly-dæmonism or rather the pandæmonism of the Romans than it is to the polytheism of the Greeks. As among other peoples, and especially among the Romans, the idea of father or mother, *isä*, *emä*, is dominant in their personifications. This is particularly the case in the more generic personifications, like water, earth, wood, etc.: thus *maan emä* is the mother of the earth, or also *maa emä*, *terra mater*; *metsän isä*, father of the wood, etc.; a paternity which is not genetic but which simply expresses the personification apart from the thing personified—considered as the being

which rules, protects, represents it. For this reason we constantly find the expressions *isäntä*, *emäntä*, which may be translated lord, lady, but stand in reality in the same relation to *isä*, *emä*, as *patronus*, *matrona* do in Latin to *pater*, *mater*, and have now come to signify, like the Latin vocables, master, mistress. Thus, too, we find used as a term of respect *ukko* (old man), *akka* (old woman). Denominations of this kind naturally bring with them a doubling of the personification, as there must be a mother where there is a father; so that one thing comes to be represented by two beings of different sex forming a married couple. Where this is not the case the denomination *son* or *daughter* prevails, and is the same as those, often substituted for it, of youth, girl, little girl, maiden, virgin (*nuori*, *piika*, *pikkarainen*, *tyttö*, *impi*), etc.

Lastly, another way of determining the personification is the ending which expresses *abode*. By adding to a noun the termination *la*, the Finns indicate the place where the person or thing represented by the noun is, lives, inhabits: *pappi*, priest; *pappila*, the priest's dwelling; *metsölä*, the wood's dwelling-place; *Kalevala*, Kaleva's country or abode; *Päivölä*, the abode of the sun; *Pohjola*, the abode of the north, etc. This ending reminds one of the German use of *heim* in Niflheim, Jotunheim, Mispelheim, etc., from which the Lapps have their *aibmo*; but its use is wider and more peculiar in the Finnic myth. Properly speaking it says nothing of the character or quality of the dwelling; and as used poetically one feels that this dwelling is simply the personification of the thing which has to be personified; if, e.g., *Päivä* is the genius or god that represents and rules the sun, *Päivölä*, the abode of *Päivä*, is but the sun itself, where lives that genius or god who animates and rules it. It matters little that popular fancy has played around the theme of one or another of these mythic dwellings, as, for example, around *Pohjola*, extending or modifying its

meaning; the original reason for the idea is always that which I have given. And it is also true that this easy way of signifying the dwelling serves in the genesis of the myth as an additional element to characterise the personifications as such, since, in addition to the titles *father, son, lord, etc.*, they have a dwelling as persons have. The same noun-form is also used independently of personifications as a qualificative of regions, countries, dwellings: thus *Pimentola*, the abode of darkness, which is another name for Pohjola. As to the heroes, it leaves the country they belong to quite undetermined: thus Väinölä, Kalevala, Untamola, etc., refer to a dwelling-place of Väinämöinen, Kaleva, Untamo, etc.; but they determine or localise no known and real place; they indicate rather a place that must exist somewhere because every person must have a dwelling. For this reason, though not for this reason only, the topography of the Kalevala is undetermined and far away from any existing locality: its heroic action cannot be localised.

There are a good many divine beings who are called by names different from those of the things they represent, but such names are certainly less ancient, and side by side with them the use of the ancient, direct denomination still continues. Thus *Ahti* is the proper noun, of doubtful origin (probably Germanic), indicating the god of the waters; *Vellamo* (also probably Germanic)¹ is the goddess

¹ Castrén, *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 74, after having called to mind the affinities established by Diefenbach, *Vergl. Wörterb. d. goth. Spr.*, i., 419; ii., 732 (Sansk. *ahis*, sea, N. *ahi*, name of the serpent that surrounds the earth, *i.e.*, the sea, *aegir* sea, lat. *aequor*), concludes that probably Ahti is among the Finns a word, like so many others, from the Old Norse tongue. Certainly the word cannot be explained through the Finnic; a derivation from *vahti*, foam, is not to be thought of. Grimm mentions Ahti in connection with the Germanic words *ahva, aha, augia, aegir*, etc., water, sea (*D. Mythol.*, N., p. 82; *Ueber Diphthongen*, in his *Kl. Schriften*, iii., p. 122). It seems to me that Ahti comes nearer to the O. N. *agi, aga (agdh)*, which means unrest, tumult, rather than to the other words above given.

of the waters; but these are often called simply *lord* or *lady of the waters* (*veen isäntä, emäntä*), nay, the water itself, *vesi*, is sometimes found invoked by its own name as a divine being. Those who have studied the origins of myths will remember similar facts observable in the ancient Vedic poetry and in that of other peoples, whence it results that *nomina = numina*, and that, in a sense not mystic but real, *deus erat verbum* before being *deus*. Names whose etymology is no longer clear and present, like Ahti, Vellamo, and names that have an attributive sense, like Mielikki,¹ the charming name for the goddess of the wood, become exclusively proper, personal nouns and thus have the effect of rendering the personifications more concrete, of giving them a more defined personality. They are specially used for what we may call the greater gods, since these preside over one of the various kingdoms into which nature is divided. There is a supreme god of the sky, Ukko (the old man), who has a wife (Akka, the old woman); there is a god and a goddess of the waters, Ahti, Vellamo; a goddess of the earth, who, however, has no proper name, *maan emä* (mother of the earth). Neither is there wanting a god of the field and of field labour, Pellervoinen; as there is also a pair of wood gods, Tapio (name of foreign origin)² and his wife Mielikki.

We are encouraged in this belief by the fact that the same name Ahti is given to the *restless youth* (*lieto poika*) Lemminkäinen.

Leaving out of consideration the termination *mo*, common to several proper names, Ahlqvist derives Vellamo from the root *vete* (water), stem *vetelä* (abode of the waters); he makes it, that is to say, a contraction from *vetelämö*; *Suomen kiel. rakennus*, p. 11, § 14. It seems to me, however, more probable that we have here the same root as the Finnic verb *velloa*, to shake, to agitate, Germ. *wallen, wogen*, and should compare it with the G. *welle*; O. H. G., *walm*; A.-S., *wylm*, wave; O. Sl. and R., *val*, wave; *valiti*, to roll; Pol., *velna*, wave (root *vel*).

¹Term of endearment, from *mieli*, soul, in the sense of the German *gemüth* (*mieluisen*, dear, pleasing); it may be rendered by our *darling*.

²This name has certainly nothing to do with the Finnic *tappaa*, to kill, as some have thought. I should have traced it to the German *stap*,

The nether world, too, the underground world of the dead, Manala or Tuonela, has its lord Mana or Tuoni, with his wife Tuonetar. All these, and others as well, receive the title of god, *Jumala*; and the Old Man of the Sky, Ukko, who thunders and lightens from on high, is called supreme god, *Ylijumala*. This word *jumala* came to express the generic idea of the divine being. It was so ready to express that idea when the Finns became Christian, that it served and still serves to translate the word *deus* in its Christian sense. Originally it indicated, as usual, one particular deity, that of the sky considered as the abode of the thunder whose rumbling is indicated in the onomatopœic word *jum, juma*. This is one of the few Finnic words having to do with myth or divinities that find a parallel among some other related peoples.¹

In all this mythological world of the Finns reigns the most complete individualism. There is no systematic organisation, no genealogical arrangement, no idea of government. All are independent in their sphere of dominion. The supreme god, or rather the god above, is such because he lives on high; but he commands no one; the waters, the wood, the lower world are ruled by independent lords. These are sometimes called *kings*, with a word of foreign origin, *kuningas*, as the thing itself is foreign to the society in which the myth arose. This must not be taken more literally than must the other

stab (Finn. *tapi*), perhaps because this god was originally worshipped under the form of a tree-trunk, a custom to be found also among the Germans. But the most likely idea appears to me that of Schiefner (in the translation of Castrén's *Finn. Myth.*), who recognises in the word the Christian Eustace, patron saint of the hunters, under the popular Russian form of the name *Jevstafij, Astafij*. Among the Esthonians the name of this god occurs in some songs under the form of *Tabo, Taboane, Tabovane* (with endings that are also found applied to some other words): *vid. Weske, Wana Eestlaste palwed metsa-jumalatele (The Worship of the Wood-gods among the Ancient Esthonians), in the Annals of the Soc. of Esth. Liter. (Eesti kirjameeste seltsi aastaraamat), 1886-7, p. 10 et seq.*

¹ *Vid. Castrén, Föreläs. i Finsk Myth., p. 11 et seq.*

equivalent expressions, father, lord, ancient one, etc. The numerous minor deities of the wood, the waves, the lower world, are called the sons and daughters of the more important ones, their boys or girls, their people (*väki*), but this only expresses poetically the affinity between the elements of that whole. The ideas of *father and son, husband and wife*, have and retain the value of a poetical expression: there results no concrete, actual idea of a family, and still less of genealogical descent. The genealogical conception, so largely developed in Greek myth and epos, and becoming in the Scandinavian myth and saga a kind of mania, is entirely wanting in Finnic mythology and in the Finnic epos; for the Finns were late in arriving at that historical sentiment of which ancient genealogy-making, in epos or in myth, is one of the first manifestations. Original naturalism is here plainly evident: every idea has remained in its place with little synthesis and without further elaboration into *mythos* properly so called, or into any history of divine beings.

The personifications become concrete in persons anthropomorphically distinct, with personal features expressed for the most part by adjectives, some of which may even become stable and serve as nouns. Thus, as in Homer, Athena is *γλαυκῶπις*, Hera *βοῶπις*, so in the Finnic songs Tapio is *kuijana* (long neck), which becomes one of his names, is *halliparta* (red-beard), *havahattu* (with hat of pine needles), *naavaturkki* (with fur coat of moss), etc. Every one here recognises the poetical images under which are personified the wood, its plants, its wild animals. Neither are the qualifications wanting in character: thus Tapio is *tarkka* (exact, attentive), as becomes the ruler of the terrible wild beasts, and as such is invoked by the hunter. But there is no great development along the line of qualification; the epithets are used for the most part occasionally and hence also varyingly: thus the son of Tuoni, lord of the dead, is invoked as *punaposki* (red-

cheeked) when his help is needed to tie up a vein, and as *koukkusormi* (hook-fingered) when an iron-meshed net is to be woven.¹ The magic songs offer a great number of examples of this oscillation of the ideal according to circumstances. Hence it happens that the types of these Finnic divinities are not formed with distinctness. Much in them is undetermined, and they appear for the most part as poetical images of things and facts rather than as distinct mythic personages. We find a poetry that is in the act of forming the myth and the conception of the divinities; but these are still *in fieri*. Creatures in the course of formation, they appear rather passive than active; they have power within the sphere of the phenomenon or thing they represent (Tapio can render the hunt successful or otherwise, Ahti can assure good or ill luck in fishing or in sailing), but they are both under the power of the word (*sana*) of the tietäjä who has created them. As persons they are rigid and lifeless, having neither loves, nor hatreds, nor wars. There is no society of gods, and hence no place where they come together: no Olympus, no Asagård. We may add that the divinity is quite without ethical significance: it has no connection whatever with the moral world, and if in any song an ethic function is assigned to a divine being, Christian influence is clear and unmistakable. Neither is there any genetic relation between man and god; there is, as we have said, no trace of genealogical idea in any of these myths, whether divine or heroic. There is a myth of the creation, but it says nothing of the origin of man; Väinämöinen's birth is narrated, but he never appears as the father of the human race. This scanty development in the myth of the ideals of the deities, of their personality and anthropomorphic action, this want of a society, of a history in the divine world, necessarily

¹ Castrén, *Allmän öfersigt af Finnarnes gudalära*, etc. (*Nord. res. och forskn.*, vi.), p. 17 et seq.

entail in the epos a special condition for the hero-type; he is as imperfectly *θεοειδής* as the god is imperfectly *ἀνθρωποειδής*. Neither can there be perfect homogeneity and continuity between the divine heroic types, when it cannot be said, as the Greeks said, *ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ θεῶν γένος, ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν ματρὸς ἀμφοτέρου*. But the Finnic hero and his relations with the divine beings have a nature and an explanation peculiarly their own.

In the last analysis we find that the original and proper character of the Finnic mythology is that which distinguishes shamanic belief, or generally speaking, that which is called *animism*. This is, as Tiele well defines it,¹ "a doctrine varied, confused, undetermined, an unorganised polydæmonism, which does not, however, exclude the belief in a supreme spirit, though in practice this commonly bears but little fruit: characterised in the next place by magic, which rarely rises into real worship". The conception of the divine beings is faint and not elevated; they are rather spirits or genii than gods. In fact the world, according to the Finnic idea, is quite peopled with spirits; everything has its *haltia*, every tree, every hill, every lake, every waterfall, etc. Neither is the difference always marked between *haltia* and *jumala*, although the latter is understood to be superior to the former. The *jumala* differs from the *haltia* as the general differs from the particular, as the idea of wood differs from that of each tree that composes it; but though the breadth of dominion differs, the nature is identical, and Tapio, for instance, is no less *haltia* than he is *jumala* of the wood (*metsän*). Although this word *haltia* is certainly of foreign origin,² yet the idea expressed by it

¹ *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. 10, § 9.

² Castrén, *F. Myth.*, p. 172, limits himself to "probably". Not so Thomsen, *Ueber den Einfluss*, etc., p. 134, s. v. *hallitsen*. This word, with the same meaning of tutelary genius, also exists in Esthonia (*haldias*, *hallias*); Finnic and Lapp have the word *hallita* (*haldet*) signifying to hold,

is thoroughly Finnic and ancient; and I should not hesitate to add that among the Finns it is anterior to the higher idea represented by *jumala*, of which we have already given the original meaning.

The idea of an incorporeal being of dæmonic nature accompanying and presiding over everything, is also applied to man; who has his *haltia* or *δαίμων* as we see in the magic songs.¹ Of the soul in the Christian sense the Finns had no idea, except through outside influences; as is proved by the foreign word *sjelu*, which they use in this sense. The idea of spirit, however, exists (*henki*), and as usual, since the incorporeal is stronger than the corporal, with supernatural attributes, as in the German *Geist*. This spirit has its *haltia* or *nature* (*luonto*) that personifies its animating principle; and which, as happens in personifications, is confounded with the spirit itself. So that men endowed with superior qualities like the shamans or *tietäjät* can momentarily leave the corporal shell, and, becoming free spirits, act as *haltiat*. Even at the present time the Finnic wizard, heir of the ancient shamans, falls fainting at the height of his invocations, of the frenzied writhings in which he seems struck with epilepsy. This state is called "becoming *haltia*" (*olla haltiaksi*); and it is understood that, his spirit becoming free or *haltia*, he goes into the spirit world, descends into the regions of the dead, receives or learns what he wants, and uses or

rule, protect, with the substantive *haltu* (*halddo*), dominion, protection. The German origin of these words is perfectly clear; the first, fundamental meaning of the family of Germanic words to which the Mod. Germ. *halten* belongs (A.-S. *haldan*, Goth. *haldan*, O. N. *halda*, to hold, rule, herd flocks) is exactly that of the Finnic vocable. This family, however, does not include *holde*, which has also a meaning like that of *haltia* (good genius, domestic genius), although it has been proposed to refer that word to the same root as *halten*; from *holde* (*hold*) is certainly derived the Esthonian *halde*, which signifies just so much as the Modern German adjective *hold*.

¹ *Vid.* the following chapter.

reveals it on his return to corporal life. This is common to the Finns and other shamanic peoples. It has its value and effect in the development of poetry, in the formation of poetical ideals. He who is capable of action of this kind, and can dominate nature by force of magic, exercises the highest degree of power that a man can arrive at, making himself equal to the superior beings, becoming more than human and commanding them. Among a people not essentially warlike and which has not therefore incarnated bodily force poetically, as so many others have done, in its hero-type, the wizard is the true *ἦρως*, the true *ἡμίθεος*. Not without reason does he love to call himself in his songs *uros*, a noble word, expressing powerful, vigorous manhood, which may be translated hero. We shall come back to the subject, which is fundamental in the study of the epos in this nation.

If Finnic mythology be compared with that of the Greeks, of the Scandinavians, or in general with that of the Indo-European nations, it will be found that the development of the myth from the naturalistic idea was, among the Finns, very much smaller than it was in India, in Iran, as well as in Greece, Italy, and among the Scandinavians. It stopped short at a lower grade; it may be called even elementary beside its lofty, broad and complete elaboration among the peoples just named. But if a similar comparison is made with other Ugro-Finnic peoples, a superiority of development will be observable that may even be called wealth beside the poverty of the myth of these peoples, who have remained almost entirely in their primitive condition of untempered naturalism. The Lapps themselves, so near to the Finns linguistically, have a mythology scarcely worthy of the name, so poor is it in names and in mythic conceptions properly so called; and this although they remained shamanists longer and more entirely than the Finns. This superiority is due to the production among the Finns of a special poetry,

peculiar to themselves, in the bosom of which the naturalistic idea, poetically worked out, could ripen into varied and manifold personifications and, up to a certain point, develop into myth. We speak of what may be called the religious poetry of shamanism, the shamanic poetry, the song of the *tietäjät* or *magic* song.

The intermediary between man and god is, in the Finnic religion, the shaman or *tietäjä*, with his arts, his secret knowledge, and the power this confers on him. He is even more completely the intermediary than the priest is in other religions. To him does the Finn have recourse when he needs the help or protection of superior, unknown beings, or defence against them. He it is who knows these beings, who boasts of knowing them thoroughly, saying to them, in an oft-recurring formula: *Kyllä mä sukusi tieän*, "Well do I know your race". He it is who can influence and dominate them; and, we may also add, he it is who makes them. Let him become a poet, and the magic word at first rude and formless will take the shape of poetry, will become song; he will personify in spirits, demons or gods, the idea of the things to which his song is addressed, will embody them and mould them into distinct personalities: the myth will take form and be developed. Neither is the procedure different in other religions, based on other principles than the idea of magic. In these the prayer accompanying sacrifice becomes poetical, a song, a hymn; and the sacrificer or priest who composes the hymn is the most fruitful creator of myth. The ancient Vedic hymns, in which we see the myth in course of formation, are a clear witness and example of this. In spite of the profound difference between the Vedic hymn, closely connected with sacrifice, hieratic in spirit and imbued with the ethic element, and the simple, lay magic song of the Finns, the Finnic *laulaja* or *tietäjä* has a part in the formation of the myth not unlike that of the ancient Indian *rishi*. With this difference, that since

the conception of the superior beings is dominated among the Finns by that of the power of the shaman, these beings appear rather passive than active, and if they act and move, do so through him and under his manipulation. It is in the magic song that we see them in action. Ukko, generally distant and immovable, moves and acts at the disappearance of the celestial luminaries and of fire. He runs up and down the sky with his blue-stockinged legs (*sinisukka*), and impatient of the darkness strikes his sword (*thunderbolt*) against his nail and produces a spark which gives fire back to men: this is the myth with the divinity in action, but we find it in the magic song on the origin of fire.¹ Consequently the Finnic epos never represents the deity as mixing with men, as taking part in heroic action, as do the Greek and German epos: it represents him as acting only under the influence of prayer and magic songs, or when the heroes have shamanic attributes and powers, are wizards. It is true we find divine beings in the *Kalevala*, but this is principally due to the numerous magic songs introduced into it by Lönnrot. The magic song is really the primitive poetry of the Finns, the most ancient among their traditions, their poetry *par excellence*. Hence, as we have seen, the equivalence of the words wizard, poet, wise man (*loitsijä, laulaja* or *runoja, tietäjä*), and the mysterious character of the word *runo*, which signifies poetry. We may also observe here, as being in accordance with the facts we are now considering, that mythic beings and conceptions seldom issue from the purely poetical region of the songs. The very numerous popular prose narratives, legends or stories contain a small proportion in comparison with what is found existing in traditional poetry.²

¹ *Loitsurun*, p. 366 *et seq.*; *Kalevala*, rune xlvi.

² *Vid.* Rudbek, *Om Finnarnes Folkdikt i obunden berättande Form*, p. 26 *et seq.*; Schiefner, *Ueber den Mythengehalt d. finn. Märchen*, in the *Mélanges russes*, ii.

Since the magic song has a practical scope, mythic conceptions are formed and developed in it in more or less accordance with the greater or smaller need the wizard may have of addressing his words, his action, to some objects rather than to others. The myth of the celestial deities is little developed, little also that of the terrestrial or rather telluric deities (earth, mountains, etc.). There is the myth reflecting agricultural labour, but it bears signs of being comparatively recent. The most ancient condition of the Finns was not agricultural; Sampsa Pellervoinen has a first name which is biblical (Samson), and a second which comes from *pelto*, field, which is simply the German *Feld*.¹ The myth of the waters, on the other hand, and especially that of the wood, are more anciently rooted and have undergone greater development. This is easily explicable among a people living in a country so surrounded and cut into by waters as is Finland, the land of a thousand lakes (*tuhansen järveen maa*), a land of fishers and seafarers which still furnishes excellent pilots; a well-wooded land whose principal resource now lies in its timber trade, and which even in ancient times drew a large income from the chase of fur animals. It was in the chase, rather than in war, that the *Finnic bows*, so celebrated among the Scandinavians, were used till within recent times. Vast, then, is the domain of Ahti, lord of the waters; vast is that of Tapio, lord of the wood; numerous are their people (*väki*), the family of mythic beings grouped around them; great is the wealth of both of them, the first being lord over a hundred well-stocked caves (*Satahauan hallitsa*), the second

¹ Mention is found in Narbutt and other authors (*cf.* Hanuš, *Wissensch. d. Slaw. Mythus*, p. 330) of a Smik Perlevenu among the Lithuanians, whose name and office appear identical with those of Pellervoinen among the Finns. The structure of the name Pellervoinen is, however, so decidedly Finnic that we should rather believe the Finns to have taken this word from the Lithuanians than *vice versa*.

over an ample store-house (*avara Tapion aitta*). Trees, woods, lakes, rivers were the principal objects of Finnic culture, and some rivers and lakes still prove this by their name of holy river (*Pyhäjoki*), holy lake (*Pyhäjärvi*). Especially abundant among the magic songs are those relating to the chase of birds and of wild beasts, to the wood, to plants of all kinds, to animals, whether a source of gain or of danger, bears, serpents and the like, to the protection of cattle. Warm and attractive poetry clothes Tapio and Mielikki with forms, and dresses and peoples the forest with a great number of fantastic beings of various kinds, for the most part female. To these it frequently gives charming names, as that of Mielikki herself, Tuulikki, Tyytikki; sometimes even Christian ones, as Annikki, Elina, Eeva, etc. Poetic imagination here reaches the point of describing a variety of costumes worn by the gods of the wood, which are more or less rich, according as the gods are more or less disposed to favour the huntsman; and it also describes castles of varying richness or poverty, in which they go to live, according to the dispositions they manifest. This is, however, certainly a product of small antiquity, for the ancient Finns knew nothing of castles.¹

There is another process of personification and of myth-creation differing in its starting-point from that which reflects the facts and things of living, present nature: that, namely, which refers to the idea of the world beyond the tomb, of Hell, of the region of the dead. Here, in addition to the material fact of death and of lying underground, there often exists the idea, expressed under various forms, of a further existence; though this idea is sometimes wanting. Widely diffused among the shamanists is the belief in the spirits of the dead, in their foresight and their power and in an

¹ *Linnä*, which now means castle, is a Finnic word, but originally signified height, hill-top; *vid.* Ahlqvist, *Die Culturwörter*, etc., p. 182.

action they have upon the living; an action, however, which the shaman can control and even use, turning it to his own ends. But, as a rule, these spirits, even those wandering through the air, invisible to all but the shaman, have no other dwelling, except that where the dead body lies. This is certainly the most ancient idea of the Finns, as it is among other, related peoples.¹ The idea of a special region for the dead is, however, found among the Finns, as it is among the Lapps and some Tatar peoples of southern Siberia.² In the conception of the Hell formed by these latter, Buddhistic influence may be recognised, just as, among the Lapps and Finns, the influence is clear of the nearest European peoples, among whom penetrated the Greco-Roman, and afterwards the Christian idea. This part of the Finnic myth is one of the most developed. There is a fairly well-defined idea of the region of the dead, of the deity who presides over it, and of the other beings who rule down there. Here also, however, there is no organic connection in the relationships of the various personalities who are mentioned; and the image or poetical expression does not attain to the presentment of a design so defined and stable as is that of the Greek Hades, or even of the Scandinavian Niflheim; though the influence of this last is clearly traceable. The primary idea is here not, as it is for a tree, the wood, the sky, etc., that of a person, but of a place; because, whether burnt or not, the corpses are buried,³ and the

¹ Vid. Castrén, *Föreläs, i. d. Finsk myth.*, p. 121 et seq.; Max Buch, *Die Wotjaken*, p. 142 et seq.

² Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, pp. 112 et seq., 125 et seq.; Radloff, *Aus Siberien*, ii., p. 9 et seq.

³ Archæological researches show that cremation was common in ancient times both among the Finns and the Estonians. Vid. Aspelin, *Antiquités du nord Finno-ougrien*, pp. 250, 326 et seq.; *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana (The Inhabitants of Finland in Pagan Times)*, p. 47. There were, however, many burials without cremation; and the latter is not mentioned in the traditional songs. Cf. Krohn, *Berättelser ur Finska historien*, p. 73.

idea of *going underground* or of *staying underground* becomes general and abstract in the fantastic conception of a subterranean locality where all the dead men go and live together. This locality is called *Manala* or *Tuonela*. The first name simply means *underground* (*maan ala*); the second has certainly nothing to do with *Toð* or with *θάνατος*, as Castrén thinks, nor with the Germanic god Thonar, as Krohn suggests,¹ but expresses indefinitely and euphemistically the *there* (*tuonne*) where the dead go, the *other dwelling*; almost, as we should say, the other world, or the Germans *d. Jenseits*; or, as the Greeks used to say in the same sense with more perfect correspondence, *ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖσε*, with *οἱ ἐκεῖ*, the dead.² From the idea of the locality arose the personification of it; the idea, that is, of a being who represents and rules it, as Tapio does the wood, Ahti the waters, etc. And the name of this personage is formed from the locality itself: Tuonela gives Tuoni, Manala gives Mana, Tuonela and Manala appearing³ by analogy with Ahtola, Tapiola, etc., one as the *Abode of Mana*, the other as the *Abode of Tuoni*. Thus was the infernal deity created, the king or lord of the dead, Mana or Tuoni. Following the analogy of kingdoms, Tuoni has a wife, Tuonetar, and a son, *Tuonen poika*. He rules over a number of beings of various signification, referring, like *Kalma* (the stench of the corpses) and others, to death, or also to the ills which cause it. This lower world is surrounded by a black, rapid river; it has animals and wild beasts as the earth has; and it is in general conceived under the evident influence of the idea

¹ *Suomal. Kirjall. hist.*, p. 296.

² In magic exorcisms we frequently find the formula, *Mene tuonne kunne käsken* ("Go thither where I bid you"), speaking to an ill; and the place whither the ill is banished is afterwards said to be Hell, or some other equivalent abode of ills. In the friction occasioned by use *Tuonnela* becomes *Tuonela*, as *Maanala* becomes *Manala*.

³ In *Manala* the ending *la* only appears to represent what it really does in *Tuonela*, *Tapiola*, etc.

commonly diffused in Europe from classic times to the spread of Christianity.

These fantastic conceptions were formulated and developed through the idea, common as we have seen to shamanism, of the prophetic gifts and the power of the spirits of the dead, and of the shaman's relation to them when, falling into ecstasy, his spirit goes to beg their protection and to interrogate them. In the poetry of the magic songs the shaman has occasion to describe and populate Hell principally in his quality of medicine-man. For he treats illnesses, wounds, etc., magically, personifying them, defining their nature and origin under images of poetical fancy, assigning them the region of the dead as their fatherland; thus he makes Kipu-tytto, the maiden of pains, Tuoni's daughter, and the cruel, black Loviatar (Louhiatar) mother of nine malignant ills.¹

The epos offers an opportunity for the development of the myth of Hell in the motive, found among the Finns as among other peoples, of heroic enterprise pushed to the furthest extremes of difficulty: to the violation of the rigid kingdom of the dead, which never gives nor gives back, by the carrying off of an animal or a thing, or even by wresting its prey from it, as in Lemminkäinen's adventure and his resurrection. The shamanic idea, too, of which we have spoken above, of the relations of the shaman to the spirits of the dead and of the wisdom and prophetic powers of these latter, affords occasion in the Finnic epos for describing Hell. Väinämöinen descends thither to get the three magic words he was in need of; and incidents of this kind, although they recall the classic Descents among the Dead, like that of Æneas, and Odin's descent into Nifheim, yet were without doubt first born among the Finns from the shamanic idea.

It is common among many peoples to attribute to the

¹ *Loitsurun*, p. 322 et seq.; *Kalevala*, rune xlv.

dead a nature almost dæmonic and a knowledge superior to that of the living. The Finns found this custom among the European peoples with whom they came in contact, but gave it the special impress that characterises this idea among shamanists. The shamanic knowledge and power is the special gift of but few men, who do not lose it when they die, but rather continue to possess it to a still higher degree as spirits : thus do the shamanists think, considering the spirits of dead shamans as more powerful and redoubtable than those of other men. The Finnic Hell, then, unites within itself all the shamanic wisdom of past generations, grown more imposing in the dæmonic nature that the dead acquire ; and Tuoni, who personifies this Hell, knows more than any living *tietäjä*. For this reason the greatest and most powerful *tietäjä* among men, Väinämöinen, when his knowledge fails him, descends into the lower regions and has recourse to Tuoni for the magic words which he does not know or has forgotten. Here the elaboration of the Finnic myth displays a certain depth of conception. This may also be observed in another mythic form worked out from the same idea : Vipunen ; regarding the meaning of which many scholars have speculated in vain. Their suggestions have been too far-fetched.¹ This gigantic corpse who has lain long years underground, above whom plants and great trees have grown up, who, awakened by the man, opens his huge mouth and swallows him so that the intruder slips

¹ Principally Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia*, p. 123 *et seq.*, who makes him a celestial (*thunder*) and solar deity. Donner (*Index of Names in the Kalevala*, ed. 1887) thinks that Vipunen means archer, and was originally a god of the chase. Beauvais (*La magie chez les Finnois*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1882) thinks that Vipunen represents the mountain and his myth refers to mining work. Krohn has given us a good critical work on this subject, *Vipusen taru (The Myth of Vipunen)*, in the *Valvoja* of 1883, p. 459 *et seq.* He justly demolishes the explanations of others, but finds nothing to propose in their stead, and concludes that this is the remains of some ancient myth of whose being and primitive condition nothing certain can be known.

down into his immense belly—this corpse who is said to have crunched and gulped down men, heroes by the hundred, by the thousand,¹ is simply Hell. We may call to mind a like development of the idea of Hell among European peoples from classical antiquity onwards through the Middle Ages to the Ogre (It. *orco*) who, like the *Hölle* of the Germanic Middle Ages,² devours men with his huge mouth (*Orci fauces*) in our popular tales, and to the monster by means of which art represents the lower world, a monster into whose immense wide-open mouth men fall in crowds. Thus in the magic songs for exorcising evils we find the evil banished to the mouth or to the belly of Vipunen³ as it is to the burial ground, to Hell, or to other places of death or misfortune.⁴

¹ Jo olen syönyt sa' an urosta Tuhonnuttuhannen miestä.—*Kalevala*, xvii., 157.

² Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 261 *et seq.*

³ Suuhun Antero Vipusen
Vatsahan vara-väkevän.

⁴ The influence of Christianity and also the example offered by the names of the *bogatyrs* in the Russian *byliny* have caused the Finns to prefix to a few mythic names a first name, which is generally Christian; thus Pellervoinen is called *Sampsä*, which is Samson (which among the Russians becomes the name of a *Bogatyry*), thus *Vipunen* is called *Antero*, which simply means Andrew (*Antti*) among the Finns of Finland. (Among the Finns of Russia Andrew is called *Ontrei*, after the fashion of the Russians.) This first name has no mythic value, and it is useless to look in it and in the numerous corruptions it undergoes in the mouth of the popular singers (*Ankervo*, *Antervo*, *Kantervo*, etc.) for any deep meaning, as Aspelin does (*op. cit.*, p. 146 *et seq.*). Krohn has clearly observed this in the work above quoted, p. 463.

As to the name *Vipunen*, its origin is doubtful. There exists in Finnic the word *vipu*, meaning a tree, bent with a slip-knot at the top to catch game, the cradle hung up to rock, lever, see-saw, etc. It is also found in Esthonian, where it means a bow, hence the name *Viboane*, of a fabulous archer of whom Fählmann speaks (*Verhandl. d. gel. ehstn. Gesellsch.*, ii., 1848, p. 64), whose authenticity, however, Krohn doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 473), and who in any case has nothing to do with *Vipunen*. In this *vipu*, as in *vivata*, to vibrate, we may recognise the Germanic root *vip* (G. *Wipfel*, *Wippe*, *Wippen*, etc.), but it seems to have nothing to do with the explanation of *Vipunen*. Nearer its meaning seems to come the word *vaihua*, to

The general theme of this personification has been to a certain extent influenced by the ideas of neighbouring peoples; but it is nevertheless original in form, with details (dead, underground, trees, etc.) that, as is general in Finnic myth, clearly reveal the meaning, and bear a decided shamanic impress. The quality of the shamanic sage, of *tietäjä*, predominates in Vipunen even more than in Tuoni. This is the sense of the epithets that distinguish the former: rich in verses or in (magic) songs, *virsikäs*; strong in resources, *varaväkevä*; powerful, *mahtipontinen*; great sage, *suuritieto*. Hence Väinämöinen goes to Vipunen for the three magic words just as he does to Tuoni in the nether world. In the minds of the popular singers the two ideas are equivalent: Lönnrot in composing the *Kalevala* has here, as in other places, introduced two variants of the same incident, forming out of them two successive incidents.

Since ethical ideas are, as we have said, wholly foreign to Finnic myth, the Finnic Hell does not imply

fall prostrate, which is used in connection with dying and dead men. For example:—

Uupunehen untimehen
 Vaipunehen vaipun alle.

But the passage of *vai* to *vi* is not easy. Well adapted is the Lithuanian *viep* or *vep*, which expresses the remaining open-mouthed (*viepsau*, *vepsau*, to remain open-mouthed; *viepelis*, *vepelis*, a gaper; German, *Maulaffe*, etc.). Vipunen is essentially a mouth, a great mouth, *suuri suu* (*Kalevala*, xvii., 100); a *faux*, like the orcus; or, like Hölle, is a *gaffender*, *gähnender Rachen*. Cf. also the Lapp *vuoppot*, to devour, swallow.

The nature of this work does not permit me to enter into the details of Väinämöinen's descent into Vipunen. It is enough that I have hinted at the meaning and first reason of this mythic being. Another personification of the lower world may be seen in Untamo (not to be confounded with the Untamo of the Kullervo rune), the sleeper (from *uni fartit. unta*, sleep) who lies stretched on the ground (*maan venyjä*) of whom Väinämöinen asks information (*Kalevala*, v., 15 *et seq.*), but this is a secondary formation, founded on the apparent etymology of the name Untamo, combined with the idea of Vipunen, sleeping underground. Cf. Krohn in the *Valvoja*, 1883, p. 469.

a place of punishment; and this is in fact originally the case also with regard to the Greek Hades and the Scandinavian Nifheim. The hint found in the *Kalevala* (xvi., 401 *et seq.*) at the punishment of the wicked in the nether world, is evidently of Christian origin.¹ The place of torment is the Christian hell, which is distinguished by the Scandinavian name *helvetti* and occurs with other Christian names and ideas in the magic songs; but in spite of the frequent confusion of the pagan idea with the Christian, and the ease with which the former takes on the shape of the latter, *helvetti* still remains quite distinct from Tuonela or Manala. The ethic idea is not, however, connected even with the *helvetti* in the magic song: it is one of those evil places whence come the hurtful beings against whom the wizard fights, or whither he banishes them.

Since the *tietäjä*, whether as doctor or as wizard, has chiefly to do with evils of every kind, the poetry of the magic songs has ample occasion for the personification not only of single evils, but also of evil in the more abstract and generic sense of the word, and for its fantastic localisation. Many and various are the imaginary regions from which evils spring or to which they are relegated, many and various are the malign beings which, whether connected with them or not, produce evil. These beings are rather elves than gods; and are for the most part derived from Christianity or from the popular ideas of Germanic peoples, which abound in sprites of this sort. *Paha* (the evil, the malign one) is drawn from Christian expressions indicating the devil, or also translates the Swedish *hin Onde*; *Juutas* is Judas become an evil genius; *Perkele* is *Perkunas*, the god of thunder among the Lithuanians, become a demon among Finns; *Piru* is *Perun*, the god of thunder among the Slavs, become among the

¹ Thus also Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Finns the devil in the Christian sense of the word. *Lempo*, another maleficent being, or demon, is a name of dubious etymology, which most singularly appears almost identical with *lempi*, the word for love. The reasoning by which Castrén reduces them, notwithstanding the antagonism of this meaning, to one and the same word, seems forced. They probably come from different roots, and the very close resemblance is only apparent; as is also the case with the *Ἔρως* and *Ἔρις* of the Greeks.¹

But the evil genius *par excellence*, the one who is most often mentioned, is *Hiisi*. Not only does he constantly figure in the magic songs, but also in the epos: in Lemminkäinen's enterprises for the horse, for the elk of *Hiisi*; and where he causes Väinämöinen's axe to glance aside and inflict a wound in the knee, etc. He is a malignant, spiteful being; so Satanic that in common parlance *mene Hiiten, go to Hiisi*, translates the *go to the devil* of other peoples. He is lord of a whole tribe of the same nature; and has his own abode or region, *Hiitola*, in which, as in *Manala*, exist animals of marvellous attributes. His chief dwelling-place is the thick forest, the wooded mountain. Mention is often made of his *coals*, partly for the sake of alliteration (*hiili*, coal), partly as a reminiscence of the coals of the Christian hell, partly

¹ *Lempi* expresses love, grace, delicacy. It calls to mind the Lithuanian *lepstu* (*lempu*), to make oneself delicate; *lepūmas*, delicacy, softness; the Latin *lepor*, *lepidus*.

Lempo, as I believe, is a word of Germanic origin. It represents primarily the attributes of halt, or lame, applied to the devil (*hinkebein*); cf. Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 829. It has the meaning of the A.-S. *limbhealt*, *lemphealt*, lame; O. H. G. *limfan*, *limphan*, to halt; E. limp. The Esthonian has *lämp-jalg*, foot turned outwards; *lämpama*, to limp; *lämpu*, *lampu-jalg*, halting on account of an imperfection in the feet. Cf. G. *lahm*. *Lemboi* is found among the Russians in the sense of devil or evil spirit, but only in the northern provinces near the Finns (*vid.* Rybnikoff, *Pjesni*, iv., p. 220 *et seq.*), from whom the Russians have drawn the name. Cf. Rybnikoff, *op. cit.*, iv., p. 280; Grot, *Filologiceskja razyskanija*, i., p. 471.

because Hiisi and his people are considered, like corresponding beings in the German myth, as skilful in the art of the smith. A further development applies the same idea to other parts of nature, distinguishing a Hiisi of the wood, *Metsän Hiisi*, a Hiisi of the waters, of the mountain (*Veden Hiisi*, *Vuoren Hiisi*), etc. The traditions also speak of the *Hiidet*, together with the *Jättiläiset* or giants, as an aboriginal population, to whom are attributed the remains of ancient constructions or habitations.¹ Originally, as Castrén well argues, Hiisi is a god or genius of the wood, a kind of evil-natured *sylvanus*. We may add that the plural *Hiidet* certainly precedes the singular *Hiisi*, which springs from the plural just as *Inferno* does from *Inferi*, or among the Finns *Manalainen*, another name for Mana or Tuoni, from the plural *Manalaiset*, *Inferi*. These *Hiidet*, then, taken by some people seriously as the name of an ancient population, are simply the variously-named *Waldgeister* of the German myths, who are also mixed and confused with the *Riesen*. Especially do they represent in their origin the *Wilde Leute* of German traditions.² The very name *Hiidet* tells us this. It has certainly nothing to do with the Lapp *seida* (domestic genius), as Lönnrot would have, but comes, as I believe, from that ancient German term (Goth. *haithins*, A.-S. *haethen*, O. N. *heidhenn*, etc.) which afterwards came to mean pagan (G. *Heide*, heathen, etc.), but which originally meant a *rustic*.³ The word must have been adopted by the Finns in somewhat ancient times; when it had already a disagreeable meaning, but while the first meaning was still remembered. The poetry of the *tietäjät* developed among them its meaning

¹ Vid. the list of the remains so called by the people and of the various names of a like nature, edited by A. Hjelt, in *Suomi*, 1882, pp. 370 et seq., 386 et seq.

² Cf. Grimm, *D. Myth.*, pp. 396 et seq. and 458.

³ Vid. Kluge, *Etym. Wörterb. d. deutsch. Spr.*, s. v. Heide.

of *evil beings*, and ended by comprising these with other malevolent beings, as Perkele, Juutas, etc., for whose names *Hiisi* has become an equivalent, and with the devil of the Christians; but although they gave to *Hiisi* as to others the title of evil pagan, *paha pakana*, yet they did not, in expressing the idea of pagan, follow the German usage, but adopted the Latin word learnt from the Lithuanians and the Russians.

To the list of fantastic localities of regions ill-omened or malign in character, producers or harbourers of ills, we must add Pohjola, important for the part it takes in the epos and therefore subject to much discussion. Pohjola has this characteristic, that it is really localised: it lies in the north. No other mythic region has a location in the actual world; there is, therefore, in the epos no defined field of action except when the action takes place in Pohjola. Outside Pohjola events occur in the indefinite; since the names Saari, Untamola, Väinölä, etc., tell us nothing. Nevertheless Pohjola is an entirely fantastic country imagined by the *tietäjät* in their songs for the definition of certain evils. *Pohja* means bottom, Swed. *botten*, an idea found in the name Bothnia, and in that by which the Finns call eastern Bothnia, Pohjanmaa. To this first meaning is united that of a northern country, and precisely, the generic idea of the north. Pohjola is therefore the abode at the *bottom* or *north*, the abode or region of the extreme north. The evils that afflict the Finns and other northern peoples, as ice, snow, cold winds of winter, darkness, have their roots in a region still further north, from which they issue forth. It is a remote region, existing we do not exactly know where; but in what direction is clearly shown by the icy breath of Boreas which comes out from it. It is an outer land (*ulkomaa*) on the northern confines of the earth, essentially dark (*pimeä*) and cold (*kylmä*), the country of Pakkanen (icy coldness). It is a wretched land, fatal to men and

heroes, a land of briars (*sariola*), of wild forests, of fierce beasts. Sun and moon are never seen there, but visible in the eternal night is the *coloured cover* (*kyrjokansi*) or the star-studded vault of the sky. It is a fearsome imagination that corresponds to what Pliny says of the far north: "Pars mundi damnata a rerum natura et densa mersa caligine" (iv., 12). Here, as in Tuonela and Manala, the idea of a locality comes first, but before long the personification follows in one or more beings who inhabit it, rule it, express in their own action its character and nature. Pohjola has a lord, *isäntä*, *ukko*, but above all, a lady, to whom are applied epithets, sometimes even insulting, indicative of depravity and malignity. The feminine idea prevails because in the magic songs in which Pohjola is used as representing certain evils, especially cold, the country is essentially a bringer-forth, a generator of evils. Hence it is personified as a female being who mates with wind and brings forth cold,¹ with something else and gives birth to the wolf,² by the wind conceives the dog,³ and is also the mother of sicknesses,⁴ etc. Hence the constant epithet, whore (*portto*), applied in the magic and epic songs to the lady of Pohjola, who, as an expression of her malignant nature, is represented as old, black, toothless (*harvahammas*, with teeth far apart), and has a daughter who is also black. She and her people are also blind, with shut eyes (*sokedä*, *umpisilmä*), like those who live in darkness. Pohjola, being thus the seat of evils and darkness, has some elements in common with Manala, the kingdom of the dead.⁵ The name Louhi, given to the lady of Pohjola rather in the magic than in the epic

¹ *Loitsurun.*, n. 28 b.

² *Ibid.*, n. 40 c.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 34 a, d.

⁵ This does not mean that they are one and the same thing, as Aspelin thinks, starting from an erroneous principle, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia*, pp. 19 *et seq.*, 24. Mythic conceptions whose diverse origin is patent are in the magic runes easily interchangeable, and converge in related ideas.

runes,¹ or Louhiatar, is equivalent to that of Loviatar, daughter of Tuoni, mother of sicknesses : an epithet which in the magic runes is often applied to the lady of Pohjola. She is malignant and hated, but may also be good, and men may pray to her. For the *tietäjä* turns to her in the spell against fire, that she may send ice, snow, sleet and heavy rain to tame the fatal fury of the flames ;² and he also turns to her as lady of the far north where in the wild woods are the lairs of innumerable fur animals, that she may favour and crown the perilous enterprise of the *metsestäjä*, or hunter of wild beasts.³

But among the evils which the *tietäjä* has to combat and conjure there is one most terrible of all : the magician who can by his arts send sicknesses and produce evils of every sort. The magic song on the origin of sicknesses makes Loviatar bear nine children, to whom their mother gives the names of sicknesses, colic, gout, etc., except the last, of whom she makes a hurtful magician, a *velho* maleficent in every place (*katehiksi, kaikin paikoin*).⁴ Now these evil, hurtful magicians are defined not with the names of fabulous beings, but with the real name of Lapps, and are the real, true Lapps, known from ancient times for their magic.

Very frequent in the magic songs is the mention of the Lapp (*Lappalainen, Lappi*) in this sense, and also of his country (*Lapi* or *Turja*), wretched and northern, and

¹ In spite of what we find in the *Kälevala*, the name of Louhi as applied to the lady of Pohjola only occurs once in the epic runes ; *vid.* the index of names (1887), s. n. Louhi. Castrén and others have imagined a connection with the malign god Loki of Scandinavian myth. I do not see this. The Finnic verb, *louhia*, to gnaw, to bite, etc., explains the name sufficiently, as *syöda*, to eat, does *Syöjätär*, mother of serpents. Although the *Pohjolan emäntä* has *teeth far apart* this does not prevent her sometimes having them of iron (*rautahammas*), like some infernal beings.

² *Loitsurun.*, p. 247 *k et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 211 a a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 322 *et seq.*

therefore near to Pohjola, which it resembles in the malignity of its action. Since the idea of north is present and living in the word *Pohja* or *Pohjola*, and since the Lapps are the northern representatives of that northern region, the two ideas are easily interchanged. Pohjola appears inhabited by Lapps, the lady of Pohjola lady of the Lapps, and her nature as mother of evils is ready to assume the character of a malignant witch, very clever and very powerful, concentrating in herself all the worth and the meaning of Lapp magic. The approximation and the interpenetration of the two ideas are plainly seen in the magic songs; but on the other hand clear signs remain of their distinct and diverse origin, for, as we see in the epos, all Lapps are not of Pohjola, neither are the men of Pohjola all or always Lapps.

In the epos the rude mythic conception of Pohjola and its lady is somewhat humanised. Pohjola becomes the field of epic action, and its lady an epic personage. She is not blind, not entirely wicked; on the contrary, she may be hospitable, and have one or more beautiful daughters, sought by heroes; and this all the more easily because, through the idea of the north and of the Lapp wizards, the myth seems to approach the actual world. But behind all it is very easy to recognise the Pohjola, the lady of Pohjola and the Lapp wizards, of the magic songs.

The position of Pohjola, its darkness and cold, its enmity with Kalevala, may make us think of Jötunheim, of the Scandinavian Utgård, of the Jötuns, enemies of the Aesir and of men. But the connection is small, apparent and fortuitous; they are two conceptions of profoundly different origin and nature. It is on the contrary a very remarkable thing that the myth of the giants, so well developed in the Scandinavian North, should have remained so entirely extraneous to the Finns. No trace of it is found excepting the name of a marine monster

Tursas (or *Iki-Turso*),¹ doubtless derived from the O. N. *thurs*,² equivalent to *iötun*, giant. The word by which the Finns express giant, *iättiläinen*, is directly derived from the modern Swedish *jätte*.³ It is curious that at one time, when seeking to find for Jötunheim a location in the actual world, the Scandinavians should place it on the White Sea and the banks of the Dvina: the great fatherland of Väinämöinen, the chief home of the Finnic runes.⁴

At this point of our study of the Finnic myth and of its method of production, we may observe that we have made considerable progress in our knowledge of the epos; for we have defined in their essence and their origin Pohjola and the Lady of Pohjola as they result from the magic songs. The Lady of Pohjola is one of the principal types among the heroes of the *Kalevala*. It is true we shall have to define the others who do not belong to Pohjola, but to the opposite camp; but it has already become clear that we must look for the definition of them in the myth and in the poetic ideals that the magic song has created. As we have already said, we shall find no other region so well defined as Pohjola. The Finnic myth shrinks from systematising, and knows no cosmographical divisions; it never reaches this stage of development; it could never mark out an Ásgardhr, a Midgardhr, an Útgardhr, for it is too limited in its conception of the divine beings and their relation to man. It is true we should expect that the conception of the country of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen should appear at least as clearly defined, in the epic songs, as that of Pohjola; but this could be legitimately looked for only

¹ *Kalevala*, xlii., 1, 348 *et seq.*

² Grimm, *D. M.*, p. 431 *et seq.*

³ In Kemi, in Tervola (northern boundary) there is still found the ancient Norse form *Jotun* (*Jötun*), *Jatul* (*Jutul*); *vid. Calamnius, Muinais-tiedustuksia Pohjanperiltä*, in *Suomi*, 1868, p. 197.

⁴ Munch, *Norröne Gude-och Helte Sagn*, p. 40 (§ 35).

in the case of epic songs converging towards the unity of a great poem, which should have its parts, therefore, moulded with a sense of proportion. Here no such sense of unity exists; it is neither understood, sought, nor desired by the popular singers. The author of the poem, Lönnrot, has been obliged himself to invent a name for a region that should unite these heroes and figure as their fatherland. Even this he has been obliged to introduce by violence and only in a few places in the poem; which should really be entitled rather *Pohjola* than *Kalevala* if one takes into consideration the relative frequency of the names. We respect Lönnrot's reasons, which are indeed quite intelligible, for giving it this title; but we find ourselves at this point of our researches in presence of the origin of the epic ideals of the *laulajat*, and not those of Lönnrot.

Just as the fancy of the *tietäjät*, arrived, as we have seen, by various roads and occasions, at the creation of a whole assortment of malignant beings and ill-omened places whose duties the magic song often confounds and makes almost equivalent to each other; so, on the other hand, it created, as occasion offered, poetical ideas of Good, whether in places or in fantastic personalities. To begin with, the divinities of the sky, of the waters, of the wood, are generally looked upon as good and benignant. And the magician feels that he himself and the power he wields are benignant and beneficent; for he combats evil, procures good things, health, prosperity, and with his word turns mountains into butter, rocks into lard, lakes into honey,¹ etc. All good things, or things which serve a good end, turn his mind to joyful thoughts: medicinal plants, for instance, and unguents, to obtain which a graceful poetry sees the little bird of the air (*ilman lintu*), Mehiläinen (the bee), rising even above the ninth heaven, or penetrat-

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 26 c.

ing into the depths of the forest in Metsola, or even in Pohjola which is also wooded. Joyful, too, is the poetry, joyful the conceptions of fantastic places and of persons that spring up in the mind of the *tietäjä* when with his song he accompanies and renders prosperous the manufacture of beer, of the foaming exhilarating drink that comforts the wretched sons of the north, cheers the servants, and strengthens the workmen at their toil.¹ There really exists, then, in their fancy, the idea of a region that is the opposite of Pohjola; in so far as the sun shines there, the air is tepid, nature rich. This is not the same as saying that this region is opposed to Pohjola geographically, and corresponds to a real country towards the south, or that it represents the generic idea of the south. On the contrary, when Pohjola is regarded as the equivalent of Metsola, as the wooded mother of rich fur animals, the two regions may even be confounded. But, properly speaking, it is the region of light and of sun. It is hence the abode of the sun, Päivölä, an abode transported, as happens also in other mythologies, from the sky to the earth, placed at a great and indefinite distance, beyond nine seas (*yheksan meren ylitse*), and represented as an island (again as in other mythologies), which, properly speaking, has no name of its own and is simply called *Saari*, island, or also *Saarela* or *Luotola*, which come to mean about the same thing. Although originally Päivölä has a different meaning, *Saari* and Päivölä have become almost identical; and this occurs, too, with the names of other mythical localities, also of diverse origin, if they are or happen by chance to be brought near that idea of joyous prosperity and well-being expressed by *Saari* and Päivölä. This has happened in the case of Kalevala, and even, as we have seen, with Pohjola itself. The kingdom of the dead, *Manala*, being

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 214.

surrounded by a river, appears, according to the mythic ideas suggested by other peoples, as an island; Pohjola, to the conception of which are also applied elements suggested by other peoples, being likewise encircled by a river and reproducing the same idea. But although in the free course, often erratic and confused, of the imaginings of the *tietäjät* and *laulajat*, conceptions really extraneous to each other and radically different, do meet and mingle; still the peculiar characteristics of each poetic ideal remain clear in the mass of poetic production. There are many and diverse names expressing localities, used with qualificatives expressing charm or pleasure, and all are identified, or can be identified, with Päivölä or Saari.¹ The abode of plenty (*Kyllölä*), of gold (*Kultala*), of pastime (*Vietola*), of dainties (*Imantola*), of matrimony (*Naimola*), the island of money (*Rahasaari*), of fish (*Kalasaari*), of bread (*Leipasaari*), of calm (*Terhensaari*), etc., are all names of happy places contained in the idea of Päivölä or Saari. This region, which in some songs comes to be described almost as a Land of Cockaigne, is really the seat of loves, of splendid weddings, of banquets, and of solemn and divine symposiums (*jumaliston juomingit*), of relationships (*Lankola*), of searchers for a bride. It has a lord (*Päivölän isäntä*), but he is of no great importance. It is better represented by the beautiful maiden of Saari (*Saaren neito*), whom many desire, and for whom the child of the sun, of the moon and of the north star (*Tahti*),² were rivals; according to tales and magic songs which passed from the Lithuanians and Letts to the Esthonians and Finns, and of which some echo is found even in Finland.³ To Päi-

¹ *Vid.* the many texts quoted by Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia*, p. 25 *et seq.*

² This means star, but the north star is referred to *par excellence*.

³ *Vid.* Schwarz, *Sonne, Mond und Sterne*, p. 164 *et seq.*; Mannhardt, *Die Lettischen Sonnenmythen* (*Zeitschr. Ethnol.*, 1875), p. 314 *et seq.*; Neuss, *Ehstnische Volkslieder*, pp. 9-23; Krohn, *Suomal. kirjallis. hist.*, p.

völä properly belong the wedding and the banquet which Lönnrot has transferred in the *Kalevala*, following a few rare variants, to Pohjola. And since Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, ideal magicians, one of the intellectual type (*tietäjä*), the other of the mechanical (*takoja*), also figure among the searchers for a bride, they also have a connection with this region, which sometimes seems to be identified with Väinölä, Väinämöinen's dwelling-place.

But the hero to whom this field really belongs is Lemminkäinen, also called *Ahti of Saari* (*Saarelainen*), the amorous above all others (*lempi*, love), the thoughtless follower of women and of amorous adventures, the ardent rogue (*veitikkä verevä*), a favourite subject of the songs, whether magic or no, that accompany the brewing of beer.¹

This occasion of the making of the beer, and others such as wedding feasts, banquets, the festivals connected with agricultural labour, etc., give rise to song and a poetical, fantastic production, narrative without any magic end, but based on the poetical creations of the magic songs and developed in accordance with the spirit of these latter into epic-lyric or purely epic songs. Although these creations bear a proper and original impress, it is yet easy to trace external influence in them. That happy region, that island beyond nine seas, has not only affinities with similar conceptions among Indo-European peoples, but is more directly recognised as the same that figures in all Russian magic formulas: the island Bujan where the sun lives, where dwells the lovely maiden Zaria (the dawn).² Here, as in other cases, we must not seek the naturalistic meaning (even if such exists) in the myth of the Finns,

326 et seq.; Donner, *Lieder der Lappen*, p. 53 et seq. (*The Lapp Song, The Sons of the Sun, Päiven parne*’, p. 61 et seq.); Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, pp. 83 et seq., 169 et seq.

¹ Krohn, *l. c.*, p. 493.

² Afanasieff, *Poetičeskija vozzrienija Slavjan na prirodu*, p. 131 et seq.; Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia*, p. 120.

who were not the first creators of this image. Besides Lemminkäinen, there is connected with Päivölä or Saari, among epic personages, Kullervo, or better the son of Kaleva (*Kalevan poika*). Kaleva is a giant, but he must not be confounded with the giants of German myth, although his origin is not dissimilar from that of the *Bergriesen*. The word really expresses rocky ground, hard, accursed soil, with cliffs and stony heights. It has not the same derivation as the Finnic word *kallio*, cliff, rock,¹ but probably comes from the Slav *skala*, cliff, rock. The ending *va* is the same as that of so many Finnic adjectives, e.g., *väkevä*, strong, *verevä*, sanguine, etc., hence the word *Kaleva* means *rocky* or *having the nature of rock*. It is not used as an adjective;² it is employed only as a mythic name or personification, but with a very transparent meaning.

As in other mythologies, and chiefly in those of the neighbouring Teutons and Slavs, the rock, the cliff, the mountain, is personified in one or more beings of huge proportions or of superhuman force. Kaleva is a giant, as is Sviatogor, as is Gorynia (R. *gora*, mountain) of the Russian *byliny* or tales.³ The people find evidence of his

¹ The double *l* (*ll*) which is found in Lapp (*galle*, *kallo*), in Vepse (*kalli*), and of which there is a trace in Esthonian (*kal'ju*), rather brings this word near to the Goth. *hallus*, rock, cliff, O. N. *hallr*, as Thomsen thinks; *Ueb. d. Einfl. d. germ. Spr. auf d. Lapp-Finn.*, p. 139. Examples of the substitution of an initial German *h* by a Finnic *k* are not wanting, although rare; in general the *h* remains *h*. Cf. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² The word for rocky is *kallioinen* (from *kallio*, with an ending *inen* almost equivalent to the other *va*). Thus we have *väkevä* and *väkinen*, *verevä* and *verinen*, etc.

³ Among the names of ancient heroes or bogatyrs in the Russian *byliny*, there figure, besides Sviatogor, Polkan (Ital. *Pulicane*) and others, Kalyvan or Ivan Kalyvanovič, or Samson Kalyvanovič (*vid. Kirjeevski, Pjesni*, in the index, p. 25 *et seq.*; Hilferding, *Onežskija byliny*, n. 185). This name may be an echo of the Esthonian-Finnic Kaleva, as Krohn also thinks (p. 320 *et seq.*). We cannot say the same of the Halevijn of a Dutch song, as Neus thinks (*Ehstn. Volksl.*, p. 5). Cf. Geier o. Afzelius, *Svenska Folkvisor*, ii., 279; Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, iv., p. 23 *et seq.*

gigantic form, of his immense force, in blocks of granite that they believe him to have hurled, in huge rocks that they call his seats, etc. This is particularly the case in eastern Finland and in Esthonia,¹ where the names of several places refer to Kaleva or to the sons of Kaleva; just as happens with the giants in the Norse and the Germanic myth and in that of other peoples. The essentially rocky soil of these northern regions, diversified and strewn with huge boulders even where capable of being tilled, the moor (*kankas*) and the northern field are personified in Kaleva and idealised into a region which is the abode of Kaleva or Kalevala: but this is an idealisation of the soil in a generic way as soil, not in a natural sense as the fatherland of the Finns; and determines nothing with regard to its confines or geographical boundaries. The personification of Kaleva is not highly developed. It is limited to the ordinary attributes which naturally accompany giants or *γῆγευεῖς* that symbolise telluric rock, *i.e.*, huge proportions and superhuman force. Of his deeds not much is said, so that Castrén has even thought that Kaleva did not represent a person, but was an epithet

¹ Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 374. Cf. the *Kalevipoeg* and Cajanus in Rein, *Bidrag til finska häfde-teckningens historia*, in *Suomi*, 1843, p. 77 *et seq.* Blumberg's work, *Quellen u. Realien d. Kalevipoeg*, Dorpat, 1869, is accompanied by a map showing the places in Esthonia where the people see traces of Kalevipoeg. Without thinking of the Slav root which I here adduce, others have already observed that Kaleva, Esthonian and Finnic, is, as Neus well expresses it (*Ehstn. Volksl.*, n. 2), nothing but "the deified northern rock-nature," and of this original meaning a trace is also found in certain songs of the Esthonians in which the son of Kalev is called Child of the Rock, *Kaljo poisi*; *vid.* Kreutzwald u. Neus, *Myth. u. mag. Lieder d. Ehsten*, p. 42 *et seq.*; cf. Kruse, *Urgeschichte d. Ehstn. Volksstammes*, p. 175 *et seq.* Popular usage gives to some stars the name of *Star of Kaleva* (*Kalevan tahti*), *Sword of Kaleva* (*Kalevan miekka*); *vid.* Petrelius in *Fennia*, i., 1889; Gottlund, *Otava*, i., p. 101 *et seq.* To deduce from this, as Donner does (*Suomi*, p. 168), that Kaleva indicates a celestial or sidereal god, is as legitimate as it would be in the case of Väinämöinen, Aaron, Jacob, etc., from whom other stars are named.

applied to powerful heroes.¹ In a certain sense this is true, in accordance with the explanation we have given of the name. The process of personification exists, but it has not advanced far; and the original attributive meaning of the word is still clear.

This is also evident in the other name *Osmo*, or *Osmori*, used as the equivalent of Kaleva and hence *Osmola* as that of *Kalevala*. To me it seems clear that we have here the O. N. *Úsmár* (which in modern Swedish would become *osmå*), meaning *not small* and used also in the sense of *valiant, worthy of honour*.² In Finnic poetry the ironical expression *not little* is frequently used in speaking of one who is very great, *not great* in speaking of one who is very small.³ Thus then is called the gigantic Kaleva and in the name *úsmár* there is already in Norse that meaning of valour and importance that Castrén observes in the use of Kaleva. The personification and idealisation of the rocky, but tillable soil, is clearly recognisable in the magic songs. Above all is it apparent in that on the origin of beer, where *Osmo*, *Osmotar*, *Kaleva*, *Kalevatar*, etc., are spoken of, and represent not one country rather than another, but the rocky northern soil in which grows *Humala*

¹ *F. Mythol.*, p. 250. He associates this name with the Turkish *aalep*, hero. Other etymologies: Lit. *kalvis*, smith (Ahlqvist, *D. Culturwört.*, p. 58); *Skilfingr*, the Scandinavian name of a mythic race and also of Odin (Schiefner and with him Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 287 *et seq.*); Russ. *golova*, head (Lönnrot, in his *Finn. Dic.*, s. v. Kaleva). Donner (*Suomi*, 1866, p. 145 *et seq.*) sees in Kaleva a god of the shining, thundering sky and considers the name as related to Finnic words of that meaning (*kolisevä, kiiltävä*, etc.).

² *E.g.*, "var Snorri godhi úsmári öllum sáttmálum," *Eyrbyggja Saga*, p. 105.

³ The little man (*pikku mies*):—

ei tuo ollut suuren suuri

eikä aivan pienen pieni (*Kalev.*, ii., 114).

The great ox at the wedding in Pohjola:—

ei ollut suuri, eikä pieni

olihan oikea vasikka (*Kalev.*, xx., 19).

(It was not big, it was not little, it was just like a calf.)

(the hop), son of noisy rejoicings (*Remusen poika*), and the barley; the soil that by the aid of the creative power (*Kapo*) produces the liquid that ferments and foams. This must be the meaning of formulas common also in other songs; the moor of Kaleva (*Kalevan kangas*), the fount of Kaleva (*Kalevan kaivo*), the field of Osmo (*Osmon pelto*), etc.

Kaleva, as we have said, is represented as a giant, but he has no action. He nevertheless appears as the father of a numerous and lively offspring. As many as twelve of his sons are spoken of, but the names of few only are mentioned. Those giants (*jättiläiset*) or those Hiidet, to whom, as we have above said, are attributed the remains of ancient buildings, or blocks and heaps of stones believed to be such, naturally figure as the sons of Kaleva,¹ but rather in popular saga than in poetic myth. Strictly speaking there is but *one* son of Kaleva, called in Esthonia *Kalevipoeg* (son of Kalev), in the Finnic runes *Kalevan poika*, and also *Kullervo*, son of *Kalervo*.² Here also the word son

¹ Ganander, *Myth. fenn.*, s. v. *Kaleva*, *Kalevan pojat*.

² The name *Kalervo* is but a variant of the name Kaleva, with an ending which is found in other mythic names (*Sinervo*, *Tellervo*, etc.). As to the name *Kullervo*, its etymology should be from *kulta*, which means *gold* and also *dear*, but this has nothing to do with the type of *Kullervo*. The people sometimes creates a name for the son like that of the father (or *vice versa*), with very little variation. This is all the more natural in poetry where alliteration predominates, and can hence also be observed in ancient mythic Scandinavian poetry (*Thórr*, *Thrúdr*; *Buri*, *Borr*, etc.). Cf. Bugge, *Studien üb. die Entstehung d. nord. Gott und Heldensagen*, p. 211. A curious Finnic example of this is *Kimmo Kammo*, father of stone (*Loitsurun.*, p. 63, *Kivi*, *Kimmon Kammon poika*), a play of alliterative sounds in which may be recognised the elements of the Finnic *kivi*, stone, and of the Russian *kamen*, stone. Thus is to be explained also the *Vipunen*, son of *Vapunen* of a few songs, of whom Krohn speaks, *Valvoja*, 1883, p. 473. As to *Untamo*, brother and enemy of Kaleva, I do not believe he has anything to do, as Krohn thinks (*Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 287), with the *Hunding* of the Edda (*Helgaqvída Hundingsbana*) and of the *Volsungasaga*; the aspirated initial letter of foreign words is always preserved in Finnic. Probably this name has as its base the Swedish *ond*, wicked, and in this sense *Untamola* is sometimes the equivalent of *Pohjola* (*Kalevala*, xv., 576; xxvi., 205).

is purely poetical, as we have said with regard to the *child of the sun* and the like. This son of Kaleva embodies in the well-determined personality of an agent and a hero the essential qualifications of Kaleva as we have above defined them: the huge proportions and the superhuman force of a giant. Among the Esthonians popular poetry and fantasy have surrounded him with so many songs and legends that Kreutzwald, weaving in many verses of his own, has been able to build up a whole poem in which Kalevipoeg figures as the national Esthonian hero. The Finns, in their national poetry, have made him a hero of a very secondary type beside Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen. His nature, too, is different, though it is still such as to enable him to figure in that nation's epos, where Lönnrot has introduced him episodically. The giant, among the Esthonians a sort of Gargantua, is lost to sight among the Finns, who only develop the attribute of force. Among the first as among the second, however, the characteristic and fundamental conception in the action of this hero is that of an excessive, rude, brute force, which manifests itself from his birth, and which, always exaggerated, spoils everything he undertakes. In working out this type, in adapting it to their Kaleva in accordance with a well-conceived ideal connection, Esthonians and Finns have created nothing of their own; they have reproduced a type common to the popular stories of the neighbouring peoples, that of the *Junge Riese* or of the *Starke Hans*.¹

When other mythic or heroic personages are called *Kaleva* or *Sons of Kaleva*, the title must be understood merely as an ideal connection and not as an identity or a

¹ Grimm, *Kinder und Hausm.*, n. xc., 166, where we also find the hero at the smith's, as is told of Kullervo. With this fundamental motive there are combined in the *Kalevala* other motives originally extraneous to Kullervo, in which the hero acquires a tragic character. Of these we have given an account in the chapter on the *Composition of the Kalevala*.

real generic relationship. If the huge Vipunen who lies underground, and as we have seen represents the ogre, is sometimes called the *old Kaleva*¹ or even the *son of Kaleva*, one understands the reason. Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen are also sometimes called in the runes sons of Kaleva; although in the runes themselves their birth is often very differently spoken of. But they are superhumanly powerful heroes, and that is enough to earn them this title; which, as Castrén has well divined, is equivalent to an epithet.

In this sense Kalevala may figure as the fatherland or dwelling of these heroes. And since, in the epic ideals that have their roots in the poetry of the magic songs, there is a continual contrast between the Finnic magician, benign and beneficent, and the Lapp wizard, malign and maleficent, so there is a contrast between Pohjola and Kalevala. This last appears therefore as the Finnic country, being sometimes even confused with Päivölä or Saari. There could be no other reason for the title that Lönnrot has thought well to give to his composition; which he wished to be, as indeed it is, the national poem of the Finns. But who should think Kalevala to be the mythic name of the Finnic fatherland, of Finland or even of a part of it, of Carelia for instance, would be mistaken.

The son of Kaleva above all others would be Kullervo, and hence Kalevala should be peculiarly his country and his field of action. But Kullervo or the *Kalevan poika* is, as we have said, a secondary hero in the Finnic runes, and has in fact been only incidentally associated

¹ Castrén, *F. Myth.*, 250 et seq. Aspelin, *Kalev. tutkimuksia*, p. 151. The name *vanha Kaleva* given to Vipunen in the printed *Kalevala* does not occur in the MSS. known to Krohn. *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 442. He believes that, although it is found in some runes, it must be a chance addition taken from the Kullervo runes. I do not think so, as in the original popular idea the name Kaleva can quite well be applied to Vipunen.

with the epos. Some facts render him akin to the type of Lemminkäinen, with whom he is sometimes confounded ;¹ hence he is occasionally found, as we before said, in connection with Päivölä or Saari.²

¹ Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 132 *et seq.*

² Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia*, p. 40 ; who, however, falls into a grave error, when he deduces that Kaleva and Päivä (sun) are the same thing in a mythic sense.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEROIC MYTH.

LET us now inquire what the popular Finnic poets think of the world in general, of nature, of the creative and generative forces and also of man. No one, after what we have been saying, will expect them to have on such subjects a consistent and well-ordered system of ideas. Although in their poetry, and also in their tales, they speak of several skies, of several seas, and more exactly of *nine* skies, yet this formula does but express an indeterminate and fantastic distance; it is moulded on similar formulas in the tales and popular poetry of the Russians, Teutons and other peoples, and even the number *nine* is not original.¹ The sky is one, and they call it with a word of foreign origin *taivas* (Lith. *dievas*, god, but originally sky).² Poetically they represent it, as do other peoples (Ind. *Varuna*, Gr. *Οὐρανός*), as a lid; and inasmuch as it is starry they call it the variegated lid (*kirjokansi*).³ But, properly speaking, the world is *maailma* or earth-air, or also simply *ilma*. This word *ilma* expresses the air (in a state of rest); it expresses also atmospheric conditions and climate. The dominant meaning in the word, however, is that of *clear* air or atmosphere, hence *ilmiö* translates *phenomenon*, *apparition*; *ilmoittaa*

¹ Cf. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 548. On the nine skies, *ibid.*, p. 255.

² Ahlqvist, *Culturwört. d. westfinn. Sprachen*, p. 244.

³ Cf. the Lith. *dangūs* sky; *dañktis*, lid (*dengiū*, to cover). In the Edda (Alvism. 13) the sky is called *fagraraefr* (beautiful or splendid roof).

represents *to declare, manifest, etc.* This definition of the world comes near that of the Slavs, who use *svjet* (light, world), accompanied by the unvarying epithet *bjely* (white or clear). In the Finnic runes we recognise, without any precise definition, the conception on which we have already touched: that the air, *ilma*, is like the spirit (*henki*) of the world, and the productive power resides in it. Hence the functions that we find attributed to the *Ilman impi* or *Virgin of the Air*, or *Ilmatar*, and to other personifications of which we shall shortly speak. In his second edition of the *Kalevala* Lönnrot has connected the cosmogonic myth, not, as in the first edition, with Väinämöinen, but with the Virgin of the Air. As a matter of fact the runes refer in this connection always to Väinämöinen and never to the Virgin of the Air, though sometimes the myth is independent even of Väinämöinen. And this is its original condition. This myth, that describes the birth of the world from an egg, has recalled to the minds of scholars¹ those systems of cosmogony of many peoples, especially non-European, among whom a similar idea is found, besides the egg of the Orphic hymns and of Hellanicus, also of Eastern origin. The small poetical fable of the Finns has nothing to do with the wisdom of systems. It is unknown among kindred peoples, except among the Esthonians.² It is not a very old tradition, but has been formed, like the rest of the Finnic myth, from ideas of a purely popular character, not foreign to European peoples. Popular Lithuanian beliefs speak of an immense mass in the form of an egg, which afterwards became the earth;³ and in some ancient Russian manuscripts the world (according

¹ Kellgren, *Mythus de ovo mundi*, Helsingf., 1849. Krohn, *Suomal. kirjall. hist.*, pp. 334-9.

² Castrén, *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 300.

³ Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Legenden u. Sagen der Zamaiten.*, i., 216 et seq.

to an idea which, it seems, dates from John of Damascus) is compared to an egg: the shell is the sky, the skin the clouds, the white is the water, the yolk the land.¹ And the Greek myths speak of the Dioscuri (having an astral signification) as born from an egg, and of Typhœus, also born from an egg. Aristophanes (*Birds*, l. 685 *et seq.*) shows the popular form of the Orphic conception of the protogenetic egg; and the tales and traditions of European peoples tell of the generation from the egg of extraordinary things and beings.² This constantly recurring theme of fantastic popular creations is found in the Finnic runes and tales applied in various manners, one of which is the fable of the making of the world. The magic songs frequently define a stone as the "egg of the earth," *maan muna*.³ In the tales a youth of prodigious, destructive force, in whom we recognise Kullervo, or the son of Kaleva, figures as born from an egg (*Munapoika*, son of the egg).⁴ In the runes, too, there is a theme or a poetical fantastic formula, which, like so many others, explains the origin of various things, and has certainly sprung originally from the magic songs, more exactly from those of the Origins: a bird (swallow, duck, eagle, etc.) seeks a place to lay its egg, and finds it on a ship, mountain, promontory, island, etc. The egg, from some cause that varies (tempest or another reason) falls into the sea. From this egg some songs cause seals and fish to spring;

¹ Afanasieff, *Poetič. vozr. Slavjan na prirodu*, i., 535 *et seq.*

² Cf. Afanasieff, *op. cit.*, p. 529 *et seq.*; Schwarz, *Ursprung der Mythologie*, p. 214 *et seq.*; Stier, *Ungarische Märchen*, p. 60, etc.

³ *Maan muna, kakkara pellon* (Egg of the earth, cake of the field); *Loitsurun.*, pp. 63, 8 a, 2; 282, 14 a, 2 b, 14, *Hullu hutavi kiviksi, Maan munaksi mainitsevi*: "A wag called it a stone, named it the egg of the earth"; the stone, that is, which according to that song had been at first a grain of barley.

⁴ Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, pp. 153 *et seq.*, 156. Setälä, *Munapoika, länsi-suomalaisia Kullervon ainekasia* (*The Son of the Egg; Western-Finnic Elements of Kullervo*), Helsingf., 1882 (from the *Lännetär*).

many others explain thus the origin of the island of Saari with its lovely, much-wooded maiden; others make this egg, which is not always one only, the origin of the celestial bodies; and others finally (unheeded of the birds existing before the world) caused the world itself to spring from it, as we read in the first rune of the *Kalevala*.¹ Other singers continue this daring unreasonableness still further, and combine the origin of the world thus conceived with the story of Väinämöinen. And since, if a bird existed before the world was, there is no reason why a Lapp should not exist also; they make the bird lay its egg on Väinämöinen's knee as he is tossed by the waters into which he had fallen after the Lapp had shot at him. Lönnrot and others justly considered this tale as too fabulous, and likely by its excessive inconsistency to disturb the æsthetic effect of the poem; and Väinämöinen's knee was therefore replaced in the second edition of the *Kalevala* by that of the Virgin of the Air.

This myth of the origin of the world, of which we have here indicated the genesis, and which is also among those that have their roots in the magic songs, in reality stands alone. It has nothing to do with the magic song of the Great Oak, nor with that of the Ploughing and Sowing of the Earth, nor with that of the Cultivation of Barley, which Lönnrot has placed in the *Kalevala* as a continuation of the myth of creation. With the exception of the generic idea of the creation of the world, which is really outside the scope of the songs of the *tietäjät* as magicians, the coming into being of the separate things is the subject of the magic songs of the Origins; but the fancy of the *tietäjä* creates, as usual, a poetic myth for each separate thing, and invents nothing which shall connect these origins into a systematic whole. We cannot examine and describe all the origins here; nor is this necessary to our purpose.

¹ Many of the various songs of which I have spoken may be seen in the published part of the variants of the *Kalevala* (*Kalevalen toisinnot*).

We frequently find the production of single things explained by the miraculous fecundation of female beings, such as the Lady of Pohjola, Luonnotar and others. At other times things are called forth by the simple, creative power of superior beings, as Ukko, the Virgin of the Air, and the like ; who produce them by rubbing their hands, chafing their knees, etc. And Väinämöinen, too, supreme ideal of the power of the *tietäjä* and of the magic word, as he wanders through the waters creates islands, rocks, promontories, etc., wherever he touches with his hand ; as does the Virgin of the Air according to other songs. In addition to these peculiar ideas which are also found in the myth and poetry of other peoples, there is in the Finnic runes an abstract and generic conception of the productive force of nature, inherent, as we have said before, in the *Ilma* or air. Lönnrot, interpreting the popular mind of his nation with intelligence, followed this conception, although it is nowhere actually formulated in the runes at present known, by connecting the myth of creation with the *Ilman impi*. The idea is poetically expressed in personifications ; the Virgin, and also the Virgins of the Air (*Ilman impi*, or *immet*), *Luonnotar* or also the *Luonnotaret*, *Kave* or in the diminutive form *Kapo* ; mythic personages who appear as equivalent one to another, or, what is at bottom the same thing, in the relationship of mother and daughter. *Luonnotar* is nature (*luonto*) personified. Generally three *Luonnotaret* are spoken of. In the magic song on the origin of iron, for example,¹ the supreme god, Ukko, creates the three Luonnotaret by rubbing his hands and pressing them on his left knee. From the bare breasts of the three Luonnotaret springs black, white, and red milk ; and this falling on to the earth, produces three kinds of iron. This personification of nature as generator and creator is surprising in a myth

¹ *Kalevala*, ix., 39 et seq. ; *Loitsurun.*, p. 313 et seq.

so wanting in development and depth as is the Finnic, and among a people whose speculative thought is so immature. The Finnic myth here appears to go beyond the Greek, which never arrived at a personification of the φύσις. It is also surprising to find among the Finns the word *luonto*, expressing nature to the full extent of the abstract meaning of this word; while the Germanic peoples could do no better than adopt the Latin word in this sense. The noun *luonto* is related to the verb *luoda*,¹ which means to begin an action, to set to work at a thing, and hence also to make or produce. It does not contain the idea of being born, as do φύσις, Lat. *natura*, Russ. *priroda*; rather it approaches the idea of efficacious action expressed by the German *schöpfen, schaffen*, Slav. *tvoriti*; hence it has served to translate the Christian idea of create, creation (*luominen*), creator (*luoja*). Although the word is Finnic, the abstract idea of nature which it came to represent and that of creation are certainly not products of the Finnic mind; they came from abroad, from Greco-Roman thought which penetrated into Germanic and Slav minds and was there combined with the Christian idea. Under this influence, Ukko appears as the producer of the Luonnotaret; hence as creator,² which originally is not his attribute. Neither is the personification of nature in the Luonnotaret original. These are simply the fates of popular classic myth diffused among modern European peoples; and they are three because there

¹ Grimm has not observed this. He wrongly (*Kl. Schriften*, ii., p. 112) relates *luonto* to the O. N. *lund, indoles*, with which it has certainly nothing to do. *Luonto* stands to *luoda* as *olento* (being, existence) stands to *olla* (to be), as *saanto* stands to *saada* (to receive), etc.

² Nay, he is altogether the biblical God who divides the land from the waters (*Ilmasta veen eroitti, Veastä maati mantereheh*) according to the song on the origin of iron, which Lönnrot has introduced into the *Kalevala*, leaving these lines (rune ix., 35 *et seq.*) notwithstanding that they are in contradiction to what is told of the creation in the beginning of the poem.

are properly three ancient fates (*tria fata*) reflected in the three Norns of Scandinavian myth. Also in Finnic the idea of *lot*, or *destiny*, or *fatum*, is not far off; since (apparently at least) the same root that gives *luonto*, nature, gives too *luote*, destiny. And the fact that the Finns call these fates *Luonnotaret*, which is as much as to say natures (or daughters of nature, which is the same thing), finds a parallel among the Scandinavians; where popular usage, as I infer from some of the sagas relating to magic works, also calls them *natturur*.¹

All the *Luonnotaret* are defined in poetry as *Daughters of the Air*, and are hence confounded with the *Ilman immet*. One of the daughters of the air or one of the *Luonnotaret* is *Kave*, or in the diminutive form *Kapo*. *Kave* is a substantive and is a proper noun, and it is not always possible to distinguish in the runes whether it is used as a substantive or as a personification. It expresses the noble and poetic idea of the *creation* or of the *thing created*, especially as regards generation of animals. Hence it translates the Christian *creatura (Dei)* in its noble sense (as the Scandinavians still use it in speaking of animals) in the expressions *metsän kapeet*, *meren kapeet*, etc., which stand for the animals of the wood, of the sea, etc. And thus man himself is called, poetically and nobly, thus the hero, thus the magician. The idea of the creative art and of the thing created being confused, as they also are in the word *creation*, man is *Kave* and a product of *Kave*. Being essentially a bringer forth, *Kave* is applied to the female essence and means mother, woman, in

¹ *Thorfinns Saga Karlsefnis*, ch. iii., pp. 104-113 (*Flateyjarbók*, i., pp. 538-549); Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes z. Christenthume*, i., p. 449 *et seq.*; ii., p. 10. As Maurer observes, *natturur* there indicates the same beings who are also called by the Germanic name *verdhir*; but these are simply fates, as is shown by the name, which is the ancient German expression for *fate* (English *weird*, A. S. *vyrð*; *Urdhr*, *Verðhandi*, names of two Norns, etc.). Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*, i., p. 335 *et seq.*

poetic usage. It is found with the same meaning in the Esthonian word (*kabe, kabo, kawe*), although it is not either in that language or in Finnic the ordinary word for woman. The pangs of childbirth are called *Kavon kipu* (Germ. *Kindesnoth*, Swed. *barnsnöd*).¹ As a personification, *Kave* is invoked to heal all evils and to ease a woman in childbirth; she is "the most ancient of women, the first and mother by her very nature".² This explains how she should be one of the *Luonnotaret* or *Ilman immet*. Many scholars have made researches with regard to the origin of this word, looking for it, as usual, too far afield. It has certainly nothing to do with the *Kaba* or *Kabe* of the Cheremissians and the Chuvashes, with which Castrén and others relate it.³ We can plainly recognise the Germanic root *skap*, which necessarily becomes in Finnic, in accordance with the well-known law, *kap* or *kav*. The same root is found in the Swedish *skapa*, to create; *skapelse*, creation; the Germ. *schaffen, schöpfen*; Eng. verb and noun, *shape*, etc.; and, with its derivatives, explains the whole meaning of the Finnic *Kave*. As *Luonnotar*, too, *i.e.*, as a *fate*, *Kave* finds a parallel in *skapa*, which is the duty of the Germanic Norns, and in *Schepfe*, which in H. M. Germ. is equivalent to *parca*, or *norn*, or *fate*.⁴

¹ Here *kapo* is the same as the Italian *creatura*; we should say a child.

² "Vanhin vaimoloita, Ensin emä itselöitä," *Kalevala*, xviii., 293-4; *Loitsurun.*, p. 188 k.

³ *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 170. Cf. for other authors Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.* A Cheremissian prayer, published by Genetz, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vii., 1889, p. 148 *et seq.*, invokes the good *Kawa*, the good Prophet, the good angels, the good mother of God, etc. *Kawa* is probably here the Kaaba of Mecca, of which Mussulman superstition made a personage with an astral meaning. Genetz has used the masculine in translation, but, as he himself says, it can also be translated by the feminine.

Yriö Koskinen (Forsén), in his *Antiquities of the Finnic Stock* (*Tiedot suomensuvun muinaisuudesta*, p. 9), identifies *Kave* with *Kava*, powerful, of the *Zendavesta*; Donner, *Indernas förestelln. om världens skapelse*, p. 72, calls to mind the Indian *kavi*, intelligent, wise. Schiefner, however, has also suggested *skapa* (translation of Castrén's *Finsk Myth.*, p. 168, note).

⁴ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*, pp. 337 *et seq.*, 716.

Thus we find that in the definition, denomination and poetical personification of these abstract conceptions not born in their own minds, the Finns have followed the independent and original process of assimilation which distinguishes them. They express the generic and abstract idea of *nature* with a word of their own tongue which they also use to signify *creation*; the word which the Germanic peoples used to represent the idea of *creation* served them also as a poetical expression of the idea of *nature* and *creation*, but limited to the production of animal beings, a limitation of the meaning of *creature* which is common among other European peoples.

The idea of creation and of creature was adopted by the Finns certainly before their conversion to Christianity, but after Christianity had introduced it among Germanic peoples, who had used their *skap* to express it.¹ The Finns are wanting, as we said before, in an anthropogonic myth; but if their poetic myth had ever been capable of organic ordering and development, there would have been in this idea of Kave, understood and personified in the way we have seen, an element determining the poetical idea of anthropogony. We should have: Ukko creates the Luonnotaret; one of these, Kave, creates men and animals. But this idea is never found moulded into a definite form and developed into a myth. It is found applied to Väinämöinen, born, as Lönnrot gives it in the *Kalevala*, of the daughter of the Air, Kave; and also to Ilmarinen. A formula very common in the magic songs is there used which gives a poetical account of the birth

¹ It seems to me that this is clearly seen in the fact that *Kave* is limited in its use to the poetry of the runes and their connected ideas, but never appears as the direct translation of the Christian idea as such. In this sense we have always *luoda*, *luoja*, *luoma*, *luominen*, etc., to create, creator, creature, creation, etc. Neither is there a verb corresponding to *Kave*, which is also used as a substantive. This means that the word came among the Finns in as isolated a manner as did *nature*, *creature*, among the Scandinavians.

of several things, especially of sickness: a maiden, that is, who flies from love, but is rendered a mother by the wind.¹ If we take this away, we have left the simple formula "Väinämöinen son of Kave or of the Luonnotar, or of the *Ilman impi*," which formula is applicable to all men. In fact the magic songs, in speaking of man, very frequently use the expression "making, work, offspring of Kapo or Kave";² in which, however, the personification is not well determined, and we feel, as indeed is sometimes proved by the parallel verses, that *Kave* is equivalent to woman or mother.³

These ideas of nature, creation, etc., which have come from abroad and are essentially independent of and extraneous to the shamanic idea, have yet come to resemble this latter in the use to which they were put, as poetic ideas, in the poetry of the magic songs. The magic word (*sana*) is also creative, and Väinämöinen, the highest representative of the magic power, appears also as a creator. Further, the idea of nature as a producing force, having arisen in the mind of the *tietäjät*, comes to signify also animal power or the productive genius of the individual; and also the psychic root of the *tietäjäs*' power. In preparing for his work, the latter incites himself to inspiration or

¹ In one song (Ganander, *Mythol. fenn.*, p. 34) the same manner of birth is related not of Väinämöinen, but of a certain *Iku-Turilas*, who receives the title of *Kave-Ukko*, and is called the father of Väinämöinen. Cf. Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 451 *et seq.* Iku-Turilas is here that marine being *Iki-Turso* or *Meri Turso* who in some magic songs replaces the wind in the work of fecundation. Vid. *Loitsurun.*, pp. 320, 2 a (*mies turilas, Meritursas paitulainen*), 326, 2, c.

² "Kavon tekemä, tuoma, kantama": thus in many passages which exorcise evil from the skin of wretched man, from the hair of the work of Kapo, "Ihosta imehnoraukan, Karvosta kavon tekemän". See the passages registered by Lönnrot under the name Kapo in the index of names in the *Loitsurunot*.

³ Thus, for example, *Loitsurun.*, 67, 2, "Karvalta kavon tekemän, Emon tuoman ruumihista," from the hair of the work of Kapo, from the body of the offspring of the mother.

magic ecstasy by apostrophising his own *nature* (*luonto*) in words full of lofty enthusiasm and poetic emphasis. "Arise, O my nature, with strength; vital genius, awake. From beneath the stone, O shining-eyed, From beneath the slab, O ruddy-cheeked, My nature hard as the rock, Rough with hairs of iron, Nature of my aged parents, Of my father and of my mother, Nature of my forebears, Enter into my own nature. (Thou shalt be) a burning shirt upon me, A flaming cloak, To frighten the Hiidet, To confound the monsters of the earth."¹ Or again: "Move, O flesh, within me, My will, on virile back, Arise, my nature, strongly, My genius, readily. . . . Arise from dozing, From thy leisure in the garden. Long hast thou dozed on the ground, Long in the shady place, So that death is no better, To be a corpse not more beautiful. Arise as at other times, At my rousing. Then mountains melted like butter, the rocks like lard, The blue woods like honey, The lakes became beer, The low-lands the heights, at the approach of the hour divine."² . . .

Here *nature* does not signify disposition, *ἦθος*, as in other languages and also in Finnic; but it stands for animal energy, it is the *θυμός* or the *ἦτρον* which the Greek poets are wont to apostrophise, expressed all the more efficaciously that the idea of productive energy is inherent in the word *luonto* as we have seen. It is not the soul nor the spirit, but the ruler and guardian of the spirit, its tutelary genius (*henken haltia*). It is personified in glowing imaginative poetry, which addresses it as a *jumala*, as a *haltia*, qualifying it with attributes indicating strength and vigour. It has shining eyes, ruddy cheeks (*paikkaposki*, mottled cheek), rough hairs, and the hardness of stone. It has a dæmonic character, it is the *deus in nobis* whom the *tietäjä* feels within him in his hour divine (*jumalan tunti*) when his least material, most lofty energies display

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 26 b. Cf. Lencqvist, *De superst. Fenn.*, xl., 1.

² *Loitsurun.*, p. 26 c.

their action and their power. Then, in his ecstasy, he dominates nature and her forces, works wonders, is a dæmon (*haltia*) or in the dæmonic state (*haltio*) and his action is dæmonic (*haltioita*, to work as a magician or in a magic ecstasy). This action, like the productive action of nature, is necessarily efficacious; it forces, seizes (*lovehtia*).¹ Thus (apparently at least)² we have, from the same root as the word *luonto*, nature, creation, the word *luode*, meaning fate, destiny, and also signifying powerful, fateful, magic words (pl. *luoteet*); and from it Lönnrot thinks we can also derive the word *loitsija*, magician.³

All this gives no evidence of depths of speculative thought; it is simply an emphatic or poetical conception, translatable into myth, of the marvellous power of cosmic forces and of man in connection with them. And man appears as a wondrous being (*ihminen*, man; *ihmis*, wonder, miracle)⁴ whose perfect example is found in the magician,

¹ The verb *lovehtia* is of Slav origin (Russ. *loviti*, to take, catch) and belongs to the language of the runes. *Lovi* in the sense of ecstasy or *alienatio mentis* is referred to the same root (cf. *mente captus*).

² In spite of the relation between *luote*, destiny, and *luoda*, to produce, create, especially visible in the Esthonian *lodud*, lot, destiny (which is the participial form of *lōma*, to create), we cannot but connect this Finnic *luote* with the Germanic *los* (Germ. *Loos*), O. N. *hlautr* (*hlutr*), A.-S. *hlot*, English *lot*, Goth. *hlautz*, expressing the idea of destiny as *sors*, αἴσα, μοῖρα, λάχεσις, and of spell (*sortilegium*, *sortiarius*, Fr. *sorcier*). In *hliozan*, O. H. G., the meaning of *sortiri* passes into that of *augurari*, *incantare*; cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*, pp. 926, 866. For the narrower meaning of *lot* or *lots* in the sense of divination, the Finns have their own word *arpa*, expressing to divine or conjecture, the *gadati* of the Russians. They say *lyöda arpaa*, to cast lots.

The Finn. *uo* may be derived from a German *ō* (Got. *ō*), never from a Germ. *u*. Hence *luote* would come from a form *hlōt lōt*.

³ *Loitsurun.*, p. vi. As from *Kade*, *kadehtija*, so from *luode*, *luodehtija*, and hence through the changes of the dialects, *luæhtija*, *lehtija*, *loihhtija*, *loitsija*. But Lönnrot thinks that the word may also be derived from the Lapp *luoittet*, to free (let go), whence *loitsija* would mean *liberator*. Of a truth neither of the etymologies is satisfactory.

⁴ I do not mean to say that these two words have the same root, but it is remarkable that they may be found in close relation

the *loitsija* or *tietäjä*, the man strong of mind, the enthusiast of genius (*intomies*), the man who murmurs in ecstasy (*myrrismies*). It is a conception which transpires and which we gather from the poetic word of the magic songs and from the epic ideals, but it is never formulated as a doctrine: a thing which would in fact be quite out of harmony with a poetry popular in the strictest sense of the word. Here we see the shamanic idea become ennobled at the touch of European civilisation; so that we use with reluctance the discredited word *wizard* in speaking of these *tietäjät*, who, if they are not thinkers, have at least a delicate and lofty idea of themselves and of the being of man, and are noble creators of poetry. Already in the ideas that we have explained we may observe a progress of the conscience and of reflection, which turns the mind towards the intimate reason of things, towards the force which rules their action. In the poetry of the magic songs this is continued in the power attributed to the knowledge of the *origin of things*, or, as is often said, of the *deep origin* (*syvän syntyn*). The *loitsija* or magician is essentially a *tietäjä*, a knower, a wise man. Called to propitiate what is good, to repeal what is evil, he must look each in the face, must ask and know what it is, whence it comes, must be the "knower of the profound cause," and in this way "the driver out of the grievous sickness".¹ This idea, which in appearance is perfectly rational, has a continuation and application that are entirely poetical and fantastic. Evil or good, personified poetically, is dominated by the knowledge of it which the magician shows that he has; as a person loses his force before another who knows his nature and his origin. And the definition of this nature and origin is always mythical or poetically fantastic. Wherever nature is poetically personified, the search for

¹ Syvän synnyn tietäjäksi
Ison pulman purkajaksi.

—*Loitsurun.*, pp. 1 a, 15 et seq.

the origin of things, good or evil, naturally leads to a production of myth, in which various dæmonic personalities are seen to act. This is a stage which primitive poetry reaches also among other peoples. Of the same nature are the origins of the gods, of men, of things, which formed in early Greek poetry the subject of the hymns of Apollo: the wisdom and science of that time, as this of the *tietäjät* appeared and still appears to the Finns.

Many magic formulas apostrophise the things towards which the wizard turns his power, and ask their source. Thus, for example, "Whence, O sickness, art thou come? Hast thou slunk in, O ill perverse? Into the nests of pine-wood, Into the rooms of timber? From the winds of heaven, mayhap, Or from the deep basin of the waters? Like a wind didst thou enter the house, Like a smoke didst thou penetrate thither?" etc.¹ Or again: "I am searching out thy ancestress, I am calling to mind thy mother. From what place, O sickness, hast thou seized on, Hast secretly made thy way, To the skin of the wretched being, To the body of a mother's son? I know not who has made thee, Know not who has formed thee. Art thou, O sickness, created of the Creator, Death established by God? Or art thou a work of cunning, The fashioning of another, The created of another? . . . If thou art an ill created of the Creator, Death established by God, Then I trust to my Creator, I commit myself to my God. The Lord does not abandon the good man, The Creator lets not the beautiful be lost. If thou art a work of cunning, Sickness caused by another, Well shall I know thy race, Shall I find out thy birth," etc.² Here, as in all the poetry of the runes, we see by what manner of adaptation the shamanic idea has been able, not only to survive, but also to develop itself in poetry and myth alongside of the Christian idea.

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 14 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11 a.

To these songs of *Inquiry into the first origins*, as Lönnrot calls them (*Alkuperäisyyden tiedustus*), correspond other numerous songs which tell of, or rather narrate, these origins. The most beautiful and interesting for the myth they contain have been introduced by Lönnrot into the *Kalevala*. He has put them together with the same art which he has used in the composition of the whole poem, from several variants and songs; so that they are in the poem much more extended than in the collection of magic songs. We shall not push our study of the Finnic myth so far as to analyse each separate myth set forth in these songs. It is sufficient to observe here that, being poetically fantastic and *narrative*, they are already by their very nature epic, and afford us our principal examples of the passage from the magic song to the epos; for it is in the magic song that the epos has its roots and finds its most characteristic idealisations. In it, too, in the multiplicity of origins attributed to one and the same thing by the different songs, in its varied use, in the mixture or confusion of fantastic motives serving many ends, we surprise the *tietäjät* at their work, creating and elaborating in various ways their poetical representation of things, their personifications and mythic facts, and all that we have been studying up to the present time. Moreover, from the mass of magic songs of every kind, we can infer the poetical conception of man and of human excellence proper to the Finns; a conception incarnated in fantastic individuals such as Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, who are fundamental in the epos, and appear also in the magic songs alongside mythic individuals of another kind, such as Luonnotar, Kave, Tapio, Tuoni, and many others of whom we have spoken above. As in other mythologies the same poetry which produces the divine myth creates also the poetical idea of man, that is to say the hero-type, so here the magic song which originates the myth serves as a root to the epos: it formulates also the idea of the hero.

We have already shown elsewhere, that the type of human excellence, the hero, according to the shamanic idea, is the shaman himself, the wizard. In Finnic poetry, dominated as it is by the magic song from which it took its origin, the hero has remained essentially a wizard; and this in spite of the developments and refinements to which the shamanic idea has there been subjected.

The idea of the hero is not very ancient among the Finns; on the contrary, it is later than their contact with European peoples, as is also the development of magic poetry. It is worthy of note, and is almost surprising, that there is among them no trace of the word *bogatyr*, hero, so common under various forms among Mongolic and Tataric peoples, and extremely frequent among the Russians, who learnt it from the Tatars. We might have expected the Finns to bring it with them from Asia. There are in Finnic two words for hero: *uros* (or *urhos*) and *sankari*. This last word is not found in the Carelian language of the runes, and hence never occurs in the *Kalevala*. In spite of the Finnic etymology which Ahlqvist believes he has found for it, it is to my thinking of foreign, probably Lithuanian, origin;¹ at any rate its ending *ri* shows it to be posterior to the influence which Germanic tongues exercised on Finnic.² In Lithuanian

¹ *D. Culturw. d. westfinn. Spr.*, p. 237; *Suomen kielen rakennus*, p. 10 (§ 12). He would derive it from the same root as *sangen*, much; *sankka* (*sankea*), close, thick, coarse. It would be the only instance known of this ending applied to an adjective (since *sangen* stands to *sankea* as *valde* stands to *validus*); neither is there a verb from this root. For a noun of this meaning and ending we should expect a root expressing action. It seems to me better to explain *sankari* through the Lithuanian *kara*, war; *san*, with; thus we should have *sankarari*, contracted to *sankari*, which would be equivalent to *combatant*, *militarier*, which in the Lithuanian form is *sankareivis*.

² It came into Finnic together with numerous Scandinavian words in *re* (O. N. *ri*); e.g., *tuomari*, judge, Swed. *domare*; *ryöväri*, robber, Swed. *röfvare*; *porvari*, citizen, Swed. *borgare*, etc. It was then applied by analogy to words (verbs and nouns) of Finnic or other origin, as *puhuri*, from

it would mean *combatant* (Germ. *mitkrieger*, Russ. *soratinik*), and would have come to the Finns without any meaning of epic hero, since the Lithuanians had no epic poetry. *Uros, urhos*, is a Finnic word which finds a parallel among Indo-European tongues, but I do not think it has been borrowed. It is one of those words which the Finns have had, *ab antiquo*, in common with the Indo-Europeans. In spite of appearances it is not the Greek *ἦρως*, but its primary meaning is that of masculinity. Applied to an animal, it means that it is of the male sex; to a man, it means that he is adult, male, vigorous, brave, a hero.¹

Thus, in spite of the strong influence of neighbouring peoples, hero is represented in Finnic not by the *held* or *hjelte*, not by the *recke* of Germanic poetry, nor by the *vitjaz* nor the *bogatyr* of Russian poetry, but by an indigenous word signifying male; while warrior is represented by a word of foreign origin. The fact is that heroic action in Germanic and Russian poetry is essentially warlike, as it is generally in the epos of other nations; but it is in no way so in Finnic poetry. For this reason the Finnic epos has a special and exceptional character as compared with that of many other peoples. The myth contains no hint at the personification of warlike valour. There is no Ares, Mars, nor Bellona, no Tyr, no Valkyrie; although Ukko has a sword of fire (*tulinen miekka*) which is the thunderbolt, and

puhua, to blow; *leipari*, baker, from *leipa*, bread, a Germanic and Slav word (Goth. *hlaifs*, Germ. *Laib*, Russ. *hlieb*), but which had not come to the Finns with that ending, etc. Cf. Ahlqvist, *Suomen kielen rakennus*, p. 9 *et seq.*, § 12.

¹ Ahlqvist (*Culturw.*, p. 204) compares it with *vir*, Lith. *vyras*, etc. But the idea of sex predominates in its meaning, represented especially by certain animals; *orasa*, male and wild boar; *oro*, stallion; Mordw. *uris*, castrated boar; Osset. *urs*, stallion; O. N. *úrr*, bison; A.-S. *úr*; Mod. Germ. *auer* (*ochs*); Goth. *úrús*, represented in the Lat. *urus*; Sans. *vrshas*, bull; Gr. *ἄρσων*, male; Zend. *arshas*, man, male animal. Cf. Budenz, *Magyar-ugor osszehaselnlito szótár*, n. 967; Köppen, *O rodinje indo-europeiskovo i finno-ugorskovo plemeni*, in the *Žurnal minist. nar. prosvešč.*, Nov., 1836, p. 50.

figures in the epos as the giver of swords. The poetic glorification, nay apotheosis of those killed in war, which so greatly distinguishes the Scandinavian myth, is wanting here. In this connection the Finns came in no wise under the influence of the strong and warlike peoples with whom they were in often violent contact, and by whom they were overpowered and dominated: to the voice of this warlike poetry they were altogether deaf. Throughout the whole of their poetry the martial sentiment finds but rare and faint expression. The magic songs for the protection of him who is going to war¹ are certainly not those of great warriors; Gunnar, Dobrynia, Achilles, Roland, Marco Kraljevič would have had nothing to do with them. The type of the *Man going to war* is often found among the creations of this poetry, and in the epos is embodied in Lemminkäinen, who is as much attracted by woman as he is desirous of adventures in far-off lands (Kaukomieli). He is unstable and restless as the wave of the sea (Ahti), for which reason he is always qualified as *lieto poika*,² and has sometimes a *sotatoveri* or comrade in arms (Tiera). But all this comes from abroad. It is the subject of Norse ballads (*Kämpeviser*), and has passed into the popular poetry of other countries. In it the adventurous character prevails over the warlike: the war-motif is never developed in it, and still less is it developed epically as a poetic-historical fact and one of national valour. This hero, who is represented as a man of the sword, makes but little use of his sword, and in his most vigorous action appears as a magician like all the rest. Nor indeed does the Finnic epos ever treat of war properly so called. Of peoples and countries no mention is made: there can therefore be no conflict of peoples, and the heroes cannot figure as princes or kings or leaders or *ποιμένες λαῶν* as in

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 152 (n. 81) *et seq.*, and pp. 234 (n. 53) *et seq.*, 236 (n. 54).

² *Cf. Castrén, F. Mythol.*, pp. 317 *et seq.*, who, however, goes too far in considering Lemminkäinen as originally identical with Ahti, god of the sea.

the epos of other peoples. There are encounters and conflicts among individuals ; but their weightiest arm, and the one they most frequently use, is not the spear nor the sword, but the magic word. All this throws no discredit on the character of the Finns, who, although not warlike and enterprising, are noble and have much strength of resistance ; but it reflects a people which is modest, quiet, resigned, and has hitherto figured in history rather among passive than among active nations.

The sentiment of force and valour, which finds its warmest, highest and most frequent expression in the runes and is reflected in the epic ideals, is that of the magic power. This vibrates through all the magic runes. We have already seen an example of it in the words with which the wizard arouses his own genius or nature. It expands and becomes more explicit principally in those numerous formulas which Lönnrot has collected under the common title of *Words of Vaunting* (*kerskaussanat*),¹ in the *Words of Threatening* (*uhkasanat*),² etc., and others under different titles which figure among the general formulas in that collection. Let us listen to one of them : " Arrows prick me not, A sharp edge cuts me not, The wizard's darts prick me not, The charmer's blades cut me not. The sharp edge, I blunt it ; The point, I turn it aside. My skin is of sand, My scalp of iron, My trunk of tar, composed of branches of the pine. When I rush into battle, Measure myself with men, I shall cast a spell over the magicians with their darts, Over the archers with their arms, Over the wizards with their knives, Over the charmers with their blades. (I will banish them) to the rushing waterfall of Rutja, To the dreadful foaming whirlpool, Under the highest flood that falls, Under the most perilous whirlpool, Amid the stones of the cascades, To the smoking slabs, That they may be consumed like fire,

¹ *Loitsurun.*, pp. 27-34.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

That they may fly up like sparks. There let the wizards be put to rest, There let the malign ones sleep, Until the grass shall grow, Through the skull, through the helmet, Through the shoulder-blades of the wizard put to sleep, Of the malign one put to rest.”¹ Another formula runs: “I am the son of a man of Pohjola; A man of Turja cradled me, A Lapp rocked me in a cradle of iron. Ukko thundered in the sky, Thundered Ukko, trembled the earth, In water dissolved the clouds of God, With fire crackled the sky, At the birth of this boy, At his coming to the light. Him would I call a man now, Would esteem a hero, Who should bend my bow, Who my bow should bend. Lately, just yesterday, I threw an armful of sticks On to the clayey soil of the field, On to the dry earth; I caused hurtful vipers to grow, Serpents held I in my hand; A thousand men armed I with swords In a single summer night; I went where the bear abides, To the dwelling of the brindled bear, Bitted the wolves, Put chains on the bears, A halter on a she-devil, Hanged a Hiisi on the gallows.”²

These, and there are many other examples, are words of boasting with which the wizard seeks to frighten the evil he is exorcising; but this is really the way in which he feels himself virile and weighty, a man of real name (*mies mieheksi mainittava*), an *uros* or hero, as he frequently calls himself. What appear here as fleeting words of fantastic vaunting, establish a poetical ideal of the hero and of heroic action which becomes concrete and is developed in the epos. It is easily seen that the prodigies of superhuman valour which, always through the power of magic, distinguish the heroic action of the *Kalevala*, are of the same nature.

In this identification of the wizard and poet with the hero, in this poetical enumeration of the wondrous, mighty deeds which he has himself performed, lies the explana-

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 28 d.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31 k.

tion of a singular fact peculiar to the Finnic epic songs. The singer may not only substitute one name for another, a common thing in popular narrations of every kind and of every nation, but he very often substitutes himself for the hero and says *I*; presenting the deed as performed by himself instead of by Lemminkäinen, Ilmarinen, or some of the other heroes to whom other variants attribute it.¹ This occurs also in song which is purely narrative and has no magic purpose; but it is an additional proof of the continuity we can show in many ways to exist between the magic song and the traditional narrative poetry of the Finns. It would not be likely to occur in the poetry of other peoples where there is not the same identity between the nature of the poet and that of the hero.

The magician does not feel his nobility and present it in his songs, as his own individual virtue alone; he boasts that he has received it as an inheritance from his father and ancestors.² This is one of the predominant ideas in shamanism, and goes so far, among some peoples, as almost to establish a caste. Among the Finns, where in addition to magic there is also a development of poetry, it represents simply the oral tradition or transmission of the songs from father to son; although this does not take place only from father to son. We should naturally think that to such an idea of themselves, their fathers and their function in general, there must have been united the record of the most illustrious, memorable, and courageous representatives of their power in past times. But

¹ Krohn, *Suomal. kirjallis. hist.*, p. 120. Examples are found in several of the *Variants of the Kalevala* (*Kalevalan toisinnot*) already published.

² *Vid.* the song already quoted on p. 225; also, among others, *Loitsurun.*, p. 33 r, where the wizard boasts of his illustrious race (*heimokuntani heleiä*), which never gave way before the Lapps, before their malignant arts: "When my father sang, Hair dropped with sweat, Fields shook within their boundaries, Earth trembled throughout its members," etc.

this is not the case. The fame of the *tietäjä* is limited and passing. The oldest of those still living remember some more famous *tietäjä* of the times of their youth; but as generations succeed each other these records become effaced. The runes, too, being essentially impersonal, preserve no trace of them. We must not, therefore, yield to the temptation of understanding the heroes of the epos in an Euhemeristic sense, as having for a nucleus the memory of some illustrious magician. As we have already said, the historic sentiment is entirely wanting in this poetry. Although the *tietäjät* speak of family, stock, fathers, forefathers, this is never more than an emphatic poetical expression of their own value, it is never embodied in actual names; the genealogy of living *tietäjät* exists no more than does that of divinities and heroes. The idea of the knowledge and power of those who have passed away, finds an utterance, as we have seen, quite impersonally in the myth concerning the regions of the dead, in the knowledge and power attributed to Tuoni or to Vipunen. This explains the singularly small number of heroes whom the epos presents to us in action; there would be a crowd of them, as among so many other peoples, if any historical motive or sentiment had determined their poetical existence.

The same poetry of personification which has created the mythic ideals of the region of the dead with its power and knowledge, of cosmic and individual productive force, of Luonnotar, of Kave, of the *Ilman impi*, has also created the supreme, typical ideal of the wizard; not dead like Vipunen, but acting and living in the world of living poetry, embodying and realising the boast, empty though it be, of the *tietäjät* of the actual world and their aspirations, just as Achilles or Sigurd did those of every Greek or Germanic warrior. This ideal type is Väinämöinen, to whom is joined another, Ilmarinen, representing another side or aspect of the same idea, and therefore figuring

in constant connection with Väinämöinen and also as his brother. These two are not properly *characters*, as are, for example, Lemminkäinen and Kullervo, whom the poetry itself defines as such by the epithets it gives them, but are two states or conditions. As such, indeed, are they constantly defined by the poetry, Väinämöinen being called *tietäjä* or *laulaja*, and Ilmarinen *seppä*, smith, or *takoja*, iron-beater. But the first and weightiest of all heroes is Väinämöinen. He may be said to stand to the others as Herakles stands to Achilles; to whom, from this point of view, Ilmarinen may be compared. Väinämöinen, the poetical concentration of the shamanic idea, of the potent traditional wisdom of the *tietäjät*, is eternal (*iän-ikkuinen*), and is always old (*vanha*). To him, ancient of days and wise among the wise, does popular wisdom trace its origin, even outside the magic song and the epos; ascribing to him many proverbs or wise sayings or thoughts.¹ Strong and powerful through the force of his thought, miraculous singer and charmer, he finds a complement in his companion Ilmarinen, smith and artificer; who represents another kind of talent which is also magic and wondrous. Since, according to the imaginative poetry of the magic runes, the wizard is also a smith, he uses arms and knows how to make weapons of offence and defence; his songs are darts and arrows (as Pindar, *βέλη, κῆλα*, also calls his), with which he strikes; he is a *dart-thrower* (*ampuja*), and swords, blades, knives are also his instruments. "I am the son of a young wizard, Descended of old magicians. Yet a little while ago I went to the smithy, I went yesterday, I went to-day, To make steel, To work iron. Of steel I made me foot-coverings, Of copper I cast me a shirt, Which the darts of the wizard shall not pierce, The knives of the magician, The sharp weapons of the

¹ These are united into a song by Lönnrot in the *Kanteletar*, i., 90, under the title *Sayings of Väinämöinen* (*Väinämöisen sanoja*), and inserted by him in several places in the *Kalevala*.

tietäjä.”¹ And the *tietäjä* is *seppä* or smith (*runoseppä*) even as poet, an image used also by the Scandinavians. This imaginative speech, common and very abundant in the poetry of the magic songs, leads to the ideal of a wondrous smith of great power, who is originally simply the magician exalted and poetically defined as a smith, but who afterwards takes form in the epos as a kind of Mimir or Völundr. For here we must recognise the influence of the parallel Scandinavian myth; which was known to the Finns, however, in some popular form, never as in the Edda or the Vilkina saga. The divine smith is an element in the myth of many peoples, and it is useless to call to mind his origin here. In Finnic myth and poetry at any rate, connected in the first intent with Väinämöinen, he has the origin we have explained; however much he may have, like Väinämöinen himself, afterwards grown in the confluence of other popular ideas. To this wondrous smith, called sometimes simply *smith*, sometimes *I* (the singer himself), was given the name *Ilmari* or *Ilmarinen*; the same name which personifies good or bad weather (*ilma*), favourable or otherwise to travellers. It is also found among the Lapps,² although they know nothing of Ilmarinen the smith. From *ilma*, air or weather, is formed *Ilmari*, as from *puhua*, to blow, is formed *Puhuri*, personifying the blast of the strong wind, especially the north wind.³ The smith has nothing to do with this; he should perhaps rather be referred to fire (like Hephaistos) or to iron, than the air or to fine weather. But the part played by Ilmarinen in the myths on the origin of fire and on that of iron only presents him as smith; he

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 29, and i., 7 *et seq.*

² Agricola says: “Ilmarinen rauhan ja ilman tei; Ja matkamiehet edes vei”. Cf. Ganander, *Mythol. fennica*, s. n. Ilmarinen.

³ Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, p. 37 *et seq.* The name is *Ilmaris*; *ilbme* or *ilme* has in Lapp, like *ilma* in Finnic, the meaning of *tempestas*, Germ. *Wetter*. There is no trace of the smith among the Lapps.

never appears as identified with these elements.¹ The opinion of Castrén and others that Ilmarinen was originally a god of the air, is, notwithstanding the *Ilma*, air, which is in the name, inadmissible; as also is inadmissible the same principle applied to Väinämöinen and Lemminkäinen, in whom Castrén believes that he recognises ancient deities become men, the first representing the water, the second the earth. This exegetical resource may be rightly used in the explanation of other mythologies, more developed and mature, as are those of the Greeks and the Scandinavians, although here also much fault may be found with the arbitrary way in which it is too often applied. But the Finnic myth is the offspring of a poetry which is still elementary, which has remained ingenuous and transparent in its personifications, with divine ideals but slightly determined as persons, little matured and developed; so that it is vain to expect in it that elaboration which, in the course of a long and agitated poetical existence, changes the ideal of an ancient god into that of a hero. Here, for the heroes of whom we are speaking, the process is exactly the reverse. Personification exists, but its fundamental idea being man, personified in certain of his higher attributes and functions, the personages do not figure as divine, but are essentially *men*, as is every *uros* and every *tietäjä*. They display, however, so many of the higher attributes in their action that, to a greater or less degree, they approach the idea of the divine being, and come to be considered as divine, or put side by side with God; this

¹ Castrén, *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 316, calls to mind the *Inmar*, god of the sky, of the Votyaks, identifying him with Ilmarinen. In spite of appearances they have in common only the word *in*, sky, which may have a common root with the Finnic *Ilma*, air. But the Finnic *Ilmari* is *Ilmari*, the Votyak *Inmar* is *In-mar*, the second part meaning *who*; so that we have "he who is in the sky," the celestial being. This is a less ancient form of the name of the Votyak deity. The most ancient is *invu*, sky water. *Vid.* Max Buch, *Die Wotjaken*, p. 128 *et seq.*

sometimes happens to Väinämöinen and to Ilmarinen.¹ The virtue of the hero is here not the virtue of physical strength, but of wondrous magic that can, according to the shamanic idea, dominate the divine beings themselves and put the *tietäjä* into a dæmonic state (*haltio*); hence it is reasonable that the magic songs should invoke aid from Väinämöinen or from Ilmarinen, or from both together. True, they are thus placed beside real divinities, such as Ahti, Tapio, etc., also invoked in these songs, but they are not confounded with them: the one is always looked upon as the supreme *tietäjä*, the other as the supreme *takoja*, both eternal (*iän-ikuinen*) as the ancient, traditional shamanic power and wisdom which they represent.

It is difficult to say how the eternal smith came to be called Ilmarinen; as it is always difficult to trace the connection between typical heroes and their names, even when the etymology of the latter is clear. I suspect that the name of Lake Ilmen (in Finn. *Ilmajärvi* or Lake Ilma) may be concerned in it. The Russian *byliny* also personify this lake,² though not as a smith. It is situated in a more southern region, formerly Finnic,³ now Russian, where are the Voldai Hills celebrated for their smiths.⁴ But I feel the weakness of this conjecture.

As to Väinämöinen, I am inclined to accept Ahlqvist's

¹ Itse ilmoinen Jumala,
Itse vanha Väinämöinen,
Itse seppo Ilmarinen, etc.

—*Loitsurun.*, pp. 34 a, 63 *et seq.*

² *Vid.* Afanasieff, *Poetič. vozr. Slavjan na prirodu*, ii., p. 229 *et seq.*

³ *Cf.* Europæus, *Några hypoteser angående Väinölä, Pohjola och andra i Kalevala dikten förekommande namn.*, in *Annaler for nord. Oldkyndighet og historie*, 1861, who maintains that the Ilmen region was one of the first abodes of the Finns. But he is dreaming when he takes the Ilma (air) of the *Kalevala*, i., iii. *et seq.*, for the Ilmen.

⁴ Ilmen, in Russian dialect, means any lake, or a low place with many pools; *cf.* Buslaeff, *Istorič. očerki*, i., p. 460. In the magic songs iron is always spoken of as existing in its natural state in marshes, as it actually does.

etymology. He derives the name from the name of the Dvina (Finn. *Viena*, Finn. Esth. *Väinä*), so that it would mean *he of the Dvina* or the *man of the Dvina*.¹ As a matter of fact the Dvina district is still the principal home of magic and epic runes. With this is in accordance the other name which we find given to the same hero, *Suivantolainen*, from *suvanto*, a quiet reach between waterfalls or rapids; and also the expression *Väinämöinen's road* applied to a journey on a calm sea.²

We have no instance of the personification of the Dvina among the Russians; but they personify the Volchoff, which flows from L. Ilmen, and make a wizard of it (Russ. *volhv*, whence the Finn. *velho* in the same sense).³ But *Väinämöinen* is not so much the personification of the river, as of the *tietäjä* of that region, who has become the ideal of all *tietäjät*.

Next to these two, the hero who has most action in the epos is *Lemminkäinen*; and it appears that he forms a triad with the other two. *Castrén*⁴ and *Krohn*,⁵ who hold this opinion, have placed this Finnic group in connection with the triad of the principal Scandinavian deities: *Odhin*, *Hoenir*, *Loki*, or else *Odhin*, *Tyr* (or *Freya*), *Thor*. This is a delusion. The only connection is between *Väinämöinen* and *Ilmarinen*; *Lemminkäinen* stands alone and is a type of quite a different nature, origin and intent. The magic runes hardly name him. He is seen but once in company with the other two, and

¹ *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, p. 108 et seq. Grimm is mistaken (*Deutsche Myth.*, xxiv.) when he thinks that *Väinämöinen* has to do with the Lapp *vaino* desiderium (in Finn. it means ambush, pursuit).

² Perhaps the idea of the course of the river is not altogether foreign to the great use made in the magic runes of the *belt* (*vyö*) of *Väinämöinen*; which is a kind of arsenal in which the wizard finds or places all kinds of things—swords, brushes, birds' wings (for use in anointings), etc.

³ *Afanasieff, Poetič. vozr. Slavjan na prirodu*, ii., pp. 225, 557; *Bus. laeff, Istorič. očerki*, ii., p. 8 et seq.

⁴ *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 324.

⁵ *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 231 et seq.

that in a song,¹ evidently an echo of the epic song in which figure the three heroes, the *Expedition for the Sampo*; and in this Lemminkäinen is really nothing but an intruder.² Lemminkäinen acts through the magic song, as does every other Finnic hero; as also does Kullervo, whose origin we have already recounted. But he is not essentially a representative of the *tietäjät*. He is a popular type with various names and adventures drawn from various sources; and has his field of action rather in Päivölä than in Pohjola, in the *Search for a Bride* and the undertakings to obtain her. He bears names significative of character, as we have seen; the chief of which was also sometimes used by Finns and Livonians as the name of real personages.³ In spite of his name Ahti, he has with the god of the sea only a moral relation, in so far as he is as unstable as the waves: he is certainly not a god of the waters fallen on bad days, as Castrén would have us believe. Neither can we, with all our researches, find a naturalistic sense in him. His is an ever-changing figure, recognisable from its character, but bearing various names in various adventures: he is a true *lieto poika* even for the scholar who studies him, but fails to grasp him amid the inconsistency of his essence and his deeds. He is principally connected with songs and feasts for the brewing of beer, and is hence sometimes confused (under the name of Ahti) with the sower and plougher Pellervoinen. On one hand the story of his *Expedition by Sea* (here also with the name of Ahti) connects him with the poetry of the magic songs relating to ice,⁴ and hence with Pohjola; on the other,

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 157 d (*Magic Song of the Traveller by Water*).

² *Vid.* the chapter on the composition of the *Kalevala*.

³ *Vid.* the index of names in the third edition of the *Kalevala*, s. n. Lemminkäinen.

⁴ *Cf.* Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 401, who is, however, wrong in thinking that this Ahti is the god of the sea. More correct is Lönnrot,

his death and resurrection (here with the name of Lemminkäinen) connect him with the mythic idea of Tuonela or of the region of the dead, which was generated, as we have seen, from the shamanic idea and from the magic runes. We have not in this case, as in that of Kullervo son of Kaleva, a mythic conception to which a popular type has been applied; we have on the contrary a type popular in stories and ballads (incidents with Kyllikki, incidents at Saari)¹ to which have been applied conceptions originally mythic of various nature and various origin. In the *Expedition by Sea* for example, on the ice in company with Tiera, comrade in arms, there is an echo of the Thor myth under its popular forms;² as in the death of Lemminkäinen we seem to find a remembrance of the Balder myth.³

who (index of the names in the *Loitsurun.*, under the name of Ahti) recognises Lemminkäinen in the "Ahti poika Pellervoinen" (*Loitsurun.*, p. 310); although he is mistaken when he does the same in other places where Ahti is clearly the god of the sea (thus pp. 157, 1, 17, 169, 1, 1, etc.).

¹ Cf. *Kanteletar*, ii., n. 13 (*Ahti ja Kauko*), 14 (*Kalervon poika ja Kaukamoinen*), and the tales given by Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 155 et seq., with elements of the deeds of Kullervo and of Lemminkäinen.

² I do not, however, think that Tiera is Thor or Tyr, the Norse god of war, as Krohn would have it. It is the Scandinavian name Dyri; the same borne by the Varyag, comrade of Askold, who, having set out from Rurik in search of adventures, founded the principality of Kiev. Cf. on this name Thomsen, *Der Urspr. d. russ. St.*, p. 141. The two adventurers go with many ships to attack Constantinople; the bishop places a holy image on the shore; a tempest arises and overwhelms their ships; they are converted and go back.

³ Cf. Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, pp. 270, 259 et seq. The Balder myth is itself a Scandinavian composition put together from foreign elements and motives, as had been already observed and was chiefly proved by Bugge (*Stud. über die Entsteh. der nord. Götter- und Heldensagen*). But it is clear that, from the Scandinavian myth above all others, the Finns have taken the motive of the death of Lemminkäinen, which they have, however, treated freely, changing it to suit their own ideals. Balder, beloved by all, can only be hurt by the mistletoe (*mistel*); for all things have sworn not to wound him, except this little plant, which no one thought of asking to take the oath: and with the mistletoe he is killed.

We have said that the Finnic hero is not a warrior but essentially a wizard. This applies to physical war. Magic struggle there is, and war, bitter war, breathes from all the magic songs. For the *tietäjä* is in combat with all evil powers, is the hero who must and can conquer them. His poetry, his song, is full of warlike images: he speaks of blows, of swords, of darts, of knives, and his enemies are not only the ills he combats, not only the evil genii who personify and cause them, like Hiisi, Lempo and others, but are also beings of his own kind, heroes as he is, other wizards. There are malignant and hurtful wizards, as ideal as are Hiisi and Lempo, against whom he fights, destroying by his power their perverse work, turning back their darts against themselves. These wizards, malignant, strong and very powerful, are Lapps. With these, frequently mentioned in the magic runes, he is at war; but he has a high idea of their ability and power; so that *Lapp* is equivalent to *wizard*, and the *tietäjä* even calls himself a *Lapp* in some cases. There is, moreover, frequent expression of rivalry and vaunt of superior power: "Me the *Lapp* cannot charm, The man of Turja cannot seize me. But I can charm the *Lapp*, I can seize the man of Turja," etc.¹ Or again: "I, a man created by Jumala, Made of a good maker, Offspring of two beings, Created by the three Luonnotaret, Bewitch wizards, Charm charmers, Charm

So Lemminkäinen, equally beloved and sympathetic, knowing the magic word against the wound of all things, except that of serpents, is killed by means of a serpent. The mistletoe is hurled at Balder by the blind god Hödr; the serpent is hurled at Lemminkäinen by a blind shepherd of Pohjola, who has no name but is distinguished by the epithet *märkähattu*, with a wet hat. Here it is evident that in the popular, oral Scandinavian tales known to the Finns, Hödr was qualified by the epithet *mörkr*, gloomy (blind), which was changed into the Finnic word most resembling it in sound, *märkä*, wet, just as the name *Hödr*, which recalls the Norse word *haettr*, hat, was changed into *hattu*, hat; and we have a man without a name but with a *wet hat* (*märkähattu*). Krohn explains the *märkä* differently, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 27 b.

all the Lapps, Charm the Hiidet and put them to flight," etc.¹ These Lapps live in the north, in Pohja, and, as we have seen, mingle in the idea of Pohjola according to our definition of its origin and primary meaning; so that Pohjola is very frequently mentioned together with the lean wizards, the Lapps (*Lappalainen laika poika*). The same poetry that creates the ideal of these two hostile or rival camps also creates the ideals of the heroes that represent one and the other. Just as the good Finnic camp has its Väinämöinen and its Ilmarinen, so the hostile Lapp camp has its Joukahainen and its Lyylikki, one a *tietäjä*, the other a smith. But these are minor figures, of whom only the first, and that only once, is mentioned in the magic songs as a peevish little being (envious of Väinämöinen), with spleen of stone.² Lyylikki works in hard wood (*lylyen seppä*) and makes snow-shoes. He figures but momentarily in the epos and not as a wizard.³ The Lady of Pohjola is the one who, properly speaking, embodies, both in the magic songs and in the epos, the ideal of the powerful magic of the Lapps; she is an epic heroine fit to stand by Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen. But there are special cantos in the epos which represent, nay almost dramatise the rivalry between the Finnic and Lapp *tietäjät*. This happens, for instance, in the *Competition in Song* (Kilpalaulanto) between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen, or more simply, as is seen in many variants, between Väinämöinen and the Lapp (Lappalainen); in the latter's envy and long hatred of Väinämöinen's knowledge and power; in the shooting of the arrow by which he at last gives vent to his feelings. Here we find united in one person the arrow-shooter (*ampuja*), the

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 30 g.

² "Kivi . . . Perna pienen Joukahainen" (Stone . . . Spleen of the little Joukahainen), *Loitsurun.*, p. 282, 14 a.

³ To him, however, is attributed the pursuit of the stag of Hiisi, which in the *Kalevala* (rune xiii.) is referred to Lemminkäinen.

dart-thrower (*nuolet*), or the ideal Lapp of the magic songs. He is, moreover, also called *Joukahainen*, because he uses the bow like a *uros*, a hero or male, a Lapp, according to a definition proper to the Lapps themselves, who call *Juksakka* (the old woman or mother of the bow) the goddess who presides over the birth of men-children.¹

The *Competition in Song* is of the highest importance in the definition of the nature and essence of the Finnic epos; for in it is concentrated the feeling which vibrates in the magic songs, and accompanies, like a symphony, all the heroic action of the epos. It is the clearest and most immediate epic formula of the ideals which move through the mind of the *tietäjä* at the birth of the magic songs, the most evident example of that strict continuity we have shown to exist between the magic and epic runes. Lönnrot did well to place it in the second edition among the first cantos of the poem. It is of no importance that *Joukahainen* should disappear and not be spoken of again: all the poem is in harmony with this prelude, for the conflict and rivalry with the Lapps and the men of Pohjola is founded exclusively on the feeling of rivalry in magic action, which is here confounded with heroic action. As we read the *Kalevala* we must put absolutely on one side the hope so likely to be conceived, of finding in these epic songs of the Finns as in the epos of other peoples, historical records, and especially an echo of the ancient conflict between the advancing Finns and the Lapps driven back by them towards the north.² And, in fact,

¹ Friis, *Lappisk Mythol.*, pp. 87, 92. This is, I think, the explanation of the name of *Joukahainen*. Bow is in Lapp *juks* or *juoks*, in Finnic *jousi* or *joutsi*. That in some places of northern Finland the swan is called *Joukahainen* (*vid.* the index of names in the third edition of the *Kalevala*, s. n. *Jouk*) has nothing to do with the name of the Lapp hero. This is only an instance of phonetic interchange; *joutsen* means swan.

² This is the only idea worthy of mention that has been advanced concerning the meaning of the *Kalevala*. It occurs in various forms

even without the investigations that have been made, it would remain an unheard-of and inexplicable phenomenon that the Finnic epos should preserve traces of struggle or contact with no other peoples than the Lapps; while the language affords clear proof of their long contact with nations of far higher importance, who exercised a profound influence on their thought. The truth is, as we have already said several times, that no idea of history exists here. The shamanic idea is the predominant one: it develops the myth, as we have seen, in the magic song; and develops the epos which, an offshoot of the latter, keeps close to the myth. One only real and historical fact can we recognise in all this: the shamanic character of the first religion of Finns and Lapps; that ancient fame they enjoyed among neighbouring peoples for skill in magic, which may be called their sole ancient national glory. For this was the only reason why the Finns were remembered and sought after by the Scandinavians;¹

among scholars, from the first writings of Lönnrot down to the last of Ahlqvist. Of mythic, symbolic, allegorical explanations, which in fact few took seriously, it is useless to speak here; especially after our exposition of the Finnic myth (they are given by Krohn, *Suomal. kirjall. hist.*, p. 567 *et seq.*). But scholars were not wanting who recognised the weakness and vanity also of historical explanation: thus Tengström, in his sensible work on the *Kalevala* in *Fosterländskt Album*, Helsingf., 1845, i., p. 130 *et seq.* It is still a question whether the Lapps have ever had a more southern abode than at present. Gustavus Retzius, the able anthropologist, discusses the question thoroughly, and comes to a negative conclusion (*Om lapparnas forna utbredning i Finland*), in a chapter of his fine work *Finska Kranier* (p. 148 *et seq.*). Ahlqvist in his last book (*Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, p. 180 *et seq.*), justly excluding explanations mythical, allegorical, etc., gives verdict in favour of the historical explanation; but believes that the *Kalevala* received its first impulse from an enmity between Carelians and Lapps on account of the real or supposed wealth of the latter, which the former were desirous of possessing. This rests on a false interpretation of the Sampo, as we shall see; and also on the exaggerated importance Finnic scholars give to the Scandinavian sagas relating to the Biarms. *Vid. sup.*, p. 58.

¹ *Vid.* the abundant information on this subject collected by Uhland, *Der Mythos von Thor* (*Schriften*, vi.), pp. 398-417. *Cf.* also the anony-

although they were here surpassed by the Lapps, generally confused by the Scandinavians under the name of Finns. The magic and epic runes reflect this ancient glory of the Lapps in the magic art, and their subsequent rivalry with the Finns.

Since, in the shamanic idea, gods, genii or spirits are rather passive than active and the action of the shaman predominates, the myth of divine personalities or of genii as agents has had small development in the poetry of the magic runes, the creator of these dæmonic personifications and ideals. Such development has taken place, on the contrary, in the ideal of shamanic action embodied in a few heroic types whose origin we have seen: in narrative songs which are not always without a magic purpose, but which, describing heroic action, have an epic character. Nevertheless there reigns in this action the same individualism and the same indeterminateness that we have shown to exist in the divine myth: there is no family or society of heroes; there are not essentially either peoples or country; the world in which the heroic action takes place is not that of history nor of saga, but is the indeterminate world of popular tales. Heroic enterprise is of personal, not of common interest; it is a thing that stands by itself; there is no continuity of events: organisation is as far from the mind of the *laulajat* in the epos as it is in the myth. So that, although there are separate epic songs which can be arranged in various ways one after another, as the various related magic songs can be, yet the idea of making a continuous poem out of them is as remote as that of uniting all the magic songs into a whole.

mous author, *Isländarnes Berättelser om de forna Finnarna*, in *Fosterländskt Album* (Helsingf., 1845), i., p. 73 et seq.; Beauvois, *La magie chez les Finnois*, in *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, ii., p. 275 et seq.; Fritzner, *Lappernes Hedenskab og Trolldomskunst*, in *Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, iv., pp. 160 et seq., 184 et seq., etc.

The motive power of the heroic action is very simple, and as little varied as the heroes are few in number. In a large group of songs the motive is the *Wooing of the Bride* (Finn. *kosinta*, Swed. *Frieri*). The heroes show themselves such especially in the difficult trials (*ansiotyöt*) or *ἀθλα* which they must perform to obtain the bride. This is a motive common to popular story and poetry, which figures also in the epos of several nations; beginning, in Europe, with the Greeks. Here among the Finns it is connected with the myth of Päivölä or of Saari, of which we have spoken; and it uses or continues poetic material whose elements or promptings are found in Norse ballads, in Lithuanian songs and also in the Russian *byliny*. Various types of women appear in it. Some have dæmonic characteristics, in harmony with the myth and poetry of the magic runes; such are the *Maiden who sits on the rainbow*, the *Beautiful maiden of Pohjola*, who, in accordance with the evolution of which we have spoken, replaces in the epos the black, wicked maiden of Pohjola of the magic songs. Others, more purely human and very attractive, as Aino (Anni), Kyllikki, Kullervo's sister, emerge from the poetry of the ballads. Another type, all the more beautiful that it bears no other name than *mother*, is the mother of Lemminkäinen, a marvellous Demeter who, to find her son, displays heroic energy—an energy that shows itself, however, in magic action. For whatever be the origin of the hero or the heroine, action and worth are always of a magic nature. Lemminkäinen, who is, as we have seen, foreign to the magic songs, acts through his power as a magician, and so does his mother. On the other hand, the heroic types that directly idealise shamanic worth, and emerge exclusively from the magic song, also display their character and their valour in the *Search for a Bride*, although this is quite outside their original nature. This happens not only in the case of Ilmarinen, but also in that of the *ever old* Väinämöinen himself.

The theme of the *Search for a Bride* is treated superficially, with little consistency. It often brings the hero into action and then disappears, as though it were but a pretext for presenting him and his wondrous deeds. There is neither amorous passion nor chivalric feeling; although pathos and sentiment are not wanting, they are never of this kind. The small efficacy of the amorous motive is, it is true, proper to primitive epos in general, which represents the hero as too strong to give way to so small a sentiment; but there is in the epos of other nations the pride of the heroic character outraged in the possession of the woman, a motive strongly efficacious in determining conflict and abundant heroic action. This is altogether wanting in the Finnic epos. The *Wooing of the Bride* is also treated superficially; individualism predominates; facts are isolated and never regarded as connected in broad and varied epic action; hence there are no conflicts between the heroes for the woman sought by both of them, and no plot arising therefrom. In the *Rivalry for the Bride* between Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen there is not the faintest trace of rivalry or of strife; from the first to the last they are and they remain good friends.

Narrative songs of this kind should be included among the poems of adventure; but their national character and the national theme they treat give to their heroic types an impress which is purely Finnic and akin to the myth and the poetry of the magic runes. Castrén¹ believes that they preserve the remembrance of an ancient, national custom: the ancient usage, common among the Ugro-Finns, of seeking the bride in a tribe akin, but different and hostile; and of either obtaining her for a gift, according to request, or of carrying her off by force. Although this does not fit all cases of the *Demand for the*

¹ *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 226 et seq.

Bride (it is difficult, for example, to decide to what people the *Maiden who sits on the rainbow* may have belonged), and although these songs know but a very vague and indeterminate division of peoples, yet the idea of Pohjola, of the Maid of Pohjola, of the Lapps, does determine a difference of race; and taken all in all the facts narrated support what Castrén says. But this usage is common among so many primitive peoples that we can draw no conclusions from it. The Finns found it existing in Europe among peoples of other stock; and the Rape of the Sabines celebrated in Latin sagas is simply an instance of this custom. Besides, this is a conception which naturally occurs in narrative of adventure and in the fantastic world of story; and there is no reminiscence of social usage when the hero in a tale goes to demand or to carry off the daughter of the Sultan of Babylon. Historically national, however, in these songs, are the wedding usages poetically reproduced in the banquet of Päivölä, or of Pohjola according to Lönnrot; where the epic song, and especially this kind of epic song, enlivens the nuptial feast together with the wedding songs, (*Häärunot*) hence opportunely introduced by Lönnrot into his poem, and with the magic songs on beer.

The other spring of heroic action, the *Sampo*, appears to have a higher aim, a more widely national significance. The well-being of the nation seems to depend on getting possession of it; and this gives to Lönnrot's composition the character of a lofty national epos. This *Sampo*, concerning which so much has been written and so many conjectures made, presents itself here opportunely at the end of our study of the Finnic myth, magic song and epos in their relation to each other. It shines, in fact, in the epos as the highest product of magic toil, in the same way as the heroes shine there as supreme ideals of the magician. What is the *Sampo*? Krohn has well

said that it is as difficult to explain as it was to make; the number and variety of explanations, some very strange, that have been given of it, prove this clearly.¹ We will set forth our idea concerning it, briefly following the method we have hitherto observed in expounding Finnic myth and poetical fancies.

Sampo is certainly not a Finnic word. Foreign to all other languages of this family, even to the Esthonian and the Lapp, it only appears in the runes, and even so only in the epic runes, never in the magic ones; at least as far as these latter have been published. What it means, the singers themselves do not well know, as appears from the various, often strange explanations they give of it.² In the runes it indicates an object whose nature and form are not well or firmly determined; but whose efficacy is well defined. He who possesses it is fortunate and rich; for he has in it a fount of prosperity, a *κέρως Ἀμαλθείας* which

¹ Lönnrot in the *Morgonblad* of 1858 (*Tre ord om och ur finska fornsangen*) already mentions more than one, while he sets forth his own, that the *Sampo* symbolises the progress of humanity: an explanation which explains nothing, besides presupposing an amount of *philosophy of history* such as the minds of the good *laulajat* could never contain. An exposition of the various opinions, of which it would be useless to give the catalogue here, may be found in Donner's work, *Der Mythos vom Sampo* (*Acta societ. scient. fenn.*, tom. x., 1871), p. 137 *et seq.* Donner treats the *Sampo* as a naturalistic myth, and finds in it the sun, as Schiefner does. In the same way Mannhardt finds the cloud, Schwarz and Cæsar the rainbow and others probably other like things. More recently, the various opinions have been given also by Krohn (*Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 414 *et seq.*), who concludes with his own: that name and thing result from two combined elements, the Scandinavian myth of the *Grottemill*, and the Finnic one of *Sampsä Pellervoinen*, from whose first name *Sampsä* would come *Sampo*.

² The variants often give no indication of what the *Sampo* was; they only mention its effects. Some of them speak of it as of a mill, or of a *kirjokansi* (variegated cover) as does the *Kalevala*. The singers most generally adopt the mill as their explanation, but sometimes call it a bird, a ship, a marital gift (domestic chest), a girl; *vid.* Krohn, *op. cit.*, p. 417 *et seq.*; Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkim.*, p. 135.

secures him abundance of things. Exactly what this thing is, is not clearly stated; and in what is said about it we feel the use of a passing image not consistently maintained: and this certainly not because the memory of it has been lost, but because the mythic idea, imperfectly formed, has remained in that state of indeterminateness, so often observable in Finnic myth. It is a *variegated cover* (*kirjokansi*), or a coffer or precious casket, a *pyxis* having an effect different from that of Pandora or of the Finnic goddess of sicknesses;¹ an automatic mill that perennially grinds out victuals like the Grottemill in the songs of the Edda (Grottesöngur) and as in the fantastic tales of other peoples.² But its form is so indifferent that when it is broken each piece acts with the power of the whole thing: hence, as Castrén well observes, it seems a talisman. To sum up, it is the idea of well-being and of wealth made concrete in a fantastic object which perennially produces these things. It can only be the art of magic; of a magician, however, who is not simply a *laulaja*

¹In the magic songs for illness, Kiputyttö, goddess of illnesses, is sometimes represented as holding in her hand or under her arm a many-coloured casket, a *variegated cover* (*Kirja vackanen kädessä, Kirja kansi kainalossa*), in which the illnesses are shut. Cf. Lencqvist, *De superst. Fenn.*, § v., p. 52. The magic songs for the hunters of wild beasts pray Tapio to open his best coffer or chest, his *variegated cover* (*Aukaise parahin arkku, Kirjokansi kimmahuta*), that is his roomy *aitta* where he keeps his wealth (*vid. Lönnrot, Finskt-Svenskt Lex.*, s. v. *Kirjokansi*; Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 437). In this sense the *Sampo* is called *kirjokansi* in the Archangel songs. It has nothing to do with the sky, which the runes often call *kirjokansi* (*vid. sup.*, p. 215); although there may be an association of ideas in those songs which attribute the making of the *Sampo* to Ilmarinen calling to mind that he also made the celestial *kirjokansi*.

²Cf. Grimm, *Ueb. d. Finn. Epos* (*Klein Schr.*, ii.), p. 88 *et seq.* The mill of King Frodi is, however, not automatic, but turned by two hearty lasses, Menja and Fenja. But the theme of the *Wünschelmühle* is ancient and common in German songs and tales; it is, besides, ordinarily found among the various *Wünscheldinge* of the popular fancy of every country: *vid. Grimm, D. Mythol.*, p. 275 *et seq.*; *vid.* also the Lithuanian story given by Veckenstedt, *Myth. Sag. Leg. d. Zamaiten*, ii., p. 69.

or *tietäjä*, like Väinämöinen, but a *seppä* or *takoja*, like Ilmarinen. This object figures also as a means, for the man who may know how to make it, of obtaining a woman in reward; nay, according to some singers, as the gift promised by the groom to the bride (*Morgengabe*). Here the secret evidently lies in the word,¹ which signifies nothing beyond, and dispenses us from determining the object: its primitive meaning expressed, without any doubt, not an object, but the special efficacy attributed to it. The fancy of the *laulajat* has treated this abstract idea as it has others, as it has those of nature, creation etc.; except that, instead of poetically concreting into a person the abstract idea expressed by the noun, it has here concreting it into an object; leaving it, however, as indeterminate as are the figures of the Luonnotaret, of Kave, etc., among personifications. The word, as might be expected, is Scandinavian. In its earliest form it is *sambú*, a name it still bears in some Finnic localities;² in it, *bú* has the value of the modern *bo* for other names of places, as, for example, Åbo, Gyllebo, Gunnebo, etc. The word *bú* is much used among ancient and modern Scandinavians

¹The etymologies given up to the present time have made no way. Grimm (*D. Mythol.*) and Castrén had better have left their Thibetan and Mongolian words where they found them. The Russian *samomol* (grinding by itself) suggested by Schiefner had no better fate than the Russian *sambog* (God himself) of Lönnrot. Equally unlucky were the Norse *stamp* (pestle) proposed by Castrén and the Oriental *tambur* of Friis, who sees in the *Sampo* the magic drum. Donner has attempted a Finnic etymology, adducing a pretended root *sap*, which according to him would express the idea of round, of moving around (the sun); it is a root, however, not found in the ordinary words expressing these ideas (*kehä, piiri, kierto, pyörä*, etc.).

²*Sambu* is the name of two villages and also of two water-courses; a cascade is called *of Sambu*. *Sampo* is the name of a farm. Near Viborg there is an Isle of the Sampo (Sammonsaaari). *Sampa* in a magic song means a castle or court. *Vid.* Krohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 420, 374; he is, however, wrong in finding in all this the *Sampo* of the runes. The form *Sampa* may be equivalent to *Sammakka*, which means a *frog*; *vid.* Varelius in *Suomi*, 1895, p. 9 *et seq.*

(Swed., Dan., N. *bo*).¹ Its meaning is broad and complex. As anciently used it reflects the social form of a time when the family reigned supreme. It expresses the idea of the domestic establishment, not so much as seen in the society of a town as in rural estates; and it also expresses the authority of him who possesses, holds or rules the establishment (*búa*, *búandi*, *bonde*, *husbonde*, Eng. *husband*, etc.); as it expresses, too, in part the things, possessions, resources of life, provisions, cattle (Swed. *boskap*), etc., that it contains. To set up house or make oneself a similar domestic establishment is *to put together bú* (*setja bú saman*). In like manner we have the verb *búa*, *búa saman*, to keep a house of one's own, or also to form a family through matrimony: a cohabitation which in the compound *sambudh* comes to mean carnal intercourse.

All these meanings of *bú* or *bo* (which, since there is no *b* in Finnic, necessarily becomes in that language *po*), with the addition of the idea of things held in common (*sam*), are found in the *Sampo* of the Finnic runes, whose meaning is defined by its efficacy. It is the ideal of the common resources of the family in a society as simple and primitive as is that of the ancient and in part also of the modern Finns, and as is that of the epic runes; hence it expresses also the common good and possessions of a whole social group, and almost translates the English *commonwealth* in its original sense. Where it is, cultivation prospers, "there men plough, there men sow, there all things

¹The most complete exposition of the use of this word is given by Fritzner in the new edition of his *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, s. v. *bú*, *búa*, *vid.* there numerous examples of place-names with this ending; and on the latter see also N. M. Petersen, *Samlede Afhandlingar*, i., p. 158. It indicates first of all a single domestic establishment (now *gård*), which, growing larger, became a village (Swed. *by*) or also a city (Dan., Norw. *by*). In these words the idea of the family is dominant, of domestic life, work and economy; the words *gårdhr*, *gård*, *garten*, Slav. *Grad*, *gorod*, etc., spring but from the idea of a circumscribed place, an enclosure; but here too the original idea is only that of domestic *unity*.

grow" (*Tänne kyntö, Tänne kylvö, Tänne kasvo kaikenlainen*). It is also spoken of as having roots, so that the plough had to be used to get it up (*Kalevala*, xlii., l. 143 *et seq.*). Perhaps the first name *Sampsä* given to Pellervoinen (from *pelto*, field, Germ. *feld*), god of agriculture, the Triptolemus of the Finns, may really be placed in relation with the Sampo;¹ it is certainly to be expected that the good Sampo (*hyvä Sampo*) should be personified. And the Sampo runes were sung at the spring and autumn seed-time, as is still the custom in some places.² All this agrees with the Germanic word we have mentioned, which also expresses cultivation (*búandi*, mod. *bonde*, peasant), as do most modern Germanic words derived from it (Germ. *bauen, bauer, landbau*, etc.). The clearest and most intelligible definition of the Sampo given by the runes and by the explanations of the singers is that which describes it as a mill formed of three automatically moving millstones, one of which constantly ground out flour, another salt, the third money. We may recognise in the salt and flour the symbol of household food, a symbol which the Finns found ready formed among the Russians, who in the offering of bread (*hlieb*) and salt (*sol*) symbolise the domestic *penus* (*Penates*) and also find a name for hospitable reception (*hliebosolstvo*, hospitality). Other variants say that the mill gave eatables, things to sell, and domestic stores. In the Ilomants variants *Sampo* is the boat in

¹ Krohn, *Suom. kirj. hist.*, p. 420 *et seq.* Not, however, in the way he thinks; for Sampo is not a reduction from Sampsä but *vice versá*. He himself gives a song in which Sampo and Pellervo figure in two parallel lines as equivalent names (*Kuin on Sampo siemenia, Pellervo jyväin perä*). Sampo has suggested Sampsä, which by itself is Samson. In the variants of the first name, *Sampura, Sampurainen*, which occurs in a few songs (Krohn, *op. cit.*, p. 198), we clearly see the Germanic word with the ending (-r, -ri, -re) of the *nomen agentis*. Further removed, and in any case not applicable to the Sampo in the whole extent of its meaning, is the *Zembarys* or *Zemberys*, god of the productive land among the Lithuanians, from *zembeti* (O. Sl. *zembati*), to germinate.

² *E.g.*, in Vuokkiniemi. *Vid.* Krohn, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

which Väinämöinen carries off "the cattle, the stores, the means of sustenance of the lady of Pohjola". And, finally, the *búa saman* or *sambudh*, in the conjugal sense, also occurs, since the maiden of Pohjola is given in the *Kalevala* to the man who makes the Sampo, and the Sampo is said, by some singers, to have been the marriage-gift or *Morgengabe*.¹ In the songs of Archangel it is almost always said that Ilmarinen (or Väinämöinen) made the Sampo by day, by night caressed (propitiated) the maiden.²

This poetry is not marked by a profound symbolism, either in the myth or in the poetic idea. When the Finns adopt into their poetry an abstract idea already worked out by another people, expressing it by a foreign word, they easily translate it into personifications and images; which, however, betray its meaning by their variability and indeterminateness. All the description of the making of the Sampo given in the *Kalevala*, in which we seem to recognise an idea expressed through symbols, is a mosaic put together by Lönnrot. It is he who has introduced the idea, thus expressed, developing it with a systematic consistency (*bow* the chase, *boat* sailing, *cow* pastoral art, *plough-share* agriculture, *Sampo* everything good) which we can understand as existing in his own mind, never in that of a *laulaja*.³

¹ A singer of Russian Carelia told Borenius that the *kirjokansi* (variegated cover or box) was given to the bride as the husband's gift (*pridoanoiksi*), expressing by this Russian word *pridanoc* what the Finns, translating the Swedish *morgongåfva*, Germ. *Morgengabe*, call *huomenlahja*. Vid. Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia*, p. 136. In other songs a household box or coffer is mentioned (*kotoinen lipas*) as *huomenlahja*; Aspelin, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Krohn, *Valvoja*, 1883, p. 467. Cf. what we have said above of the Sampo called *kirjokansi*.

² "Päivät Sampoa takovi, Yöt neittä lepyttelevi." Thus in the song we have given in this work, pp. 1-240 *et seq.*, and in several others.

³ Lönnrot also gives a symbolic meaning to the objects from which the Sampo is to be made. These are: the top of a swan's feather, the milk of a sterile cow, a grain of barley, a lock of sheep's wool, according

Is there any hint at a real or historical fact at the bottom of this most important adventure of the Finnic epos, the *Rape of the Sampo*? Is there a rivalry in wealth, present or past, between the Finns and Lapps? There is certainly none. The Finns at present despise the Lapps as barbarous or savage.¹ Wealth could never have been attributed to the Lapp, the lean lad (*laiha poika*), either by himself or by any one else; the mere thought of it makes any one who knows what the Lapps are, smile. The Finns consider them as rich in nothing but magic; although their reindeer or furs may have been an incitement to predatory raids which are still remembered by them.² It is true, as we have already said, that Pohjola in the magic songs appears as the harbourer of those animals from which the ancient Finns principally obtained furs (*raha*, fur, money); but there was never any competition between the Lapps and Finns in this trade, nor is any trace of such competition found either in the name or the contents of the Sampo myth; as must have been wrongly

to the *Kalevala*, vii., l. 311, with some variants in the popular runes. Lönnrot would make them allude to the hunt, pastoral art, agriculture, industry; a manner of symbolism inconceivable in the minds of the laulajat. We might suggest a meaning allusive to the efficacy of the Sampo according to the explanation we have given of it, and with its function as described in the songs themselves. But Krohn is right when he says (*Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 415) that these elements should not be taken more seriously than they are in the songs themselves, where they are regarded of but little consequence; or than the splinters of the spindle should be, with which Väinämöinen is to build the boat (*Kalev.*, viii., l. 123 *et seq.*); whereas he makes it as he likes.

¹ *Lappi* means also *savage*; e.g., Swed., *Vilmanstrand*; Finn., *Lappeenranta*; *Pohjan tavat* (northern, that is Lapp, customs) is the same as barbarous savage customs. *Vid.* Castrén, *Om betydelse af ordet Lapp*, in *Suomi*, i., 1841.

² Castrén, *Nord. Resor. o. Forskn.*, i., p. 16 *et seq.*; cf. also Scheffer, *Lapponia*, p. 51 *et seq.*; Hogström, *Beschr. Lapplands*, p. 65. The riches of which the Lapps speak must be taken in a very relative sense. The raiders are *Carelians*, but under this name the Finns included also the Russians.

supposed by those who have compared the myth with that of the Golden Fleece of the Argonauts.¹ It is certain that the Finns, although they sometimes harassed the neighbouring, peaceful Lapps by raids into their country, could not hope to obtain from them the wealth they could get by inroads, less easy to make, it is true, into the territory of other neighbours. They molested the Scandinavians by their incursions, having learned the art (which they originally did not possess) from the Vikings themselves, and this was the reason or pretence which induced Erik the Holy to subdue and convert them.² Neither did they ever get from the Lapps such booty as they must have carried off, when, for instance, in 1187 a considerable Carelian fleet set out against Sweden, destroyed the city of Sigtuna, killed the Bishop of Upsala, and returned with rich spoil. Now, while facts of this kind left no echo in the epos and in traditional poetry, I do not see what manner of criticism can concede the existence in them of a rivalry in wealth with the wretched Lapps. If ever, as for instance in the magic songs for offerings or sacrifices,³ rich booty taken in war is spoken of, it comes from Sweden, Russia, Germany, Denmark. Besides, if the Finns boasted of anything, it was certainly not of prosperity and wealth; which are truly not characteristic of them. Popular songs speak with affectionate sadness of the wretched northern fatherland (*poloinen Pohjan maa*);

¹ Alcenius, in Donner's work, *Der Mythus v. Sampo*, p. 155. It is true that, in presence of the adventure of the Sampo, one's thoughts revert to the Argonauts, the Rape of the Palladium, the Grail, and such like expeditions. But (we speak of course of chance resemblances) the story of the Sampo comes nearer to the Latin legends of the transport of the Penates.

² Yriö Koskinen, *Finnische Geschichte*, p. 27 *et seq.* On the raids of the Finns, and also on the trade between the Finns and Lapps, *vid.* Aspelin, *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana (The Inhabitants of Finland in Pagan Times)*, pp. 81 *et seq.*, 85 *et seq.*

³ *Loitsurun.*, p. 251 *et seq.*

and literary men hold the same language, from the first writer in the Finnic tongue, the Bishop Agricola, who says (1561) "we are very poor" (*me olemme köyhät sangen*), down to Runeberg, who in his noble hymn to his fatherland calls it poor (*vårt land är fattigt*) but not less dear to its children.

The Sampo represents, then, nothing real: it is an ideal of prosperity, longed for but nothing more; not, however, so much of individual as of social prosperity; and in this it excels the theme, smaller but similar, which is met with in the popular tales of the type of the German *Tischchen decke Dich*. The very etymology of the word, as we have given it, leads to a less puerile, a higher idea, to the social idea of the family with its possessions and their agricultural sources.

The fact that the Sampo was in the hands of the sons of Kaleva, readily suggests, after Lönnrot's work, the idea of a national meaning.¹ But we have seen how little support this idea finds in songs which are in no way inspired by a historical sentiment. The land of the *Kalevala* is indeterminate, and its heroes represent nothing national unless it be ancient shamanism; so that there is no connection between the latter and the Sampo which they carry off, except that this also is defined as a product of magic and as having a magic action. So far, there is a connection; in this sense the Sampo may be called a national object; and thus it is also connected with the origins of the epos whose roots we found in the magic songs. But it appears, at least as we see it now in existing songs, rather as an *ulterior* development than as a direct and immediate product of the magic

¹ The lines of canto xliii., 385 *et seq.*, which tell of the fragments of the Sampo collected by Väinämöinen and sowed in the earth, and of Väinämöinen's prayer, are a composition of Lönnrot's from popular verses which have nothing to do with the Sampo. *Vid. Krohn, Suomal. kirjall. hist.*, p. 412.

poetry which had become epic song. This marvellous object, which seems in the *Kalevala* to be of such importance as to form the culminating point in its action, holds a singularly solitary place in the runes. The magic and lyric runes know it not; of the epic runes comparatively few mention it—those, namely, that treat of it exclusively, telling the story of its rape. The singers of Archangel add the account of its making and of the bride promised in reward, but this is quite unknown to the singers of the Finnic parts. The other epic runes neither mention it nor allude to it indirectly: one hears nothing of its efficacy even in the runes sung at weddings, at the great marriage feast, in which, among such abundance, we should expect to find the miraculous fount of victuals in action. The Sampo is certainly not the key to the pretended unity of the epic runes; the hallucination which would make it appear such, disappears after a very small analysis of Lönnrot's poem. It is a mythic formation which, like many others, has remained without any action that can be narrated. It may lay claim to some antiquity though no trace of it is found in surviving magic songs. Certainly the known songs of the Sampo are not among the most ancient: that of its making is not, as Krohn has well shown; and that of its rape, however widely it is now diffused through Finland proper, is later than others, of which it betrays the influence. If we call to mind what has been said of the two different currents of poetical ideas that led the *tietäjät* to create the mythic regions of Pohjola and of Päivölä or Saari, it will be clear that the Sampo, answering to an idea of happiness and prosperity, should be connected, not with gloomy Pohjola, but with Päivölä or Saari, the Land of Cockaigne and of weddings: the island of Saari should be its abode, as in the Russian magic formulas the miraculous stone Alatyr is placed in the island of Bujan. This never happens in the runes, but the singers of Archangel

understood it, and attributed the construction of the Sampo to a man of Kaleva, not of Pohjola, placing it in connection with the *Demand for a Bride*. But we have already said that, especially in the passage of magic to purely epic songs, an evolution takes place by which the idea of Pohjola is modified; and, while still preserving decided traces of its original malignant and hostile character, becomes confused with the idea of Päivölä or Saari. This occurs especially in the incident of the *Demand for a Bride*. In Lönnrot's *Kalevala*, Pohjola appears where the runes more generally place Päivölä and Saari; and that not only in the case of Lemminkäinen but also of Ilmarinen's *Demand for a Bride*. It is, however, true that the beautiful maiden of Saari, wooed by many men, often becomes in the runes, as in the *Kalevala*, the beautiful maiden of Pohjola, spoken of in the magic songs. Only as a result of this evolution could the Sampo be placed in Pohjola; and only after the idea of the *Demand for* or even of the *Rape of the Bride* from Pohjola had become fixed, could the idea of the *Demand for* and of the *Rape of the Sampo* from that country be elaborated.

There are, at least in the *Kalevala*, a few particulars of the *Rape of the Sampo* that find a parallel in particulars of the song, of very different origin, which narrates the *Liberation of the Sun and of the Moon*, but they are the customary formulas that serve several ends in poetry and in fantastic, popular creations. This myth, clearly naturalistic in its meaning, not Finnic in its origin, but in its essential common among Indo-Europeans, has nothing to do with the Sampo, which is certainly not the sun, as Donner and others have thought.¹

¹ Vid. what Krohn justly says about it, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 482 et seq.

CHAPTER III.

THE RUNE.

FROM the preceding analysis we see clearly how the shamanic idea informs the myth and epos of this people; is in fact the root of them. But although the Finns were originally shamanists, as other related peoples were and still are, yet they had very little in common with these peoples in the way of myth. It is evident that when they came into Europe they brought with them very few ideas of this kind. In this respect our inquiries lead us to results that are quite in harmony with those of the scholars who from an examination of their language have deduced the origin of their culture and their primitive conditions.

From the researches of Dietrich,¹ of Thomsen,² and above all of Ahlqvist,³ it results that development and civil progress took place among the Finns after they had come in contact with Germanic, Lithu-Slav and Slav peoples, the greatest influence being exerted by the first of these, who have left profound and ancient traces on the Finnic language. After eliminating all civil elements of foreign origin, Ahlqvist finds that the most ancient social and civil

¹ *Zeugnisse eines vorhistor. Standes d. schwedischen u. einer gothischen Gestalt des altnordischen aus dem Lappischen u. Finnischen*, in Hoefler's *Zeitschr. f. d. Wiss. d. Spr.*, iii. (1857), p. 32 et seq.

² *Ueber d. Einfluss d. german. Sprachen auf die Finnisch-Lappischen*, Halle, 1870.

³ *Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen; ein Beitrag zu der älteren Cultur-geschichte der Finnen*, Helsingfors, 1875. Cf. Retzius, *Finska Kranier*, p. 17 et seq.

condition of the Finns was as simple and rudimentary as that which actually exists, and which he has studied and described,¹ among some Ugro-Finnic peoples such as the Ostyaks and Voguls;² and, with the exception of a few particulars on which discussion may be raised, Ahlqvist's conclusions are generally just. The same may be said of the myth, of the epos and their poetry: he who should seek among them remains of primitive Ugro-Finnic conceptions, or connections with such mythic ideas as are still found among kindred peoples, would be pursuing a chimera. All that we can say about their myth, whether it be more ancient or less so, is posterior to their contact with the peoples of Europe; the etymology we have given of so many mythic names and the genesis we have expounded of so many fantastic ideas, prove this clearly. There was originally as great a scarcity of myth and of mythic names among them as there is among the Voguls and Ostyaks. The personification of nature was rudimentary; the names simple appellatives, containing and transmitting no mythic idea. Thus, although the Vogul *in*, which means sky, is identical with the Finnic *il* (*ma*), which means air, yet the Vogul *Inmar* is by no means identical with the Finnic *Ilmari*; neither, as we have seen, can we think of a transmission of the name. There was among the Finns, as among peoples akin to them, a vague idea of spirits, and especially of the action of the spirits of the dead; they had, too, in common with other peoples, a personification (*Jumala*) of the sky or of its action (*thunder*). The shaman, who was supposed to dominate the beings of nature and spirits, acted, it is true, through his word, but this was still a simple word or *sana*, not *laulu* or song. The poetry of the magic songs, that poetry which generated and moulded the myth and the epos after its own nature, developed and brought forth

¹ *Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken*, Helsingf., 1883.

² *Die Culturwörter*, etc., p. 264 et seq.

only after its contact with neighbouring and diverse European peoples.

The same influences which gave rise to the development of poetry and of myth caused among the Finns a considerable evolution in the religious idea, even before they adopted Christianity. They must have had information of the latter or of Christian ideas from the peoples who had been converted before them, beginning with the Goths; and besides they must have known the pagan idea and worship of the ancient Scandinavians, Lithuanians and Slavs, from whom they learnt so many other things with their names. This is clearly proved by our exposition of their myth, and would be seen still more plainly were we to compare them from this point of view with their neighbours and kinsfolk the Lapps, who have very little myth or poetry of their own. If the Biarms,¹ of whom the Scandinavian sagas speak so often, were identical with the Finns of the *Kalevala*, and if we could take seriously the tales of their sagas, we should have to believe that the Finns already made considerable progress in the time of their paganism, both from a religious and from a social and civil point of view: for there would have existed among them a rich temple with a seated statue of the god Jumula; and, far higher than the domestic *kota* and the *pirtti*, far higher than the *kyla* or village, there would have been already formed the *kaupunki* or city; while, above the master and the mistress, the *isäntä* or the *emäntä* would already be the king or *kuningas*. But although the histories of Finland open at the present time with the record of these Biarms defined by several scholars as Carelians,² who flourished, in that region of the Dvina where is now the government of Archangel, until they were defeated and all trace of them

¹ We may here call to mind what has been said and quoted concerning the Biarms in the first chapter of the present work, on p. 58.

² Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, p. 7 *et seq.*

was lost after the beginning of the thirteenth century, yet the traditional poetry of the Finns preserves not the least remembrance of them and of their splendour; so that we should know nothing whatever about them were it not for Scandinavian sagas and Russian chronicles. The name is of little importance, for while the Scandinavians call them Biarms (who would be Permians), the Russians call them Chudes (*Savoločeskya Čud*). And these were certainly not the names they gave themselves; just as the Finns do not call themselves Finns, nor the Lapps, Lapps. But their deeds, their struggles with Scandinavian, Russian, Bulgarian invaders and robbers, their trade, their cities, their wealth, their temple and their solemn worship of the god Jumula: how is it that none of these things has left its trace in the traditional epos of the Finns; that this latter knows nothing of kings, of cities, of trade, of the conflicts of peoples, of priests, of temples, of divine images? How can a civilisation of this kind, of which the most ancient notices date from the times of King Alfred of England, that is, the ninth century (Other), and continue down to the time in which, having been conquered and converted, the Finns enter on their historical period (twelfth century), have been altogether ignored in the national epos; an epos, too, whose production dates from pagan times and continues down to our days through the oral transmission not of dead poetry but of poetry living and generative? This is in flagrant contradiction with the natural laws of epic production; which need not necessarily exist, as is the case even among many peoples of considerable historical activity, but which, if it does exist, cannot avoid reflecting in itself the most important facts and the fundamental conditions of national life. And the epic movement, once begun, never stops at the record of one fact only, but continues to invest one incident after another with a perennial succession of poetic forms: the stories of the

Scandinavian *saga*, of the Russian *bylin*, of the Servian *pesma*, of which the motive is essentially historical, are, among others, examples ready to hand.

Such Finnic scholars, therefore, as, like Ahlqvist, maintain that the Biarms were Carelians, the Carelian authors of the traditional runes, and also maintain that the epic runes in the *Kalevala* are based on a historical motive, do not observe what a strange, nay absurd anomaly they who would define this kind of poetic production and its natural laws propose to the student of the national epos of various peoples. We must either believe that if the Biarms were a Finnic stock (and this cannot be denied) they were not the Finns of the *Kalevala*, in which we find represented a social condition by no means in accordance with that of the Biarms, but altogether in harmony with the known antecedents of the Finns and the Lapps; or else we must define the Finnic epos and its national origin in quite a peculiar manner. Our preceding researches have already firmly established this last case, whatever may be thought of the first; and on this we have already given our opinion,¹ for we have seen that the Finnic epos knows not a historic motive, but has its roots in the magic song and ancient shamanism of the people.

Of a truth, these epic songs give, as we have said, rather the picture of the fantastic world of story-books than of a real world; nor, because they make no mention of certain things, must we imagine that these things did not exist. Thus, though they may have had no temples, they certainly had sacred places, such as woods and lakes, springs, trees, etc., and also rough idols like the Lapps and other shamanists.² Priests properly so called they probably had not, for worship among peoples of their condition is in the hands of the fathers of families, and

¹ *Vid. sup.*, p. 58.

² *Vid. Castrén, Finsk Mythol.*, p. 198 *et seq.*

the shaman¹ acts for the community; but they certainly had sacrifices; and their usages still bear a trace of them, although the word expressing them is of foreign origin (*uhri*, Esth. *ohver*, Lapp *oaffer* = Swed. *offer*).² They also had, and still have, festivals, chiefly agricultural, for various occasions and times of the year; and although these are now confused with Christian festivals, their names and their rites continue to prove their ancient, pagan origin. Such is the festival at the beginning of the year (in November), or *Vuoden alkajaiset*, in honour of Ukko the supreme god and of the spirits of the dead (whence its other name *Henkien päivät*, days or festivals of the spirits) to ensure a fortunate year; such the festival of Kekri (now confused with All Saints' Day) of an agricultural or pastoral character; such the feast of Ukko's Bushels (*Ukon vakat*) at the spring sowing, etc.³ But in all this there is a marked lack of correspondence with the usages of kindred shamanic peoples, and a very considerable correspondence with the paganism of the nearest European peoples. If what the Scandinavian sagas relate were true, of the temple of the Biarms with its sacred enclosure, its statue of the god Jumula seated, having in his lap an enormous bowl to receive offerings in money and wearing a rich necklace, etc., we should have to believe that this people had raised itself from rude shamanism to a higher and nobler polytheistic cult like that of the Scandinavians themselves; and this would be too much for the Finns of the *Kalevala*, if such indeed were the Biarms, whatever those may think who believe

¹ Vid. Rein, *De sacerdotibus ethnicis veterum Fennorum*, Helsingfors, 1844. Cf. Krohn, *Berättelser ur finska Historien*, i., p. 84.

² Ahlqvist, *D. Culturw.*, p. 247. The word *verha* has according to Neovius (*Kalevalan kotiperästä*, p. 25) the meaning of sacrifice in southern Carelia; but in this word too we may trace the Swed. (*offer*).

³ Vid. Salmelainen, *Muinois-Suomalaisten pyhista menoista* (*On the Sacred Usages of the Ancient Finns*), in *Suomi*, 1882, p. 125 et seq.; Krohn, *Berättelser ur finska Historien*, i., p. 76 et seq.

these latter to have been really Carelians.¹ But if we must take the Scandinavian sagas with the proverbial grain of salt even when they tell of the ancient pagan worship and temples of their own land,² much more must we do so when they tell of a country so remote as is that of the Biarms. More likely and credible are the indications of a refinement in the worship and the religious usages of the Esthonians. A principal image³ of the supreme god Taara is spoken of, as well as altars, priests, and even a special priest of the god of thunder or Taara himself; and we have even the form of prayer (in prose) which the priest pronounced in imploring a fertile year.⁴ Here, as we have already shown, we may evidently trace the more immediate and continuous influence, not only of Germanic peoples, but also and above all of the Baltic Slavs, who had priests and temples and remained pagans down to the fourteenth century: the temple of Perkunas was still in existence at Vilna in 1387, when it was replaced by the Christian cathedral. Festivals, too, certainly of ancient custom dating from pagan times, show both among the Finns and among the Esthonians the influence of the Scandinavian and Lithu-Slavonic paganism on the Finnic. Thus although the cult of the spirits of the dead may be connected with the shamanic idea, yet the *Henkien päivät* we have just mentioned recall more nearly the ancient Scandinavian usage of celebrating festivals in winter to propitiate the spirits of the dead

¹ Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*, p. 36 *et seq.*

² Finn Magnusen, *Föreläsningar öfver nordiska archäologien*, Stockh., 1822, and several others after him give notices of the sacred images and temples of the Scandinavians, collected in all good faith chiefly from the sagas. *Vid.*, however, the criticisms of Vigfusson, *Corpus poeticum boreale*, i., p. 402 *et seq.*

³ The name *Tharapilla* given by the chronicle of Henry the Lett is reducible, Castrén thinks, to Taara-bild. *Förel. i. Finsk Mythol.*, p. 215.

⁴ *Vid.* Rosenplanter's *Beiträge*, v., p. 156 *et seq.* Cf. Kreutzwald u. Neus, *Myth. u. mag. Lieder. d. Ehsten*, p. 17 *et seq.*

and procure favourable seasons from them (*Alfa-blot, Dísablot*).¹ Again, Agricola tells us that during the festival of the Bushels of Ukko the cup of Ukko was drained (*Ukon malja*), that is to say, men drank to the honour of the god; and this recalls the ancient Scandinavian festivals in which the brimming bowl (*full*) was drained in honour of Woden, of Frey, of Bragi or of some other god (*drekka Odhinsfull, Freysfull, Bragafull, etc.*).² The very name of the feast of Kekri recalls the similar pagan festival *Kekyris* of the ancient Prussians.³ The festivals for the capture of the bear, on the other hand, find their parallel rather among peoples akin to the Finns; but the so-called "worship of the bear" (*karhun palvelus*) has no real religious character; nor has it anything to do with the shamanic idea, although it may certainly be called superstitious.

There is no reason, then, to have recourse to the analysis of their myth and of their traditional poetry to prove that the Finns had already during the pagan period considerably modified their shamanism, approaching the paganism peculiar to those European peoples from whom their language had already taken so much of the vocabu-

¹ *Vid.* Vigfusson, *Corpus poeticum boreale*, i., p. 413 *et seq.*

² *Vid.* the places in the sagas quoted by Vigfusson, *Corpus poeticum boreale*, p. 404 *et seq.*

³ *Cf.* Narbutt, *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego*, Vilna, 1837-41, i., p. 306; Hanuš, *Die Wissenschaft d. slavischen Mythus*, p. 225. On the feast of Kekri, now and formerly, (*Kekrijuhla ennen ja nyt*), *vid.* the notices contributed to the *Joukahainen*, x., 1887, p. 158 *et seq.*, from the rich collection of notes on the popular usages of the Finns by the late Dr. Reinholm. *Cf.* also as a comparison with the Lithuanian or old Prussian festival, Krohn, in *Suomen kuvalehti (Illustrated Journal of Finland)*, 1880, p. 29. Thomsen in his new book (*Beröringer mellem de finske og de baltiske Sprog*), p. 147 *et seq.*, expresses unjustifiable doubts as to this ancient Prussian festival, showing himself unacquainted with the notices referring to it. It is, however, a matter of argument whether the name has passed from the Lithuanians to the Finns or *vice versa*. *Vid. sup.*, p. 178 note.

lary of culture. Coming back here, however, to our discussion of their myth and their poetry, we must say at once that the originality and independence of their thought was in no way injured by the influence that Scandinavian and other peoples exerted over them. The Finnic myth bears an impress all its own; it is quite different from the Scandinavian myth. Not a single case occurs of the Finns having taken a myth bodily from their Scandinavian neighbours, or even having copied or modelled from them. As an example of this independence we may refer to the comparison already made (p. 243) between the death of Balder and that of Lemminkäinen. Other cases in point are furnished by the connection between Ilmarinen and Völundr or Mimir, by Väinämöinen's descent into Hell as compared with that of Odin, by the idea of the nether world itself or Tuonela as compared with that of Niflheim, of the Luonnotaret as compared with the Norns, of the Sampo with the Grottemill, etc. The fact is that the Scandinavian myth, at least as we know it from both *Eddas* and from the sagas, stands on a far higher level of thought and of poetry than do the thought and the poetry of the *laulajat*. The latter knew nothing of it in the written forms under which it has come down to us; they would not even have understood the songs included in the *Edda*, nor those of the period of the skalds. Knowledge of these myths could reach them only by means of oral and popular tradition, and even so they assimilated nothing but a few of the fantastic elements, never a whole narrative. The popular prose tale,¹ the apologue, or the fable drawn from animal life,²

¹ Cf. Schiefner, *Ueber den Mythengehalt der finn. Märchen*, in the *Mélanges russes*, ii., p. 602; Rudbek, *Om Finnarnes Folkdikt i obunden berättande Form.*, Helsingf., 1857, p. 41; more thoroughly Kaarle Krohn, *Tutkimuksia suomalaisten kansansatujen alalta (Researches on the Popular Tales of the Finns)*.

² Kaarle Krohn, *Suomalaisia kansansatuja*, I. Osa: *Eliänsatuja (Popular Finnic Tales, part i., Tales about Animals)*, Helsingf., 1886. *Vid.* also the

penetrated, filtered in among them from various sides; but the poetic and the religious myth, the poetical heroic saga, did not take root among them, for it was inspired by religious and heroic ideals too far above theirs and too widely divergent from them. Of Vuotan or Odin, of Thor,¹ of the other Aesir, of Sigurd, of Gunnar, of Helgi,

book of the same author above quoted, partly translated, partly summarised (introduc.) in German by O. Hackmann, *Bär (Wolf) u. Fuchs, eine alt-nordische Thiermärchenkette v. K. Krohn, Helsingf., 1888.*

¹ It is still doubtful whether, as some have thought, the name of the very popular Germanic god Thor may be traced in some of the Finnic, Esthonian and Lapp mythic names, especially as these names find also a possible parallel among the Voguls (*tarom*, god, sky) and Ostyaks (*turum, torem*, god of the sky, of the thunder). *Vid. Castrén, Finsk Mythol., p. 51; Friis, Lapp. Mythol., p. 65 et seq.; Krohn, Index of Names in the Kalevala, 1887, s. n. Tuuri; Neus, Ehstn. Volksl., p. 62 et seq.; Donner, Vergl. Wörterb. d. Finn. Ugr. Spr., i., p. 127.* For our own part we think that the following observations may be made on these names:—

The nearest to the Germanic god is the Lapp *Torat* or *Horagales* (*gales* means old), who also possesses a hammer, Thor's distinguishing attribute.

As to the *Taara* of the Esthonians, which is another name for *Ukko* (the old) or for *Vana isa* (the old father), I very much fear that it should be referred rather to the Slav. *stary*, old, than to Thor.

With regard to the Finns, the name *Tuuri*, which but occasionally occurs in the runes, has certainly nothing to do with Thor, as Krohn would have. In the *Kalevala* it sometimes appears, as equivalent to *Ukko* (runes xv., l. 427; xlvii., ll. 185, 188), sometimes as equivalent to *Osmo* or *Kaleva* (rune xlvii., l. 219). In both cases it has the same value as *suuri*, great, and is derived from the N. *stór* (pronounced *stoor*), great; in this it is in accordance with the Norse etymology, given above (p. 210), of the name *Osmo*. The same etymology is found in *Turilas*, meaning a giant and a person greatly to be feared, maleficent; it has nothing to do with *Turso*, which as we have seen is the Scandinavian *Thurs*; but it is to be referred to *stór*, great, as the Russian *velikan*, giant, is to *veliki*, great; it recalls still more nearly, however, the Norse *stórilla*, big, wicked fellow.

Side by side with *Tuuri*, who as we have said has nothing to do with the *Tursi*, *Turras*, *Turrisas* registered by Ganander as god of war and connected by him and others with the Scandinavian *Thor* or *Tyr*, Agricola places a Tavastian god, "Turisas who gives victory in war". It is surprising to find a god of war among the Finns, a people so poor in personifications of this kind and in martial songs. But this god of the Tavasts is certainly nothing but an echo of the Slavonic Mars, *Turo*, *Turizza* or *Turissa*, as Appendini calls him (*Tur, Turrice*). Cf. Hanuš, *Die Wissensch.*

of the other heroes, there is no trace among them. They must have known of these gods and heroes, must even have seen the worship and the temples of the former; but they looked on them as on alien property; they never assimilated them.

Some scholars have thought to find traces of an influence greater than that we have here defined. This is a mistake. For example, it is said that the competition in song between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen (*Kalevala*, iii.) is identical with the challenge to a duel in wisdom between Odin and the giant Vafthrúdnir in an Eddic song, the *Vafthrúdnismál*. Yet the *Vafthrúdnismál* is in no sense of the word a popular poem. It is as full of learning as a poem can be, and it is certain that no Finnic *laulaja* ever heard of it, and that, even having heard of it, he would never have understood it. The challenge to a combat of wits, of songs or of riddles, is a very frequent poetical theme in the popular tales of every country and every time. In the above-mentioned song of the *Edda* it serves as a pretext for the setting forth of learning, as also happens in the *Hávamál* and in the *Gylfagynning*. In the Finnic song, on the other hand, the theme only serves to show Väinämöinen's superiority to the Lapp in the art of magic. There is no display of learning; Joukahainen alone says something which would claim to be learned, but his words are, as Väinämöinen defines them,¹ babble (*loru*), childishness and empty boasting. Väinämöinen overcomes him by means of songs, whose effect is to sink his enemy into the earth, but of which we are not told the contents. It is therefore clear that the Finnic song has

d. slav. Mythus, p. 1. This is, however, not the place to decide whether this Slavonic god has anything to do with the Germanic Thor or Tyr, as it has been supposed to have.

¹ "Lapsen tieto, naisen muisti," l. 184; "jo loppuivat loruisi?" l. 214. Joukahainen bears more resemblance to the dwarf Alwis in his similar strife with Thor in the *Alwismál*; but even here the dwarf shows himself more truly *Alwis* (all-knowing) than Joukahainen.

in common with the *Vafthrúdnismál* only the general theme, which, however, is of constant occurrence in songs and tales, whether popular or not. Neither does Väinämöinen recall Odin, as Krohn would have it.¹ It is by chance that in this many-sided god, presented by different times under different aspects, we find some features characteristic also of Väinämöinen. The two types and the roots of the two ideas are profoundly unlike. The same may be said of similar parallels drawn by Krohn and others, which need not detain us here.

More essential, more clearly traceable, has been outside influence on the magic song; on the poetry, that is, through which, as we have seen, the Finnic myth was formed and developed. The primitive shamanic idea evidently mated with the idea of magic and of secret wisdom proper to the neighbouring, especially Germanic, European peoples; and from the union sprang the poetry which distinguishes the Finns from other shamanists. The hidden knowledge implied by the word *runa* took on a poetical form among them as among the peoples from whom, retaining its current meaning, they had adopted it. The shaman became a poet, and the word *runa*, following a different road from that it had taken among the Norse, came to mean among the Finns first of all the poetic magic word, and then poetry in general. Another word meaning magic and also

¹ Krohn believes that he has found an identification of Väinämöinen with Odin (*Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 237 *et seq.*) in the name of an island near the coast of Livonia called by the Esthonians *Osmussaar*, by the Swedes *Odensö*. But Osmo is really another name for Kaleva, and is never applied to Väinämöinen except with a secondary meaning, in so far as he is a man of Kaleva, as we have seen above on p. 212; neither is this other name for Kaleva known, as far as I can make out, to the Esthonians. The Esthonian name of the island is probably a corruption of *Odamussaar*, isle of the bear, and may once have been *Odensaar*, with the same meaning. In the same way another name of a place in Esthonia, *Odenpäh*, has nothing to do with Odin, but means "head of the bear," as the old Russian chronicles translate it (*Medvjeežia golova*). *Vid. Sjögren, Gesamm. Schr.*, i., p. 495.

secret, but independently of poetry, is *taikka*. Its first meaning is a prognostic, a token, hence divination, and by the usual affinity of the two ideas, magic, secret art, etc. This word has certainly nothing to do with the Russian *taiti*, to keep secret, as Lönnrot would have it (*F. S. Lexik.*, s. v. *taika*), but is evidently the Gothic *taikns*,¹ sign, token (Mod. Germ. *Zeichen*). We have also seen that *luote*, lot, destiny and magic song, is probably of Germanic origin. *Poppa*, wizard, seer, is the Russian word *pop*, which means priest; *velho*, magician, wizard, is the Russian *volho* with the same meaning. *Noita*, wizard, is a word they have in common with the Lapps (*noaide*), from whom, in fact, they probably drew it.² *Manaus*, expressing the magic bari, is a Germanic word (O. H. G. *manôn*, *monere*, A.-S. *manian*) used in the same sense.³ In *luku*, magic word, reading or song (Esthonian *lugu*, story, tale, song), we may recognise, in a different vocable, the association of the meanings inherent in the Anglo-Saxon *spellian*, Engl. *to spell*, *a spell*; in *katsoa*, to see, look, expressing also the sight of the seer and the magic charm, we may recognise the similar meaning of the Norse *spá*, *sia* (*sjá*).⁴ *Kiro*, imprecation,

¹ Thus also in Russian *znahar*, diviner, wizard, from *znak*, sign. The German *Segen* (*Zaubersegen*) comes from *signum*, *signare*; but in a Christian sense and without any idea of divination. In Finn. it is *siunaus*.

² This is Lönnrot's idea, *Loitsurun.*, p. vi. The origin of the word is not explained either by the Lapp or the Finnic (*cf.* Friis, *Lapp. Mythol.*, p. 1). Could it be referred to the Norse *naudr* (Mod. G. *Not*), which would describe the wizard as *the constringer*, as in the Germ. expression *Höllenzwang*?

³ *Cf.* Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 1027; *ih bemanian dih* is the opening of an ancient German magic formula.

⁴ Lönnrot, *Loitsurun.*, p. vi. The Norse *spámadhr*, *spákona*, which means seer, man or woman, ends by meaning wizard, witch (Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 864). In the *Edda* (*Sigrdrifumál* xi.) it is written:—

Limrunar skaltu kunna
ef thu vilt lonir vera
oc kunna sár at sia.

“Runes of the branches must thou know if thou wouldst be a medicine-man and look at (heal) a wound.” Here *sia* (*sjá*) equals the Finnic *katsoa*.

Näkijä (from *nähdä*, to see) is the man endowed with miraculous spiritual sight; it translates the Swedish *siare*.

kirota, to imprecate, is the Lithuanian *kiro*, *keriù*, *kirti*, *kereti*, Sl. *čar*, *čaravati*, to charm, to bewitch. Another name given to a wizard is *kukkaromies*, the man with the pocket or satchel; and he is so called because he carries on him a pocket containing various objects necessary for his magic: the bones of a dead man, the bones of a bear's paw, the talons of an eagle, skeletons of frogs, skulls of serpents, flint (for lighting tinder), etc.¹ In this respect the wizard does not differ much from the wizard of other European peoples, who also carries his little bag with various instruments, such as three-cornered nuts, pieces of loadstone, grains of incense, myrrh, cumin, iron filings, and all the rest. At the same time, he is wanting in the distinguishing characteristic of the shamanic wizard: he has not the magic drum, which occurs among the Lapps as it does among the Voguls, the Samoyedes, the Altaic peoples, etc. It is replaced in divination by the sieve used in various manners;² but this does not hold the place in the functions of the *tietäjä* that the magic drum does in that of the shaman in general, that the *gobdas* does in those of the Lapp *noaide*. The sieve is really independent of shamanism, of very ancient use in Europe (cf. the *κοσκινωμαντεία* of the Greeks) and of especially wide diffusion among the Germanic peoples (*vid.* Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 927 *et seq.*).³

¹ Lönnrot, *Loitsurun.*, p. viii.

² Described by Lönnrot, *Loitsurun.*, p. vii. *et seq.* Lencqvist, *De superst. vet. Fennor.*, p. 91.

³ Another way of drawing lots is thus described by Lencqvist (*op. cit.*, p. 91 *et seq.*). "Ex assulis ligneis cultro elaboratis conficiebant pinnulas plures quibus insculpebant singulis suum signum vel characterem peculiarem; dein mussitabant carmen consuetum; quo finito ex signo quod tum relinquebatur in manu conjectabant utrum felix futura esset venatio, aut piscatura, ubi reperiendum foret animal deperditum," etc. Here, too, we recognise an ancient Germanic usage described by Tacitus (*Germ.*, 10): "Virgam frugiferæ arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt," etc. Cf. Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 329 *et seq.*

Doubtless the magic drum is not essential to the shamanic idea, which can quite well exist without it; but it is an important and significant fact that the Finns not only do not possess it, but that no trace of its existence is found in their language, in their poetry, in their memories of the past; so that Lönnrot goes so far as to deny that they have ever had it.¹ This is all the more noteworthy because, leaving on one side kindred but far-off peoples, they were in continuous relations with the Lapps; whose rivals they were, as the runes show us, precisely in the domain of magic. Now among the Lapps the magic drum was, until quite recently, so essential as to become, after their Christianisation, almost a symbol of the religion of their fathers, being even mentioned as such in more than one rude song;² so essential that it is difficult to imagine a Lapp *noaide* without the magic drum or *gobdas* in his hands. The Finns, on the contrary, not only make no mention of the instrument in their own case, but do not even speak of it in connection with the Lapps. The magic and epic runes which speak so constantly of the wizards of Lapland or of Pohjola know nothing of it; neither is the using it or not using it ever adduced as a distinction between the Lapp and the Finnic wizards. More than one scholar has, however, thought that he could observe some trace of the magic drum among the Finns, at least in Savolax, as late as the beginning of the last century;³ and it is generally supposed that they must have had the instrument, but that it had fallen into disuse and had been forgotten. Nay, the

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. ix.

² Donner, *Lieder der Lappen*, pp. 29, 164. With regard to the song with which they accompanied the sacrifice, beating the magic drum or *gobdas*, vid. Setälä, *Lappische Lieder aus. d. xvii Jahrh.*, in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, viii., pp. 121 et seq.

³ Thus Gabr. Maxenius, *De effectibus fascino-naturalibus*, Åbo, 1733. Cf. Krohn in *Kirjall. kuukauslehti*, n. 2, 1870.

Norwegian scholar Friis¹ has thought that the Finnic epos presents a solemn, poetical ideal record of it in the Sampo, which is nothing, according to him, but the magic drum (*Samb—Tamb—Tambur*). I do not understand how Friis can have reconciled the lofty and poetical idealisation of the drum with its fall into such complete desuetude and oblivion; moreover, the Sampo, as we have seen, is something quite different. But if the Finns had the magic drum, as indeed is probable, they must long before their conversion to Christianity have relegated it to a secondary place, even if they did not abolish it; so that, although it may still have been used in the art of divination, it was nevertheless no longer identified with the ideal of the wizard or *tietäjä*, and was hence not mentioned in a poetical tradition which, springing from the magic song, was moulded in accordance with this ideal. As a matter of fact, the Finns out-distanced the Lapps in times long prior to the introduction of Christianity among them, in that development of the poetry of their magic and epic runes by which the shaman became essentially the *tietäjä* or wise man and *laulaja* or singer. The essence of his power was concentrated in his word, in his song, in his spiritual sight; the more material instruments of divination and of magic retired into the shade and were forgotten in a poetry which found its inspiration almost entirely in its own power; and the hero of the epos became, in his being and in his action, a *tietäjä* or a *laulaja*, not an *arpoja* or one who consults the lots (a thing common enough in popular usage but finding small representation in this poetry), and still less a *kukkaromies* or man with the satchel like an ordinary, practical and prosaic wizard. To this ideal, in which the Finns feel their superiority, do the

¹ *Lappisk Mythologi*, p. 47 et seq. Cf. *id.* in the *Kirjall. kuukauslehti*, 1867, n. i., p. 7; *Magazin f. d. lit. d. Ausl.*, 1869, p. 263 et seq.; Donner *Der Mythos vom Sampo* (*Acta soc. scient. Fenn.*, vol. x.), p. 148 et seq.

traditional runes also adapt the Lapp wizards, in accordance with those assimilations between hostile and rival peoples that are so common in the primitive epos. Hence, for the Lapps also, the use of the magic drum is forgotten; although their use of it must have been well known to the Finns. The strife between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen is simply a strife of wisdom and of weighty songs. For the same reason the Finnic wizard acquires in the world of poetry a more lay character than the shaman of ancient times really had: he is separated from the material functions of his religion, for these play no part in the epos. The only function attributable to the shaman which can be called priestly is the greater or less part he takes in the sacrifice. This function is the exclusive duty of the Lapp *noaide*,¹ and was doubtless, in pagan times, that also of the Finnic wizard. Popular usages still bear traces of ancient, pagan sacrifices; although some of these, as for instance the offering of objects of gold or silver represented by minute particles scraped from them, are also found in the superstitious customs of neighbouring peoples.² With such offerings or sacrifices is associated also the magic song,³ but it is noteworthy that the magic runes rarely speak of offering or sacrifice⁴ and the epic runes never: in these the *tietäjä* or hero is perfectly lay in character, and neither priests nor sacrifices appear. Here also it is clear that the practical, historical fact has remained alien to this poetry. It is a poetry which has concentrated itself in the word and in the power of the word, acting through it alone, through it alone making its heroic ideals act, leaving on one side the more material means of the vow, the offering, the sacrifice.

¹ Friis, *Lapp. Mythol.*, pp. 145-155.

² Thus in Sweden. Cf. Arndt, *Reise durch Schweden*, iii., p. 15 *et seq.*; Kreutzwald u. Neus, *Myth. u. mag. Lieder d. Ehsten*, p. 77.

³ See below, p. 301.

⁴ *Loitsurun.*, p. 251; magic songs during sacrifice (*uhritoimissa*), especially to the divinities of the wood.

The intimate history of this early poetry, of this Finnic rune in its origins and development, is obscure. And it must be so, for it is connected with the similar products of other nations; products of whose ancient form we can know little or nothing, whose traces we can barely follow in recent popular tradition, for their character is wholly popular, and they have been constantly shrouded in secrecy. The magic word abounds among the Slavs; but it is greatly reduced, and in general, as among the Russians, is degraded into a characterless prose in which the traces, still dimly visible, of ancient mythic elements are hidden by an overgrowth of the superstitions of Byzantine Christianity. The Finnic wizards must certainly have known the *Zagovori*, the *Zaklinanija* of the Russians; they may have used them, as, for example, in the personification of sicknesses (which for the most part are twelve¹ in the Russian *Zagovori*, but sometimes nine² as in the Finnic song),³ and in the marine origin attributed to them. But although the Russian wizard vaunts, as the Finn does, the power of his word, *slovo moe krjepko*, yet his arid prose, his formulas repeated without variation in a hundred different cases, must have seemed but poor stuff to the *runoja* or poet-wizard of the Finns. For the latter has a far higher idea of the magic word; and when he sees how it is, in some places, reduced to miserable prose,⁴ he feels that the ancient wisdom of the *tietäjät* is flickering and going out. On German magic we must pass a

¹ *Vid.* the collection of Zabylin, *Russkij narod* (Moscow, 1880), p. 358 *et seq.*

² *Cf.* Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 966 (quoting Gotze, *Russ. Volkskl.*, p. 62, a book I have not by me).

³ *Kalevala*, rune xlv. *Loitsurun.*, p. 332 *et seq.*

⁴ As it occurs among the Vepse. *Vid.* Ahlqvist, *Book of Finnic Dialects* (*Suomalainen murteiskirja*), p. 187 *et seq.*, which gives several examples. Russian influence is at once felt in the opening formula: "Nousen *blahoslovas*," etc.

different judgment. It was so truly poetical that its poetry was reflected in the Norse myth, where divine wisdom has a magic character; and the *runa*, the *ljód*, the *galdr* are divine things, signs and songs whose knowledge distinguishes the wise men, the poet, the charmer, as it distinguishes Vodan, the omniscient god, the wise giant Vafthrúdnir, the Valkyrie Sigdrifa.

Finnic magic songs that come from Germanic magic songs are not wanting. One of the most salient examples may be found in a song used when a horse has suffered a dislocation. Several variants of it, both Finnic and Esthonian, have been published.¹ It is a narrative song. It relates how one Sunday Jesus and Mary were going early to mass in a cart drawn by a beautiful horse, when the horse slipped on the stony road near a bridge and dislocated its foot. Jesus alighted to tend the horse, to cure it of its ill, and He healed it by ordering that flesh should join to flesh, nerve to nerve, vein to vein, bone to bone. Here we find, within the narrative envelope, a magic formula² of extremely ancient usage that occurs, as Kuhn has shown, also in India, in the Atharvaveda.³ With its narrative envelope it is found in Europe among the Germanic peoples from the eighth century onwards; for the charm known under the title of *Merseburger Gebet*, which J. Grimm published and explained, is in reality nothing but this story.⁴ In the charm several Germanic deities figure. The fact takes place while Phol and Vodan are riding through the forest, and the supreme god Vodan

¹ *Loitsurun.*, pp. 75 *et seq.*, 213 *et seq.* Cf. Lencqvist, *De superst. vet. Fennor.*, p. 110 *et seq.*; Kreutzwald u. Neus, *Myth. u. mag. Lieder d. Ehsten*, n. 26, p. 97 *et seq.*; Donner in *Suomi*, 1866, p. 195 *et seq.*, who on p. 199 *et seq.* gives three Finnic variants.

² The formula thus deprived of its envelope is introduced into the *Kalevala*, xv., 351 *et seq.*, for the resurrection of Lemminkäinen.

³ *Indische u. germanische Segenssprüche*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, xiii., pp. 51 *et seq.*, 151 *et seq.*

⁴ *Kl. Schrift.*, ii., p. 1 *et seq.*; *D. Mythol.*, p. 1030.

heals the horse. Traces of the ancient song containing the name of Odin are still to be found among the magic formulas of Sweden. It occurs more frequently, however, with the usual substitution of the Christian for the pagan idea in various countries: in Norway, in Denmark, in Scotland, in England, in the Orkneys, in Saxony;¹ and the formula, without the narrative wrapping, is known also to the Russians.² It is certain that the Finns and the Esthonians did not know this song in its Germanic, pagan form, but that they received it, already Christianised, from the Scandinavians. And this carries us back, as may be inferred from what we have said above, to the period of their Catholicism, which has left abundant traces on the magic runes, beginning with the most ancient written one that is known: that discovered by Koskinen³ in a register of the year 1564, when, that is, Lutheranism was already flourishing in Finland.

Of a truth, songs of this kind are not among the most ancient, neither do they best characterise the Finnic magic rune. Nevertheless the fact that the Finnic *tietäjät* have assimilated them, and that not recently but some centuries ago, is not without its value; it shows, too, that a road must have been opened for contacts and influences in times much more ancient than those to which the assimilation of these songs can date back.

In addition to songs of this type and of this origin, there are others having the same purpose, in which the Christian idea does not appear, but which are dominated by the Finnic myth, the shamanic conception. The meaning of this tale with regard to magic action is in fact clear; the narration of the miraculous cure performed

¹ *Vid.* Grimm and Kuhn, *op. cit.*; and for other notices Bugge, *Studien üb. die Entstehung d. nord. Gött. u. Heldensage*, pp. 297-309, who thinks that the *Phol* of the *Merseburger Gebet* is *Paulus*.

² *Vid.* Buslaeff, *Istorič. Očerki*, i., p. 250 *et seq.*

³ Published by him in the *Historiallinen Arkisto*, i., p. 93 *et seq.*

by Vodan or by Jesus with the words above quoted means that their efficacy is attributed to the divine power. It is therefore equivalent to the *In nomine Domini* or *In nomine Patris*, etc., which prefaces Christian benediction or exorcism and also many popular charm-formulas. The same formula with a like beginning is found, for instance, in Russia for dislocations.¹ The idea is very different in the magic runes of truly Finnic type. In them the shamanic principle is plainly visible: magic action is the product of the peculiar, superior energy of the wizard himself; it is not in the name of any one else but in his own proper name that he orders, commands, overawes the dæmonic beings that animate and represent nature in all her parts.² This naturally stands in relation with the more or less lofty conception formed of the divine being. Man can assume a power of this kind, can deify himself to this degree, where, as among the shamanists, there exists pure pandæmonism, nay animism, destitute of divinities properly so called, or having a very limited and vague idea of one or two supreme beings. But where, in addition to the dæmonic beings, there are one supreme god well and nobly defined and other divinities all with lofty attributes, man can assume this power only with regard to the circle of the lesser dæmonic beings, and the permission, the acquiescence of the deity is latent in his mind even when not actually asked for in words. This is the reason why the Finnic magic song has survived down to the present day and flourishes in the midst of Christianity. Since its purpose is benevolent it surely cannot be displeasing to God, who loves His creatures and desires their good³—God

¹ It begins: *Pristani Gospodi k dobromu semu djelu, Sviaty Petr i Pavel*, etc. (Be present, O Lord, at this good work, SS. Peter and Paul, etc.)

² This distinction is well formulated by Kreutzwald, *Myth. u. mag.-Lied. d. Ehst.*, p. 5 et seq.

³ *Vid.*, e.g., the song quoted above, p. 228.

to whom the *tietäjä* is always ready to bow as to the first and highest of the *tietäjät*.¹

The exercise of magic found itself in a like condition among the polytheistic Germanic peoples. Besides the greater deities there was here a whole world of lesser dæmonic beings, and even the greater gods did not hold in the popular mind the same lofty place that they hold in ancient Norse poetry. The fact that Odin and all the *æsir* are at a certain period defined as wizards, is not only an idea of Snorri² or of Saxo, due to the Euhemeristic theory by which they and others then explained the ancient myth; nor is it altogether due to the customary decadence of the ancient gods in presence of the new religion, as when Apollo and the other divinities of classical antiquity came to be considered by the Christians as sorcerers. There is a deeper and more special reason, namely, that the idea of magic held among Germanic polytheists a much larger and more elevated position than it ever did in Greek and Roman polytheism. The Eddic songs, from the *Völuspá* downwards, are full of the mystery of the wondrous visions and recondite knowledge that are the privilege of but few, a privilege great in proportion to the greatness of those who possess it, weighty in proportion to the intimate correspondence between knowledge and power. Not only the elves or dwarfs but also the gods were magicians; they also were called *charm-smiths* (*galdra-smidhir*). Already in the *Vegtamsqvida* (*Baldrs draumar*) Odin is called *father of the charm* (*galdrs födhur*). It is with spells that he tames the dog of Hell and raises the dead *völva* or sibyl: "he began to sing the song which

¹ *Vid.*, among many others, the first songs in Lönnrot's collection expressing this feeling of the *tietäjä's* dependence on God: "En puhu omalla suulla, Puhun suulla suuremmalla," etc. (I speak not with my own mouth, I speak with a higher mouth, etc.), p. 2 d. "The word of the *tietäjä* is potent, but more so is that of the creator" (*Kalevala*, rune viii., l. 275 et seq.).

² *Ynglinga saga*, chaps. vi., vii.

raises the dead, and she perforce arose" (*nam hann vittugri val-galdr kvedha, unz naudhig ræis*). In the *Rúnatal* (*Hávamál*) Odin names the various runes and songs efficacious in divers contingencies, which it is his boast to know: those for curing sicknesses, for stopping missiles in their course, for setting oneself free from fetters, for putting out fires, for calming the waves, etc. The supreme god here stands on a level with the Valkyrie *Sigrdrifa*, who teaches similar powerful runes and magic words to *Sigurd* in the *Sigrdrifumál*.

It is quite a common thing for the divine wisdom to be symbolised as human wisdom derived from God; hence *Odin* figures as the father of runes, of the *Galdr*, of poetry, etc., as he is the father of everything and everybody (*Alföðhr*). But the divine being is here so frequently, so materially represented as acting through human means, that the symbolism is lost sight of and the divine ideal is debased. Anthropomorphism is here primitive and rude as it never was among the Greeks. The god who is father of all and knows everything is nevertheless in constant need of information; like a man, whose power and knowledge, however great, yet have a limit. He interrogates wise giants, sibyls and dead men, and receives information from birds. Knowledge and power, *immediate* and *essential* in the divine being of classical polytheism, who, as god or *numen*, acts through the *nutus* or *νεῦμα*, are here obscured and eclipsed; for although the fundamental idea of them exists, their actual presentment is not that of an essential, but of a thing acquired after the manner of men. Besides, the effect of the act of volition is produced through a means; and this is a human, not a divine thing; as is also the dependence of *power* on *knowledge*. Thus it often happens that *Odin* acts altogether like a man, getting drunk (*Hávamál*, 13, 14), or disguising himself, and that the god in him is unrecognisable.¹ We will not.

¹ R. Meyer, *Die Altgerm. Poesie*, etc., p. 35.

discuss here whether, as Grimm and other scholars of his race think,¹ this be due to a corruption, during times of decadence, of more ancient, pure and elevated ideals. One thing is certain, that the fact is apparent not only among the Scandinavians, but in the most ancient surviving examples of Germanic myth. Even in the *Merseburger Gebet*, of which we have spoken above, Odin or Vuotan heals the horse by the use of a magic formula. Now this exaltation of magic and the magic song which the shamanist Finns found among their neighbours, exercised a great influence upon them, determined among them the development of their own magic song, and was reflected too in the poetical ideals born of this poetry. For although Väinämöinen, as we have said, has nothing to do with the god Odin, still, if we consider Odin as he appears in many parts of the *Edda*, the relationship is evident. He is the highest, wisest, most potent of all the *laulajat*, he is the eternal *tietäjä*, just as Odin is the father of the *galdr*; he acts, therefore, not as a god but as a man, through his song; his *power* is proportioned to his *knowledge*, and he is *tietäjä* or wise, like Odin the all-knowing. He measures himself in potent wisdom with Joukahainen, as Odin is ready to do with Vafthrúdnir and with others. But there is a thing he does not know, and he descends into Hell to learn it, as does Odin. We have already said that there is no direct relationship between the Finnic and the Eddic songs: that the informing spirit of the Finnic myth is not that of the Norse myth. Odin, in his capacity of god and father of all men, has nothing to do with Väinämöinen; but magic, poetically understood as power deriving from the knowledge of rune and of song, and so far idealised as to have a place in the poetic and anthropomorphic presentment of the divine beings and their action, is a factor of the highest Norse

¹ Cf. Maurer, *Die Bekehrung d. norw. St. z. Christenth.*, ii., 141 *et seq.*

poetry that remains to us, and must have been of still greater importance in the popular conceptions of these peoples. Hence the stimulus and suggestion to the Finnic genius; which, transforming its material, primitive shamanism into a poetic shamanism, created by its own independent working a poetry and myth that are its own, although the foreign yeast that worked in them is still recognisable.

The secret knowledge of the *origins* of things and the power it confers over the things themselves, is a distinguishing feature, as we have seen, of the Finnic wizard in the poetry of the *Loitsurunot*, is the principal fact which renders the *loitsija* or wizard a *tietäjä* or wise man. Further, this knowledge of origins resolves itself into a knowledge of myth, since the songs of the origins are all mythical. Now in all this we recognise conceptions that dominate in ancient Scandinavian poetry, and may be also traced in the wide meaning of the Scandinavian word *rún*, which the Finns adopted to express this magic poetry of theirs. *Rún* is originally secret, recondite knowledge; it is also the mysterious, graven sign, the character which has a mystic value and magic efficacy. The highest wisdom is the wisdom of the runes—that, therefore, of Odin himself, who is their father.¹ Everything has its rune; so that the knowledge of runes is equivalent to the knowledge of the very essence of the things themselves.² For the rune is not an ordinary, inert sign; it is potent, giving wisdom to him who knows it, in proportion as it represents word and thought. Thus *runa* also signifies the mythological learning that narrates the origins of things, the origins, names and genealogies

¹ Vid. in Petersen's *Nordisk Mythologi* the chapter *Odin som runars opfinder*. p. 266 *et seq.* (2nd ed.); Simrok, *Deutsche Mythol.*, p. 234 *et seq.* (2nd ed.).

² Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 213. Cf. Meyer, *Die Altgerm. Poesie nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben*, p. 494.

of the gods, of the giants, of men (*iötna rúnnum ok allra goda*); a secret learning, known of a few, set forth mysteriously. The *völva*, who reads what others know not, both in the future and in the past, is also potent as a witch. And since the myth is poetry and the power of the rune is magic, the magic song and the rune are often so closely united that, however much *runa* may preserve its value of magic sign, it is yet found in intimate connection with the *galdr* or magic song, almost as though it were the written sign or graven symbol of the latter. In fact the *Rúnatal* (last part of the *Hávamál*) speaks so indiscriminately of the magic *runa* and of the *Ljóð* or song, which is also magic, that the two words would almost seem to be equivalent. We will say nothing further concerning the passage of meaning between *rún*, *galdr* (or *Ljóð*, *fimbulljóð*) and *mál* (learning), so well set forth by Uhland.

The history of the meaning of the word *runa* as it is used first in the most ancient poetry and then in the period of the skalds, contains therefore the idea of the myth of the *origins* as it occurs in the Finnic magic runes, and, if not precisely the idea of the magic song, certainly that of magic efficacy. Nevertheless the meaning, nearer or more remote, of sign, is never lost sight of. It still exists in modern Scandinavian languages; but it is quite foreign to the Finns, for whom *runa* means a magic and poetical word, never a sign: the magic sign is, in fact, not known to their *tietäjät*. This is easily explained when one reflects on the late period at which writing was introduced among them; but it appears singular when one remembers that the magic drum of shamanists was ornamented, as it is to this day among the Lapps, with symbolical figures, and that the Scandinavians call these figures runes, translating by *runebom* the Lapp *gobdas*, so called from the figures (*govva*) which it bears.

One thing there is, however, in the Finnic runes

which shows that the Finns were not altogether ignorant of that interchangeability between the magic sign and the song or word which we have observed among the Scandinavians. When Väinämöinen is in want of the three magic words for the building of his ship, he seeks them everywhere: in the brain of the swallow, in the head of the swans, on the shoulders of the geese, on the tongue of the reindeer, in the mouth of the squirrel (*Kalevala*, xvi., 125 *et seq.*); and he finds words by the hundred, but none that serve his purpose. Here it is clear that *words*, not *runes*, are spoken of. Yet they are not *words* but *signs* of words: that is to say, they are runes in the sense known to ancient Scandinavian poetry. We may remember that the *Sigrdrifumál* (13-17) speaks of runes found traced on the tongue of Bragi, in the brain of *Heiddraupnir*, on the paws of the bear, on the nails of the wolf, on the talons of the eagle, on the beak of the owl, etc., etc.

J. Grimm was mistaken¹ when he placed the word *runo* among those which the Finns had originally in common with the Indo-Europeans. It is entirely wanting among the other Ugro-Finnic peoples, even among the Lapps and Esthonians. The Lapps of Sweden have the word, it is true, but they have taken it, like so many others, from Germanic sources, and they used it only in its primitive sense, *runa* (*rudna*), sermo, rumor; *rudnat*, to murmur, mewl, *conqueri* (*de infantibus*). In Mod. Germ. we still have *raunen*, to whisper, speak low at the ear (*flüstern*), the original meaning of the word, which seems to have a common root with the Latin *rumor*. Hence the meaning *secret*, *secret deliberation* of the Gothic *rûna* and the A.-S. *rûn*, borne also by the same word in other ancient German tongues. A people of a different family have taken the word with the same meaning as

Kl. Schrift., ii., p. 80 *et seq.*

the Lapps have: the Letts have *runa*, speech; *runaht*, to speak; *runas*, counsel, secret advice. Now the Finns know nothing of these original meanings of the word; for them *runo* signifies simply song, *runota*, to poetise, to make verse. This is all the more worthy of note since among them too the wizard *mutters*, *murmurs*, *yaps*, *immurmurat*,¹ especially in his magic ecstasy. But they express this with their word *myrrys*,² and hence call the wizard *myrrysmies*, the mutterer.

Since the Finns, then, were quite ignorant of the secondary meaning, so common among the Scandinavians, of mystic or magic sign, of alphabetical character, the following question arises: what was the connection between the special, Finnic use of the word, and the Germanic use of it? This question stands in relation to the other, which we are here principally treating, of the manner and time of the rune's birth. We also think, as others have justly observed, that the primitive poetry of the rune is the poetry of the magic songs³ and that originally the foreign word *runa* must have been used to express this as significative of something mystic and secret. But its exclusive and limited meaning among the Finns (in Finnic *runo* never means secret) would by no means lead us to the conclusion that the word was taken by them as meaning only *secret* and as hence applicable to the secret songs of the *tietäjä*; we must rather believe that they took it when it had already been, by Germanic usage, closely approximated to, if not rendered quite synonymous with, the *galdr* or secret magic song. Uhland⁴ makes a correct observation that comes

¹ Cf. on the use of a similar expression among more than one people, when speaking of the magic word, Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 1024; Little Russ. *šeptuha*, wise-woman, witch, from *šeptati*, to murmur to oneself or whisper at the ear.

² In Esthonian *mürristamine* is the noise of the thunder. Vid. Kreutzwald, *Myth. u. mag. Lieder*, p. 12 et seq.

³ Ahlqvist, *Die Culturw.*, etc., p. 263.

⁴ *Schriften*, vi., p. 250.

in aptly here. He finds in this special and single sense in which the Finns use the word *runo* a further proof of the closeness, one may almost say interchangeability of meaning, which he observes to exist in ancient Norse poetry between the words *rún*, *stafr*, *galdr*. But however we may choose to understand the relationship which quite evidently exists in that ancient poetry, between the magic sign or *runa* and the magic song or *galdr* or *ljód*,¹ it is certain that in the most ancient remains they are always distinct, although often closely approximated, as, for instance, in the *Rúnatal*; neither do these records contain any passage in which the word *rún* can be said to have precisely the same meaning as the Finnic *runo*. In the Eddic songs we find an indication of the approximation of the two, which was perhaps still more advanced in popular usage; but the only clear and certain example of this meaning occurs in the *Edda* of Snorri (*Bragarödur*)² and in the ancient period of such neo-Germanic languages as

¹ Lilienkrohn, *Zur Runenlehre*, p. 17, shows the connection between *rún* (secret or mystic sign) and *stafr* (alliteration): "Wir haben also nun die Runen als mystische Zeichen darin zu bestimmen, dass sie in ihrer Reihe nicht die Buchstaben in unseren Sinn, sondern die Zahl der Anlaute darstellen, auf deren Gleichklang die altgermanische Poesie gebaut ward . . ."; p. 20: "Führte der Stabreim auf eine formelle Verbindung von Rune und Vers . . . so leitet eine andere Spur auf einen materiellen Zusammenhang beider". Here he speaks of the passage of the *Bragarödur* which we give below, where "ist die Identität von Rune und Versmaterie unzweideutig ausgesprochen".

² The passage of the *Bragarödur* (2 at the end) treats of a mode of speech (*ordhtak*) which is one of those customary *kenningar* of skaldic poetry that envelop and hide (*fela*) an idea; and it is said that this mode is used *í rúnum edha í skáldskap* (in rune or poetry).

Since *runa* signifies also letter or alphabetical sign, the idea arises that, besides poetry, it might come to signify literæ, γράμματα. Vigfusson thought this (*Sturlunga Saga*, p. xxxix.), understanding as a *grammaticus* the title *rúnameistari* (although he expresses himself badly, referring to a Homeric use of γράμματα which does not exist) of the well-known skald Thorodd. But against him *vid.* Olsen (Björn Magnusson), *Runerne i den oldnordiske Literatur*, Kjöbenh., 1883, p. 44 *et seq.*

Old English, Old Swedish and Danish, and Middle High German.¹

In the passage of the word from the Germanic languages to the Finnic (where it assumed its ultimate meaning, the one furthest from its origin, which never entered into common use) we may observe a fact analogous to that of modern German, *dichten*, *dichter*, *gedicht*, etc. In these words the real meanings of *dico*, *dic(ti)to*, and of the mediæval *dictare*, *dictamen*, etc., are entirely lost; they are replaced by one which was never really attached to *dictare*, *dictamen*, Old Ital. *dettato* (which always includes prose), but which is a later limitation of these words. The meaning of *tihthen* (to write, compose, poetise, find, etc.) in Middle High German was, in fact, broader.²

It is possible, though we cannot affirm this, that the word which has become Finnic had also at one time, among the Finns, a more extended meaning than it has at present. Its present value proves, however, beyond a doubt that they adopted it not from the Goths, as Thomsen thinks, but in less ancient times from the Scandinavians, among whom the word had already approached the sense in which the Finns used it. If we compare the employment of the word in Soemund's *Edda* with its employment in the *Edda* of Snorri, we shall find that the modification in its meaning took place not in the period of the most ancient Eddic songs, but in that of the aulic poetry of the skalds (after Harald Haarfagr, that is after the end of the ninth century). The traces of this modification can be observed in the ancient Norse ballads

¹ *Vid.* the Swedish and Danish examples quoted at the end of this chapter. For the Old English example, "Ther herd y rede in rounne Who Tristram got and bare," *Sir Tristram*, ch. i., st. i. "Herkene to my roun" (*i.e.*, song), Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, n. iv. *Vid.* also n. vii., "briddes rounne" (bird's song). *Runes* are, however, spoken of as magic signs written or engraved on branches, etc., by ancient Danish ballads; *vid.* Grundtvig, *Dann. gaml. Folkevis.*, ii., n. 79, 80.

² *Vid.* Wackernagel, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Litterat.*, pp. 148, 152 *et seq.*

which kept the word alive in popular usage among the Danes and the Swedes, with whom the Finns were most in contact.

That the adoption of the word dates among the Finns from fairly ancient times, cannot be for a moment doubted. That it was anterior to the Swedish conquest and to the introduction of Christianity, is certainly proved by the tenacity with which it clings exclusively to the traditional magic and epic songs, and among the former exclusively to those of the *origins*, which are also epic; by the fact, moreover, that it is proper not to all the Finns but only to the Carelians, among whom the tradition of the runes now principally flourishes, and who were perhaps the first authors of the rune.¹ On the other hand, the absence of

¹ *Vid.* Ahlqvist in the *Kieletär*, iv., p. 35, and *vid. sup.*, p. 48 *et seq.* The word *runo* is not at present used everywhere in Carelia. In Russian and in southern Carelia it is little known or almost unknown, *virsi* being used instead; *vid.* Borenius, *Luojan virsi* (in the *Virittäjä*, ii., 1886), p. 59; Relander in the *Valvoja*, 1889, p. 326; Neovius, *Kalevalan kotiperästä*, p. 9. This is also reflected in the *Kalevala*, where *virsi* occurs more frequently than *runo*; Agricola, too, uses *virsi* instead of *runo* when he speaks of Väinämöinen, smith of songs (*virðhet takoi*). Borenius and some others have expressed an opinion that the true, original Finnic word for the traditional song was not *runo* but *virsi*, which passed on to signify religious songs, as *saarna*, originally story, tale (as it still is in Russian Carelia), came to mean sermon; and they further maintain that *virsi* has nothing to do with the Latin *versus*, but that it is a Finnic word (stem, *virte*) of doubtful etymology (*virta*, current, river?). All this is clearly erroneous. What we have said of the history of the word *rún* and its meanings shows that its introduction into Finnic cannot have been of recent date, nor through the modern Scandinavian tongues. *Virsi* is without doubt the Latin *versus*, which has reached the Finns by a Slavonic or Lithu-Slavonic road: the Russians have *virša* in the sense of verse and poetical composition; the Poles in the same sense *wierz*, the Lithuanians *wirszus*. The word was probably introduced among the Finns before the Reformation (for it is already in use in the times of Agricola), but not before Christianity, as is proved by the meaning of psalm or ecclesiastical song which it took among them, as in mediæval Latin did *versus*; in any case, at no very ancient date, for its use among Slavs and Lithuanians can also not be very ancient. It was declined by analogy like so many other words of similar ending (*karsi*, *parsi*,

every trace of the more ancient and original meanings of the word forbids us to attribute its adoption to the times of the most ancient Germanic, properly Gothic, influences. Indeed it is my opinion, whatever others may say, that not even the poetry of the runes, and I make no exception for the magic runes, can be ascribed to so early a date. It is not possible, amid such dearth and uncertainty of historical notices, to specify exactly the how and the when of the contacts, of the influences, whose existence is yet clearly shown by the methodical analysis of the language, as it is by that of the myth and of poetical production. The sleep of barbarism was long among this people. The most ancient Germanic influence was unable, as it would seem, to break it; as it has been also unable to break that of the Lapps. The origins of that movement towards civilisation which distinguished the Finns from the Lapps, which embodied itself ideally in the production of a poetry peculiarly their own, in an ennobling of their rough, primitive shamanism through a poetic myth that brings them near to neighbouring European Aryans, need not even be sought for prior to the vast, brutal but fruitful movement which was determined by the Vikings from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, and extended throughout the whole of the continent. Scandinavian, or Norman, if one likes to call it so, was the strongest, most profound influence to which the Finns, like the other peoples of those regions, were exposed. This is the period in which *varsi*, etc.), hence the forms that would suggest a stem *virte* (pl., *virret* or *virtet*).

From *versus* is also derived *värsy* = verse, in a more restricted sense. This word, as Ahlqvist thinks (*Kieletär*, iv.), is more recent—not prior to Agricola and the Reformation. It has come along a Germanic road (Germ., Swed., etc., *vers*), by which it has also reached the Lithuanians (*pėrszas*), the Letts (*perscha*), the Esthonians (*wärs*). These latter have not *virsi*, as they have not *runo*. The word *runo* belongs essentially to Finnic paganism; there is no wonder that in many parts of Carelia, even where traditional poetry (confused with the Christian idea) best survives, it should have been supplanted by the more Christian *virsi*.

the Russian State had its origin, taking its name, already in the tenth century, from the Norsemen, whom the Byzantines called 'Ρῶς and afterwards 'Ρούσιοι, the Arabs *Rus*, the Finns *Ruotsi* (or *Ruotsalaiset*). This last name the Finns still apply to the Swedes, who are identical with the much-discussed Varyags. The Finns knew these Slavs, who were their nearest neighbours, only under the name Veneds or Vends, which the Germanic nations then applied to the Slavs in general, and which still remains in the Finnic word for Russia and the Russians (*Venäjä*, *Venäläiset*).¹ Finns and Slavs were those northern peoples who in 862, according to the Russian chronicles, are reported to have said to the *Ros* of Sweden or the Varyags, "Great and vast is our country, but there is no order in it; come and give us a principedom and a government".² No principedom and government fell to the lot of the Finns, who remained in great part and for a long while free in a simple form of society; but they felt their influence, although in a manner different from the Slavs, and with a different effect. And all the more must they have felt it if, as appears likely, the opinion put forward by a few scholars is correct (one among the many formulated on this vexed question of the Varyags),³ that the Russians or *Ros* of Scandinavia had already, at the time when they were called, been long established in proximity to the Finns and the Slavs on the east of the Gulf of Finland, in some place near Lake Ladoga.⁴

¹ I find no trace among the Finns of the name (*Gardar*, *Gardariki*) which the ancient Norse gave to the country that afterwards became Russia. They call the Germans *Saxons* (*Saksalaiset*), however, and this in accordance with the ancient Norse, who called them *Saxar*.

² "Zemlia naša velika i obilna, a narjada u nei njet; da pridiete kniaziti i volodieti nami," Nestor, s. ann. 862 (6370). *Vid.* the variants given by Akiander, *Utdrag ur Ryska annaler*, in *Suomi*, 1849, p. 13 *et seq.*

³ *Vid.* their history given by Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Litteraturgesch.*, p. 355 *et seq.*

⁴ Thomsen, *Der Ursprung d. russ. Staates*, Gotha, 1879.

Archæological discoveries prove beyond a doubt that Scandinavian influence prevailed in that district in very ancient times.

Meanwhile there was flourishing in Norway and in Iceland a poetry whose remains have come down to us in the songs of the *Edda*, not one of which, it is quite certain, is prior to the period of the Vikings. This poetry was too lofty to reach the Finns directly with all its mythic, doctrinal and systematic elaborations. It reached them only indirectly as a vague echo, far removed as they were by race, language and social condition, through the popular tradition of the ancient Swedes and other Norse with whom they were in contact.¹ The ancient religion of the Swedes and Norse had, however, at that time entered on its phase of decadence. Superstition flourished, as did the belief in magic arts; and of these the shamanic peoples appeared, as was natural, to be great masters. Especially were the Lapps renowned, being nearest to the Norwegians in Finmark; and the Finns were certainly also esteemed from the time that the Norse knew them and had relations with them. The credit enjoyed at that time by the Lapps and Finns for their skill in these arts may be seen in Scandinavian sagas;² where the history, legendary, it is true, of those ancient days, often speaks of them and records facts in which Lapp and Finnic wizards figure together with Norse princes and princesses, their pupils in the magic art. Even the famous king Harald Fairhair (*Haarfagr*, 863-936) was a follower of the art; but afterwards he persecuted it, burning his own son and eighty other persons who persisted in practising it. It nevertheless continued to be a frequent habit, in spite of continually re-enacted prohibitory laws, to go and consult the Finns as

¹ Among the Norsemen who go about as warriors, Vikings or merchants there are also famous skalds or poets, skilled in magic runes and enchantments. *Vid.* examples in Uhland's *Schriften*, vi., p. 377.

² *Vid. sup.*, p. 246.

wizards and seers (*fara til Finnar, finnför, gera finnfarar*) and to have faith in them (*trúa a Finnar*).¹

From this period probably dates the rivalry in magic between Finns and Lapps of which we have spoken above,² and which is so strongly marked in the magic and epic runes. Lapp magic is not poetical, but of that damnable kind called by the Norse *seidr*. This Norse word (of doubtful etymology)³ has not entered the Finnic tongue, while the Lapps have taken it and applied it to formless or rude images of their deities in stone or wood; perhaps, as Castrén thinks,⁴ because they used them, as did other kindred peoples, in their magic operations. Although the two kinds of magic were afterwards confused, especially under the influence of Christianity, yet the ancient songs do make a distinction between this damnable *seidr* and the magic proceeding from recondite knowledge and acting through the rune and the *galdr* or magic song.⁵ Not only is the latter not to be condemned, but it is a divine thing. Odin acts through it, as do the other gods; Odin is its father, as he is of all wisdom. This is the conception in accordance with which the Finns, under Norse influence, moulded their shamanism, separating off from the Lapps and other peoples: magic power resides above all in the word, especially in magic word and song, and it is the business of wise men (*tietäjät*) who know the rune, the essence, the profound and secret origin (*syvä synty*) of everything. The names used show the origin of the fundamental conception: *runo* is the Scandinavian word that includes the meaning of secret knowledge of things and of their origins, and hence indicates essentially the magic-epic song; *laulu, laulaa*, which mean song and charm, to sing and to weave spells,

¹ Vid. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog.*, s. v. Finn.

² Vid. p. 244 et seq.

³ Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, p. 685.

⁴ *Finsk Mythol.*, p. 207 et seq. Cf. Friis, *Lappisk Mythol.*, p. 137 et seq.

⁵ Cf. Maurer, *Die Bekehr. d. norw. Stamm. z. Christenth.*, ii., p. 147.

translate the generic idea existing in *galdr* or in *gala* which has the same value; *runoseppä*, *lauluseppä*, smith or artificer of songs, translate the Norse *galdrasmidr*, *ljóðsmidr*.

That this production and development of poetry took place among the Finns while the shamanic idea was flourishing, and strictly in accordance with this idea, is proved by their having paid no attention to anything in the Norse poetry that had not to do with magic and the magic song; by their remaining deaf and indifferent to the numerous varieties of that poetry, neglecting not only the names (*drapr*, *qvida*, etc.) of these varieties, but the things the names represent. They did not adopt even the ancient and very common word *skaldr*, poet, which has never fallen into desuetude, but is still living in Scandinavian languages of the present time.

But although this poetical production received its impulse from outside, and not only its impulse but the suggestion of its fundamental idea—that of Origins, mother of poetic myth—yet in the creation of their poetry the Finns proceeded originally and independently. They did not translate or imitate, but brought forth of their own, according to the genius of their language and their thought. This is clearly proved by the ancient, primitive form, which is all their own, and has remained for centuries unique, stable, unchanged.¹ For there is no Norse or German metre from which the metre of the Finnic runes may be said to be copied; and alliteration, which it is true is common to them both, is not subject to the same laws as in the Norse songs. Besides, it is a thing of such common use in the primitive poetry of many peoples, that it would be difficult to prove that the Finns learnt it from the Scandinavians. Neither is the parallelism, which is found here and there in Norse

¹ *Vid.* what has been said on this form in chap. i., part i., p. 30 *et seq.*

poetry,¹ as it is also in the Russian *byliny* and in other Slav songs,² to be considered as learnt from others here, where it is used not sporadically, but as a perennial, fundamental law, characterising poetic style in general without distinction of its lyric or epic contents. And this independence and liberty of proceeding is rendered still more manifest by the negative, very notable fact of the absolute want, at all times, of strophic division; although this was common and ancient in Germanic poetry, and the dominating law in all the Eddic songs.

With the form, easy, frankly popular, favourable to improvisation, corresponds the style, also popular and clear, devoid of metaphors and of abstruse, far-fetched similitudes, free from those *kennningar* which, although they reached their highest point in the aulic poetry of the skalds, are still not wanting in the Eddic songs; corresponds also the tone, which is quiet yet warm. The Finnic rune has hence a far more popular character than has ancient Norse poetry; nay, it may be called the true type of popular poetry. Under this aspect it comes nearer to the Russian *byliny* (to which it is certainly anterior) than to any of the surviving Norse songs. Finally, another proof of its independence is the myth it generated; for this, in spite of numerous names of Germanic and even Slav origin, in spite of outside influences which we have traced in our analysis of it, yet displays a character and an impress all its own.

The *galdr* is often mentioned in ancient Norse literature, but not quoted.³ Up to what point the Finnic rune ap-

¹ Cf. Meyer (R. M.), *Die Altgerman. Poesie nach ihren form. Element. beschr.*, p. 327 et seq.

² On the various kinds of repetition in Slav songs *vid.* Miklosich, *Die Darstellung im slavischen Volksepos*, Vien., 1890, p. 7 et seq. (*Denkschr. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. in. Wien., Phil. hist., cl., b. xxxviii.*)

³ Not even in the songs in which the subject or title would make us expect to find it, as the *Groagaldr* or the *Hrafnagaldr Odhins*, which is very obscure and of doubtful antiquity.

proaches it in form and substance it is therefore not possible to determine. We have, however, an Anglo-Saxon *gealdor* certainly prior to the tenth century¹ that treats a subject for which the Finns have many magic runes: pleurisy. The form is different, but the ideas are the same. The ill is ascribed to a great number of tiny arrows or darts (*lytel spere*) shot by witches (*hägtessan*)² riding through the air. In the same way Finnic songs speak of little darts (*nuolet, piilit*), points (*piikkit*), lances or halberds (*keihät, lehtikeihät*), thrown by evil wizards, by Hiisi, by Lempo, by the devil, etc.³ The Anglo-Saxon *gealdor* repeatedly bids the little lance to leave the body it has entered (*üt lytel spere, gif hit har inne sy*); the Finnic rune bids the one who threw it draw out his evil instrument, his weapon with which he strikes, his arrow (*Ota pois omat pahasi, Asehesi ampajainen, Piru piili tavota*, etc.); and the singer adds that he has himself made, that he has caused the smith, caused Ilmarinen⁴ to make tiny pincers, tenacious pliers (*Pihet pikkaraiset, Atulat alinomaiset*). The Anglo-Saxon frightens the malicious beings who have thrown the darts by threatening to hurl a dart against them; announces that the smith has already made a knife, six smiths have already made six war-spears; and the Finnic song menaces the same thing: "Thy point is of wood," it says to the malignant one, "mine is of sharp iron; for once that thou prickest I prick

¹ It is in an old book of Anglo-Saxon prescriptions, of which there is a Harleian MS. of the tenth century published in Cockayne's collection, *Leechdoms, Wordcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, London, 1864-6; *vid.* vol. iii., p. 52. Grimm was the first to give this charm in the *D. Mythol.*, p. 1039 *et seq.*, with an explanation, without translating it all. The text is full of lacunæ and is in some places obscure. It has been reproduced in many books and collections, of which there is a catalogue in Wülcker's *Gesch. d. angelsächs. Litteratur*, p. 350.

² Thus in the popular denominations still used in Germany, *Drachenschuss, Hexenschuss*.

³ *Loitsurun.*, pp. 79 *et seq.*, 220 *et seq.*, 301 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 221 c.

twice, and if thou prickest twice I prick three times," etc.¹

But there is nothing in what we know of ancient and modern magic songs, whether of Germanic or of Slav peoples, that corresponds to the poetic worth, to the poetic development we meet with in the Finnic song. This finds a parallel only in that primitive religious poetry of naturalistic polytheism which generates poetic myth and finally poetry of lay character. The magic songs are often addressed as prayers to deities or superior beings, and are confused with the songs of prayer that accompany sacrifice among non-shamanist peoples. Beautiful in their simplicity and primitive freshness are those, among the most ancient, referring to agricultural and pastoral life, to the hunt, to fishing; imploring favour and protection for these operations. This is a fact which, as Grimm observes (*D. M.*, 1033), occurs amongst all peoples. It occurs also among the Finns, whose magic songs are in great part songs of prayer; and this indeed is the title (*rukouksia*) which Lönnrot gives to seventy-two songs of his collection. Let us hear one or two of them: "Velamo, mistress of waters, Queen of a hundred (sea)-caves, Arouse the scaly crowd, Urge on the fishy flocks, Forth from their hiding-place, Forth from the muddy slime, Forth to this net-hauling, To the weights of the hundred-meshed. Take now thy beauteous shield, Shake the golden water-lily with which the fish thou frighten'st, And driv'st them towards the net, Beneath the plain so gloomy,² Above the boulders black."³

The hunter prays to the goddess of the wood:—

"O vigorous mistress of the wild beasts, Sweet lady of the earth, Come with me, be with me, While to the wood I go. Come thou and good luck bring

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 81 e.

² "Alta aavojen syvien." It is the *βαθεία πόντου πλάξ* of Pindar.

³ *Loitsurun.*, p. 169.

me, To happy fortune help me; Make thou to move the foliage, The fruit tree to be shaken, And thy wild beasts drive hither, The largest and the smallest, With their snouts of every kind, With their paws of fur of all kinds.”¹

Neither is there wanting allusion to offering or sacrifice:—

“Cook, O Kuutar, a fat cake, Päivätär, a cake with honey; That I may propitiate the forest, That I may entice the thick forest, For the day of my hunting, When I go in search of prey”.²

“Accept my salt, O wood, My porridge, O Tapio, Dear king of the wood, With the hat of leaves, With the beard of moss. . . .”³

A sick man, taking water as a medicine, says:—

“O pure water, O lady of the waters, Now do thou make me whole, Lovely as before. For this I beg thee dearly, And in offering I give thee, Blood to appease thee, Salt to propitiate thee.”⁴

Here magic is lost sight of. Were it not for external circumstances no one would call these and many others, magic songs. One feels in them, instead, a poetry universally human in which things are apostrophised, personified, distinguished like persons with qualificative epithets that are also poetical images: the production of the myth is evident. This is still more plainly observable in magic songs of a different kind; in those, namely, in which narration finds a place; especially in those of the *Origins*, where the passage from the magic to the epic song is clearer. Several songs of prayer against pleurisy beg Ukko, Ilmarinen, to send down from the sky, to forge little pincers to pull out the little points, the little arrows which evil spirits have hurled, which are

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

the cause of the pains.¹ This is simply a definition of the pain through images, and is, as we have seen, common elsewhere. But it has, in the poetry of the Finnic runes, a mythic development which it has not elsewhere, since, to dominate the things, one must know their essence, their history, their secret origins, or, as ancient Norse poetry would say, the *runa*. The song of the *Origins of Pleurisy*² (*Pistoksen synty*) narrates that: Once there sprang up an oak so large and tall that its boughs darkened the sun and the moon and hindered the clouds in their course. The peoples asked how they could get on without the sun and without the moon in that unlucky northern land. They determined to fell the immense oak; but could find no one able to do it. Then there arose from the sea a little man, black and very tiny, with an axe upon his shoulder, a stone helmet on his head, and stone shoes on his feet. He began to hew at the tree, and at the third stroke he felled it. With its roots to the east and its top to the west it lay like an eternal bridge leading to gloomy Pohjola. The splinters that fell into the sea were wafted by the wind to the regions that cannot be named where is Hiitola (the abode of Hiisi, maleficent genius). Hiisi's dog, with teeth of iron, seized them and bore them to the virgin of Hiisi. The maiden looked at them and said: "Something would come out of them were they taken to a smith's forge, (given) into the hands of a man who is powerful; he would make darts of them". The evil spirit heard her, and carried them to the smithy, and made darts to prick men and horses. He furnished them with feathers. And how did he

¹ *Loitsurun.*, p. 220 *et seq.* (n. 40):—

Itse seppä Ilmarinen

Takoja ijän-ikuinen

Teepäs pihet pikkuruiset

Atulat ani-vähäiset

Jolla nouan Lemmon nuolen, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 301 *et seq.* (n. 29).

fasten these on? With hairs of the virgin of Hiisi. And how did he harden them? With the poison of snakes. Then he tried them on his bow. The first arrow he turned against the sky, and it flew so far that he never heard of it again. The second he turned against the earth, and it pierced so deep that he never heard of it again. He shot the third, and it traversed lands, waters, mountains, and forests, glided over stones and reached the skin of man, the trunk of the wretched one.

Such is the origin of pleurisy, which several variants relate in a different manner.¹ It is a composition put together from fantastic elements of various nature and origin, which (*e.g.*, the little man who rises from the sea) are often met with in magic songs applied to several diverse ends. We shall not analyse them or give their history here. Krohn has already done this,² though he is wrong in calling to mind the kosmic tree (Ygdrasil) of the Norse myth in connection with this great oak. The oak has nothing to do with Ygdrasil, but is connected with much more modest popular European conceptions.³ Speaking generally, we may say that these origins, where they do not become simple poetical definitions,⁴ are mythic

¹ In Lönnrot's collection nine different versions of it are given.

² *Suom. kirkjall. hist.*, pp. 402-410.

³ A popular Norwegian tale speaks of a great oak, so enormous that it intercepted the light and prevented people from seeing. No one could be found to fell it, but this was done by a miraculous, self-moving axe. Asbjørnsen u. Moe, *Norweg. Volksmärchen*, ii., n. 19.

The name given by the Finns to the oak *tammi* is of Slav origin (O. Sl. *damb*, Russ. *dub*, Pol. *danb*). This tree held an important place in the worship of the ancient Slavs, as sacred to the supreme god Perun. In the Finnic runes it is called the "tree of God" (*jumalan puu*), "imposing tree" (*kamala puu*).

⁴ From among the many of this kind I may choose as an example the Origin of the Cat (*Loitsurun.*, p. 282, n. 13): born near the hearth-stone, has the nose of a maiden, the head of a hare, a tail like Hiisi's pig-tail, etc. This is a kind of definition by images which occur among other

compositions put together by the *tietäjä* out of various fantastic themes common in Europe. Even where we seem to recognise a myth of ancient date, *e.g.*, in the Origin of Fire,¹ we find, on analysis, the echo of some Indo-European myth that has passed over to the Finns through Germanic or other influences. There is no reason why we should consider it as dating among them from an epoch more ancient than that we have mentioned for the first developments of the magic runes. The Origin of the Bear² might be considered an exception, since, with the feast and the songs for the capture of the animal,³ it finds a parallel among kindred peoples, among the Voguls, Votyaks, Samoyedes, etc.,⁴ as well as the Lapps. But the parallel is limited to the existence among these

peoples. Thus, for instance, Adam had, according to the Russian legend, a body made of earth, bones made of stone, blood made from the sea, eyes from the sun, a mind from the clouds, breath from the wind, heat from fire, a soul from God. *Vid.* the *Besjeda trech svjatitelei* in Kostomaroff's *Pamjatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury*, iii., p. 169; Galachoff, *Ist. russk. slovesnost.*, i., p. 185.

¹ *Cf.* Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 110 *et seq.* Also in the Finnic song the production of fire is compared to the making of butter; but the Germanic origin of this ancient idea is evident in the word *kirnu*, churn, which is the Swedish *kärna* (*vid.* Ahlqvist, *D. Culturwört.*, p. 6). The churn-staff is *mäntä*, Swed. *menta*, to beat up, Finn. *mäntätä*; Schiefner calls to mind the Lithuanian *mentūris*. Fire in Finnic is called *tuli*, but is personified in *Panu*, a word of foreign origin. In O. Pruss. *panu* means fire. Schiefner has adduced the Swed. *fan*, devil (enemy). *Vid.* Kuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

² *Loitsurun.*, p. 278, n. 11.

³ *Kalevala*, rune xlvi.

⁴ *Vid.* Applegren, *On the Worship of the Bear* (*Karhun palveluksesta*), in the *Valvoja* of 1885 *et seq.* Gondatti, *Kult medvjedia u inorodzev Sjevero-Zapadnoi Sibiri* (*The Worship of the Bear among the Inhabitants of North-West of Siberia*), in the *Trudy etnograficesko otdjela*, etc., vol. viii., Moscow, 1888, interesting for its account of the origin of the bear not unlike the Finnic in spirit, and for the description of the feast at the killing of the bear with little dramatic scenes for representation, of thirty-three of which the subject-matter is given. Curious notices of similar representations among the Voguls on the like occasion, with masks of birch-bark, are also given by Ahlqvist, *Unter Vogulen u. Ostjaken*, Helsingf., 1883, p. 123 *et seq.*; *cf.* p. 40 *et seq.*

peoples of similar feasts in honour of the slain bear, and to the character of the tales found among some of them concerning the history of the animal: usages and ideas that are found diffused under various forms throughout a vast zone of northern peoples of different stocks, both in Europe and in Asia. However ancient this worship of the bear, as they call it, and the poetical story of the animal's origin, may be among the Finns, yet it was certainly only after the development of the poetry of the magic runes and the stable fixing of their forms, that these were employed in the feast and the songs of the bear; and that the poetical tale of the animal's birth, which in itself has nothing to do with magic, was associated with a magic purpose, with the idea of the Origins, and became a magic rune.

The story of the great oak and of the little man was applied to the origin of pleurisy as it is to that of the decay of teeth,¹ of the sprite that haunts the stables (*läävämato*), etc.² There are also other origins of pleurisy in which the great oak does not appear; as there are songs which, continuing the story farther back, give the origins of the oak itself;³ so that Lönnrot, by the combination of these and others, has been able to separate the whole of this story from its connection with pleurisy and all other sicknesses, and to weave the songs into the *Kalevala*, not as magic but as epic lays, relating, with others that have to do with the creation, to the origin of plants and of cultivation. Now these songs of the oak are widely diffused in Finland proper as far as the Lapp borders and the White Sea, where the oak is not found; and they are also diffused through Ingria and Esthonia, where it is found,⁴ and where they certainly had their birth.

¹ *Loitsurum.*, p. 276 f. ² *Ibid.*, p. 293 e. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 332 et seq.

⁴ *Vid.* Neus, *Ehstn. Volksl.*, n. 10: cf. p. 451; Kreutzwald u. Neus, *Mythol. u. mag. Lieder d. Ehsten.*, n. 2 c, p. 26. The oak was for the ancient Esthonians the tree of Taara, their supreme deity. From the oak

These are the songs which, like those on the origin of beer and others, stand in relation to rural and agricultural festivals in which they are and were sung even independently of the magic purpose. Lönnrot understood them thoroughly when he introduced them into the epos in the guise of epic lays.

The magic song, when it is narrative, easily becomes epic. So great is the continuity between the two that a magic, narrative song may come to be used entirely as an epic lay, without a magic purpose, and one that seems of purely epic character may be used as a magic song. Thus the song that tells of the wound in Väinämöinen's knee (*Kalev.*, viii., ix.) may serve as a magic song to staunch the flow of blood; that which tells of the three heroes' expedition by sea (*Kalev.*, xxxix.) to get the Sampo may be reduced to a magic song for sailors, etc.¹ In this way the magic rune becomes an epic rune, magic poetry becomes lay poetry or simply poetry. The unity of the form, the ease with which the people themselves mix their lays and substitute one for another, prove the common origin of the magic and the non-magic songs; but the magic spirit dominates the other, as we have seen during our analysis of the epic ideals and their genesis: from it the rune was born.

To recapitulate. This poetry of the runes must have begun its existence in the times of the Vikings between 800 and 1000; and tradition has preserved and developed it. It is probable that up to that time the Finns had no other songs than such as are found among the kindred

that has been felled there are made, according to the songs of Esthonia and Ingria, all kinds of objects, even the bath in which the creator washes his son; cf. Krohn, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 405. The sacred tree of the Tavasts mentioned in a bull of Gregory IX. must have been an oak. This tree is still found in Southern Finland, although it is not common; and its northern limit appears to have been higher than at present; cf. Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan karjalaisuus*, p. 128 et seq.

¹ Cf. *Loitsurun.*, p. 157 d.

Lapps, Voguls, etc., in which form is either non-existent or but slightly determined. Neither can they have had any greater wealth of myth and of poetically fantastic tales than these other shamanists have now; for they themselves were then shamanists. But at that date there was born among them a form of poetic song that was well determined and stable, with an unvarying rhythm, style and tone. And since the dominant idea was shamanic, this poetry was the work of the shamans or wise men who were also poets, and was hence essentially magic. This happened, as we have seen, under Scandinavian influence. Hence this poetry, not written, but dependent entirely upon tradition and destined to remain traditional, this song of magic power, song of men of passion and genius (*intomiehet*), song of secret knowledge concerning the origin of things and creatures, was called *runa*; called by a Scandinavian word then already ripe for such a meaning, but without the further meaning of mystic sign.

We have already described the form of the traditional rune as it is at present known, and we have observed in it an element that may be called archaic, proper to a nascent poetry, and an element of art that is more mature.¹ The use of parallelism must certainly, as others also have observed,² have been anterior to versification, as, we may also add, must have been the use of consonances at the beginnings and ends of words. We believe that the word *säe* (*säke*) by which the Finns, now designate verse, and which would appear to mean *heap* (*säeta*, *säkeän*, to heap up), should be referred originally to this more ancient kind of rhythmic prose, with its repetitions of sounds and ideas, rather than to metric verse. When and by what road the Finns reached that metric verse of one, stable form, perfectly defined in the number of its syllables, quantities, accents

¹ *Vid. sup.*, p. 35 et seq.

² Ahlqvist, *Kieletär*, iv., p. 45.

which we now find used in the runes together with more ancient elements that have never died out, we cannot say. It is a popular verse very common among Latin, Germanic, and even Slav peoples; but it is also so simple and so natural to the language of the Finns that there is no foundation for believing it to be borrowed from another people. It perhaps became fixed when the rune, no longer exclusively magic, began to be accompanied by the sound of the Kantele.

This poetry, lyric in its imaginations and personifications, epic in its creative energy, generated a large amount of myth and heroic epic ideals; but these were magic in their essence and quite outside the world of history. In the earliest heroic ideals magic action, miraculous enterprise, exclusively predominates: Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen or a nameless smith or artificer, the lady of Pohjola, Joukahainen and the Lapp wizards. Perhaps there is already the Sampo; there are many songs of origins, as those of iron, of fire, of beer, etc.; there are those agricultural songs in which Sampsa Pellervoinen appears, etc. The search for the wife is in any case foreign to this first period. Minute analysis shows that this poetry underwent much foreign influence in its mythic names, in its ideas, in its fantastic incidents; but a comprehensive consideration of it beholds it acting with originality and complete independence, both in form and in substance.

The same may be said of the succeeding historical periods. From the eleventh century onwards the Finnic people was the object of war, of conquest and of armed dispute between Russians, Swedes, Danes; it was conquered, dominated, Christianised, socially organised with cities of Swedish foundation (Åbo, 1157; Tavastehus, 1248; Viborg, 1293, etc.); yet it succeeded in remaining distinct from its conquerors and dominators, never amalgamating with them, but preserving its language and with this its own manner of poetry pregnant with the pagan myth that

Christianity was not able to extinguish. Scandinavians, Danes and Swedes were at that time entering on a new period of poetic production. They were beginning to treat after a new manner many ancient subjects of Norse poetry which had already, as we see in Saxo, taken on among them a peculiar form ; and they were adding new themes and new creations, being dominated in all this by the romantic and even the chivalric sentiment which reached them, as it did others, from the Roman-Germanic centre of Europe in the eleventh and following centuries. This poetry is called popular, and to a certain extent it is so ; for, however it may have been born, it lived and diffused itself widely by word of mouth. From the sixteenth century onwards it began to be collected and written as did that of the Spanish *romancers*, the poetry of the ballads or romances, of the Danish and Swedish *Kämpeviser*, *Trylleviser*, etc.

With roots less ancient, but with a nature more truly popular and therefore more on a level with the Finnic rune, there also arose, not without Scandinavian influence in its origins, an oral, traditional Russian poetry. The power, the energy, the audacious enterprises of Novgorod the Great, localised this poetry in the north of Russia and gave especial development to the epic song. Its heroes were historical rather than mythical. It was a poetry of adventure and of incident (*byliny*), of ancient feats and deeds (*staryna*). It was already in existence in the twelfth century, when there appeared under a different form and character, and though not of popular origin, yet put together with a knowledge of the people's songs, the little poem on the facts of the army of Igor (*Slovo o polku Igoreva*). Born in the North, it grew so active and fertile as to embrace not only the Novgorod events but also those of Kiev, of Vladimir the Sun Prince, and of the great *bogatyrs* of his glorious *družina* ; and now, having quite vanished from the South, the country where the events took place,

if indeed it ever existed there, it has returned to its place of birth. And the northern region in which these ancient Russian songs most abound and are most unchanged is the same in which the poetical tradition of the Finns also is best preserved: the government of Archangel, and Olonetz from Lake Onega to Lake Ladoga.

Placed between two different currents of poetry, the Scandinavian and Slav, between Latin Christianity on the one hand and the Greek-Russian Church on the other, among the more or less surviving paganism of the Germans, Lithuanians and Russians, the Finnic rune yet maintained its characteristics unaltered. But it extended its field under these outside influences, issuing more and more from within the limits of the magic function. The runes telling of the search for the bride, of the beautiful maiden of Saari, of the adventures of Lemminkäinen, those of Kullervo, of Aino, of the fishing for the maiden of Vellamo, with the woman-types of Aino, Kyllikki, the mother of Lemminkäinen, etc., are the distinguishing features of this new period in which the romantic idea makes its appearance. Nevertheless this new idea followed a way of its own, tending towards the ideal of the wizard, and associating itself with it. Both Lemminkäinen and Kullervo, although of a type that is essentially foreign to the magic song, act as wizards; Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, types whose essence is in the magic song, go out to woo a bride. Lemminkäinen comes near being a knight-errant. But the poetry is here *popular* in the most absolute sense of the word: every idea of aristocracy is wanting, although the Finns saw it around them and above them in their foreign rulers; and warlike valour inspires no runes, nor does the woman become the lady. Hence Lemminkäinen is neither *jarl* nor *riddar*, neither *knjaz* nor *bojar* nor *vitiaz*; he is simply a *lieto poika*, an unstable youth, handsome, lively, pleasing, whose gallantry

secures him much success with women, after the manner of Curilo Plenkovič in the Russian *byliny*. The *bogatyr*, however, even when not of noble birth, is essentially a warrior, and Lemminkäinen would seem one too, with his sword, his warlike expedition, his companion in arms (*sotatoveri*) Tieri; but when he comes to act he stands revealed a wizard. Thus the rune, even when it leaves its own field, comes back to its proper essence reducing to a *tietäjä* or *laulaja* the type of hero that elsewhere would be a knight, a *bogatyr*.

When we compare the rune with the Scandinavian *visa* and the Russian *byliny*, we see that, while sometimes taking its subject from them and adapting itself to the romantic idea, it still works out its material in its own way and preserves its independence of form and style. Certain peculiarities of poetic usage and of narrative phrasing, common to the rune and to Russian and Scandinavian poetry, are clear proofs of contact between them. Thus the love of blue, which is the colour of the sea, of the wood, of the bridge, of Kullervo's or of Ukko's stockings, and is even the personification of colour (*Sinetär*), is Russian, as the word itself, *sini*, is Russian. The pleonastic *tuo on* (this is) which at the beginning of a line constantly precedes a name in the narrative, having simply the value of an article (*e.g.*, *tuo on vanha Väinämöinen*, this is old Väinämöinen, instead of "the old Väinämöinen"), finds a constant parallel in the frequent "och det är," "och det var," similarly used in the *visor* (*e.g.*, "Och det var Fröken Elin, Hon drömte i sängen der hon låg," instead of "Fröken Elin drömde i sängen der hon låg").¹ The use of *on* (is), as simple padding to the line without verbal or grammatical function of any kind, which is very frequent in the runes (*e.g.*, *mies on nousevi meresta*, "a man is rose from the sea"), finds a parallel in the Russian

¹ The damosel Elin dreamed in the bed where she lay.

byliny, where *iest*, is, is used in the same way.¹ But it is difficult, in a poetry that is constantly renewing itself, to say when these and other common peculiarities arose. The differences are greater than the similarities, even when we leave on one side the rune-form which has nothing in common with that of the *visor* or of the *byliny*. Among others we may here note that the rune knows nothing of that abuse of the conjunction *and* at the beginning of the line and also of the song, which may be used in the *visor* (och . . .) and still more in the *byliny*, where we sometimes have long series of lines, often from the very first, all beginning with A (and).

The extension of the rune and its application to a poetry which, in contrast to its early shamanism, may be called lay or profane, must have reached its flood after the Swedish Conquest and the introduction of Christianity (1151). The new religion necessarily modified the position of the rune in the public mind; not extinguishing it, but stripping it of the religious value by means of which, without any other higher idea of a divinity, it once ruled supreme. Magic and magic poetry became superstition. The clergy disapproved of the rune. They persecuted it as magic, and also as poetry because it was full of pagan ideas. But the popular mind loved its beautiful daughter tenderly. The rune lived; conscience quieted itself with its usual and natural shift, wedding the Christian myth to the pagan, combining and confusing pagan divinities and dæmonic beings with Catholic saints and devils. Tapio, Ahti, Vellamo, Tuoni, and the others still exist, but they all become creatures of God,² who is *Jumala*, is *Ukko*,

¹ Cf. on this and other padding-words used in the *byliny*, Hilferding, *Onežskija byliny*, p. xxx. (also in *Russische Revue*, i., p. 324).

² This, for example, is a magic song of prayer for hunters to Tapio, to Mielikki, to the other divinities of the wood: "Christ baptised thee, The Omnipotent sprinkled thee with water, On the grassy sward, For a guardian of savage beasts".

Ilman Herra Jesus (lord of the world), is *Luoja* (creator), is the King of *Himmerki* (Swed. *Himmelriiki*, kingdom of the skies); and to the many names of divine and dæmonic beings there are joined Maria, Juhannes, Ristoppi (Christopher), Antti Santti (St. Andrew), Santta Pietari, etc.; to Lempo, to Hiisi, and the other malignant beings is added Paha, the malign being of the Christians (Swed. *Hin Onde*); to Tuonela or Manala, Helvetti or the Christian Hell (Swed. *Helvete*). At that time the Finnic people had not learnt to read; it heard Christian doctrine and evangelical story from the priest who preaches. To preach meant then to *expound, narrate, recount*, so that the word which up to that time had stood for story, tale (*saarna*), is now exclusively used for sermon.¹ Christian narrative, thus learnt, underwent a change in the popular mind: it mated with ideas of other kinds which it found already existing, and gave birth, here as elsewhere, to the semi-pagan legend. To this the rune is applied, producing those songs of Christian legend mingled with pagan myth, that also occur among the Scandinavians.² One of these is that of the birth of the Saviour, so ably used by Lönnrot as an ending for the *Kalevala*.

Songs of this kind, which are really runes although their sacred subject brings them near to the *virsi*, were composed as far back as the time of Catholicism. They are

Sinun on Ristus ristinynnä,
Kaikkivalta kastanunna,
Keskellä metsän ketoa
Metsän viljan viitsijäksi.

¹ Cf. Rudbek, *Om Finnarnes Folkdikt i obunden berättande Form.*, Helsingf., 1857, p. 8. Some trace of the ancient meaning is, however, preserved in a few formulas in the tales; and the word *saarna* is still used in this sense in Russian Carelia; *vid.* Borenius, *Luojaan virsi*, p. 4 (*Virittäjä*, ii., 59). The same fact occurs in the Polish *kazanie*, sermon, O. Sl. instruction, Russ. *skazka* (Little Russ. *kazka*), *skazanie*, tale, story.

² Cf. Horn, *Gesch. d. Literat. d. Skandinav. Nordens.*, p. 109 *et seq.*

natives of the West, where the Swedish capital Åbo formed the moral, religious and political centre of the county. They are not so entirely popular in origin as are the other runes; but they diffused themselves among the people, undergoing various adventures and reaching far-off lands, even those of the Russian Church: as runes, they followed the fate of the runes. Just as the subject of more than one mediæval ballad was treated at that time in rune, and even applied to historical personages¹ (e.g., the tragic incident of the tyrant Klas Kurki and little Elina); so one of the principal records of the introduction of Christianity, the story of the bishop St. Henry, apostle of the Finns, killed by a Finnic peasant, the perfidious Lalli,² was also sung by the runes. But the rune was little applied to historical subjects. The Finnic *laulaja* is, as we have repeatedly said, indifferent to history: it does not inspire him. Since the epos has here no connection with national history, the rune is also alien to it. The rune is not like the Russian *byliny*, which, from the ancient *bogatyr* of the historic cycles of Novgorod and Kiev, pass on to tell of deeds and men of succeeding epochs. The rune was not applied to historical facts until after the Reformation (1528). Then began a new period, marked, at least in that part of the country which became Lutheran, by a rise in general culture: the period in which Finnic became, thanks to Bishop Agricola, a written language and the people learnt to read. Neither do the few songs of historical argument which Lönnrot has placed in the third section

¹ For all the poetry of those times, of origin popular, semi-popular and afterwards not at all popular, *vid.* Krohn, *Suomenkiellinen runollisuus Ruotsinvalian aikana* (*The Poetry of the Finnic Tongue down to the Times of the Swedish Rule*), Helsingf., 1853.

² *Kanteletar*, iii., n. 28; *cf.* Krohn, *op. cit.*, p. 5 *et seq.*; Setälä, *Piispa Henrikin surmavirsi*, etc. (*The Song of the Death of Bishop Henry, after Manuscripts of Last Century*) in *Länsi Suomi* (Western Finland), ii., 1890, p. 1 *et seq.*; *vid.* also Grotenfelt, in *Suomi*, 1888, p. 257 *et seq.*

of the *Kanteletar*¹ date from more ancient times. The songs of the *Kanteletar* give, in general, examples of the application of the rune to different subjects independently of the magic idea. They date from various times; but it is certain, whatever Lönnrot may say,² that not one of them is prior to the Christian period; not even those whose mythical argument would make them appear, as perhaps they did appear to Lönnrot, more ancient. One or two, especially such as are most entirely lyric, sentimental, subjective, are quite modern. Some of the narrative ones, for instance the above-mentioned song of the "Death of Elina," although bearing the rune form are in the epic-lyric manner, dramatised with much dialogue after the style of Danish and Swedish *visor*. After the Reformation, and, above all, after the foundation of the University of Åbo (1640), the influence of Swedish culture became stronger and more immediate. It came not only from Sweden, but from the very centre of Finland, which was Swedish. Swedish then became the literary language of the Finns; and a Swedish-Finnic literature arose, of little value at first, but becoming great in modern times with Franzén, Snellman and others, and above all with Runeberg.³ Popular poetry, too, the tale, and every kind of Swedish folk-lore settled, with its own

¹ Cf. Porthan, *De poesi fennica* (in *Op. sel.*), p. 358 *et seq.*; Krohn, *Sumal. runollis.*, etc., p. 20 *et seq.* Porthan believes that there were ancient historical runes, but that they were lost and forgotten. This is not credible in the face of so much other matter that has lived in tradition, and still less so after the results of our study on the origins and genius of this poetry.

² "Many of the songs in this collection are perhaps 1000 years old, while others cannot be very ancient." Pref. to the *Kanteletar*, p. xlii. (3rd edition). An old woman of eighty said that she had composed one song herself when she was a girl! *Ibid.*

³ *Vid. Lagus, Den Finsk-Svenska Litteraturens Utveckling, Borgå-Åbo, 1866-7.*

language, in the centre of Finland.¹ Many runes had birth in the parts most exposed to those influences; and since the middle of last century, when Porthan, Ganander and others brought the national language and poetry again into repute, there has sprung up an individual poetry, Finnic in language and form, but bearing no further likeness to the ancient, traditional rune.² And the new poetry has become popular, so that some songs of the most illustrious of these poets, Paavo Kohronen, are found confused with traditional songs and even used with a magic purpose.

It is not difficult to distinguish the old, original and traditional rune of the magic and epic songs, the rune whose ancient character is well represented in the *Kalevala*, from all its more modern and even recent offshoots. But since the old rune lives in the mind of the *laulajat* together with more modern products of like form, these latter have had an influence upon it: many lines have passed from more modern into more ancient songs; and the subjects of ballads or of epic-lyric songs of small antiquity have been introduced among the more ancient epic lays. This fact is also represented in the *Kalevala*; as we have seen in the Aino, and the Kullervo runes and others, as well as in the many lines which Lönnrot, following the usage of popular singers, has taken from ballads and lyrics and introduced into his poem.

The rune which, even when not magic, is associated with popular festivals of various kinds is not necessarily so old as the festivals themselves. The most ancient of

¹ Concerning Nyland, where is now the capital, *vid.* the *Nyländska Folkvisor* of Lagus, Helsingf., 1887, in the collection entitled *Nyland*. Here there are also given popular tales and other Swedish folk-lore of his province, in which, however, runes are entirely wanting.

² A selection of compositions (runes or songs) by eighteen of these poets (Kohronen, Lyytinen, Makkonen, Kymäläinen, Pyhakka, Näikkonen, etc.), with notices of their lives, has been recently published: *Kahdeksantoista Runoniekkaa valkoima runoja ja lauja*, Helsingf., 1889.

all is probably that which accompanies agricultural festivals, for it is nearer to the magic rune and to the religious idea of pagan times.¹ The songs for the slaying of the bear are certainly not of modern origin, but neither are they as ancient as the usage doubtless is among the Finns. The myth of the *Origin of the Bear* connects these runes with the magic songs, with the exorcisms of the bear; and shows us the road by which already in pagan times the rune came to be applied to this festivity. Wedding-feasts are accompanied by songs composed in rune form, which are also part of the poetry of tradition. In addition to the epic rune, sung to entertain the banqueters, there is the wedding-rune properly so called, which is the business of the women. It consists of songs for the bride as she takes leave of her mother, for the mother to address to the bride, etc.² The application of the rune to these songs sprang naturally from the not very ancient epic theme of the Searchings for a Bride, of the incidents at Saari, of the banquets in Päivölä. Lönnrot understood this perfectly when he introduced them into the *Kalevala*; although he substituted Pohjola for Päivölä on his own authority. Doubtless they are not very ancient; certainly not more so than the Lithuanian and Russian wedding-songs. They are not copies of these latter, but they recall their spirit especially in the note of sadness; for they are principally plaintive songs (*itkurunot*), as are also those of Russia.³ There is in

¹ The shepherds' songs given by Lönnrot in the *Kanteletar*, i., n. 170 *et seq.*, are modelled on the form and spirit of the rune and have also mythic elements in common with the epos and with the magic songs (of prayer). There is much that is ancient in them, but also much that is modern. The shepherds' songs which Gottlund gives with their melody in the *Otava*, i., 283 *et seq.*, are of his own making and have nothing to do with the rune.

² *Kanteletar*, i., n. 126 *et seq.*

³ Cf. *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, pp. 322 *et seq.*, 332 *et seq.* Among the other Ugro-Finns the Esthonians alone supply us with a parallel to these songs.

the *Kalevala* one thing that distinguishes these wedding-songs from those of Russia: the instructions or counsels given to the bride, to the groom. I cannot say whether, or up to what point, Lönnrot has composed these himself; but the application of the rune to proverbs, to saws, which are among the elements of some songs, is genuine and popular. This is the didactic portion of the traditional poetry, and is connected with the magic rune because it enters without difficulty into the conception of the *tietäjä's* wisdom; hence old Väinämöinen, the eternal *tietäjä*, becomes the author of many wise sayings. Not everything is old in these proverbs and saws, and much has also been learnt from other peoples; but we cannot help recognising elements of ancient tradition. Indeed, taking them as a whole, they bear the proper and characteristic impress of the runes of ancient origin. Among the counsels given to the bridegroom, for instance, there is a maxim modelled after the manner of the so-called *Priamele* which finds its parallel in ancient Norse poetry: "Praise the horse on the following day, The bride the year after; Praise the father-in-law the third year, Never thyself whilst thou livest".¹ In another song the mother,

Cf. Krohn, *ibid.*, p. 168 *et seq.* We seem to recognise some echo of them in the Syrianian songs and among the Mordvinians, but here also Russian influence comes in. That in these songs (as also in those of the Russians) marriage is considered rather from the practical, profane, sentimental point of view than from the religious or sacramental standpoint, proves nothing with regard to their antiquity, any more than do the hints found in them at the ancient usages such as the purchase of the bride, traces of which have persisted down to quite recent times, even independently of the songs. *Cf.* Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan karjalaisuus*, p. 93 *et seq.*; Neovius, *Kalevalan kotiperästä*, p. 36 *et seq.* On the nuptial usages of these peoples *vid.* L. V. Schröder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Ehsten und einiger anderer Finnisch-Ugrischer Völkerschaften in Vergl. mit denen d. Indogerm. Völker.*, Berlin, 1888. For Russian Carelia *vid.* Friis, *En Sommer i Finmarken, russisk Lapland og Nordkarelen*, p. 269 *et seq.* There is, however, no good collection of Finnic wedding-songs with notices about them.

¹ *Kanteletar*, i., n. 40.

rocking her child, says : " Praise the horse on the following day, The son when his beard has grown, The daughter when she is married, Thyself at the end of thy life".¹ Cruder is the Norse maxim in the *Hávamál* : " Praise the day at eventide, The woman when she is burnt (buried), The sword when it has been used, The virgin when she is married, The ice when you have passed it, The beer when you have drunk it".² It would be a mistake to refer these resemblances, as some have done,³ to *prehistoric* contacts between the two peoples. By what road, and when, this gnomic formula reached the Finns orally we cannot tell ; but it is highly probable that the rune was applied to the proverb and to the adage before the introduction of Christianity, and that it continued to be so employed in Christian times. This we clearly see from some maxims reproduced in the *Kalevala*.

Still bearing the impress of its more circumscribed origins, the rune yet comes to embrace in its stable form all the poetry of the Finnic nation, whose only child it is. Living outside history, it does not help us to establish dates ; but rich in poetic myth, and having attained that profane lyricism which renders it conscious of itself, it reflects its evolutions in its creations. As the rune is one, so also is one the eternal *runoja* who represents it. It embodies his various aspects in Väinämöinen, whether as a shaman who creates and produces with the word of potent wisdom, whether as one whose name is connected with the poetical legend of the birth of Christ, with the maxim of Christian stamp. In him is gathered up the

¹ *Kanteletar*, ii., n. 173.

² At qveldi skal dag leyfa,
Kono er brend er,
Meki er reyndr er,
Mey er gefin er,
Is er yfir komr,
Ael er drukkit er. *Hávamál*, 80.

³ R. M. Meyer, *Die Altgerman. Poesie*, etc., p. 434 *et seq.*

first poetry of the magic song, the poetry of magic action expressed in heroic epos, the poetry of this same action applied to the romantic idea of the ballad, so that he goes to woo a bride; and, finally, in him, creator of the *Kantele*, is gathered up the feeling which the *laulaja* has for himself and for his song—he is no longer a magician, but a singer, a poet.

The rune, magic or no, is compact of poetry. But in this poetry two kinds of efficacy may be distinguished: the teratological efficacy of the magic song as such, and the æsthetic efficacy of the poetic song. The two efficacies may approach each other. The esthetic effect of the song may, with imaginative lyricism, be understood and represented as a kind of conjuring or magic, but as a matter of fact these are two distinct functions of the rune, and are not of equal antiquity. An example of the distinction may be found in the type of *Väinämöinen* appearing in the songs of the Origin of the *Kantele* and in others more faithful to the primitive idea: in those, for instance, of the *Competition in Songs* with *Joukahainen*. In the latter, where *Väinämöinen* with his song sinks his adversary into the ground and frees him with another song, the song is magic: it is a real, true spell. In the former, where his song to the sound of the *Kantele* throws all things and beings of nature into ecstasy, lulls to sleep even the rude people of *Pohjola*, as in *Pindar* the sound of the cithern induces slumber in *Jove's eagle* and in cruel *Mars*, as in the *Nibelungen* the *videlaere Volkur* sends his *Burgundians* to sleep with the sound of his viol, we find nothing but the æsthetic effect, exaggerated to marvellous proportions of poetry and of melody. In one case and in the other ideal representation is preceded by a lyric preparation for it: the feeling the *tietäjä* has of himself as magician is expressed, as we have seen,¹ with great emphasis, in the magic songs; and there are also many lyric songs (though these are certainly

¹ *Vid. sup.*, p. 233 *et seq.*

less ancient) which express enthusiasm for poetry, and the comfort, the pleasure it procures.¹ The distinction of the two diverse ways of efficacy, formulated as it is in the myth on the Origin of the Kantele, cannot be very ancient. It is certainly the product of a time in which the rune has matured much lay poetry without magic scope, but the continuity which the people felt to exist between the two things is expressed by the use in both of them of the name of Väinämöinen.

The songs that tell of the Origin of the Kantele have nothing to do with the magic songs of the Origins; although in the objects which are needed, according to these songs, to compose the instrument, we recognise elements that also occur in other and really magic songs of Origins: in that, for instance, on the Origin of Snakes.² They are connected rather with the lyric runes, their informing spirit being the lyricism of poetry, song, music. The name of Väinämöinen is associated with them because the passage is obvious from the wondrous magic singer to the singer and player who rouses enthusiasm. But in variants which certainly represent a more ancient phase of these runes, the maker of the Kantele is a *seppä*, an unnamed smith or artificer; he who draws marvellous sounds from it is not Väinämöinen, but a *sokea mies*, a blind man, the customary *τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ*, the nameless, wandering minstrel of ancient and modern popular poetry.³ And in truth the Kantele has really nothing to do with magic songs, which are never accompanied by any instrument; as it has nothing to do with magic in general. The magic songs themselves, and the epic songs which tell of the magic action of Väinämöinen and others, never mention the Kantele.

¹ *Vid. sup.*, p. 20.

² *Vid. Krohn, Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 461.

³ Thus it is in a fragment collected by Gottlund from among the Finnic colonists of Vermland in Sweden and hence more than 300 years old. *Vid. Krohn, op. cit.*, p. 459.

This instrument, which, like the lyre or the Greek *φόρμιγξ*, becomes a symbol of poetry wedded to music, to song, to the dance, and as such is sung in lyric lays, in poetical myths of its genesis, is not originally proper to the Finns; it associated itself to the rune only when their poetry began to extend itself beyond its magic function. Neither has the word *Kantele* a Finnic root. It exists in Esthonian (*kannel*) and in Livonian (*kändlää*), but does not occur in other Ugro-Finnic tongues.¹ In my belief it is of Slav origin; but its form shows that it passed from the Slavs to the Finns in fairly ancient times. It is the Old Slav *gansl* (corruption of *gandtl*), cithern; the verb *gansti* means *cithara canere*; the Polish has *gensl*, cithern; and the name of the Serbian *gusla* (*gunsla*)² is of the same origin. The Lithuanian *kañklės*, cithern,³ also comes very near to *kantele*. It is in fact the cithern mentioned by the Byzantines as an instrument very commonly used among the Slavs in ancient times.⁴

It is therefore a great mistake to suppose, as Castrén has done, that the poetical story of the Origin of the *Kantele* is of extreme antiquity, purely Finnic, brought by the Finns from Asia; neither should we expect to find in it, as Krohn has suggested, an echo of the Greek legend of

¹ The Votyaks have an instrument of very much the same kind which they call *krödž*. *Vid.* Max Buch, *Die Wotjaken*, p. 80 *et seq.* They get it from the Slavs as they do the violin which they call by the Russian name *skrypka*. The Syrianians have a similar instrument, a horizontal harp or cithern, which they call by the Slav name *gusjli*, and the violin which they call *gudök* (*vid.* Sjögren, *Die Syrjänen*, in *Gesamm. Schrift.*, i., p. 439), the Russian name (*gudok*) of a kind of ancient three-stringed fiddle.

² For other Slav words from the same root *cf.* Miklosisch, *Etym. Wörterb. d. sl. spr.*, s. v. *gond*, p. 72. Diefenbach also mentions the Slav word in connection with the Finnic one, *Völkerkunde Osteuropas*, ii., pp. 69, 263. Others have thought of the Latin *cantare*; *vid.* Gottlund, *Otava*, i., p. 271 *et seq.*

³ Thus Kurschat in his *Litt. Wörterb.*; others write *kaknlai*; Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen der Zamaiten*, i., 158, has *konklas*.

⁴ *Vid.* Krek, *Einl. in. d. slav. Literaturgesch.*, p. 374 *et seq.*

Orpheus that has reached the Finns through the Byzantines. The Finns, who had already produced the rune and extended it to non-magic songs, may have received the Russian *bylin*, which extolled, in the story of Sadko, merchant of Novgorod, the power of the *guzla*, to whose music danced the king of the sea ; they may have received the Scandinavian saga which related how Gunnar, lying bound in the ditch of serpents, tamed their fury and held them at a distance, fascinating them by the sound of the harp which he played with his feet ; may have received also the Lithuanian tale that tells the origin of music and how the lyre was brought to earth from heaven, the cithern (*konklas*)¹ stolen from the supreme god Purkanas. These, and other similar narratives of the neighbouring peoples, certainly had their influence ; and traces of it may be seen in some particulars of the rune, *e.g.*, in the striking of Väinämöinen's ship against the pike, which corresponds in the Russian *bylin* to the striking of the ship of Sadko, held back by the king of the sea. But the *laulajat* have then followed, as they always do, their own inspiration and poetical resources in imagining the formation of the Kantele and in describing its effect. It is, however, well to draw attention here to a fact in Scandinavian poetry which corresponds to this less ancient evolution of the rune as represented in the songs of the Origin of the Kantele.²

Ancient Norse poetry often extols the power of the *runa* as a mystic sign, or also as *galdr* or magic song, as we have seen above ; but never as music. Later on we find in the Danish and Swedish *visor* that same extension of meaning that we have observed in the Finnic rune as apparent in the Origin of the Kantele. The rune is accompanied by the harp ; its ancient æsthetic charm, its word of secret wisdom, becomes music, song, the irresist-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

² Veckenstedt, *op. cit.*, i., 158 *et seq.* ; ii., 255.

ible voice of the Siren. Thus, in the ancient ballad, Danish as well as Swedish, of Sir Tynne (Riddar Tynne),¹ Ulfva, the dwarf's fair daughter, attracts the knight as he is out hunting. She fascinates him, and wins his love with the sound of the harp, whose effects are described like those of the Kantele played by Väinämöinen. All nature is carried out of itself—animals, men, plants, flowers: the beasts of the wood forgot to leap, the little bird on the branch forgot to sing, the grey falcon of the forest spread its pinions, the fish stayed still in ecstasy and thought no more of swimming, the meadow put forth flowers and grew green with leaves at that charmed touch. Sir Tynne spurred his horse, but it could not move, and the horseman dismounted and went, all fascinated, to beg the fair Ulfva for her love.² The wondrous harp-playing that produces these effects, is here and in some other ancient *visor*, e.g., the Danish *Harpens kraft* (Grundtvig, ii., n. 40), called *rune-slag* (*ronner slag*), and at the end of each verse there is the refrain *I styrer väll de Runor* (Dan. *Styrer y*

¹ Geier o. Afzelius, *Svenska Folkvisor*, n. 7; Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, ii., n. 34. Cf. Uhland, *Schriften*, iv., p. 262 *et seq.*; Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 97; Prior, *Ancient Danish Ballads*, iii., p. 9 *et seq.* (n. 102).

Uhland also (*Schriften*, vi., p. 254) draws attention to this meaning of the rune in the Scandinavian ballad, in connection with Väinämöinen's playing of the Kantele.

² We give here one of the Danish texts.

Saa slog hun de ronner-slag
 att harpen saa vel maatte klinge.
 De vilde diur, y skoffuen var
 forglemtte at de skulle springe.
 Fouglen, de paa quisten saadt,
 forglemtte at hand skulle sjunge:
 den liiden falk, udi lunden lac,
 handt breder ut medt sin vinge.
 Der blomstris mark, der loeffvis riiss,
 det kunde de ronner saa vende:
 herr Tonne sin ganger medt sporer stack,
 handt kunde dock icke undrende, etc.

saa vel de ronner), rule well the runes. The same effect of charm attributed here to the sound of the harp is ascribed in almost identical words to song in other ballads, e.g., in the Danish "The Hill of the Elves" (*Elvehøj*).¹

The Origin of the Kantele, therefore, far from expressing a national idea of extreme antiquity, only represents a less ancient phase of the poetry, the rune of the Finns—a phase which corresponds with the more recent meaning that the word *runa* itself took on among the Scandinavians. This phase, which closes the development of the rune, was reached more than three centuries ago; as is proved by the songs of the Finnic colonists of Verm-land. We have therefore preferred to discuss it here rather than where we were treating of the myths. And with these observations on the runes which tell of the Origin of the Kantele we close our history of the life of the rune.

¹ Grundtvig, *Danm. gamle Folkev.*, ii., n. 46; Prior, *Anc. Dan. Ballads*, iii., n. 136. The old *visor* still preserve the meaning, however, of the magic *sign* which remained alien to the Finns; thus, for example—

Ieg vill giffve dig guode guldt-bandt
de ere y ronner dragen:
hver den ord, du talle skall,
ditt falder som ditt var skreffven.

(I will give thee a good girdle, and it shall contain such runes that every word thou shalt utter shall be as though it were written). Grundtvig, *op. cit.*, ii., n. 34 (p. 17, v. 39); cf. n. 79, n. 80, etc.

CONCLUSIONS.

ON THE *KALEVALA* AND ON THE ORIGINS OF GREAT NATIONAL EPICS.

WE have examined, expounded and defined the manner in which the *Kalevala* was composed, the elements that have conspired to form it, the how, the when, the where of its birth, the phases undergone by the poetry which has generated its material and its form. We can now place it side by side and compare it with the national epics of other peoples; we can make deductions from it regarding the general laws that naturally govern the birth and growth of large poems of similar nature.

The *Kalevala* is a poem inferred and put together by Lönnrot from the whole of the popular, traditional poetry of the Finns, and this poetry has but one unvarying form. Hence the poem is unique; a fact which does not repeat itself in the poetry of any other people. Outside of it there is nothing in Finnic poetry which could furnish another poem. The Homeric poems, the *Nibelungen*, the *Chanson de Roland* are not unique. They have their places in a period of production of numerous large poems, or in one in which national poetry has already elaborated and matured much material for such poems; and the same may be said of the *Mahâbhârata*, of the *Râmâjana*, of the *Sciahnameh*. The epic songs of other peoples who never reached the point of having large poems, as, for instance, the Russians, Servians, Kelts, Siberian Tatars, ancient Scandinavians and others, do not converge towards one poem; but if ever they had

reached or should reach the maturity of large compositions they would give many poems of different subjects. That a whole popular, traditional poetry, living and bringing forth for centuries, should come to furnish the material for one single poem is a strange and abnormal phenomenon. Confronted with such a fact we have the right of doubting whether the poem can be defined as a popular production, collective and not individual; as is without doubt the poetry from which the poem was composed.

The subject-matter of the *Kalevala* is altogether mythical, although certainly not mythic-symbolical, as some have thought. The scientific chimera, now fallen into disrepute, of a mythic symbolism illustrating the struggle between light and darkness, between winter and summer and the like, is no less a chimera for the *Kalevala* than it is for other poems to which it has been applied. It results from our researches that in this poetry of the Finns the dæmonic myth is naturalistic, personifying poetically things and facts of nature; that it remains, however, incompletely developed, unorganised, certainly not arriving at symbolisation. The heroic myth is born from that same shamanic poetry of the magic songs which creates dæmonic myth; but it has nothing to do with the things and facts of nature. In it shamanic poetry idealises poetically in heroic personalities its own special type of man, the wizard; and it idealises him either by creating personages of its own, *e.g.*, Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, or by adapting to the type personages of various origin, *e.g.*, Lemminkäinen and even such as were originally personifications of naturalistic intent, *e.g.*, Kullervo (Kaleva).

With the small development of the dæmonic myth in an anthropomorphic direction corresponds a similar incompleteness in the development of the heroic myth. As the former never reaches the idea of an organised society of divine beings, but remains in its primitive individualism,

so does individualism dominate in the latter also : a few heroes act on their own account, no peoples or social masses appear in collective action or in conflict. Hence, although the *Kalevala* must be classed, having regard to the genesis of its poetry, with those poems which were born of a polytheistic idea, it yet differs from these in the immaturity of its myth : it is wanting in the continuity which they display between the poetical history of the gods and the poetical history of men and heroes. This is equivalent to saying that the epos is here not mature ; because, since the myth is nothing but poetry, the latter cannot be ripe when the former is not.

Another anomaly presented by the *Kalevala*, as compared with the epics of other peoples, is its indifference to history. The hero is a wizard, not a warrior as he is wont to be in all other great epics ; heroic action is of individual interest, not general, not national. True, the Rape of the Sampo might be said to be, or at least seem to be, of national interest ; but where is the nation, where the peoples in the *Kalevala*, in its ill-defined world, which, since it lacks coherent social organisation, is inevitably devoid of history ? Historical, as we have seen, is the early shamanism, and the rivalry between Lapps and Finns in magic might ; but this is expressed rather subjectively as a sentiment permeating the whole of the poetry, than objectively, as a fact constituting the definite subject of the poem. In other national epics the action, although it may be wholly or partly fantastic, is seen, felt, and represented in the historical life of the nation. The historic feeling is accentuated and strengthened in proportion as the epic-lyric song passes into the large epic composition, the very breadth of whose conception proves that it is intended to be monumental. Sigurd is still mythic in the epic-lyric songs of the *Edda*, but no sooner does he become in the *Nibelungen* the hero of a great epic, than he acts as a historical hero, in historical surroundings ; exactly as

in the same or in other poems do Etzel, Dietrich, Ermenrich, who are in fact the Attila, Theodoric, Hermanrich of history. From the epic-lyric song Scandinavian poetry does not pass to the large poem but to the saga. This also is poetical history, but being in the form of prose it assumes the appearance, the tone, the movement of real history. Even the divine myth, the doings of the gods, which the polytheistic epos relates, are conceived and regarded historically, not only in the likeness of human history but as a continuation of it, in the whole formed by the poetical history of *gods and men*. Thus gods are national as the heroes are national. All this does not prevent the *Kalevala* from being a national epic. It is as exclusively national and Finnic as is the poetry which it gathers into itself. Born in and for the elementary society that is foreign to historic action, there is little wonder that historical feeling should not vibrate in it, should not inspire it. But this applies to the poetry of the popular lays. As to the *poem*, the anomaly we have spoken of is so grave that it leads us to doubt whether as a poem it can be considered a national product: if, that is, a poetry still so simple, adapted to a society so elementary, still ignorant of the great endeavours, conflicts and sorrows of historic peoples, can have ripened by itself into a great epic poem. The doubt is all the more permissible that peoples much more advanced and historical have not reached this point: we find among them epic songs displaying historical feeling and having a historical subject, but not long poems, nor songs so moulded as to be capable of forming such poems by combination. This is seen in the living poetry of several Slav, Keltic and other peoples; seen also in the ancient Spanish romances of the *Cid* (the *Cid* as an epic is not of popular origin, nor woven out of these romances), and in the heroic songs of the *Edda*. Neither did the Sigurd saga, which lived for centuries in Norse popular poetry, ever become a poem; it was dis-

covered in our own days in the Farøe Isles still in the song stage.

The songs of which the *Kalevala* is composed are popular as is the poetry of no epic national poem. They are popular in the full meaning of the term. They are so because their poetry is still natural, and the tendency towards art, visible in the determining of a stable form, has yet remained in a rudimentary condition. They are so because this poetry springs from a simple, primitive society which it reflects, a society formed of the *populus*, in which there is no distinction of classes. This poetry should not be confounded with that popular poetry which coexists with literary poetry, distinct from it as being the work of the illiterate, but feeling its influence. It is more virgin than this latter can ever be, for it has no literary poetry beside it; it belongs, on the contrary, to the natural period which precedes literary production. Poetry being a natural growth, all literary poetry, since it follows rules of art, is preceded by a poetry of nature which may also be called popular. This is born spontaneously; it grows unconsciously, creates, develops, defines its form and its substance and ends by ripening into a self-conscious art. To become art it has no need of letters, of books, of schools. These things are but external accidents. Art is produced independently of them; its way is natural and empirical, not theoretical. It teaches itself; its school is the experience of life. And although this development is brought about by collective, anonymous labour, so that the epithet *popular* can still be applied in this sense to the product, yet the distinction between popular poetry and the poetry of art then evaporates and is lost. As soon as poetry, having become an art with definite forms, rules, resources, aspires to a higher and more complex production, it places itself beyond the reach of men in general, and requires for its exercise vocation, talents, knowledge that all do not

possess. The circle of its cultivators narrows. They become a class, and the genius of the individual is revealed in products no longer collective but personal. This is the point at which poetry appears on the horizon of history with works ripe for a stability that renders them monumental. This is the point at which the Homeric poems show themselves, the poems of the Latin Germanic Middle Ages, and we may say all great national epics. More clearly than elsewhere does this natural law appear in Greece, whose poetry sprang up and developed freely according to its own nature without perturbing influences as in other places. The first historical manifestations of the Greek peoples are the Homeric poems, which, products of an art already highly matured and perfected, stand at the head of all succeeding Greek art, and form its primary canon. What preceded them we do not directly see; but their artistic entity is defined by their visible relationship to what follows: to the tragedy of Æschylus, to the highest productions of Greek poetry. It is therefore an absurd abuse of terms to call their poetry, as many do, a natural and popular poetry, and to contrast it as such with the poetry of art.

The Finnic rune is still very far from this last, definite phase, in which natural and popular poetry, having arrived at the dignity of an art, rises above the epic song or lay to the great *epic work*, the *epopoia*. Its poetry is still so entirely collective in origin that the publication of the original songs with all their variants will be the most positive proof we possess that popular poetry is collective: a fact more often affirmed in the abstract than clearly conceived and understood. Although the rune's life has been long, the art of the *laulajat* has remained stationary; and in that primary elementary stage in which it is still accessible to all, it forms the special prerogative of no special class. It is a poetry of short flights, still far from large conceptions; the epic song itself is still but

little removed from the epic-lyric. There is a stable form, primitive, as we have seen, in its use of consonances and parallelisms, which seems mature in the verse; but this form, easy, short, rapid, is rather adapted to an epic-lyric or to a lyric song than to a large, fundamentally epic composition. Not only does the *laulaja* know no large poem, but he does not seem able to imagine one. What he can understand is a very long song, or rather a long series of lays sung one after the other in any sort of order, so as to last whole nights through. He understands, however, the combination of the runes in various manners, and he combines them often and with pleasure. This is a fact of some consequence, as it would appear to prove a movement towards larger compositions, whose web might be woven and wrought by the continued use of the habit of partial composition. It is on this that Lönnrot's idea hinges when, as he combines the mass of runes into a poem, he conscientiously says that he has done nothing but what the popular singers themselves do; and it is a fact that the greater part of the combinations he has made are authorised by some popular example.

The study of the composition of which we are speaking is very instructive already in the published part of the *Variants*, and it will be still more so in the complete publication. We find there an example of the work of the rhapsodist, not after the production of the epic, for this we have already seen in the vicissitudes of several poems in popular use; but before, nay, long before, when matter and form are still not ripe for the long poem. In the mobility, elsewhere described, of a poetry that is quite impersonal and common to all, lines, groups of lines and whole songs are combined in a hundred ways at the arbitrary will of the singer. But they combine for the most part momentarily, unstably; they do not converge towards one, determined, clearly defined subject, which may become the central fact of a large epic narrative. We have

before us that combination or composition of various songs made by singer Vassili which suggested to Lönnrot the idea of combining the runes into a poem;¹ and it is in reality, as Krohn also observes,² nothing but a characterless medley, without head or tail. By combining songs in that way one might get as long a rigmarole as one liked, but one would not get a poem. The best example of rhapsodic work is the song of the Sampo from the government of Archangel. In it we find two songs which exist separately, that of the Creation and that of the Rape of the Sampo, combined and cemented by means of an intermediate part which tells of the Making of the Sampo; and this part does not exist as a separate song, but was put together for this special purpose out of elements drawn from other songs. This composition, which is certainly the work of one singer, has a certain amount of stability, for several singers learnt it, made it their own, and repeated it, though with variations. It has, however, never left the circle of the singers of the government of Archangel; and it is not very ancient, since, as Krohn observes (p. 550), the families of the singers among whom it is found have not been settled there for more than the last two centuries. We have given a copy of this song in its entirety above. Every reader can easily judge for himself whether popular elaboration could make a song of this form into the nucleus of a large poem. It is true that there is an ulterior combination which seems to promise a further development of the song. Several other songs are found combined with it in the government of Archangel itself, *e.g.*, those of the *Origin of the Kantele*, of the *Descent into Tuonela*, of the *Rivalry for the Bride*, with the *Golden Maiden* and sometimes with the *Competition in Song* between Väinämöinen and Joukahainen. More frequent, however, are the combinations of a few small,

¹ *Vid. sup.*, p. 13.

² *Suom. Kirjall. hist.*, p. 380.

separate songs; e.g., the above-mentioned one of the Sampo with the *Origin of the Kantele*, or the *Wooing of the Maiden who sits on the Rainbow*, the *Wound in Väinämöinen's knee* and the *Origin of the Kantele*, or else the *Visit to Vipunen* and the *Origin of the Kantele*.¹ But these rhapsodies are never, nor do they tend to be, of great length. They present great variableness and instability: every singer makes or may make them at his own will; although the combinations of one singer are often accepted and repeated by several others. We can perceive no unity in them, trace no thread which should connect or tend to connect them. When we study them closely, as we can do in the *Variants*, we see that they are for the most part put together roughly, without even any attempt at coherence in connecting the songs, without any predominating idea; so that they are often disorderly medleys like that of Vassili mentioned above, and many others.

We can understand that this method of the popular singers, when seen from the outside, when regarded under the form of an abstract definition, should suggest the idea of a poem latent in the mass of songs; or of the possibility of working the songs up into a poem, by connecting them as the singers do. But when we come to facts, we find Lönnrot himself saying² that although, in composing a poem on these lines, using the same liberty that the singers do in connecting the songs, account must certainly be taken of the combinations already effected, yet one cannot attach much weight to them, as they are so very various. And in fact to try to keep account of them and to follow them would be like trying to follow the windings of the labyrinth without Ariadne's clew of thread. Nevertheless, nay, thanks exactly to this immense variety, Lönnrot has been able to put together his poem; almost always finding means of

¹ *Vid.* Krohn, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

² *Vid. sup.*, p. 157.

justifying his combinations with some popular example. And the instability, the confusion is in fact such in the mass of songs of every kind, that he to whom the good is as the bad, the more genuine as the more corrupt, can make no combination for which some model does not exist or may not exist to-morrow if it has not been found to-day. Thus, to recall one example among many: to connect the Kullervo runes with the others of the Kaleva it was necessary that the smith's wife killed by Kullervo should be Ilmarinen's wife. This could be done, and not arbitrarily, because some variants, rare, it is true, call the smith Ilmarinen. Yet, according to the songs, that smith was not Ilmarinen, and that woman was not the Maiden of Pohjola whom Ilmarinen had married; so that no song, and hence not even the *Kalevala*, tells of the hostilities between Ilmarinen and Kullervo, which might be expected to result from the murder.

The songs known by a good singer are numerous. Arhippa knew more than fifty, making in all about 4600 lines. Sissonen knew about eighty, which, however, only gave a little over 4000 lines. An old woman in Esthonia recited about 700 songs, but short ones, with a total of about 15,000 lines. The best *laulajat*, says Krohn,¹ know without doubt all or almost all the songs from which the *Kalevala* is made up; but in a shorter form, for Lönnrot has developed the variants he selected with additions taken from others. For the most part they sing each song separately, and the order in which the songs succeed each other is altogether indifferent, arbitrary, variable. Runes rhapsodically combined and connected never give a song of more than 400 or 500 lines in length. Neither does the singer himself, when he connects songs, always connect them in the same manner. Thus, for instance, Sissonen, in 1846, sang to Ahlqvist in connection

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

the beginning of the *Visit to Vipunen*, *Väinämöinen's Wound*, *Lemminkäinen's Singing*, the *Origin of the Oak* and the *Rape of the Sampo*. The year before he had sung the first three together and the last one quite separately.¹ In spite of the number of songs he knows by heart, and his habit of grouping some of them in connection, no singer thinks of a large composition; just as he never thinks that those songs may be parts of a whole. If a singer, when he recites a song, says that it formed part of "an ancient, very long song," this must be explained, as we said before,² as referring to an identity in the hero or some other unity or likeness of subject which many songs treat, so that they can be sung one after another. Although some songs open by saying: "Now it is time to speak of Ahti" (*Kalevala*, rune xi., v. 1), that does not mean that this song forms a part of a continuous narrative, as Krohn has thought;³ but it is a way of beginning a new song after others of a different subject, or even by itself. Some magic songs begin *ex abrupto* in the same manner,⁴ and among the songs of the Edda there are also some that commence in this way.⁵

As a counterpoise to all that we have been observing and arguing hitherto we have the fact of the *Kalevala*, a large poem actually existing, put together by Lönnrot from the songs of the people without any essential inventions or additions. The fact that the poem could be composed in this way means that the songs of the people were already ripe thereto; nay, it means that the poem already existed in them, although the popular singers were not aware of it, or had not thought of collecting it into a continuous whole. Here then is a

¹ Vid. Krohn, *Kalevalan toisinnot*, p. 77.

² Vid. *sup.*, p. 45.

³ *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 15.

⁴ E.g.: *Nyon aika arvan käydä, Miehen merkkiä kysyä* (Now it is time to cast the lots, to ask the signs of man). *Loitsurun.*, p. 112 b.

⁵ *Mál er at thylia thular stóla* (It is time to speak of the seat of the wise man). *Loddfafnirsmál* (in the *Hávamál*, iii.).

positive example of that origin of the greater epic compositions in minor songs which had been supposed by many. Lönnrot is hence the Homer of Finland, not the Homer-poet of old literary tradition, but the Homer-collector, the Homer-commission of Peisistratos, of the Wolfian and Lachmannian theory. So it would appear, and yet if after having studied the songs in their essence we pass on to consider who Lönnrot is, and to study his poem at close quarters, we not only see that all this is a hallucination, but we come to see the vanity of the theory that would explain in this way the origins of the great national epic cycles.

Those who have thought that ancient epics of this kind are a mechanical agglutination of songs originally produced by an anonymous collective poetry, fall into an error which we may define as an anachronism. They attribute to the men among whom those great compositions have appeared, ideas and proceedings that cannot belong either to their condition or to their time. The conception and execution of a mosaic with poetical materials not one's own, the putting them together externally, passively, mechanically, is very natural to a grammarian, to a philologist of our century, subjected to the laws of science as it now exists; but it is quite alien to the nature of men among whom creative poetry still lives, of men of the class among whom this poetry lives and propagates itself. It is absurd and puerile to think that any one should set himself to the arid task of collecting and pasting together traditional songs, remaining himself inert and passive the while, at a time when poetry reigned supreme, when even the thinkers were poets—the Orpheans and the Pythagoreans of the commission of Peisistratos as well as Solon himself. This applies to Homer and to the Homerids as it applies to the *jongleurs*, to the bards, to the ancient skalds, as it applies to the Vyásas, to the Válmíkis, to the Firdusis. The idea is

good in so far as it defines as personal the composition of every great poem put together, as is supposed, from collective songs ; but it is erroneous in so far as it supposes the composer to be a simple collector and paster, not a poet. In proportion as the epic songs unite to form a wide, well-defined and stable organism, strictly popular and collective work is lost sight of, while the work of the individual is accentuated and brought to light. But the use of the elements already elaborated collectively will vary essentially according to whether the individual belongs or not to the class of popular singers, has or has not the same degree or kind of culture and poetical practice as they have, is or is not acquainted with history and with the work of science. The *Kalevala*, as a poem, is a personal work of Lönnrot's. But his great knowledge of the songs and methods of the *laulajat* and his familiarity with them allow him to put himself on a par with the popular singers ; so that his special individuality in this work being eliminated, the poem may be looked on as put together by a *laulaja*,¹ who combines the songs as so many others do, but who combines them better, more extensively and more completely. This *laulaja*, however, is not a poet, he simply repeats and puts together the songs, adding to them nothing of his own. And this in fact was Lönnrot's aim, for he compares his own work to that of the diaskevast or of the diaskevasts of the Homeric songs. Yet there is an enormous distance, and that not only of time, between him and those who put together the Homeric poems. The ancient composer orders the epic material and production as a poet, not as a scholar : he has no law

¹ Up to this point the definition given by Radloff of Lönnrot's work is correct, *Proben d. Volkslitter. d. türk. Stamme Süd-Sibiriens*, v., p. xxii. ; as is also true that, as he says on p. xxiv., "das Abfassen eines Epos nur ein Mann unternehmen kann der selbst ein Volksdichter, ein epischer Sänger seiner Zeit ist". But Radloff forgets that Lönnrot is also, and above all, a scholar.

of scientific conscientiousness to reduce his work to that of a collector of the present day, to forbid him to redo what has been already done, to work up, to add, to compose, to create. He still belongs to the period of epic creation, he lives in a time in which poetical production has advanced towards maturity, in which the unconscious and anonymous poetising of the people has already developed into a work of art and become individual. Lönnrot, on the contrary, is above all a modern scholar, conscientious and careful of details, who collects songs and variants by the hundred, makes them his own, combines them, and composes a poem. To this he will not give his name; nay, he is anxious it should be thought altogether of the people, asserting that he has put into it nothing of his own, not even that which is most evidently his: the work of composition in which he believes himself to have been constantly guided by the popular singers themselves. He thinks that he has done neither more nor less than a popular singer would do, and forgets that beyond the mass of songs there is in his mind far more than there is in the mind of a popular singer: among other things the idea of a great epic composition, the example of which was known to him, but of which none of those singers had or could have the faintest conception. It is easy to make an abstract formula from facts seen at a distance, and to say: the poem was already latent in the popular songs, although the people was not conscious of it.¹ When one comes close to the fact and considers it as we have considered it, one finds that the poem is neither latent nor manifest in the people's songs; nay, that it cannot be in them from the very nature of the poetry and its stage of development.

¹Steinthal, *Das Epos* (*Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie*, v.), p. 38: "Das also ist das Wunder: Niemand wusste von der Einheit, und doch war sie da; sie lebte in den Liedern die man sang, ohne dass irgend wer das Bewusstsein von ihr hatte". Unhappily *das Wunder* cannot have in scientific thought the same credit it enjoys *in alten Macren*.

And here come in the observations we have made above. Matter for a poem there may be, but the poem must be put together by the individual; the material exists, as it exists, and much better defined, in the Sigurd songs in the *Edda*, where there is no poem. The rhapsodic work of the *laulajat* does not contain, as we have seen, any germ of an epic composition. Far from being able to reach this last stage which presupposes and requires a continual improvement in art and a continually increasing creative power, this rhapsodic work gives evidence of the period of confusion that accompanies the enfeebling of a life about to set, that is the precursor of the dying out of these songs amid the changes that have taken place in the national life.

It is true that Lönnrot has composed the poem without using anything beyond the songs of the people. But we have described his method. It is such as would bring doubt to the minds of those who see, in ancient national epics, a mechanical pasting together of independent songs. Lönnrot is much more than a simple stringer of songs. To make the poem he has been obliged to break up many of them and to distribute their various parts here and there according to his conception of the poem; he has had to keep before him all the variants of the songs from every place, or at least as many of them as he could procure; and from among all these to determine, himself, the fundamental text of each song, not taking into account the greater excellence, genuineness, antiquity of each variant, but basing his selection on what, in the songs, might prove most useful to him in the weaving of the poem he wished to make. And this was not enough. With the epic songs alone he would never have put together the poem. The unity of form which marks every kind of traditional poetry among the Finns, on which we have dwelt, not without reason, from the very beginning of this work, has allowed him not only

to fasten together the epic songs into a poem, but also to represent in it and to gather up into it all the traditional poetry of the Finnic people. If the magic, lyric, epic-lyric songs had been in form and character very different from the epic songs, he would certainly not have been able to compose the poem. The fact that he was able to introduce songs of every kind and to represent all his traditional poetry in one single poem, shows that there is a great poetical unity or uniformity in all that mass of songs, but it also shows that a defined and definable poem does not there exist. So much so that, proceeding as Lönnrot has done, we could combine the variants in as many ways as we liked, all different from his.

If we observe carefully the path Lönnrot has been obliged to follow in order to put together his poem out of the short songs, we shall feel how absurd it is to think that a Greek of the times of Peisistratos or of more ancient times, that a *jongleur* or even one of those monks of the Middle Ages who loved to collect and write down popular songs, should have conceived, undertaken, effected a similar work. Such a proceeding is not conceivable even for an Indian of those long periods, also times of learning, speculation and even of grammar, in which the enormous Mahâbhârata was formed by continual accretions. The *diaskeve*, whose ideal author is Vyâsa, is a very different thing from the work of Lönnrot.

A study of the *Kalevala* and of its composition, which we now well understand, also shows what can be expected from those principles and criteria in accordance with which it was thought possible to recognise and distinguish, in the ancient poems, the various songs of which they were supposed to be built, and even to re-establish the texts of these songs. It would certainly seem very much easier to do this here than in the ancient poems to which the theory was applied; for the absence of strict unity, the weakness of the bonds, is here very much

clearer. And yet how far from the truth would he wander who should think to recognise and re-establish by this inductive method the songs which build up the poem. And he would become aware of this if he compared his results with the facts we have now before us. Nevertheless, Lönnrot, while using his rights as a popular singer and putting himself on a par with the *laulaja* in his work, has still adopted the methods of a modern scholar, making it a rule to invent and to add nothing of his own: a rule which no ancient poem-maker and no *laulaja* would have thought it his duty to lay on himself. Hence that lack of continuity, of consistency in the action of the poem, which in spite of the efforts of Lönnrot, hampered by his conscientiousness, plainly shows that it was built of scattered elements.

Is there any unity in the *Kalevala*? The discussion of these epics invariably leads to the question¹; and it is generally answered differently according to the opinion held on the origin of the poems. Following out our new theories, we have come to ask whether there is unity in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and even to receive from some scholars a negative answer: a question and a reply which would have mightily astonished Æschylus, Aristotle, the Alexandrine critics and all the ancients, who were not as illuminated as we are. And even those who admit the unity go on to define it in one way or another in accordance with the variety of theory they put forth regarding the origin of the poem. The same thing occurs in the case of the *Kalevala*: among Finnic scholars themselves some say yes, some no. It is true that no one has gone so far as an absolute negative, as no one has ventured on an absolute affirmative; but various definitions have been put forward, some of which have been equal to a negative, others to an affirmative.¹ Outside Finland, too,

¹ *Vid.* the various opinions in Krohn's work, *Suom. kirjall. hist.*, p. 4 *et seq.*

we find discrepancies of opinion from V. Tettau, who denies the unity, to Steinthal, who asserts that it exists, though unconsciously, in the people's songs, and that it was recognised by Lönnrot and expressed in his poem, which is therefore popular. And this poem is cited by Steinthal as an example of that last and highest stage of collective and popular epic production in which from the minor songs there issues a great organic cycle of epic song. As such he places the *Kalevala* alongside the two Homeric poems, alongside the *Nibelungen* and the *Chanson de Roland*.¹ We should observe that the poems which have given most trouble with regard to the question of origins, that is of connection with smaller songs, and which will continue to give trouble, are exactly the poems of the type represented by these four: those, in fact, which have been most discussed. And in truth it is so difficult to conceive how collective work and the independent production of small songs can have given rise to organic unities of this kind, that many learned minds, impressed, each according to its peculiar disposition, by one or the other of these diverse, irreconcilable facts, adopted the alternative either of denying the organic unity or of denying the collectivity of the production. It may not be surprising that Steinthal, who, it is true, has read the *Kalevala* and gives an abstract of it, should, as he does not know the true story of its composition, not only consider it as an organic poem, but even place it as such by the side of the four we have mentioned; but it does appear strange that Krohn, in the same book in which he

¹ "Die dritte Form finden wir da, wo der Gesamtgeist einen grossen organischen Kreis epischen Gesanges bildet. Solche Kreise liegen vor im *Kalevala* der Finnen, im Homer, in den *Nibelungen*, dem Französischen Rolandsliede. Hier finden wir ein organisches Verhältniss der Theile, also Glieder, die innerlich zusammenhängen, hier ist Entwicklung, ein nothwendiges Fortschreiten and Ausbreiten vom Beginne bis zum Schlusse." *Das Epos*, p. 12.

reveals its composition, should devote a long chapter to its unity. While Steinthal, however, was led astray by false appearances and by abstract ideas, which are out of touch with facts, and which Krohn himself had therefore to correct,¹ Krohn was obliged, in order to show that unity existed in a composition such as he has described, to put forward definitions of the epos and of epic unity based on Vischer's *Æsthetics*.

Leaving on one side transcendental formulas and philosophic jargon, looking at facts and defining them in plain, unequivocal language, we are obliged to say that the *Kalevala* possesses only that amount of unity which is necessary to the existence of a poem: the continuity, that is, which consists in binding the facts together more or less firmly by some tie apt to connect them at least externally. The elements of this kind of unity, of continuity between song and song, are, it is true, to be found already in the popular songs, which are variously combined by the people themselves: thus far, and no farther, does the rhapsodic work of the popular singers lead us. A studious Finnic youth has observed, in speaking of unity in the *Kalevala*, that no runes had been found or can be found which might not be introduced into it.² This is strictly true; and we also have made a similar observation. Who could say the same of the *Iliad*? This means that there is no organic unity in the *Kalevala*; for we cannot add what we wish to an organic body, not even a thing of its own nature, without disturbing the organism and interrupting the harmony of its parts. And of that organic unity of the poem which Aristotle so justly compared with the unity of the drama, the *Kalevala* has but a superficial appearance in so far as the action seems to converge towards a final culminating and solvent fact

¹ *Die Entstehung der einheitlichen Epen in allgemeinen*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychol.*, xviii. (1888), p. 59 *et seq.*

² N. a. Ursin, *Den homeriska frågan* (Helsingf., 1878), p. 59.

In the songs of the people we find neither the elements nor the appearance of this kind of unity. It is entirely due to the composer, who has sought to fashion the poem after the model of others which were known to him. A *laulaja* wishing to unite the songs into a large composition would not have thought of this. Neither does the song of the Sampo, the culminating point of the poem, hold in the eyes of the *laulajat* the important place in the mass of runes that it would seem to have in the poem.

The want of such unity is at once felt if we ask ourselves, what is the subject of the *Kalevala*? If we put such a question with regard to the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Nibelungen*, the *Chanson de Roland*, we have an immediate, positive, single answer ready. For the *Kalevala* the answer is not so easy; and it is given differently by various authors, who have even confused the question of the immediate subject with that of the remote meaning. This poem that begins with the creation of the world like an ancient cyclic poem, what does it sing? The wondrous deeds of Väinämöinen? The deeds of the wooers of the maiden of Pohjola? Ilmarinen's wedding? The rape of the Sampo? We must reply that it does not sing one of these more than another, but all of them and others besides. The central fact towards which, as Krohn and others think, all the action of the poem gravitates, and towards which we should say that it appears to gravitate, is the origin of the Sampo and its becoming the property of the Finnic people. And, as we have seen, Lönnrot has made the song of the Sampo the connecting thread of the poem, which, as he himself says,¹ would fall without it into a number of independent cycles. As Castrén remarks with truth,² however, even as they now stand these cycles (if

¹ *Anmärkingar til den nya Kalevala uplagan; Helsingf. Litteraturblad*, 1849, n. 1, p. 15 et seq.

² *Tillfälliga uppsatser*, p. 71.

indeed the name is applicable to all the groups) have very little connection with each other.

And this connecting thread really connects very little. The Sampo is not spoken of before rune vii., where Väinämöinen is asked to make it, and then in rune x., where Ilmarinen makes it. After that it is not mentioned again till rune xxxvii. Nothing is said or known of its importance, not even by Ilmarinen who has made it. He only wakes up to the advantages to be derived from it in rune xxxvii., during his third journey to Pohjola; when he speaks of it to Väinämöinen. Hence we have the expedition to get possession of the Sampo which had been made by Ilmarinen himself; to whom it never occurs that he might make one for Kalevala as he had made one for Pohjola. In all this we feel a puerile inconsistency, which already exists in the song of the Sampo roughly put together by the singers of the government of Archangel, and which increases and becomes more apparent in the poem, in a *milieu* for which the song was certainly not made.

The only intimate bond of union to be found between the Sampo runes and those of the Wooing of the Bride (the theme treated in thirty-two cantos, that is the greater part of the poem) is the promise of the Maid of Pohjola to the maker of the Sampo. But this connection is only seen momentarily in the poem, in the two runes which tell of the request for the Sampo and its making; and even there it is little more than touched on. Afterwards it is entirely forgotten; only in rune xviii. the Virgin of Pohjola, who had refused in spite of her mother's promise to go with Ilmarinen when he had made the Sampo, then prefers Ilmarinen to Väinämöinen because he is young, handsome and *the maker of the Sampo*. Inconsistent is the action of the Maid of Pohjola and her mother; inconsistent that of Ilmarinen in first resigning himself to the girl's refusal when he had the right of carrying her off, and in then being at such pains to win her without

ever pleading his original right : that of having made the Sampo. Inconsistent is the action of Väinämöinen, who is twice seized by the caprice of having her, whilst at first he knows and confesses that she should belong to him who shall make the Sampo. There is further no intimate bond between the parts of the heroic action occasioned by these *Woings of the Bride*. No plot, fertile in epic effects, binds together Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, Lemminkäinen : each hero acts on his own account ; there is no conflict among them for the woman. Hence many motives that present themselves as full of promise for heroic action are left abandoned and sterile. It is here abundantly clear that the songs put together by Lönnrot with some external appearance of continuity, were never made to go together, were not formed after one idea, one fact that could join them into an epic organism.

The Rape of the Sampo, which figures as the catastrophe of the poem, and even seems to give it a national meaning, is bound altogether mechanically, not intimately nor organically, to the thirty-two runes that precede it : to the theme, that is, of the *Woing of the Bride*. Krohn has said that with the death of Ilmarinen's wife violent hostilities, ending in the rape of the Sampo and the triumph of the Finns, break out between the two countries. This is simply expressing in words what one might imagine with the intent of finding a rational characteristic whole in the elements of the poem, is working up the elements and putting them together again on one's own authority ; but it is not what really exists in the poem as we have it, as Lönnrot has been able to build it up with the songs of the people. Of any connection between the murder of Ilmarinen's wife and the hostilities with Pohjola, the popular songs know absolutely nothing. In the poem, the murder would naturally lead us to expect a struggle between Ilmarinen and the murderer ; but instead of this Ilmarinen takes

the thing in holy peace and casts about as to how he can get himself another wife. The fact is that in the popular songs the woman killed by Kullervo is not Ilmarinen's wife. Here as elsewhere Lönnrot has attained a material continuity by putting in a name; but he has not been able to attain to an organic unity, because this does not exist in the songs of the people. As a motive for the expedition for the Sampo is adduced simply, in the poem and in the popular songs, the news given by Ilmarinen to Väinämöinen of the benefits conferred by the Sampo on Pohjola. From that time onwards there is no mention whatever of the two women whom Ilmarinen had had; neither is there any hint at the expedition's being determined by anger or hostility; on the contrary, the three heroes ingloriously propose that the Lady of Pohjola should divide the Sampo with them. She refuses because the Sampo is too precious; and, besides, it is indivisible. Therefore they carry it off. The want of consistency is so great that the Lady of Pohjola herself, when Ilmarinen unblushingly goes and asks her for the Sampo, quite forgets her two daughters, the second of whom this hero had but recently carried off. She does not ask about them, does not reprove him; in fact makes no mention of them whatever.

The six runes that open the poem, preceding Väinämöinen's arrival in Pohjola, with which the action of the *Kalevala* may be said to begin, are out of proportion with what follows, ill-connected with it and with each other. They tell the origins of the world and of Väinämöinen, but not of men. We find the earth already populated in those primordial times; and we know not whence the Lapps and other people who lived in it have come. The Väinämöinen of divine birth who takes part in the creation is not the same Väinämöinen as appears afterwards in the poem as son of a mortal woman and brother of Ilmarinen, also the son of a mortal. This last

Väinämöinen is of smaller proportions, though he is still great. The strife with the Lapp, Joukahainen, strikes the note of an action which is then broken off. It results in the arrival of Väinämöinen in Pohjola; but Väinämöinen never thinks of punishing the Lapp; Joukahainen is not mentioned again in the poem. The Pohjola incidents follow, but without reference to what has come before, and Joukahainen, although a Lapp, does not appear in Pohjola.

We might go on to speak of the Lemminkäinen and Kullervo runes, to which similar observations would apply both with regard to the runes in themselves and in their connection with the poem. The defects we have pointed out in this rapid review of the general structure of the poem¹ are very different from those little inconsistencies, contradictions or other blemishes observable in so many poems which, in spite of all, present a clear unity of plan, of conception, of organism. We are dealing with something far more important than the ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη οὐράνοθεν of the *Iliad* when the gods were absent in Ethiopia. It is vain to look for organic unity in the *Kalevala*. One finds there a plan of composition, an ordering of epic material; but all this is superficial; it has no roots in the material itself; it is due entirely to the collector. The material thus ordered is too clearly rebellious to the collector's efforts at consistency; the plan is too evidently in his mind, not in the subject he is dealing with; of an organism there is too unmistakably the appearance only as in an automaton. Hence the indeterminateness of the very subject of the poem, which can hardly be defined in a single formula; hence the want of what we may call plasma, vital sap in these epic organisms, of a moral or senti-

¹V. Tettau speaks more diffusely of the want of unity in his *Die epischen Dichtungen d. finnischen Völker besonders d. Kalevala*, Erfurt, 1873, p. 184. He makes many just observations; but he could not then judge the composition of the poem as we can now.

mental motive animating and governing the whole action. Although Finnic in its elements, popular and traditional, the work as it is put together, is the direct offspring of a cultured mind of the nineteenth century. Never would Arhippa, nor Ontrei, nor Sissonen, nor any other *laulaja* or *tietäjä* among the Finns, however inspired and gifted, have conceived the idea of a similar composition. Their poetry was never ripe enough, never rich enough in epic production for a *laulaja* to think of a great poem. If it had been, we cannot tell what kind of poem or of poems it would have produced; but very certainly it would not have given birth to the *Kalevala* nor to anything of the nature of the *Kalevala*.

To conclude. The *Kalevala* is not, as it would seem to be, an actual example of the passage from minor songs to the large poem; it is not, as has been supposed, illustrative of a similar passage in the Homeric poems and in the *Nibelungen*; it is not an example of a poem that has really been formed out of the songs of the people. Although Lönnrot has done much more than mechanically paste together songs already rigidly formed, as would be those into which Lachmann resolved the *Iliad* and the *Nibelungen*; although he has himself formed the text of the songs by choosing among the numerous variants those best adapted to the composition of the poem; yet the *Kalevala* is not a poem which can be compared, as far as unity goes, to the *Iliad* and other ancient epics. In spite of its poetical unity, it bears, as none of the others do, evident characteristics of having been built up of matter collected from many sources.

It has been said that although popular poetry did not reach this stage of development in Finland, it may have done so among other nations; that, for instance, the French *cantilènes* prior to the *Chansons de geste* must have been far nearer the greater epos than are the songs of the Finns. This is but clothing hypothetical

phantasms with a body that belongs to them as little as it does to these very *cantilènes*¹ understood in that way. We know, henceforth, what purely popular poetry is; what it gives, what it can give. A long poem, created by the people, does not exist,² cannot exist; epic popular songs, such as could be put together into a true poem, have never been seen and are not likely to be seen among any people. Every long poem without exception, anonymous or not, is the work of an individual, is a work of art. The art may be lofty, noble and perfect like that of the Homeric poems, it may be pedestrian and lowly like that of the poems of the Middle Ages, but art it is always. It will not be theoretical, doctrinal, of the schools, personal like that of Vergil and of Tasso; it will be, on the contrary, empiric or experimental, formed through long unconscious development, natural and collective; but this does not mean that it will be the product of rustic, unfettered nature. The work of the Greek *aoidos*, like that of the *jongleur*, is produced according to easily recognisable forms, principles, canons which have been insensibly established by usage.³ In this school, very different from that whence Vergil issues, individual work will be done. It will be done with the language, with the skill, with the artistic means furnished by the school; but not for this will it be less individual. Individual does it reveal itself in the large poem, informed by the broad, synthetic conception that

¹ Rajna, *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 149 *et seq.*, passes excellent judgment on these.

² Among popular Serb songs of the Petranovič collection (Belgrade, 1867) there is a long one of 1607 lines, evidently put together from various songs relating to the Battle of Kosovo. Criticism has easily proved that this composition is neither ancient nor popular, but is the work, quite modern and personal, of a semi-literary poet and improviser, a certain Jlija Divanovič. *Vid. Jagič* in the *Rad.*, ii., p. 211 *et seq.*; Novakovič in the *Archiv f. slavische Philologie*, iii. (1878), p. 445 *et seq.*

³ Cf. Tobler, *Ueber das volksthümliche Epos der Franzosen*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsycholog.*, iv. (1886), p. 151 *et seq.*

distinguishes it as the offspring of one mind, not of a collection of minds. We should not be led astray by the fact that the poem is anonymous. The names of the authors of works current among the people are sought out by scholars for whom they may have value and meaning. But the masses care nothing for them; they see the work, and it suffices; the man is in that. What he is called is of small import; his name is either unknown or is forgotten as a sound of little meaning; or else, if recorded, is clothed by popular tradition with legend, that it may take solid form before the mind.

When, as has actually been done, these poems are cut up into small songs, the latter are found to have well-marked artistic features of form, style, composition, conception, such as are not evident in any popular epic song, whether Finnic, Russian, Servian, or of any other country. There is no difference of minor or of major art between them and the poem: they are of the same major art which has produced the poem. When, by natural development, art has reached the point at which it treats broadly and loftily what is small in size, it cannot, in the nature of things, stop. The man who can conceive a smaller song in such form and style as to adapt it to a place in a large poem, can also conceive that poem; he who should know how to make arms, hands, fingers, would know how to make, and would make, whole human bodies. The idea of a passage from small songs to the poem by way of a mechanical pasting together, is wholly arbitrary, is contrary to the most evident laws which govern the development of practical production; for the more entirely this follows natural paths, the more completely must it move in accordance with the old adage: *Natura non facit saltus*. Since the large poem is the highest, the synthetic product of poetry, it can naturally only be the outcome of an ulterior phase of art; and this has developed itself organically from a preceding phase,

with new forms and style proportioned to the nature of the new work, forms and style being also developed from foregoing elements. This last is really the conclusive, historical, monumental phase, which supplants those that preceded it and renders them prehistoric. In it the work of the producer is personal; it is not independent of preceding works, to which it is in close relationship; but it is poetical and creative in its synthesis, not mechanical and inert. The man who conceives the great composition is a poet. He freely recomposes and moulds the already existing epic song without a thought which should prevent the insertion of anything of his own, which should oblige him to limit himself to a work of mosaic.

The so-called Small Song Theory is not, it is true, in such high repute to-day as it was at one time, when it laid claim to being a dogma, and was such in some schools. Even now followers of it are not wanting, who blindly believe in it as an indisputable scientific fact; and the effects of this are still seen in many books of philology. But the revolt raised some time ago by the most talented, the most independent, the least short-sighted scholars, has been steadily spreading. A more reasonable, a more practically intelligible idea is gaining ground: that amid the minor epic songs one must have arisen longer and more complex than the rest; and that this, thanks to the work of various poets who successively contributed to it, swelled in course of time into a greater poem, of which it thus came to be the nucleus. This is Lönnrot's idea of the *Kalevala*. He thought that this poem, which he found living in the songs of the people and recomposed, would have come to its present state by the road, just mentioned, of successive growth, wandering orally along the path of popular tradition, and setting out from the primitive state of a much smaller poem or song composed by a poet contemporary with the events.¹ Of what

¹ *Vid. sup.*, p. 9.

events this poet could have been contemporary remains to be seen. Of the Rape of the Sampo, perhaps? Of Ilmarinen's wedding? Of the supposed ancient struggles between the Finns and the Lapps? It may be that Lönnrot thought of the latter. He who has followed us in our researches will readily concede that in the *Kalevala* we can distinguish no *nucleus*, no record of any real *event*. In adopting this idea, Lönnrot simply applied to the *Kalevala*, at haphazard, the theory which aims at thus explaining the origin of the great poems. Neither are examples rare of a similar fantastic application of this on a like generic principle. Some people have got it into their heads that the Spanish romances are remains of ancient, large poems. When, therefore, Lönnrot said that the composer or collector of the Homeric poems had before him a task almost identical with that which he himself undertook and performed, he fell into an anachronism similar to that into which so many others have fallen on like questions; though the anachronism was more excusable in him than it is in some others.

Lönnrot, however, does not understand the theory in the same way that its originators do. He uses it in composition; they, in decomposition. Applied to the poems which have come to us through written tradition, it is really understood only as a variety of the Theory of Little Songs. The criteria are much the same; except that, instead of looking in the poem for the independent songs from which a so-called *diaskevast* pieced the whole together, the primitive nucleus is looked for, and after this each of the parts that were successively added; the chronology of these parts being sought in accordance with special criteria. The best example of an analytic work conducted on this principle is Kirchhoff's ingenious book on the *Odyssey*. Not only does the principle appear more sound and more probable in the second form than in the first, but manuscript tradition

furnishes many facts which would seem to justify and support the second, whereas support of the first is wanting. The tradition, not, it is true, of the Homeric poems but of the Romance and Germanic poems of the Middle Ages, and also of those of India, shows that the fact deduced from this principle really took place. We do not see in them how a little song became a great poem, but we do see how a poem enlarges and grows as time goes on, how in its popular life it is subject to recompositions, *rifacimenti*, and other similar vicissitudes. It is hence perfectly justifiable to seek the original form and text of a poem through a comparison of its various and discrepant redactions. But it must be remembered that the manuscript tradition represents the life of the *written* poem; and although it thus reflects also the vicissitudes of its oral existence, it represents the latter only as it exists at certain times, not in the whole of its free movement. The variation which threatens a poem created by a singer without the use of writing, communicated orally and propagating itself orally through several centuries, is very different from that undergone by a poem put into writing and propagating itself orally and in the written form at the same time. In the last case those who sing or recite it have always behind them the guide, the check, the *ὑποβολή* of a written text. Lönnrot had a perfectly just idea of what a poem must go through when committed to tradition entirely oral, as is that of the Finns; though he was mistaken in applying this idea to the *Kalevala*. Such a poem would insensibly increase as time went on. It would split up into numerous songs and these again into many variants; and he who should wish to recompose the poem from them would not only find the latter much increased, but would also find the primitive nucleus (if it were not perhaps for the subject) to be quite indistinguishable from the rest. The Greek

aidos is without any doubt superior to the Finnic *laulaja*. As *αὐτοδίδακτος* or creator he feels himself a personage, distinct from the crowd that repeats songs not its own; and this individualism of poetic work felt by the poet and recognised by others must bring with it a greater conservativeness in the poetry, which is the work of professionals although it exists orally. Every ancient *aidos* is a rhapsodist; not because he *sews songs together* (which is the sense wrongly given to the word now, though it was never so used by the ancients), but because he is a composer and reciter of epic songs (*ῥαπτὰ ἔπη*).¹ He recites his own, and can also recite those of others; for without the knowledge of these he would be ignorant of the art from which his own songs must spring. Such is the conception of the *aidos* at which we naturally arrive. It makes us disinclined to think that he could ever bring himself to the composition of songs which should be simply added to a greater song already produced by others; and that he should have done this so rigidly and with such respect for the work of the other that the modern scholar can find out the joints with ease, can distinguish the nucleus and each of the posterior additions. It is easier to conceive this in written than in oral tradition. The difficulty increases when the poems are clearly seen to be composed, in each of their parts, according to a determined plan, evident in the definitive poem, but not in the supposed nucleus. Poems of this kind display such organic unity, harmony, proportion of parts co-ordinated among themselves and converging towards a final catastrophe, as presuppose an agreement, a homogeneity of poetic work with a common conception, even the limitation of the work in accordance with the conception; and it is difficult to

¹ So called on account of the continuous uniformity of their composition in opposition to the lyrics.

think that this could have existed between different poets living at different times. It appears natural that additions should have been made; but it also appears natural that these should have been numerous and manifold according to the independent judgment and the various ways of feeling of the poets of various times and places, who freely continued or developed a minor poem which had become traditional. It is easy to understand how, in this way, a more ancient Mahâbhârata of 8000 slokas should have become the unruly agglomeration of 107,000 slokas, which is the form under which the Mahâbhârata has come down to us. But that this mode of growth should give us poems so well rounded, without any lengthiness of the parts, so well defined in subject, so well proportioned in structure as are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, this is almost as difficult to conceive as it would be in the case of a tragic trilogy or of a tragedy. The mass of poetry which in process of time and in various countries must have gathered round the supposed nucleus, must necessarily have been very considerable and very diverse. Of this there is no doubt. The man who drew from this mass the poems we possess, and not a second Mahâbhârata, performed in any case a work of such genius that to be just we should call him not simply their redactor, but rather their author, their poet.

We might say much more on what particularly concerns the Homeric poems, around which this question of the origin of great national epics continually revolves; but we shall reserve the exposition of our ideas on this head, for the more fitting occasion of a work specially devoted to the subject. Let it suffice that we have here shown, from the observations to which the *Kalevala* has led us, how devoid of foundation is the theory, under whatever form it presents itself, which sees in the ancient poems we have mentioned nothing but songs mechanically joined together; and hence authorises the decomposition

of these poems into the elements from which they are supposed to be built up. Any attempt at decomposing organic poems that do not present a variety of written redactions, sets out from a principle that is arbitrary, is carried through with insufficient criteria, is and will ever be barren, fruitless toil.

A Classified Catalogue

OF WORKS IN

GENERAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

1 AND 93 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, AND 32 HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
BADMINTON LIBRARY (THE) - -	10	MANUALS OF CATHOLIC PHIL-	
BIOGRAPHY, PERSONAL ME-		OSOPHY - - - - -	16
MOIRS, &c. - - - - -	7	MENTAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL	
CHILDREN'S BOOKS - - - - -	26	PHILOSOPHY - - - - -	14
CLASSICAL LITERATURE TRANS-		MISCELLANEOUS AND CRITICAL	
LATIONS, ETC. - - - - -	18	WORKS - - - - -	29
COOKERY, DOMESTIC MANAGE-		MISCELLANEOUS THEOLOGICAL	
MENT, &c. - - - - -	28	WORKS - - - - -	31
EVOLUTION, ANTHROPOLOGY,		POETRY AND THE DRAMA - -	18
&c. - - - - -	17	POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ECO-	
FICTION, HUMOUR, &c. - - -	21	NOMICS - - - - -	16
FUR, FEATHER AND FIN SERIES	12	POPULAR SCIENCE - - - -	24
HISTORY, POLITICS, POLITY,		SILVER LIBRARY (THE) - -	27
POLITICAL MEMOIRS, &c. - -	3	SPORT AND PASTIME - - -	10
LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND		TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE, THE	
SCIENCE OF - - - - -	16	COLONIES, &c. - - - - -	8
LONGMANS' SERIES OF BOOKS		VETERINARY MEDICINE, &c.	10
FOR GIRLS - - - - -	26	WORKS OF REFERENCE - - -	25

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND EDITORS.

	Page		Page		Page
Abbott (Evelyn) - - - - -	3, 18	Baker (Sir S. W.) - - - - -	8, 10	Brögger (W. C.) - - - - -	8
— (T. K.) - - - - -	14	Baldwin (C. S.) - - - - -	14	Brookings (W.) - - - - -	29
— (E. A.) - - - - -	14	Balfour (A. J.) - - - - -	11, 31	Browning (H. Ellen) - - -	9
Acland (A. H. D.) - - - - -	3	Ball (John) - - - - -	9	Buck (H. A.) - - - - -	11
Acton (Eliza) - - - - -	28	— (J. T.) - - - - -	3	Buckle (H. T.) - - - - -	3
Adeane (J. H.) - - - - -	7	Baring-Gould (Rev. S.) - -	27, 29	Buckton (C. M.) - - - - -	28
Æschylus - - - - -	18	Barnett (Rev. S. A. & Mrs.) - - - - -	16	Bull (T.) - - - - -	28
Ainger (A. C.) - - - - -	11	Baynes (T. S.) - - - - -	29	Burke (U. R.) - - - - -	3
Albemarle (Earl of) - - -	11	Beaconsfield (Earl of)	21	Burrows (Montagu) - - -	4
Allen (Grant) - - - - -	24	Beaufort (Duke of) - - -	10, 11	Butler (E. A.) - - - - -	24
Allingham (W.) - - - - -	18, 29	Becker (Prof.) - - - - -	18	— (Samuel) - - - - -	29
— (F.) - - - - -	21	Beesly (A. H.) - - - - -	19	Cameron of Lochiel - - -	12
André (R.) - - - - -	12	Bell (Mrs. Hugh) - - - -	19	Camperdown (Earl of) - -	7
Anstey (F.) - - - - -	21	— (Mrs. Arthur) - - - -	7	Cannan (E.) - - - - -	17
Archer (W.) - - - - -	8	Bent (J. Theodore) - - -	8	— (F. Laura) - - - - -	13
Aristophanes - - - - -	18	Besant (Sir Walter) - - -	3	Chesney (Sir G.) - - - -	3
Aristotle - - - - -	14, 18	Bickerdyke (J.) - - - - -	11	Chisholm (G. G.) - - - -	25
Armstrong (G. F.) - - - -	19	Bicknell (A. C.) - - - - -	8	Cholmondeley-Pennell - -	11
— (Savage) - - - - -	19	Bird (R.) - - - - -	31	Churchill (W. Spencer) - -	9
— (E. J. Savage) 7, 19, 29		Blackwell (Elizabeth) - -	7	Cicero - - - - -	18
Arnold (Sir Edwin) - - -	8, 19	Bland (Mrs. Hubert) - - -	20	Clarke (Rev. R. F.) - - -	16
— (Dr. T.) - - - - -	3	Boase (Rev. C. W.) - - -	4	Clodd (Edward) - - - - -	17
Ashley (W. J.) - - - - -	16	Boedder (Rev. B.) - - - -	16	Clutterbuck (W. J.) - - -	9
Atelier du Lys (Author of) -	26	Bosanquet (B.) - - - - -	14	Cochrane (A.) - - - - -	19
Ayre (Rev. J.) - - - - -	25	Boyd (Rev. A. K. H.) 29, 31		Coleridge (S. T.) - - - - -	20
Bacon - - - - -	7, 14	Brassey (Lady) - - - - -	9	Comyn (L. N.) - - - - -	26
Baden-Powell (B. H.) - -	3	— (Lord) - - - - -	3, 8, 11, 16	Conington (John) - - - -	18
Bagehot (W.) - - - - -	7, 16, 29	Bray (C. and Mrs.) - - -	14	Conybeare (Rev. W. J.) - -	27
Bagwell (R.) - - - - -	3	Bright (Rev. J. F.) - - -	3	& Howson (Dean) - - - -	27
Bain (Alexander) - - - -	14	Broadfoot (Major W.) 10		Coolidge (W. A. B.) - - -	9
				Corbett (Julian S.) - - -	3
				Corder (Annie) - - - - -	19
				Coventry (A.) - - - - -	11
				Cox (Harding) - - - - -	10
				Crake (Rev. A. D.) - - - -	26
				Creighton (Bishop) - - -	3, 4
				Crozier (J. B.) - - - - -	14
				Cunningham (G. C.) - - -	3
				Curzon (Hon. G. N.) - - -	3
				Cutts (Rev. E. L.) - - - -	4
				Dallinger (F. W.) - - - - -	4
				Davidson (W. L.) 14, 16, 32	3
				Davies (J. F.) - - - - -	18
				Deland (Mrs.) - - - - -	21, 26
				Dent (C. T.) - - - - -	11
				Deploige - - - - -	17
				De Salis (Mrs.) - - - - -	28, 29
				De Tocqueville (A.) - - -	3
				Devas (C. S.) - - - - -	16
				Dickinson (G. L.) - - - -	4
				Diderot - - - - -	21
				Dougall (L.) - - - - -	21
				Douglas (Sir G.) - - - - -	19
				Dowell (S.) - - - - -	16, 30
				Doyle (A. Conan) - - - -	21
				Dreyfus (Irma) - - - - -	30
				Du Bois (W. E. B.) - - - -	4
				Dufferin (Marquis of) - -	11
				Dunbar (Mary F.) - - - -	20
				Eardley-Wilmot (Capt. S.) - - - - -	8

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND EDITORS—*continue*

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Ebrington (Viscount)	12	Jenery-Shee (R.)	17	Morgan (C. Lloyd)	17
Egbert (J. C.)	18	Jerome (Jerome K.)	22	Morris (W.)	20, 22, 31
Eggleston (E.)	4	Johnson (J. & J. H.)	30	— (Mowbray)	11
Ellis (J. H.)	12	Jones (H. Bence)	25	Mulhall (M. G.)	17
— (R. L.)	14	Jordan (W. L.)	16	Munk (W.)	7
Evans (Sir John)	30	Jowett (Dr. B.)	17	Nansen (F.)	9
Farrar (Dean)	16, 21	Joyce (P. W.)	5, 22, 30	Nesbit (E.)	20
Fitzwygram (Sir F.)	10	Justinian	14	Nettleship (R. L.)	14
Folkard (H. C.)	12	Kalisch (M. M.)	32	Newdigate - Newde-	8
Ford (H.)	12	Kant (I.)	14	gate (Lady)	8
Fowler (Edith H.)	21	Kaye (Sir J. W.)	5	Newman (Cardinal)	22
Foxcroft (H. C.)	7	Kerr (Rev. J.)	11	Ogle (W.)	18
Francis (Francis)	12	Killick (Rev. A. H.)	14	Oliphant (Mrs.)	22
Freeman (Edward A.)	4	Kitchin (Dr. G. W.)	4	Oliver (W. D.)	9
Froude (James A.)	4, 7, 9, 21	Knight (E. F.)	9, 11	Onslow (Earl of)	11
Furneaux (W.)	24	Köstlin (J.)	7	Orchard (T. N.)	31
Galton (W. F.)	17	Ladd (G. T.)	15	Osbourne (L.)	23
Gardiner (Samuel R.)	4	Lagg (Andrew)	5, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 30, 32	Parr (Louisa)	26
Gathorne-Hardy (Hon. A. E.)	12	Lascelles (Hon. G.)	10, 11, 12	Payne-Gallwey (Sir R.)	11, 13
Gerard (Dorothea)	26	Lauden (J. K.)	8	Peek (Hedley)	11
Gibbons (J. S.)	11, 12	Laurie (S. S.)	5	Pembroke (Earl of)	11
Gibson (Hon. H.)	13	Layard (Nina F.)	19	Phillipps-Wolley (C.)	10, 22
— (C. H.)	14	Leaf (Walter)	31	Pleydell-Bouverie (E. O.)	11
— (Hon. W.)	32	Leah (H. L. Sidney)	29	Pole (W.)	13
Gilkes (A. H.)	21	Lecky (W. E. H.)	5, 19	Pollock (W. H.)	11
Gill (H. J.)	22	Lees (J. A.)	9	Poole (W. H. and Mrs.)	29
Gleig (Rev. G. R.)	8	Lejeune (Baron)	7	Poore (G. V.)	3
Goethe	19	Leslie (T. E. Cliffe)	16	Potter (J.)	16
Graham (P. A.)	13, 21	Lester (L. V.)	7	Praeger (S. Rosamond)	26
— (G. F.)	16	Levetz-Yeats (S.)	22	Prevost (C.)	11
Granby (Marquis of)	12	Lewes (G. H.)	15	Pritchett (R. T.)	11
Grant (Sir A.)	14	Lillie (A.)	13	Proctor (R. A.)	13, 24, 28, 31
Graves (R. P.)	7	Lindley (J.)	25	Quill (A. W.)	18
Green (T. Hill)	14	Lodge (H. C.)	4	Quintana (A.)	22
Greville (C. C. F.)	4	Loftie (Rev. W. J.)	4	Raine (Rev. James)	4
Grey (Maria)	26	Longman (C. J.)	10, 13, 30	Ransome (Cyril)	3
Grose (T. H.)	14	— (F. W.)	13	Rawlinson (Rev. Canon)	8
Grove (F. C.)	11	— (G. H.)	11, 12	Rhoades (J.)	18
— (Mrs. Lilly)	11	Lubbock (Sir John)	17	Rhoscomyl (O.)	23
Gurdon (Lady Camilla)	21	Lucan	18	Ribblesdale (Lord)	13
Gurney (Rev. A.)	19	Lutoslawski (W.)	15	Rich (A.)	18
Gwilt (J.)	25	Lyall (Edna)	22	Richardson (C.)	12
Haggard (H. Rider)	21, 22	Lytelton (Hon. R. H.)	10	Richman (I. B.)	6
Hake (O.)	11	— (Hon. A.)	11	Richmond (Ennis)	31
Halliwell-Phillipps (J.)	8	Lytton (Earl of)	19	Rickaby (Rev. John)	16
Hamlin (A. D. F.)	30	MacArthur (Miss E. A.)	17	— (Rev. Joseph)	16
Hammond (Mrs. J. H.)	4	Macaulay (Lord)	5, 6, 20	Ridley (Annie E.)	7
Hampton (Lady Laura)	30	MacColl (Canon)	6	— (Sir E.)	18
Harding (S. B.)	4	Macdonald (G.)	9	Riley (J. W.)	20
Harte (Bret)	22	— (Dr. G.)	20, 32	Roget (Peter M.)	16, 25
Harting (J. E.)	12	Macfarren (Sir G. A.)	30	Rolfens (N.)	8
Hartwig (G.)	24	Mackail (J. W.)	18	Romanes (G. J.)	8, 15, 17, 20, 32
Hassall (A.)	6	Mackinnon (J.)	6	— (Mrs.)	8
Haweis (Rev. H. R.)	7, 30	Macleod (H. D.)	16	Ronalds (A.)	13
Heath (D. D.)	14	Macpherson (Rev. H. A.)	12	Roosevelt (T.)	4
Heathcote (J. M. and C. G.)	11	Madden (D. H.)	13	Rossetti (Maria Francesca)	31
Helmholtz (Hermann von)	24	Maher (Rev. M.)	16	— (W. M.)	20
Henderson (Lieut. Col. G. F.)	7	Malleson (Col. G. B.)	5	Rowe (R. P. P.)	11
Henry (W.)	11	Mandello (J.)	17	Russell (Bertrand)	17
Herbert (Col. Kenney)	12	Marbot (Baron de)	7	— (Alys)	17
Hewins (W. A. S.)	17	Marshman (J. C.)	7	— (Rev. M.)	20
Hill (Sylvia M.)	21	Martineau (Dr. James)	32	Saintsbury (G.)	12
Hillier (G. Lacy)	10	Maskelyne (J. N.)	13	Sanders (T. C.)	14
Hime (Lieut. Col. H. W. L.)	30	Mauder (S.)	25	Schreiner (S. C. Cronwright)	10
Hodgson (Shadworth H.)	14	Max Müller (F.)	7, 15, 16, 30, 32	Seebom (F.)	6, 8
Holroyd (Maria J.)	17	— (Mrs.)	9	Selous (F. C.)	10
Hope (Anthony)	22	May (Sir T. Erskine)	6	Selss (A. M.)	19
Horace	18	Meade (L. T.)	26	Sewell (Elizabeth M.)	23
Hornung (E. W.)	22	Melville (G. J. Whyte)	22	Shakespeare	20
Houston (D. F.)	4	Merivale (Dean)	6	Shand (A. I.)	12
Howell (G.)	16	Merrim (H. S.)	22	Sharpe (R. R.)	6
Howitt (W.)	9	Mill (James)	15	Shearman (M.)	10
Hudson (W. H.)	24	— (John Stuart)	15, 17	Shclair (A.)	11
Hueffer (F. M.)	7	Milner (G.)	30	Smith (R. Bosworth)	6
Hume (David)	14	Miss Molly (Author of)	26	— (T. C.)	4
Hunt (Rev. W.)	4	Moffat (D.)	13	Soderini (Count E.)	17
Hutchinson (Horace G.)	11	Molesworth (Mrs.)	26	Solovyoff (V. S.)	31
Ingelung (Jean)	19, 26	Monck (W. H. S.)	15	Sophocles	18
James (W.)	14	Montague (F. C.)	6	Soulsby (Lucy H.)	26
Jefferies (Richard)	30	Montagu (Hon. John Scott)	12	Spedding (J.)	7
		Moore (T.)	25	Sprigge (S. Squire)	11
		— (Rev. Edward)	14	Stanley (Bishop)	11
				Steel (A. G.)	11
				— (J. H.)	11
				Stephen (Leslie)	9
				Stephens (H. Morse)	20
				Stevens (R. W.)	14
				Stevenson (R. L.)	11
				Stock (St. George)	8
				'Stonehenge'	22
				Storr (F.)	11
				Stuart-Wortley (A. J.)	11
				Stubbs (J. W.)	11
				Sturdy (E. T.)	9
				Suffolk & Berkshire (Earl of)	11
				Sullivan (Sir E.)	23
				— (J. F.)	13
				Sully (James)	26
				Sutherland (A. and G.)	15
				— (Alex.)	15
				Suttner (B. von)	11
				Swinburne (A. J.)	11
				Symes (J. E.)	11
				Tacitus	11
				Taylor (Col. Meadows)	11
				— (Una)	11
				Tebbutt (C. G.)	3
				Thompson (N. G.)	11
				Thornhill (W. J.)	16
				Thornton (T. H.)	26
				Todd (A.)	11
				Toynbee (A.)	11
				Trevelyan (Sir G. O.)	11
				— (C. P.)	11
				Trollope (Anthony)	11
				Tupper (J. L.)	11
				Turner (H. G.)	11
				Tyndall (J.)	11
				Tyrrrell (K. Y.)	11
				Upton (F. K. and Bertha)	11
				Vaughan (Cardinal)	13
				Verney (Frances P. and Margaret M.)	11
				Virgil	11
				Vivekananda (Swami)	11
				Vivian (Herbert)	11
				Wakeman (H. O.)	11
				Walford (L. B.)	11
				Walker (Jane H.)	11
				Wallas (Graham)	11
				Walpole (Sir Spencer)	11
				Walrond (Col. H.)	11
				Walsingham (Lord)	11
				Walter (J.)	11
				Warwick (Countess of)	11
				Watson (A. E. T.)	11, 12
				Waylen (H. S. H.)	11
				Webb (Mr. and Mrs. Sidney)	11
				— (T. E.)	11
				Weber (A.)	11
				Weir (Capt. R.)	11
				Weyman (Stanley)	11
				Whately (Archbishop)	11
				— (E. Jane)	11
				Whishaw (F. J.)	11
				White (W. Hale)	11
				White'aw (R.)	11
				Wilcocks (J. C.)	11
				Wilkins (G.)	11
				Willich (C. M.)	11
				Wills (Freeman)	11
				Witham (T. M.)	11
				Wood (Rev. J. G.)	11
				Wood-Martin (W. G.)	11
				Woods (Margaret L.)	11
				Wordsworth (Elizabeth)	11
				— (William)	11
				Wylie (J. H.)	11
				Youatt (W.)	11
				Zeller (E.)	11

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.

Abbott.—*A HISTORY OF GREECE.*

By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D.

Part I.—From the Earliest Times to the Ionian Revolt. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Part II.—500-445 B.C. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Acland and Ransome.—*A HANDBOOK IN OUTLINE OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND TO 1896.* Chronologically Arranged. By the Right Hon. A. H. DYKE ACLAND, M.P., and CYRIL RANSOME, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6s.

ANNUAL REGISTER (THE). A

Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the year 1897. 8vo., 18s.

Volumes of the *ANNUAL REGISTER* for the years 1863-1896 can still be had. 18s. each.

Arnold.—*INTRODUCTORY LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY.* By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., formerly Head Master of Rugby School. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Baden-Powell.—*THE INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY.* Examined with Reference to the Physical, Ethnographic, and Historical Conditions of the Provinces; chiefly on the Basis of the Revenue-Settlement Records and District Manuals. By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. With Map. 8vo., 16s.

Bagwell.—*IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS.* By RICHARD BAGWELL, LL.D. (3 vols.) Vols. I. and II. From the first invasion of the Northmen to the year 1578. 8vo., 32s. Vol. III. 1578-1603. 8vo., 18s.

Ball.—*HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE LEGISLATIVE SYSTEMS OPERATIVE IN IRELAND,* from the Invasion of Henry the Second to the Union (1172-1800). By the Rt. Hon. J. T. BALL. 8vo., 6s.

Besant.—*THE HISTORY OF LONDON.*

By Sir WALTER BESANT. With 74 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 1s. 9d. Or bound as a School Prize Book, 2s. 6d.

Brassey (LORD).—*PAPERS AND ADDRESSES.*

NAVAL AND MARITIME. 1872-1893. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 10s.

MERCANTILE MARINE AND NAVIGATION, from 1871-1894. Crown 8vo., 5s.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND COLONISATION FROM 1880-1894. Cr. 8vo., 5s.

Brassey (LORD) PAPERS AND ADDRESSES—continued.

POLITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS. 1861-1894. Crown 8vo., 5s

Bright.—*A HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

By the Rev. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D.D.

Period I. *MEDIÆVAL MONARCHY:* A.D. 449-1485. Crown 8vo., 4s. 6d.

Period II. *PERSONAL MONARCHY.* 1485-1688. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Period III. *CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.* 1689-1837. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Period IV. *THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY.* 1837-1880. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Buckle.—*HISTORY OF CIVILISATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, SPAIN AND SCOTLAND.* By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE.

3 vols. Crown 8vo., 24s.

Burke.—*A HISTORY OF SPAIN* from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic. By ULICK RALPH BURKE, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo., 32s.

Chesney.—*INDIAN POLITY:* a View of the System of Administration in India. By General Sir GEORGE CHESNEY, K.C.B.

With Map showing all the Administrative Divisions of British India. 8vo., 21s.

Corbett.—*DRAKE AND THE TUDOR NAVY,* with a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power. By JULIAN S. CORBETT. With Portraits, Illustrations and Maps. 2 vols. 8vo., 36s.

Creighton.—*A HISTORY OF THE PAPACY FROM THE GREAT SCHISM TO THE SACK OF ROME, 1378-1527.* By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of London.

6 vols. Crown 8vo., 6s. each.

Cunningham.—*A SCHEME FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION:* a Senate for the Empire. By GRANVILLE C. CUNNINGHAM, of Montreal, Canada. With an Introduction by Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Curzon.—*PERSIA AND THE PERSIAN QUESTION.* By the Right Hon. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P. With 9 Maps, 96 Illustrations, Appendices, and an Index. 2

vols. 8vo., 42s.

De Tocqueville.—*DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.* By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.

2 vols. Crown 8vo., 16s.

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c —continued.

Dickinson.—*THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.* By G. LOWES DICKINSON, M.A. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Eggleston.—*THE BEGINNERS OF A NATION:* a History of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America, with Special Reference to the Life and Character of the People. By EDWARD EGGLESTON. With 8 Maps. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Froude (JAMES A.).

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Popular Edition. 12 vols. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

'Silver Library' Edition. 12 vols. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

THE DIVORCE OF CATHERINE OF ARAGON. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE SPANISH STORY OF THE ARMADA, and other Essays. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

ENGLISH SEAMEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Cr. 8vo., 6s.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

SHORT STUDIES ON GREAT SUBJECTS. 4 vols. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

CÆSAR: a Sketch. Cr. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Gardiner (SAMUEL RAWSON, D.C.L., LL.D.).

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642. 10 vols. Crown 8vo., 6s. each.

A HISTORY OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, 1642-1649. 4 vols. Cr. 8vo., 6s. each.

A HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE. 1649-1660. Vol. I. 1649-1651. With 14 Maps. 8vo., 21s. Vol. II. 1651-1654. With 7 Maps. 8vo., 21s.

WHAT GUNPOWDER PLOT WAS. With 8 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Gardiner (SAMUEL RAWSON, D.C.L., LL.D.)—continued.

CROMWELL'S PLACE IN HISTORY Founded on Six Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE STUDENT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. With 378 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 12s.

Also in Three Volumes, price 4s. each.

Vol. I. B.C. 55—A.D. 1509. 173 Illustrations.

Vol. II. 1509-1689. 96 Illustrations.

Vol. III. 1689-1885. 109 Illustrations.

Greville.—*A JOURNAL OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE IV., KING WILLIAM IV. AND QUEEN VICTORIA.* By CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, formerly Clerk of the Council. 8 vols. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

HARVARD HISTORICAL STUDIES.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1638-1870. By W. E. B. DUBOIS, Ph.D. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

THE CONTEST OVER THE RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS. By S. B. HARDING, A.M. 8vo., 6s.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. By D. F. HOUSTON, A.M. 8vo., 6s.

NOMINATIONS FOR ELECTIVE OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES. By FREDERICK W. DALLINGER, A.M. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH MUNICIPAL HISTORY, INCLUDING GILDS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D. 8vo., 12s.

THE LIBERTY AND FREE SOIL PARTIES IN THE NORTH WEST. By THEODORE C. SMITH, Ph.D. 8vo, 7s. 6d.

* * * Other Volumes are in preparation.

Hammond.—*A WOMAN'S PART IN A REVOLUTION.* By Mrs. JOHN HAYES HAMMOND. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Historic Towns.—Edited by E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., and Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

Bristol. By Rev. W. Hunt. Oxford. By Rev. C. W. Boase.

Carlisle. By Mandell Winchester. By G. W. Creighton, D.D.

Cinque Ports. By Montague Burrows. York. By Rev. James Raine.

Colchester. By Rev. E. L. Cutts. New York. By Theodore Roosevelt.

Exeter. By E. A. Freeman. Exeter. By Rev. W. J. Cabot Lodge.

London. By Rev W. J. Cabot Lodge.

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.—*continued.*

Joyce (P. W., LL.D.).

A SHORT HISTORY OF IRELAND, from the Earliest Times to 1603. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

A CHILD'S HISTORY OF IRELAND. From the Earliest Times to the Death of O'Connell. With specially constructed Map and 160 Illustrations, including Facsimile in full colours of an illuminated page of the Gospel Book of MacDurnan, A.D. 850. Fcp. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Kaye and Malleson.—*HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857-1858*. By Sir JOHN W. KAYE and Colonel G. B. MALLESON. With Analytical Index and Maps and Plans. 6 vols. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

Lang (ANDREW).

PICKLE THE SPY: or, The Incognito of Prince Charles. With 6 Portraits. 8vo., 18s.

ST. ANDREWS. With 8 Plates and 24 Illustrations in the Text by T. HODGE. 8vo., 15s. net.

Laurie.—*HISTORICAL SURVEY OF PRE-CHRISTIAN EDUCATION*. By S. S. LAURIE, A.M., LL.D. 8vo., 12s.

Lecky (The Rt. Hon. WILLIAM E. H.) *HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*.

Library Edition. 8 vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and II., 36s.; Vols. III. and IV., 36s.; Vols. V. and VI., 36s.; Vols. VII. and VIII., 36s.

Cabinet Edition. ENGLAND. 7 vols. Crown 8vo., 6s. each. IRELAND. 5 vols. Crown 8vo., 6s. each.

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS FROM AUGUSTUS TO CHARLEMAGNE. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 16s.

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND INFLUENCE OF THE SPIRIT OF RATIONALISM IN EUROPE. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 16s.

DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY. 2 vols. 8vo., 36s.

Macaulay (LORD).

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF LORD MACAULAY. 'Edinburgh' Edition. 10 vols. 8vo., 6s. each.

Vols. I.-IV. *HISTORY OF ENGLAND*.

Vols. V.-VII. *ESSAYS; BIOGRAPHIES; INDIAN PENAL CODE; CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNIGHT'S 'QUARTERLY MAGAZINE'*. Vol. VIII. *SPEECHES; LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME; MISCELLANEOUS POEMS*.

Vols. IX. and X. *THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF LORD MACAULAY*. By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, Bart.

This Edition is a cheaper reprint of the Library Edition of LORD MACAULAY'S Life and Works.

COMPLETE WORKS.

Cabinet Edition. 16 vols. Post 8vo.

£4 16s.

Library Edition. 8 vols. 8vo., £5 5s.

'Edinburgh' Edition. 8 vols. 8vo., 6s. each.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND.

Popular Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 5s.

Student's Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 12s.

People's Edition. 4 vols. Cr. 8vo., 16s.

Cabinet Edition. 8 vols. Post 8vo., 48s.

'Edinburgh' Edition. 4 vols. 8vo., 6s. each.

Library Edition. 5 vols. 8vo., £4.

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS, WITH LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME, etc., in 1 volume.

Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Authorised Edition. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d., or gilt edges, 3s. 6d.

'Silver Library' Edition. With Portrait and 4 Illustrations to the 'Lays'. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

Student's Edition. 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 6s.

People's Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 8s.

'Trevelyan' Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 9s.

Cabinet Edition. 4 vols. Post 8vo., 24s.

'Edinburgh' Edition. 3 vols. 8vo., 6s. each.

Library Edition. 3 vols. 8vo., 36s.

ESSAYS, which may be had separately, sewed, 6d. each; cloth, 1s. each.

Addison and Walpole.	Ranke and Gladstone.
Croker's Boswell's Johnson.	Milton and Machiavelli.
Hallam's Constitutional History.	Lord Byron.
Warren Hastings.	Lord Clive.
The Earl of Chatham (Two Essays).	Lord Byron, and The Comic Dramatists of the Restoration.
Fredrick the Great.	

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

People's Edition. 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 4s. 6d.

Library Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 21s.

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.—*continued.*

Macaulay (LORD)—*continued.*

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS, SPEECHES AND POEMS.

Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Cabinet Edition. 4 vols. Post 8vo., 24s.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF LORD MACAULAY. Edited, with Occasional Notes, by the Right Hon. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart. Crown 8vo., 6s.

MacColl.—*THE SULTAN AND THE POWERS.* By the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A., Canon of Ripon. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Mackinnon.—*THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND: A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL HISTORY.* By JAMES MACKINNON. Ph.D. Examiner in History to the University of Edinburgh. 8vo., 16s.

May.—*THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND* since the Accession of George III. 1760-1870. By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B. (Lord Farnborough). 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 18s.

Merivale (CHARLES, D.D.), sometime Dean of Ely.

HISTORY OF THE ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE. 8 vols. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC: a Short History of the Last Century of the Commonwealth. 12mo., 7s. 6d.

GENERAL HISTORY OF ROME, from the Foundation of the City to the Fall of Augustus, B.C. 753-A.D. 476. With 5 Maps. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Montague.—*THE ELEMENTS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.* By F. C. MONTAGUE, M.A. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Richman.—*APPENZELL: PURE DEMOCRACY AND PASTORAL LIFE IN INNER-RHODEN.* A Swiss Study. By IRVING B. RICHMAN, Consul-General of the United States to Switzerland. With Maps. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Seeböhm (FREDERIC).

THE ENGLISH VILLAGE COMMUNITY Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems, etc. With 13 Maps and Plates. 8vo., 16s.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES: Being Part of an Inquiry into the Structure and Methods of Tribal Society. With 3 Maps. 8vo., 12s.

Sharpe.—*LONDON AND THE KINGDOM:* a History derived mainly from the Archives at Guildhall in the custody of the Corporation of the City of London. By REGINALD R. SHARPE, D.C.L., Records Clerk in the Office of the Town Clerk of the City of London. 3 vols. 8vo. 10s. 6d. each.

Smith.—*CARTHAGE AND THE CARTHAGINIANS.* By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A. With Maps, Plans, etc. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Stephens.—*A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.* By H. MORSE STEPHENS. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. 18s. each.

Stubbs.—*HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,* from its Foundation to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By J. W. STUBBS. 8vo., 12s. 6d.

Sutherland.—*THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND,* from 1606-1890. By ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, M.A., and GEORGE SUTHERLAND, M.A. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Taylor.—*A STUDENT'S MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA.* By Colonel MEADOWS TAYLOR, C.S.I., etc. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Todd.—*PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.* By ALPHEUS TODD, LL.D. 8vo., 30s. net.

Wakeman and Hassall.—*ESSAYS INTRODUCTORY TO THE STUDY OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.* By Resident Members of the University of Oxford. Edited by HENRY OFFLEY WAKEMAN, M.A., and ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Walpole.—*HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE GREAT WAR IN 1815 TO 1858.* By Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B. 6 vols. Crown 8vo., 6s. each.

Wood-Martin.—*PAGAN IRELAND: AN ARCHEOLOGICAL SKETCH.* A Handbook of Irish Pre-Christian Antiquities. By W. G. WOOD-MARTIN, M.R.I.A. With 512 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 15s.

Wylie.—*HISTORY OF ENGLAND UNDER HENRY IV.* By JAMES HAMILTON WYLIE, M.A., one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. 4 vols. Crown 8vo. Vol. I., 1399-1404, 10s. 6d. Vol. II., 1405-1406, 15s. Vol. III., 1407-1411, 15s. Vol. IV., 1411-1413, 21s.

Biography, Personal Memoirs, &c.

- Armstrong.**—*THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF EDMUND J. ARMSTRONG.* Edited by G. F. SAVAGE ARMSTRONG. Fcp. 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Bacon.**—*THE LETTERS AND LIFE OF FRANCIS BACON, INCLUDING ALL HIS OCCASIONAL WORKS.* Edited by JAMES SPEDDING. 7 vols. 8vo., £4 4s.
- Bagehot.**—*BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Blackwell.**—*PIONEER WORK IN OPENING THE MEDICAL PROFESSION TO WOMEN: Autobiographical Sketches.* By Dr. ELIZABETH BLACKWELL. Cr. 8vo., 6s.
- Brown.**—*FORD MADOX BROWN: A Record of his Life and Works.* By FORD M. HUEFFER. With 45 Full-page Plates (22 Autotypes) and 7 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 42s.
- Buss.**—*FRANCES MARY BUSS AND HER WORK FOR EDUCATION.* By ANNIE E. RIDLEY. With 5 Portraits and 4 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- Carlyle.**—*THOMAS CARLYLE: A History of his Life.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 1795-1835. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 7s. 1834-1881. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 7s.
- Digby.**—*THE LIFE OF SIR KENELM DIGBY, by one of his Descendants, the Author of 'Falklands,' etc.* With 7 Illustrations. 8vo., 16s.
- Duncan.**—*ADMIRAL DUNCAN.* By THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN. With 3 Portraits. 8vo., 16s.
- Erasmus.**—*LIFE AND LETTERS OF ERASMUS.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- FALKLANDS.** By the Author of 'The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby,' etc. With 6 Portraits and 2 other Illustrations. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- Faraday.**—*FARADAY AS A DISCOVERER.* By JOHN TYNDALL. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- Fox.**—*THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHARLES JAMES FOX.* By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, Bart. Library Edition. 8vo., 18s. Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Halifax.**—*THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR GEORGE SAVILE, BARONET, FIRST MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.* With a New Edition of his Works, now for the first time collected and revised. By H. C. FOXCROFT. 2 vols. 8vo., 32s.
- Halford.**—*THE LIFE OF SIR HENRY HALFORD, BART., G.C.H., M.D., F.R.S.* By WILLIAM MUNK, M.D., F.S.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Hamilton.**—*LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.* By R. P. GRAVES. 8vo. 3 vols. 15s. each. ADDENDUM. 8vo., 6d. sewed.
- Harper.**—*A MEMOIR OF HUGH DANIEL HARPER, D.D.,* late Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and for many years Head Master of Sherborne School. By L. V. LESTER, M.A. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Havelock.**—*MEMOIRS OF SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.* By JOHN CLARKE MARSHMAN. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Haweis.**—*MY MUSICAL LIFE.* By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS. With Portrait of Richard Wagner and 3 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Holroyd.**—*THE GIRLHOOD OF MARIA JOSEPHA HOLROYD (Lady Stanley of Alderley).* Recorded in Letters of a Hundred Years Ago, from 1776-1796. Edited by J. H. ADEANE. With 6 Portraits. 8vo., 18s.
- Jackson.**—*STONEWALL JACKSON* By Lieut.-Col. G. F. HENDERSON, York and Lancaster Regiment. With Portrait, Map and Plans. 2 vols. 8vo., 42s.
- Lejeune.**—*MEMOIRS OF BARON LEJEUNE,* Aide-de-Camp to Marshals Berthier Davout, and Oudinot. Translated and Edited from the Original French by Mrs ARTHUR BELL (N. D'ANVERS). With a Preface by Major-General MAURICE, C.B. 2 vols. 8vo., 24s.
- Luther.**—*LIFE OF LUTHER.* By JULIUS KÖSTLIN. With 62 Illustrations and 4 Facsimilies of MSS. Translated from the German. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Macaulay.**—*THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF LORD MACAULAY.* By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, Bart. Popular Edition. 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d. Student's Edition 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 6s. Cabinet Edition. 2 vols. Post 8vo., 12s. 'Edinburgh' Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 6s. each. Library Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 36s.
- Marbot.**—*THE MEMOIRS OF THE BARON DE MARBOT.* Translated from the French. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 7s.
- Max Müller.**—*AULD LANG SYNE* By the Right Hon. F. MAX MÜLLER. With Portrait. 8vo, 10s. 6d. CONTENTS.—Musical Recollections—Literary Recollections—Recollections of Royalties—Beggars.

Biography, Personal Memoirs, &c.—*continued.*

- Meade.**—*GENERAL SIR RICHARD MEADE AND THE FEUDATORY STATES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN INDIA*: a Record of Forty-three Years' Service as Soldier, Political Officer and Administrator. By THOMAS HENRY THORNTON, C.S.I., D.C.L., sometime Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, Author of 'The Life and Work of Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman'. With Portrait, Map and Illustrations. 8vo., 10s. 6d. net.
- Nansen.**—*FRIDTJOF NANSEN, 1861-1893*. By W. C. BRÖGGER and NORDAHL ROLFSEN. Translated by WILLIAM ARCHER. With 8 Plates, 48 Illustrations in the Text, and 3 Maps. 8vo., 12s. 6d.
- Newdegate.**—*THE CHEVERELS OF CHEVEREL MANOR*. By Lady NEWDIGATE-NEWDEGATE, Author of 'Gossip from a Muniment Room'. With 6 Illustrations from Family Portraits. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- Place.**—*THE LIFE OF FRANCIS PLACE, 1771-1854*. By GRAHAM WALLAS, M.A. With 2 Portraits. 8vo., 12s.
- Rawlinson.**—*A MEMOIR OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON, BART., K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., ETC.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S., Canon of Canterbury. With 3 Portraits and a Map, and a Preface by Field-Marshal Lord ROBERTS of Kandahar, V.C. 8vo., 16s.
- Reeve.**—*THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF HENRY REEVE, C.B.*, late Editor of the 'Edinburgh Review,' and Registrar of the Privy Council. By J. K. LAUGHTON, M.A.
- Romanes.**—*THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D. F.R.S.* Written and Edited by his WIFE With Portrait and 2 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Seebohm.**—*THE OXFORD REFORMERS.—JOHN COLET, ERASMUS AND THOMAS MORE*: a History of their Fellow-Workers. By FREDERIC SEEBOHM. 8vo., 14s.
- Shakespeare.**—*OUTLINES OF THE LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE*. By J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS. With Illustrations and Fac-similes. 2 vols. Royal 8vo., £1 1s.
- Shakespeare's TRUE LIFE.** By JAMES WALTER. With 500 Illustrations by GERALD E. MOIRA. Imp. 8vo., 21s.
- Verney.**—*MEMOIRS OF THE VERNEY FAMILY*. Vols. I. & II., *DURING THE CIVIL WAR*. By FRANCES PARTHENOPE VERNEY. With 38 Portraits, Woodcuts and Fac-similes. Royal 8vo., 42s. Vol. III., *DURING THE COMMONWEALTH 1650-1660*. By MARGARET M. VERNEY. With 10 Portraits, etc. Royal 8vo., 21s.
- Wakley.**—*THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS WAKLEY*, Founder and First Editor of the 'Lancet,' Member of Parliament for Finsbury, and Coroner for West Middlesex. By S. SQUIRE SPRIGGE, M.B. Cantab. With 2 Portraits. 8vo., 18s.
- Wellington.**—*LIFE OF THE DUK OF WELLINGTON*. By the Rev. G. R. GLEIG, M.A. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Wills.**—*W. G. WILLS, DRAMATIST AND PAINTER*. By FREEMAN WILLS. With Photogravure Portrait. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Travel and Adventure, the Colonies, &c.

- Arnold.**—*SEAS AND LANDS*. By Sir EDWIN ARNOLD. With 71 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Baker (Sir S. W.).**
EIGHT YEARS IN CEYLON. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
THE RIFLE AND THE HOUND IN CEYLON. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Ball.**—*THE ALPINE GUIDE*. By the late JOHN BALL, F.R.S., etc. A New Edition, Reconstructed and Revised on behalf of the Alpine Club, by W. A. B. COOLIDGE. Vol. I., *THE WESTERN ALPS*: the Alpine Region, South of the Rhone Valley, from the Col de Tenda to the Simplon Pass. With 9 New and Revised Maps. Crown 8vo., 12s. net. Vol. II., *THE CENTRAL ALPS, NORTH OF THE RHONE VALLEY, FROM THE SIMPLON PASS TO THE ADIGE VALLEY*. [In prep.]
- Bent.**—*THE RUINED CITIES OF MASHONALAND*: being a Record of Excavation and Exploration in 1891. By J. THEODOR BENT. With 117 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Bicknell.**—*TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE IN NORTHERN QUEENSLAND*. By ARTHUR C. BICKNELL. With 24 Plates and 22 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 15s.
- Brassey.**—*VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., D.C.L., 1862-1894*. Arranged and Edited by Captain S. EARDLEY-WILMOT. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 10s.

Travel and Adventure, the Colonies, &c.—*continued.*

Brassey (THE LATE LADY).

A VOYAGE IN THE 'SUNBEAM'; OUR HOME ON THE OCEAN FOR ELEVEN MONTHS.

Cabinet Edition. With Map and 66 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

'Silver Library' Edition. With 66 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Popular Edition. With 60 Illustrations. 4to., 6d. sewed, 1s. cloth.

School Edition. With 37 Illustrations. Fcp., 2s. cloth, or 3s. white parchment.

SUNSHINE AND STORM IN THE EAST.

Cabinet Edition. With 2 Maps and 114 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Popular Edition. With 103 Illustrations. 4to., 6d. sewed, 1s. cloth.

IN THE TRADES, THE TROPICS, AND THE 'ROARING FORTIES'.

Cabinet Edition. With Map and 220 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Popular Edition. With 183 Illustrations. 4to., 6d. sewed, 1s. cloth.

THREE VOYAGES IN THE 'SUNBEAM'.

Popular Ed. With 346 Illust. 4to., 2s. 6d.

Browning.—*A GIRL'S WANDERINGS*

IN HUNGARY. By H. ELLEN BROWNING. With Map and 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Churchill.—*THE STORY OF THE*

MALAKAND FIELD FORCE, 1897. By WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL, Lieut., 4th Queen's Own Hussars. With 6 Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Froude (JAMES A.).

OCEANA: or England and her Colonies. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2s. boards, 2s. 6d. cloth.

'Silver Library' Edition. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE ENGLISH IN THE WEST INDIES:

or, the Bow of Ulysses. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2s. boards, 2s. 6d. cloth.

Howitt.—*VISITS TO REMARKABLE*

PLACES. Old Halls, Battle-Fields, Scenes, illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry. By WILLIAM HOWITT. With 80 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Knight (E. F.).

THE CRUISE OF THE 'ALERTE': the Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad. With 2 Maps and 23 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

WHERE THREE EMPIRES MEET: a Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Baltistan, Ladak, Gilgit, and the adjoining Countries. With a Map and 54 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Knight (E. F.)—continued.

THE 'FALCON' ON THE BALTIC: a

Voyage from London to Copenhagen in a Three-Tonner. With 10 Full-page Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Lees and Clutterbuck.—B.C. 1887:

A RAMBLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA. By J. A. LEES and W. J. CLUTTERBUCK. With Map and 75 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Macdonald.—*THE GOLD COAST: PAST*

AND PRESENT. By GEORGE MACDONALD, Director of Education and H.M. Inspector of Schools for the Gold Coast Colony and the Protectorate. With Illustrations.

Max Müller.—*LETTERS FROM CON-*

STANTINOPLE. By MRS. MAX MÜLLER. With 12 Views of Constantinople and the neighbourhood. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Nansen (FRIDTJOF).

THE FIRST CROSSING OF GREENLAND. With 143 Illustrations and a Map. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

ESKIMO LIFE. With 31 Illustrations. 8vo., 16s.

Oliver.—*CRAGS AND CRATERS:*

Rambles in the Island of Réunion. By WILLIAM DUDLEY OLIVER, M.A. With 27 Illustrations and a Map. Cr. 8vo., 6s.

Smith.—*CLIMBING IN THE BRITISH*

ISLES. By W. P. HASKETT SMITH. With Illustrations by ELLIS CARR, and Numerous Plans.

Part I. ENGLAND. 16mo., 3s. 6d.

Part II. WALES AND IRELAND. 16mo., 3s. 6d.

Part III. SCOTLAND. [In preparation]

Stephen.—*THE PLAY-GROUND OF*

EUROPE (The Alps). By LESLIE STEPHEN. With 4 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s. net.

THREE IN NORWAY. By Two

of Them. With a Map and 59 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2s. boards, 2s. 6d. cloth.

Tyndall.—*THE GLACIERS OF THE*

ALPS: being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents. An Account of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers, and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to which they are related. By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s. 6d. net.

Vivian.—*SERVIA: the Poor Man's*

Paradise. By HERBERT VIVIAN, M.A. Officer of the Royal Order of Takovo. With Map and Portrait of King Alexander. 8vo., 15s.

Veterinary Medicine, &c.

Steel (JOHN HENRY, F.R.C.V.S., F.Z.S., A.V.D.), late Professor of Veterinary Science and Principal of Bombay Veterinary College.

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES OF THE DOG; being a Manual of Canine Pathology. Especially adapted for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. With 88 Illustrations. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES OF THE OX; being a Manual of Bovine Pathology. Especially adapted for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. With 2 Plates and 117 Woodcuts. 8vo., 15s.

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES OF THE SHEEP; being a Manual of Ovine Pathology for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. With Coloured Plate and 99 Woodcuts. 8vo., 12s.

OUTLINES OF EQUINE ANATOMY; a Manual for the use of Veterinary Students in the Dissecting Room. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Fitzwygram. — *HORSES AND STABLES*. By Major-General Sir F. FITZWYGRAM, Bart. With 56 pages of Illustrations. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.

Schreiner. — *THE ANGORA GOAT* (published under the auspices of the South African Angora Goat Breeders' Association), and a Paper on the Ostrich (reprinted from the *Zoologist* for March, 1897). With 26 Illustrations. By S. C. CRONWRIGHT SCHREINER. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

'**Stonehenge.**' — *THE DOG IN HEALTH AND DISEASE*. By 'STONEHENGE'. With 78 Wood Engravings. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Youatt (WILLIAM).

THE HORSE. Revised and Enlarged by W. WATSON, M.R.C.V.S. With 52 Wood Engravings. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

THE DOG. Revised and Enlarged. With 33 Wood Engravings. 8vo., 6s.

Sport and Pastime.

THE BADMINTON LIBRARY.

Edited by HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G., and A. E. T. WATSON.

Complete in 28 Volumes. Crown 8vo., Price 10s. 6d. each Volume, Cloth.

* * *The Volumes are also issued half-bound in Leather, with gilt top. The price can be had from all Booksellers.*

ARCHERY. By C. J. LONGMAN and Col. H. WALROND. With Contributions by Miss LEGH, Viscount DILLON, etc. With 2 Maps, 23 Plates and 172 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

ATHLETICS. By MONTAGUE SHEARMAN. With Plates and Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

BIG GAME SHOOTING. By CLIVE PHILLIPPS-WOLLEY.

Vol. I. AFRICA AND AMERICA. With Contributions by Sir SAMUEL W. BAKER, W. C. OSWELL, F. C. SELOUS, etc. With 20 Plates and 57 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Vol. II. EUROPE, ASIA, AND THE ARCTIC REGIONS. With Contributions by Lieut.-Colonel R. HEBER PERCY, Major ALGERNON C. HEBER PERCY, etc. With 17 Plates and 56 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

BILLIARDS. By Major W. BROADFOOT, R.E. With Contributions by A. H. BOYD, SYDENHAM DIXON, W. J. FORD, etc. With 11 Plates, 19 Illustrations in the Text, and numerous Diagrams. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

COURSING AND FALCONRY. By HARDING COX and the Hon. GERALD LASCELLES. With 20 Plates and 56 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

CRICKET. By A. G. STEEL and the Hon. R. H. LYTTTELTON. With Contributions by ANDREW LANG, W. G. GRACE, F. GALE, etc. With 13 Plates and 52 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

CYCLING. By the EARL OF ALBEMARLE and G. LACY HILLIER. With 19 Plates and 44 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

DANCING. By Mrs. LILLY GROVE, F.R.G.S. With Contributions by Miss MIDDLETON, The Hon. Mrs. ARMYTAGE, etc. With Musical Examples, and 38 Full-page Plates and 93 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

DRIVING. By His Grace the DUKE of BEAUFORT, K.G. With Contributions by A. E. T. WATSON the EARL of ONSLOW, etc. With 12 Plates and 54 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Sport and Pastime—*continued.*THE BADMINTON LIBRARY—*continued.*

- FENCING, BOXING, AND WRESTLING.** By WALTER H. POLLOCK, F. C. GROVE, C. PREVOST, E. B. MITCHELL, and WALTER ARMSTRONG. With 18 Plates and 24 Illust. in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- FISHING.** By H. CHOLMONDELEY-PENNELL.
Vol. I. SALMON AND TROUT. With Contributions by H. R. FRANCIS, Major JOHN P. TRAHERNE, etc. With 9 Plates and numerous Illustrations of Tackle, etc. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
Vol. II. PIKE AND OTHER COARSE FISH. With Contributions by the MARQUIS OF EXETER, WILLIAM SENIOR, G. CHRISTOPHER DAVIS, etc. With 7 Plates and numerous Illustrations of Tackle, etc. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- FOOTBALL.** By MONTAGUE SHEARMAN. [*In preparation.*]
- GOLF.** By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON. With Contributions by the Rt. Hon. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P., Sir WALTER SIMPSON, Bart., ANDREW LANG, etc. With 32 Plates and 57 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- HUNTING.** By His Grace the DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G., and MOWBRAY MORRIS. With Contributions by the EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE, Rev. E. W. L. DAVIES, G. H. LONGMAN, etc. With 5 Plates and 54 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- MOUNTAINEERING.** By C. T. DENT. With Contributions by Sir W. M. CONWAY, D. W. FRESHFIELD, C. E. MATTHEWS, etc. With 13 Plates and 95 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- POETRY OF SPORT (THE).**—Selected by HEDLEY PEEK. With a Chapter on Classical Allusions to Sport by ANDREW LANG, and a Special Preface to the BADMINTON LIBRARY by A. E. T. WATSON. With 32 Plates and 74 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- RACING AND STEEPLE-CHASING.** By the EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE, W. G. CRAVEN, the Hon. F. LAWLEY, ARTHUR COVENTRY, and A. E. T. WATSON. With Frontispiece and 56 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- RIDING AND POLO.** By Captain ROBERT WEIR, THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, THE EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE, THE EARL OF ONSLOW, etc. With 18 Plates and 41 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- ROWING.** By R. P. P. ROWE and C. M. PITMAN. With Chapters on Steering by C. P. SEROCOLD and F. C. BEGG; Metropolitan Rowing by S. LE BLANC SMITH; and on PUNTING by P. W. SQUIRE. With 75 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- SEA FISHING.** By JOHN BICKERDYKE, Sir H. W. GORE-BOOTH, ALFRED C. HARMSWORTH, and W. SENIOR. With 22 Full-page Plates and 175 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- SHOOTING.**
Vol. I. FIELD AND COVERT. By LORD WALSINGHAM and Sir RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, Bart. With Contributions by the Hon. GERALD LASCELLES and A. J. STUART-WORTLEY. With 11 Plates and 94 Illusts. in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
Vol. II. MOOR AND MARSH. By LORD WALSINGHAM and Sir RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, Bart. With Contributions by LORD LOVAT and Lord CHARLES LENNOX KERR. With 8 Plates and 57 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- SKATING, CURLING, TOBOGGANING.** By J. M. HEATHCOTE, C. G. TEBBUTT, T. MAXWELL WITHAM, Rev. JOHN KERR, ORMOND HAKE, HENRY A. BUCK, etc. With 12 Plates and 272 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- SWIMMING.** By ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR and WILLIAM HENRY, Hon. Secs. of the Life-Saving Society. With 13 Plates and 106 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- TENNIS, LAWN TENNIS, RACKETS AND FIVES.** By J. M. and C. G. HEATHCOTE, E. O. PLEYDELL-BOUVERIE, and A. C. AINGER. With Contributions by the Hon. A. LYTTTELTON, W. C. MARSHALL, Miss L. DOD, etc. With 12 Plates and 67 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- YACHTING.**
Vol. I. CRUISING, CONSTRUCTION OF YACHTS, YACHT RACING RULES, FITTING-OUT, etc. By Sir EDWARD SULLIVAN, Bart., THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., C. E. SETH-SMITH, C.B., G. L. WATSON, R. T. PRITCHETT, E. F. KNIGHT, etc. With 21 Plates and 93 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
Vol. II. YACHT CLUBS, YACHTING IN AMERICA AND THE COLONIES, YACHT RACING, etc. By R. T. PRITCHETT, THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN and AVA, K.P., THE EARL OF ONSLOW, JAMES MCFERRAN, etc. With 35 Plates and 160 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Sport and Pastime—*continued.*

FUR, FEATHER, AND FIN SERIES.

Edited by A. E. T. WATSON.

Crown 8vo., price 5s. each Volume, cloth.

* * *The Volumes are also issued half-bound in Leather, with gilt top. The price can be had from all Booksellers.*

THE PARTRIDGE. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; Shooting, by A. J. STUART-WORTLEY; Cookery, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. With 11 Illustrations and various Diagrams in the Text. Crown 8vo., 5s.

THE GROUSE. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; Shooting, by A. J. STUART-WORTLEY; Cookery, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. With 13 Illustrations and various Diagrams in the Text. Crown 8vo., 5s.

THE PHEASANT. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; Shooting, by A. J. STUART-WORTLEY; Cookery, by ALEXANDER INNES SHAND. With 10 Illustrations and various Diagrams. Crown 8vo., 5s.

THE HARE. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; Shooting, by the Hon. GERALD LASCELLES; Coursing, by CHARLES RICHARDSON; Hunting, by J. S. GIBBONS and G. H. LONGMAN; Cookery, by Col. KENNEY HERBERT. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5s.

RED DEER.—Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; Deer Stalking, by CAMERON OF LOCHIEL; Stag Hunting, by Viscount EBRINGTON; Cookery, by ALEXANDER INNES SHAND. With 10 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5s.

THE SALMON. By the Hon. A. E. GATHORNE-HARDY. With Chapters on the Law of Salmon Fishing by CLAUD DOUGLAS PENNANT; Cookery, by ALEXANDER INNES SHAND. With 8 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 5s.

THE TROUT. By the MARQUESS OF GRANBY. With Chapters on the Breeding of Trout by Col. H. CUSTANCE; and Cookery, by ALEXANDER INNES SHAND. With 12 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5s.

THE RABBIT. By J. E. HARTING, etc. With Illustrations. [*In preparation.*]

WILDFOWL. By the Hon. JOHN SCOTT MONTAGU, etc. With Illustrations, etc. [*In preparation.*]

André.—*COLONEL BOGEY'S SKETCH-BOOK.* Comprising an Eccentric Collection of Scribbles and Scratches found in disused Lockers and swept up in the Pavilion, together with sundry After-Dinner Sayings of the Colonel. By R. ANDRÉ, West Herts Golf Club. Oblong 4to., 2s. 6d.

BADMINTON MAGAZINE (*THE*) OF SPORTS AND PASTIMES. Edited by ALFRED E. T. WATSON ("Rapier"). With numerous Illustrations. Price 1s. monthly.

Vols. I.-VI. 6s. each.

DEAD SHOT (*THE*): or, Sportsman's Complete Guide. Being a Treatise on the Use of the Gun, with Rudimentary and Finishing Lessons in the Art of Shooting Game of all kinds. Also Game-driving, Wildfowl and Pigeon-shooting, Dog-breaking, etc. By MARKSMAN. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Ellis.—*CHESS SPARKS*; or, Short and Bright Games of Chess. Collected and Arranged by J. H. ELLIS, M.A. 8vo., 4s. 6d.

Folkard.—*THE WILD-FOWLER*: A Treatise on Fowling, Ancient and Modern, descriptive also of Decoys and Flight-ponds, Wild-fowl Shooting, Gunning-punts, Shooting-yachts, etc. Also Fowling in the Fens and in Foreign Countries, Rock-fowling, etc., etc., by H. C. FOLKARD. With 13 Engravings on Steel, and several Woodcuts. 8vo., 12s. 6d.

Ford.—*THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ARCHERY.* By HORACE FORD. New Edition, thoroughly Revised and Re-written by W. BUTT, M.A. With a Preface by C. J. LONGMAN, M.A. 8vo., 14s.

Francis.—*A BOOK ON ANGLING*: or, Treatise on the Art of Fishing in every Branch; including full Illustrated List of Salmon Flies. By FRANCIS FRANCIS. With Portrait and Coloured Plates. Crown 8vo., 15s.

Sport and Pastime—*continued.*

- Gibson.**—*TOBOGGANING ON CROOKED RUNS.* By the Hon. HARRY GIBSON. With Contributions by F. DE B. STRICKLAND and 'LADY-TOBOGANNER'. With 40 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Graham.**—*COUNTRY PASTIMES FOR BOYS.* By P. ANDERSON GRAHAM. With 252 Illustrations from Drawings and Photographs. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Lang.**—*ANGLING SKETCHES.* By ANDREW LANG. With 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Lillie.**—*CROQUET: its History, Rules and Secrets.* By ARTHUR LILLIE, Champion, Grand National Croquet Club, 1872; Winner of the 'All-Comers' Championship,' Maidstone, 1896. With 4 Full-page Illustrations by LUCIEN DAVIS, 15 Illustrations in the Text, and 27 Diagrams. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Longman.**—*CHESS OPENINGS.* By FREDERICK W. LONGMAN. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- Madden.**—*THE DIARY OF MASTER WILLIAM SILENCE: a Study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan Sport.* By the Right Hon. D. H. MADDEN, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. 8vo., 16s.
- Maskelyne.**—*SHARPS AND FLATS: a Complete Revelation of the Secrets of Cheating at Games of Chance and Skill.* By JOHN NEVIL MASKELYNE, of the Egyptian Hall. With 62 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Moffat.**—*CRICKETY CRICKET: Rhymes and Parodies.* By DOUGLAS MOFFAT, with Frontispiece by Sir FRANK LOCKWOOD, Q.C., M.P., and 53 Illustrations by the Author. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- Park.**—*THE GAME OF GOLF.* By WILLIAM PARK, Jun., Champion Golfer, 1887-89. With 17 Plates and 26 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Payne-Gallwey** (Sir RALPH, Bart.).
—*continued.*
LETTERS TO YOUNG SHOOTERS (First Series). On the Choice and use of a Gun. With 41 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
LETTERS TO YOUNG SHOOTERS (Second Series). On the Production, Preservation, and Killing of Game. With Directions in Shooting Wood-Pigeons and Breaking-in Retrievers. With Portrait and 103 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 12s. 6d.
- Payne-Gallwey** (Sir RALPH, Bart.).
—*continued.*
LETTERS TO YOUNG SHOOTERS. (Third Series.) Comprising a Short Natural History of the Wildfowl that are Rare or Common to the British Islands, with complete directions in Shooting Wildfowl on the Coast and Inland. With 200 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 18s.
- Pole** (WILLIAM).
THE THEORY OF THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC GAME OF WHIST. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d.
THE EVOLUTION OF WHIST: a Study of the Progressive Changes which the Game has undergone. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- Proctor.**—*HOW TO PLAY WHIST: WITH THE LAWS AND ETIQUETTE OF WHIST.* By RICHARD A. PROCTOR. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Ribblesdale.**—*THE QUEEN'S HOUNDS AND STAG-HUNTING RECOLLECTIONS.* By LORD RIBBLESDALE, Master of the Buckhounds, 1892-95. With Introductory Chapter on the Hereditary Mastership by E. BURROWS. With 24 Plates and 35 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 25s.
- Ronalds.**—*THE FLY-FISHER'S ENTOMOLOGY.* By ALFRED RONALDS. With 20 coloured Plates. 8vo., 14s.
- Thompson and Cannan.** *HAND-IN-HAND FIGURE SKATING.* By NORCLIFFE G. THOMPSON and F. LAURA CANNAN, Members of the Skating Club. With an Introduction by Captain J. H. THOMSON, R.A. With Illustrations and Diagrams. 16mo., 6s.
- Watson.**—*RACING AND 'CHASING: a Collection of Sporting Stories.* By ALFRED E. T. WATSON, Editor of the 'Badminton Magazine'. With 16 Plates and 36 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Wilcocks.**—*THE SEA FISHERMAN: Comprising the Chief Methods of Hook and Line Fishing in the British and other Seas, and Remarks on Nets, Boats, and Boating.* By J. C. WILCOCKS. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo., 6s.

Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy.

LOGIC, RHETORIC, PSYCHOLOGY, &C.

- Abbott.**—*THE ELEMENTS OF LOGIC.* By T. K. ABBOTT, B.D. 12mo., 3s.
- Aristotle.**
THE ETHICS: Greek Text, Illustrated with Essay and Notes. By Sir ALEXANDER GRANT, Bart. 2 vols. 8vo., 32s.
AN INTRODUCTION TO ARISTOTLE'S ETHICS. Books I.-IV. (Book X. c. vi.-ix. in an Appendix). With a continuous Analysis and Notes. By the Rev. E. MOORE, D.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Bacon (FRANCIS).**
COMPLETE WORKS. Edited by R. L. ELLIS, JAMES SPEDDING and D. D. HEATH. 7 vols. 8vo., £3 13s. 6d.
LETTERS AND LIFE, including all his occasional Works. Edited by JAMES SPEDDING. 7 vols. 8vo., £4 4s.
THE ESSAYS: with Annotations. By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
THE ESSAYS: with Notes. By F. STORR and C. H. GIBSON. Cr. 8vo, 3s. 6d.
THE ESSAYS: with Introduction, Notes, and Index. By E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. 2 Vols. Fcp. 8vo., 6s. The Text and Index only, without Introduction and Notes, in One Volume. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- Bain (ALEXANDER).**
MENTAL SCIENCE. Cr. 8vo., 6s. 6d.
MORAL SCIENCE. Cr. 8vo., 4s. 6d.
The two works as above can be had in one volume, price 10s. 6d.
SENSES AND THE INTELLECT. 8vo., 15s.
EMOTIONS AND THE WILL. 8vo., 15s.
LOGIC, DEDUCTIVE AND INDUCTIVE. Part I. 4s. Part II. 6s. 6d.
PRACTICAL ESSAYS. Cr. 8vo., 2s.
- Baldwin.**—*THE ELEMENTS OF EXPOSITORY CONSTRUCTION.* By Dr. CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN, Instructor in Rhetoric in Yale University.
- Bray.**—*THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY:* or, Law in Mind as in Matter. By CHARLES BRAY. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Crozier (JOHN BEATTIE).**
CIVILISATION AND PROGRESS: being the Outlines of a New System of Political, Religious and Social Philosophy. 8vo., 14s.
HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT: on the Lines of Modern Evolution.
 Vol. I. Greek and Hindoo Thought; Græco-Roman Paganism; Judaism; and Christianity down to the Closing of the Schools of Athens by Justinian, 529 A.D. 8vo., 14s.
- Davidson.**—*THE LOGIC OF DEFINITION,* Explained and Applied. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Green (THOMAS HILL).**—*THE WORKS OF.* Edited by R. L. NETTLESHIP. Vols. I. and II. Philosophical Works. 8vo., 16s. each.
 Vol. III. Miscellanies. With Index to the three Volumes, and Memoir. 8vo., 21s.
LECTURES ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION. With Preface by BERNARD BOSANQUET. 8vo., 5s.
- Hodgson (SHADWORTH H.).**
TIME AND SPACE: A Metaphysical Essay. 8vo., 16s.
THE THEORY OF PRACTICE: an Ethical Inquiry. 2 vols. 8vo., 24s.
THE PHILOSOPHY OF REFLECTION. 2 vols. 8vo., 21s.
THE METAPHYSIC OF EXPERIENCE. Book I. General Analysis of Experience; Book II. Positive Science; Book III. Analysis of Conscious Action; Book IV. The Real Universe. 4 vols. 8vo.
- Hume.**—*THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS OF DAVID HUME.* Edited by T. H. GREEN and T. H. GROSE. 4 vols. 8vo., 56s. Or separately, Essays. 2 vols. 28s. Treatise of Human Nature. 2 vols. 28s.
- James.**—*THE WILL TO BELIEVE,* and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy. By WILLIAM JAMES, M.D., LL.D., etc. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Justinian.**—*THE INSTITUTES OF JUSTINIAN:* Latin Text, chiefly that of Huschke, with English Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Summary. By THOMAS C. SANDARS, M.A. 8vo., 18s.
- Kant (IMMANUEL).**
CRITIQUE OF PRACTICAL REASON, AND OTHER WORKS ON THE THEORY OF ETHICS. Translated by T. K. ABBOTT, B.D. With Memoir. 8vo., 12s. 6d.
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE METAPHYSIC OF ETHICS. Translated by T. K. ABBOTT, B.D. Crown 8vo, 3s.
INTRODUCTION TO LOGIC, AND HIS ESSAY ON THE MISTAKEN SUBTILTY OF THE FOUR FIGURES. Translated by T. K. ABBOTT. 8vo., 6s.
- Killick.**—*HANDBOOK TO MILL'S SYSTEM OF LOGIC.* By Rev. A. H. KILLICK, M.A. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Mental, Moral and Political Philosophy—*continued.*

LOGIC, RHETORIC, PSYCHOLOGY, &C.

Ladd (GEORGE TRUMBULL).*PHILOSOPHY OF KNOWLEDGE*: an Inquiry into the Nature, Limits and Validity of Human Cognitive Faculty. 8vo., 18s.*PHILOSOPHY OF MIND*: An Essay on the Metaphysics of Psychology. 8vo., 16s.*ELEMENTS OF PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY*. 8vo., 21s.*OUTLINES OF DESCRIPTIVE PSYCHOLOGY*: a Text-Book of Mental Science for Colleges and Normal Schools. 8vo., 12s.*OUTLINES OF PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY*. 8vo., 12s.*PSYCHOLOGY, DESCRIPTIVE AND EXPLANATORY*. 8vo., 21s.*PRIMER OF PSYCHOLOGY*. Cr. 8vo., 5s. 6d.**Lewes.**—*THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY*, from Thales to Comte. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. 2 vols. 8vo., 32s.**Lutoslawski.**—*THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF PLATO'S LOGIC*. With an Account of Plato's Style and of the Chronology of his Writings. By WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI. 8vo., 21s.**Max Müller** (F.).*THE SCIENCE OF THOUGHT*. 8vo., 21s.*THREE INTRODUCTORY LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF THOUGHT*. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.**Mill.**—*ANALYSIS OF THE PHENOMENA OF THE HUMAN MIND*. By JAMES MILL. 2 vols. 8vo., 28s.**Mill** (JOHN STUART).*A SYSTEM OF LOGIC*. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.*ON LIBERTY*. Crown 8vo., 1s. 4d.*CONSIDERATIONS ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT*. Crown 8vo., 2s.*UTILITARIANISM*. 8vo., 2s. 6d.*EXAMINATION OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S PHILOSOPHY*. 8vo., 16s.*NATURE, THE UTILITY OF RELIGION, AND THEISM*. Three Essays. 8vo., 5s.**Monck.**—*AN INTRODUCTION TO LOGIC*. By WILLIAM HENRY S. MONCK, M.A. Crown 8vo., 5s.**Romanes.**—*MIND AND MOTION AND MONISM*. By GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, LL.D., F.R.S. Cr. 8vo., 4s. 6d.**Stock** (ST. GEORGE).*DEDUCTIVE LOGIC*. Fcp. 8vo., 3s. 6d.*LECTURES IN THE LYCEUM*; or, Aristotle's Ethics for English Readers. Edited by ST. GEORGE STOCK. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.**Sully** (JAMES).*THE HUMAN MIND*: a Text-book of Psychology. 2 vols. 8vo., 21s.*OUTLINES OF PSYCHOLOGY*. Crown 8vo., 9s.*THE TEACHER'S HANDBOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY*. Crown 8vo., 6s. 6d.*STUDIES OF CHILDHOOD*. 8vo., 10s. 6d.*CHILDREN'S WAYS*: being Selections from the Author's 'Studies of Childhood'. With 25 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 4s. 6d.**Sutherland.**—*THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE MORAL INSTINCT*. By ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo., 28s.**Swinburne.**—*PICTURE LOGIC*: an Attempt to Popularise the Science of Reasoning. By ALFRED JAMES SWINBURNE, M.A. With 23 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo., 5s.**Webb.**—*THE VEIL OF ISIS*: a Series of Essays on Idealism. By THOMAS E. WEBB, LL.D., Q.C. 8vo., 10s. 6d.**Weber.**—*HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY*. By ALFRED WEBER, Professor in the University of Strasburg. Translated by FRANK THILLY, Ph.D. 8vo., 16s.**Whately** (ARCHBISHOP).*BACON'S ESSAYS*. With Annotations. 8vo., 10s. 6d.*ELEMENTS OF LOGIC*. Cr. 8vo., 4s. 6d.*ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC*. Cr. 8vo., 4s. 6d.*LESSONS ON REASONING*. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.**Zeller** (DR. EDWARD).*THE STOICS, EPICUREANS, AND SCEPTICS*. Translated by the Rev. O. J. REICHEL, M.A. Crown 8vo., 15s.*OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY*. Translated by SARAH F. ALLEYNE and EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.*PLATO AND THE OLDER ACADEMY*. Translated by SARAH F. ALLEYNE and ALFRED GOODWIN, B.A. Crown 8vo., 18s.*SOCRATES AND THE SOCRATIC SCHOOLS*. Translated by the Rev. O. J. REICHEL, M.A. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.*ARISTOTLE AND THE EARLIER PERIPATETICS*. Translated by B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A., and J. H. MUIRHEAD, M.A. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 24s.

Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy—*continued.*

MANUALS OF CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY.

(Stonyhurst Series.)

- A MANUAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.* By C. S. DEVAS, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6s. 6d.
- FIRST PRINCIPLES OF KNOWLEDGE.* By JOHN RICKABY, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- GENERAL METAPHYSICS.* By JOHN RICKABY, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- LOGIC.* By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- MORAL PHILOSOPHY (ETHICS AND NATURAL LAW).* By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- NATURAL THEOLOGY.* By BERNARD BOEDDER, S.J. Crown 8vo., 6s. 6d.
- PSYCHOLOGY.* By MICHAEL MAHER, S.J. Crown 8vo., 6s. 6d.

History and Science of Language, &c.

- Davidson.**—*LEADING AND IMPORTANT ENGLISH WORDS:* Explained and Exemplified. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A. Fcp. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Farrar.**—*LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGES:* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Graham.**—*ENGLISH SYNONYMS,* Classified and Explained: with Practical Exercises. By G. F. GRAHAM. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.
- Max Müller (F.).**
THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.—Founded on Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 21s.
- Max Müller (F.)—continued.**
BIOGRAPHIES OF WORDS, AND THE HOME OF THE ARYAS. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- THREE LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE, AND ITS PLACE IN GENERAL EDUCATION,* delivered at Oxford, 1889. Crown 8vo., 3s. net.
- Roget.**—*THESAURUS OF ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES.* Classified and Arranged so as to Facilitate the Expression of Ideas and assist in Literary Composition. By PETER MARK ROGET, M.D., F.R.S. With full Index. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- Whately.**—*ENGLISH SYNONYMS.* By E. JANE WHATELY. Fcp. 8vo., 3s.

Political Economy and Economics.

- Ashley.**—*ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY AND THEORY.* By W. J. ASHLEY, M.A. Crown 8vo., Part I., 5s. Part II., 10s. 6d.
- Bagehot.**—*ECONOMIC STUDIES.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Barnett.**—*PRACTICABLE SOCIALISM.* Essays on Social Reform. By the Rev. S. A. BARNETT, M.A., Canon of Bristol, and Mrs. BARNETT. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Brassey.**—*PAPERS AND ADDRESSES ON WORK AND WAGES.* By Lord BRASSEY. Edited by J. POTTER, and with Introduction by GEORGE HOWELL, M.P. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Channing.**—*THE TRUTH ABOUT AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION:* an Economic Study of the Evidence of the Royal Commission. By FRANCIS ALLSTON CHANNING, M.P., one of the Commission. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Devas.**—*A MANUAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.* By C. S. DEVAS, M.A. Cr. 8vo., 6s. 6d. (*Manuals of Catholic Philosophy.*)
- Dowell.**—*A HISTORY OF TAXATION AND TAXES IN ENGLAND,* from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885. By STEPHEN DOWELL, (4 vols. 8vo). Vols. I. and II. The History of Taxation, 21s. Vols. III. and IV. The History of Taxes, 21s.
- Jordan.**—*THE STANDARD OF VALUE.* By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN. Cr. 8vo., 6s.
- Leslie.**—*ESSAYS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.* By T. E. CLIFFE LESLIE, Hon. LL.D., Dubl. 8vo, 10s. 6d.
- Macleod (HENRY DUNNING).**
BIMETALISM. 8vo., 5s. net.
THE ELEMENTS OF BANKING. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BANKING. Vol. I. 8vo., 12s. Vol. II. 14s.
THE THEORY OF CREDIT. 8vo. In 1 Vol., 30s. net; or separately, Vol. I., 10s. net. Vol. II., Part I., 10s. net. Vol. II., Part II., 10s. net.
- A DIGEST OF THE LAW OF BILLS OF EXCHANGE, BANK-NOTES, &c.* 8vo., 5s. net.
THE BANKING SYSTEM OF ENGLAND. [In preparation.]

Political Economy and Economies—continued.

- Mill.**—*POLITICAL ECONOMY.* By JOHN STUART MILL.
Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
Library Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 30s.
- Mulhall.**—*INDUSTRIES AND WEALTH OF NATIONS.* By MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S. With 32 full-page Diagrams. Crown 8vo., 8s. 6d.
- Soderini.**—*SOCIALISM AND CATHOLICISM.* From the Italian of Count EDWARD SODERINI. By RICHARD JENERY-SHEE. With a Preface by Cardinal VAUGHAN. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Symes.**—*POLITICAL ECONOMY:* a Short Text-book of Political Economy. With Problems for Solution, and Hints for Supplementary Reading; also a Supplementary Chapter on Socialism. By Professor J. E. SYMES, M.A., of University College, Nottingham. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- Toynbee.**—*LECTURES ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH CENTURY IN ENGLAND:* Popular Addresses, Notes and other Fragments. By ARNOLD TOYNBEE. With a Memoir of the Author by BENJAMIN JOWETT, D.D. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- Webb (SIDNEY and BEATRICE).**
- THE HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM.* With Map and full Bibliography of the Subject. 8vo., 18s.
- INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY:* a Study in Trade Unionism. 2 vols. 8vo., 25s. net.
- PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDUSTRY:* Essays.

STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Issued under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

- THE HISTORY OF LOCAL RATES IN ENGLAND:* Five Lectures. By EDWIN CANNAN, M.A. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.* By BERTRAND RUSSELL, B.A. With an Appendix on Social Democracy and the Woman Question in Germany by ALYS RUSSELL, B.A. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- SELECT DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM.*
 i. The Tailoring Trade. Edited by W. F. GALTON. With a Preface by SIDNEY WEBB, LL.B. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- DEPLOIGÉ'S REFERENDUM EN SUISSE.* Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by C. P. TREVELYAN, M.A. [*In preparation.*]
- SELECT DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE STATE REGULATION OF WAGES.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. A. S. HEWINS, M.A. [*In preparation.*]
- HUNGARIAN GILD RECORDS.* Edited by Dr. JULIUS MANDELLO, of Budapest. [*In preparation.*]
- THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE.* By Miss E. A. MACARTHUR. [*In preparation.*]

Evolution, Anthropology, &c.

- Clodd (EDWARD).**
- THE STORY OF CREATION:* a Plain Account of Evolution. With 77 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- A PRIMER OF EVOLUTION:* being a Popular Abridged Edition of 'The Story of Creation'. With Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
- Lang.**—*CUSTOM AND MYTH:* Studies of Early Usage and Belief. By ANDREW LANG. With 15 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Lubbock.**—*THE ORIGIN OF CIVILISATION,* and the Primitive Condition of Man. By Sir J. LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P. With 5 Plates and 20 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 18s.
- Romanes (GEORGE JOHN).**
- DARWIN, AND AFTER DARWIN:* an Exposition of the Darwinian Theory, and a Discussion on Post-Darwinian Questions. Part I. THE DARWINIAN THEORY. With Portrait of Darwin and 125 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
 Part II. POST-DARWINIAN QUESTIONS: Heredity and Utility. With Portrait of the Author and 5 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
 Part III. Post-Darwinian Questions: Isolation and Physiological Selection. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- AN EXAMINATION OF WEISMANNISM.* Crown 8vo., 6s.
- ESSAYS.* Edited by C. LLOYD MORGAN, Principal of University College, Bristol. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Classical Literature, Translations, &c.

- Abbott.**—*HELLENICA*. A Collection of Essays on Greek Poetry, Philosophy, History, and Religion. Edited by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Æschylus.**—*EUMENIDES OF ÆSCHYLUS*. With Metrical English Translation. By J. F. DAVIES. 8vo., 7s.
- Aristophanes.**—*THE ACHARNIANS OF ARISTOPHANES*, translated into English Verse. By R. Y. TYRRELL. Crown 8vo., 1s.
- Aristotle.**—*YOUTH AND OLD AGE, LIFE AND DEATH, AND RESPIRATION*. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by W. OGLE, M.A., M.D. 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Becker (W. A.)**, Translated by the Rev. F. METCALFE, B.D.
GALLUS: or, Roman Scenes in the Time of Augustus. With Notes and Excursuses. With 26 Illustrations. Post 8vo., 3s. 6d.
CHARICLES: or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. With Notes and Excursuses. With 26 Illustrations. Post 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Butler.**—*THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY, WHERE AND WHEN SHE WROTE, WHO SHE WAS, THE USE SHE MADE OF THE ILIAD, AND HOW THE POEM GREW UNDER HER HANDS*. By SAMUEL BUTLER, Author of 'Erewhon,' etc. With Illustrations and 4 Maps. 8vo., 10s. 6d.
- Cicero.**—*CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE*. By R. Y. TYRRELL. Vols. I., II., III., 8vo., each 12s. Vol. IV., 15s. Vol. V., 14s.
- Egbert.**—*INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS*. By JAMES C. EGBERT, Junr., Ph.D. With numerous Illustrations and Facsimiles. Square crown 8vo., 16s.
- Horace.**—*THE WORKS OF HORACE, RENDERED INTO ENGLISH PROSE*. With Lite, Introduction and Notes. By WILLIAM COUTTS, M.A. Crown 8vo., 5s. net.
- Lang.**—*HOMER AND THE EPIC*. By ANDREW LANG. Crown 8vo., 9s. net.
- Lucan.**—*THE PHARSALIA OF LUCAN*. Translated into Blank Verse. By Sir EDWARD RIDLEY. 8vo., 14s.
- Mackail.**—*SELECT EPIGRAMS FROM THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY*. By J. W. MACKAIL. Edited with a Revised Text, Introduction, Translation, and Notes. 8vo., 16s.
- Rich.**—*A DICTIONARY OF ROMAN AND GREEK ANTIQUITIES*. By A. RICH, B.A. With 2000 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Sophocles.**—Translated into English Verse. By ROBERT WHITELAW, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School. Cr. 8vo., 8s. 6d.
- Tacitus.**—*THE HISTORY OF P. CORNELIUS TACITUS*. Translated into English, with an Introduction and Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by ALBERT WILLIAM QUILL, M.A., T.C.D. 2 vols. Vol. I. 8vo., 7s. 6d. Vol. II. 8vo., 12s. 6d.
- Tyrrell.**—*DUBLIN TRANSLATIONS INTO GREEK AND LATIN VERSE*. Edited by R. Y. TYRRELL. 8vo., 6s.
- Virgil.**
THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Verse by JOHN CONINGTON. Crown 8vo., 6s.
THE POEMS OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Prose by JOHN CONINGTON. Crown 8vo., 6s.
THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL, freely translated into English Blank Verse. By W. J. THORNHILL. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Verse by JAMES RHOADES. Books I.-VI. Crown 8vo., 5s. Books VII.-XII. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Wilkins.**—*THE GROWTH OF THE HOMERIC POEMS*. By G. WILKINS. 8vo., 6s.

Poetry and the Drama.

Allingham (WILLIAM).

IRISH SONGS AND POEMS. With Frontispiece of the Waterfall of Asaroe. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

LAWRENCE BLOOMFIELD. With Portrait of the Author. Fcp. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

FLOWER PIECES; DAY AND NIGHT SONGS; BALLADS. With 2 Designs by D. G. ROSSETTI. Fcp. 8vo., 6s. large paper edition, 12s.

Allingham (WILLIAM)—continued.

LIFE AND PHANTASY: with Frontispiece by Sir J. E. MILLAIS, Bart., and Design by ARTHUR HUGHES. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.; large paper edition, 12s.

THOUGHT AND WORD, AND ASHBY MANOR: a Play. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.; large paper edition, 12s.

BLACKBERRIES. Imperial 16mo., 6s.

Sets of the above 6 vols. may be had in uniform Half-parchment binding, price 30s.

Poetry and the Drama—*continued.***Armstrong (G. F. SAVAGE).***POEMS*: Lyrical and Dramatic. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.*KING SAUL.* (The Tragedy of Israel, Part I.) Fcp. 8vo., 5s.*KING DAVID.* (The Tragedy of Israel, Part II.) Fcp. 8vo., 6s.*KING SOLOMON.* (The Tragedy of Israel, Part III.) Fcp. 8vo., 6s.*UGONE*: a Tragedy. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.*A GARLAND FROM GREECE*: Poems. Fcp. 8vo., 7s. 6d.*STORIES OF WICKLOW*: Poems. Fcp. 8vo., 7s. 6d.*MEPHISTOPHELES IN BROADCLOTH*: a Satire. Fcp. 8vo., 4s.*ONE IN THE INFINITE*: a Poem. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.**Armstrong.**—*THE POETICAL WORKS OF EDMUND J. ARMSTRONG.* Fcp. 8vo., 5s.**Arnold.**—*THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD*: or, The Great Consummation. By Sir EDWIN ARNOLD. With 14 Illustrations after HOLMAN HUNT. Crown 8vo., 6s.**Beesly (A. H.).***BALLADS AND OTHER VERSE.* Fcp. 8vo., 5s.*DANTON, AND OTHER VERSE.* Fcp. 8vo., 4s. 6d.**Bell (Mrs. HUGH).***CHAMBER COMEDIES*: a Collection of Plays and Monologues for the Drawing Room. Crown 8vo., 6s.*FAIRY TALE PLAYS, AND HOW TO ACT THEM.* With 91 Diagrams and 52 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.**Cochrane (ALFRED).***THE KESTREL'S NEST*, and other Verses. Fcp. 8vo., 3s. 6d.*LEVIOR PLECTRO*: Occasional Verses. Fcap. 8vo., 3s. 6d.**Douglas.**—*POEMS OF A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.* By Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, Bart., Author of 'The Fireside Tragedy'. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.**Goethe.***FAUST*, Part I., the German Text with Introduction and Notes. By ALBERT M. SELSS, Ph.D., M.A. Crown 8vo., 5s.*THE FIRST PART OF THE TRAGEDY OF FAUST IN ENGLISH.* By THOS. L. WEBB, LL.D., sometime Fellow of Trinity College; Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin, etc. New and Cheaper Edition, with *THE DEATH OF FAUST*, from the Second Part. Crown 8vo., 6s.**Gurney (Rev. ALFRED, M.A.).***DAY-DREAMS*: Poems. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*LOVE'S FRUITION*, and other Poems. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d.**Ingelow (JEAN).***POETICAL WORKS.* Complete in One Volume. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.*POETICAL WORKS.* 2 vols. Fcp. 8vo., 12s.*LYRICAL AND OTHER POEMS.* Selected from the Writings of JEAN INGELOW. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. cloth plain, 3s. cloth gilt.**Lang (ANDREW).***GRASS OF PARNASSUS.* Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.*THE BLUE POETRY BOOK.* Edited by ANDREW LANG. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.**Layard and Corder.**—*SONGS MANY MOODS.* By NINA F. LAYARD; *THE WANDERING ALBATROSS*, etc. By ANN CORDER. In One Volume. Crown 8vo., 5s.**Lecky.**—*POEMS.* By the Right Hon. W. E. H. LECKY. Fcp. 8vo., 5s.**Lytton (THE EARL OF), (OWEN MEREDITH).***MARAH.* Fcp. 8vo., 6s. 6d.*KING POPPY*: a Fantasia. With Plate and Design on Title-Page by Sir EDWARD BURNE-JONES, Bart. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.*THE WANDERER.* Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.*LUCILE.* Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.*SELECTED POEMS.* Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Poetry and the Drama—*continued.*

Macaulay.—*LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME, WITH 'IVRY' AND 'THE ARMADA'.* By LORD MACAULAY.

Illustrated by G. SCHARF. Fcp. 4to., 10s. 6d.

Bijou Edition.

18mo., 2s. 6d. gilt top.

Popular Edition.

Fcp. 4to., 6d. sewed, 1s. cloth.

Illustrated by J. R. WEGUELIN. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Annotated Edition. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. sewed, 1s. 6d. cloth.

MacDonald (GEORGE, LL.D.).

A BOOK OF STRIFE, IN THE FORM OF THE DIARY OF AN OLD SOUL: Poems. 18mo., 6s.

RAMPOLLI: GROWTHS FROM A LONG-PLANTED ROOT: being Translations, New and Old (mainly in verse), chiefly from the German; along with 'A Year's Diary of an Old Soul'. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Moffat.—*CRICKETY CRICKET:* Rhymes and Parodies. By DOUGLAS MOFFAT. With Frontispiece by Sir FRANK LOCKWOOD, Q.C., M.P., and 53 Illustrations by the Author. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Morris (WILLIAM).

POETICAL WORKS—LIBRARY EDITION.

Complete in Ten Volumes. Crown 8vo., price 6s. each.

THE EARTHLY PARADISE. 4 vols. 6s. each.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JASON. 6s.

THE DEFENCE OF GUENEVERE, and other Poems. 6s.

THE STORY OF SIGURD THE VOLSUNG, AND THE FALL OF THE NIBLUNGS. 6s.

LOVE IS ENOUGH; or, the Freeing of Pharamond: A Morality; and *POEMS BY THE WAY.* 6s.

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER. Done into English Verse. 6s.

THE ÆNEIDS OF VIRGIL. Done into English Verse. 6s.

Certain of the POETICAL WORKS may also be had in the following Editions:—

THE EARTHLY PARADISE.

Popular Edition. 5 vols. 12mo., 25s.; or 5s. each, sold separately.

The same in Ten Parts, 25s.; or 2s. 6d. each, sold separately.

Cheap Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Morris (WILLIAM)—continued.

POEMS BY THE WAY. Square crown 8vo., 6s.

* * For Mr. William Morris's Prose Works, see pp. 22 and 31.

Nesbit.—*LAYS AND LEGENDS.* By E. NESBIT (Mrs. HUBERT BLAND). First Series. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. Second Series. With Portrait. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Riley (JAMES WHITCOMB).

OLD FASHIONED ROSES: Poems. 12mo., 5s.

A CHILD-WORLD: POEMS. Fcp. 8vo., 5s.

POEMS: HERE AT HOME. 16mo. 6s. net.

RUBÁIYÁT OF DOC SIFERS. With 43 Illustrations by C. M. RELYEA. Crown 8vo.

Romanes.—*A SELECTION FROM THE POEMS OF GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.* With an Introduction by T. HERBERT WARREN, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. Crown 8vo., 4s. 6d.

Russell.—*SONNETS ON THE SONNET:* an Anthology. Compiled by the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Shakespeare.—*BOWDLER'S FAMILY SHAKESPEARE.* With 36 Woodcuts. 1 vol. 8vo., 14s. Or in 6 vols. Fcp. 8vo., 21s.

THE SHAKESPEARE BIRTHDAY BOOK By MARY F. DUNBAR. 32mo., 1s. 6d.

Tupper.—*POEMS.* By JOHN LUCAS TUPPER. Selected and Edited by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Wordsworth.—*SELECTED POEMS* By ANDREW LANG. With Photogravure Frontispiece of Rydal Mount. With 16 Illustrations and numerous Initial Letters. By ALFRED PARSONS, A.R.A. Crown 8vo. gilt edges, 3s. 6d.

Wordsworth and Coleridge.—*A DESCRIPTION OF THE WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. T. NORTON LONGMAN.* Edited, with Notes, by W. HALE WHITE. With 3 Facsimile Reproductions. 4to. 10s. 6d.

Fiction, Humour, &c.

- Allingham.**—*CROOKED PATHS.* By FRANCIS ALLINGHAM. Crown 8vo., 6s
- Anstey.**—*VOCES POPULI.* Reprinted from 'Punch'. By F. ANSTEY, Author of 'Vice Versâ'. First Series. With 20 Illustrations by J. BERNARD PARTRIDGE. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Beaconsfield (THE EARL OF).**
- NOVELS AND TALES.* Complete in 11 vols. Crown 8vo., 1s. 6d. each.
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Vivian Grey. | Sybil. |
| The Young Duke, etc. | Henrietta Temple. |
| Alroy, Ixion, etc. | Venetia. |
| Contarini Fleming, etc. | Coningsby. |
| Tancred. | Lothair. |
| | Endymion. |
- NOVELS AND TALES.* The Hughenden Edition. With 2 Portraits and 11 Vignettes. 11 vols. Crown 8vo., 42s. 6d.
- Deland (MARGARET).**
- PHILIP AND HIS WIFE.* Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- THE WISDOM OF FOOLS.* Stories. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Diderot.**—*RAMEAU'S NEPHEW:* a Translation from Diderot's Autographic Text. By SYLVIA MARGARET HILL. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Dougall.**—*BEGGARS ALL.* By L. DOUGALL. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Doyle (A. CONAN).**
- MICAH CLARKE:* A Tale of Monmouth's Rebellion. With 10 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- THE CAPTAIN OF THE POLESTAR,* and other Tales. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- THE REFUGEES:* A Tale of the Huguenots. With 25 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- THE STARK MUNRO LETTERS.* Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Farrar (F. W., DEAN OF CANTERBURY).**
- DARKNESS AND DAWN:* or, Scenes in the Days of Nero. An Historic Tale. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- GATHERING CLOUDS:* a Tale of the Days of St. Chrysostom. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.
- Fowler (EDITH H.).**
- THE YOUNG PRETENDERS.* A Story of Child Life. With 12 Illustrations by PHILIP BURNE-JONES. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- THE PROFESSOR'S CHILDREN.* With 24 Illustrations by ETHEL KATE BURGESS. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Froude.**—*THE TWO CHIEFS OF DUNBOY:* an Irish Romance of the Last Century. By JAMES A. FROUDE. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Gilkes.**—*KALLISTRATUS:* an Autobiography. A Story of Hannibal and the Second Punic War. By A. H. GILKES, M.A., Master of Dulwich College. With 3 Illustrations by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Graham.**—*THE RED SCAUR:* A Story of the North Country. By P. ANDERSON GRAHAM. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Gurdon.**—*MEMORIES AND FANCIES:* Suffolk Tales and other Stories; Fairy Legends; Poems; Miscellaneous Articles. By the late LADY CAMILLA GURDON, Author of 'Suffolk Folk-Lore'. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Haggard (H. RIDER).**
- HEART OF THE WORLD.* With 15 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- JOAN HASTE.* With 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- THE PEOPLE OF THE MIST.* With 16 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- MONTEZUMA'S DAUGHTER.* With 24 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- SHE.* With 32 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- ALLAN QUATERMAIN.* With 31 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- MAIWA'S REVENGE:* Cr. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
- COLONEL QUARITCH, V.C.* With Frontispiece and Vignette. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- CLEOPATRA.* With 29 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Fiction, Humour, &c.—*continued.*

Haggard (H. RIDER)—*continued.*

BEATRICE. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

ERIC BRIGHTYES. With 51 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

NADA THE LILY. With 23 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

ALLAN'S WIFE. With 34 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE WITCH'S HEAD. With 16 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

MR. MEESON'S WILL. With 16 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

DAWN. With 16 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Harte.—*IN THE CARQUINEZ WOODS* and other stories. By BRET HARTE. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Hope.—*THE HEART OF PRINCESS OSRA.* By ANTHONY HOPE. With 9 Illustrations by JOHN WILLIAMSON. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Hornung.—*THE UNBIDDEN GUEST.* By E. W. HORNUNG. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Jerome.—*SKETCHES IN LAVENDER: BLUE AND GREEN.* By JEROME K. JEROME, Author of 'Three Men in a Boat,' etc. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Joyce.—*OLD CELTIC ROMANCES.* Twelve of the most beautiful of the Ancient Irish Romantic Tales. Translated from the Gaelic. By P. W. JOYCE, LL.D. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Lang.—*A MONK OF FIFE; a Story of the Days of Joan of Arc.* By ANDREW LANG. With 13 Illustrations by SELWYN IMAGE. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Levett-Yeats (S.).

THE CHEVALIER D'AURIAC. Crown 8vo., 6s.

A GALAHAD OF THE CREEKS, and other Stories. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Lyall (EDNA).

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A SLANDER. Fcp. 8vo., 1s., sewed.

Presentation Edition. With 20 Illustrations by LANCELOT SPEED. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A TRUTH. Fcp. 8vo., 1s., sewed; 1s. 6d., cloth.

DOREEN. The Story of a Singer. Crown 8vo., 6s.

WAYFARING MEN. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Melville (G. J. WHITE).

The Gladiators.

The Interpreter.

Good for Nothing.

The Queen's Maries.

Holmby House.

Kate Coventry.

Digby Grand.

General Bounce

Crown 8vo., 1s. 6d. each.

Merriman.—*FLOTSAM: A Story of the Indian Mutiny.* By HENRY SETO MERRIMAN. With Frontispiece and Vignette by H. G. MASSEY, A.R.E. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Morris (WILLIAM).

THE SUNDERING FLOOD. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE WATER OF THE WONDROUS ISLES. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

THE WELL AT THE WORLD'S END. 2 vols. 8vo., 28s.

THE STORY OF THE GLITTERING PLAIN, which has been also called *The Land of the Living Men,* or *The Acre of the Undying.* Square post 8vo., 5s. net.

THE ROOTS OF THE MOUNTAINS wherein is told somewhat of the Lives of the Men of Burgdale, their Friends, their Neighbours, their Foemen, and their Fellows-in-Arms. Written in Prose and Verse. Square crown 8vo., 8s.

A TALE OF THE HOUSE OF THE WOLFINGS, and all the Kindreds of the Mark. Written in Prose and Verse. Square crown 8vo., 6s.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL, AND A KING'S LESSON. 12mo., 1s. 6d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE; OR, A New Epoch of Rest. Being some Chapters from an Utopian Romance. Post 8vo. 1s. 6d.

* * For Mr. William Morris's Poetical Works, see p. 20.

Newman (CARDINAL).

LOSS AND GAIN: The Story of a Convert. Crown 8vo. Cabinet Edition 6s.; Popular Edition, 3s. 6d.

CALLISTA: A Tale of the Thirteenth Century. Crown 8vo. Cabinet Edition 6s.; Popular Edition, 3s. 6d.

Oliphant.—*OLD MR. TREDGOLL.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Phillipps-Wolley.—*SNAP: a Legend of the Lone Mountain.* By C. PHILLIPPS WOLLEY. With 13 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Quintana.—*THE CID CAMPEADOR* an Historical Romance. By D. ANTONI DE TRUEBA Y LA QUINTANA. Translated from the Spanish by HENRY J. GILL, M.A. T.C.D. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Fiction, Humour, &c.—*continued.***Rhoscomyl (OWEN).**

THE JEWEL OF YNYS GALON: being a hitherto unprinted Chapter in the History of the Sea Rovers. With 12 Illustrations by LANCELOT SPEED. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

BATLEMENT AND TOWER: a Romance. With Frontispiece by R. CATON WOODVILLE. Crown 8vo., 6s.

FOR THE WHITE ROSE OF ARNO: a Story of the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Sewell (ELIZABETH M.).

A Glimpse of the World
Laneton Parsonage.

Margaret Percival.

Katharine Ashton.

The Earl's Daughter.

The Experience of Life.

Amy Herbert

Cleve Hall.

Gertrude.

Home Life.

After Life.

Ursula. Ivors.

Cr. 8vo., 1s. 6d. each cloth plain. 2s. 6d. each cloth extra, gilt edges.

Stevenson (ROBERT LOUIS).

THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. sewed. 1s. 6d. cloth.

THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE; WITH OTHER FABLES. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

MORE NEW ARABIAN NIGHTS—THE DYNAMITER. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON and FANNY VAN DE GRIFT STEVENSON. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE WRONG BOX. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON and LLOYD OSBOURNE. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Suttner.—*LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS (Die Waffen Nieder)*: The Autobiography of Martha von Tilling. By BERTHA VON SUTTNER. Translated by T. HOLMES. Cr. 8vo., 1s. 6d.

Taylor.—*EARLY ITALIAN LOVE-STORIES*. Edited and Retold by UNA TAYLOR. With 12 Illustrations by H. J. FORD.

Trollope (ANTHONY).

THE WARDEN. Cr. 8vo., 1s. 6d.

BARCHESTER TOWERS. Cr. 8vo., 1s. 6d.

Walford (L. B.).

LEDDY MARGET. Crown 8vo., 6s.

IVA KILDARE: a Matrimonial Problem. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Walford (L. B.)—continued.

MR. SMITH: a Part of his Life. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

THE BABY'S GRANDMOTHER. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

COUSINS. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

TROUBLESOME DAUGHTERS. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

PAULINE. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

DICK NETHERBY. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF A WEEK. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A STIFF-NECKED GENERATION. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

NAN, and other Stories. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

THE MISCHIEF OF MONICA. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

THE ONE GOOD GUEST. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

'*PLOUGHED*,' and other Stories. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

THE MATCHMAKER. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Watson.—*RACING AND 'CHASING*: a Collection of Sporting Stories. By ALFRED E. T. WATSON, Editor of the 'Badminton Magazine'. With 16 Plates and 36 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Weyman (STANLEY).

THE HOUSE OF THE WOLF. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

A GENTLEMAN OF FRANCE. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Cr. 8vo., 6s.

THE RED COCKADE. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Crown 8vo., 6s.

SHREWSBURY. With 24 Illustrations by CLAUDE A. SHEPPERSON. Cr. 8vo., 6s.

Whishaw (FRED.).

A BOYAR OF THE TERRIBLE: a Romance of the Court of Ivan the Cruel, First Tzar of Russia. With 12 Illustrations by H. G. MASSEY, A.R.E. Crown 8vo., 6s.

A TSAR'S GRATITUDE: A Story of Modern Russia. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Woods.—*WEEPING FERRY*, and other Stories. By MARGARET L. WOODS, Author of 'A Village Tragedy'. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Popular Science (Natural History, &c.).

Butler.—*OUR HOUSEHOLD INSECTS.*

An Account of the Insect-Pests found in Dwelling-Houses. By EDWARD A. BUTLER, B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.). With 113 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Furneaux (W.).

THE OUTDOOR WORLD; or The Young Collector's Handbook. With 18 Plates (16 of which are coloured), and 549 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

BUTTERFLIES AND MOTHS (British).

With 12 coloured Plates and 241 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

LIFE IN PONDS AND STREAMS.

With 8 coloured Plates and 331 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Hartwig (DR. GEORGE).

THE SEA AND ITS LIVING WONDERS.

With 12 Plates and 303 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7s. net.

THE TROPICAL WORLD. With 8 Plates and 172 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7s. net.

THE POLAR WORLD. With 3 Maps, 8 Plates and 85 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7s. net.

THE SUBTERRANEAN WORLD. With 3 Maps and 80 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7s. net.

THE AERIAL WORLD. With Map, 8 Plates and 60 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7s. net.

HEROES OF THE POLAR WORLD. With 19 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s.

WONDERS OF THE TROPICAL FORESTS. With 40 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s.

WORKERS UNDER THE GROUND. With 29 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s.

MARVELS OVER OUR HEADS. With 29 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s.

SEA MONSTERS AND SEA BIRDS. With 75 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

DENIZENS OF THE DEEP. With 117 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Hartwig (DR. GEORGE)—continued

VOLCANOES AND EARTHQUAKES

With 30 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

WILD ANIMALS OF THE TROPICS

With 66 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Helmholtz.—*POPULAR LECTURES ON*

SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS. By HERMANN VON

HELMHOLTZ. With 68 Woodcuts. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

Hudson (W. H.).

BRITISH BIRDS. With a Chapter

on Structure and Classification by FRANK E. BEDDARD, F.R.S. With 16 Plates (8 of which are Coloured), and over 100 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

BIRDS IN LONDON. With 17 Plates

and 15 Illustrations in the Text, by BRYAN HOOK, A. D. McCORMICK, and from Photographs from Nature, by R. B. LODGE. 8vo., 12s.

Proctor (RICHARD A.).

LIGHT SCIENCE FOR LEISURE HOURS.

Familiar Essays on Scientific Subjects. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 5s. each.

ROUGH WAYS MADE SMOOTH. Fami-

liar Essays on Scientific Subjects. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

PLEASANT WAYS IN SCIENCE. Crown

8vo., 3s. 6d.

NATURE STUDIES. By R. A. PROC-

TOR, GRANT ALLEN, A. WILSON, T. FOSTER and E. CLODD. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

LEISURE READINGS. By R. A. PROC-

TOR, E. CLODD, A. WILSON, T. FOSTER and A. C. RANYARD. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

* * For Mr. Proctor's other books see pp. 13, 28 and 31, and Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s Catalogue of Scientific Works.

Stanley.—*A FAMILIAR HISTORY OF*

BIRDS. By E. STANLEY, D.D., formerly

Bishop of Norwich. With 160 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Popular Science (Natural History, &c.)—*continued.***Wood (REV. J. G.).**

HOMES WITHOUT HANDS: A Description of the Habitations of Animals, classed according to the Principle of Construction. With 140 Illustrations. 8vo., 7s. net.

INSECTS AT HOME: A Popular Account of British Insects, their Structure, Habits and Transformations. With 700 Illustrations. 8vo., 7s. net.

INSECTS ABROAD: A Popular Account of Foreign Insects, their Structure, Habits and Transformations. With 600 Illustrations. 8vo., 7s. net.

BIBLE ANIMALS: a Description of every Living Creature mentioned in the Scriptures. With 112 Illustrations. 8vo., 7s. net.

PETLAND REVISITED. With 33 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

OUT OF DOORS; a Selection of Original Articles on Practical Natural History. With 11 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Wood (REV. J. G.)—*continued.*

STRANGE DWELLINGS: a Description of the Habitations of Animals, abridged from 'Homes without Hands'. With 60 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

BIRD LIFE OF THE BIBLE. With 32 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

WONDERFUL NESTS. With 30 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

HOMES UNDER THE GROUND. With 28 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

WILD ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE. With 29 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE. With 23 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE BRANCH BUILDERS. With 28 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

SOCIAL HABITATIONS AND PARASITIC NESTS. With 18 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2s.

Works of Reference.

Gwilt.—*AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ARCHITECTURE*. By JOSEPH GWILT, F.S.A. Illustrated with more than 1100 Engravings on Wood. Revised (1888), with Alterations and Considerable Additions by WYATT PAPWORTH. 8vo., £2 12s. 6d.

Longmans' GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD. Edited by GEORGE G. CHISHOLM, M.A., B.Sc. Imp. 8vo., £2 2s. cloth, £2 12s. 6d. half-morocco.

Maunder (Samuel).

BIOGRAPHICAL TREASURY. With Supplement brought down to 1889. By Rev. JAMES WOOD. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

TREASURY OF GEOGRAPHY, Physical, Historical, Descriptive, and Political. With 7 Maps and 16 Plates. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

THE TREASURY OF BIBLE KNOWLEDGE. By the Rev. J. AYRE, M.A. With 5 Maps, 15 Plates, and 300 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE AND LIBRARY OF REFERENCE. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

HISTORICAL TREASURY. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

Maunder (Samuel)—*continued.*

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY TREASURY. Fcp. 8vo., 6s.

THE TREASURY OF BOTANY. Edited by J. LINDLEY, F.R.S., and T. MOORE, F.L.S. With 274 Woodcuts and 20 Steel Plates. 2 vols. Fcp. 8vo., 12s.

Roget.—*THESAURUS OF ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES*. Classified and Arranged so as to Facilitate the Expression of Ideas and assist in Literary Composition. By PETER MARK ROGET, M.D., F.R.S. Recomposed throughout, enlarged and improved, partly from the Author's Notes, and with a full Index, by the Author's Son, JOHN LEWIS ROGET. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Willich.—*POPULAR TABLES* for giving information for ascertaining the value of Lifehold, Leasehold, and Church Property, the Public Funds, etc. By CHARLES M. WILLICH. Edited by H. BENICE JONES. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Children's Books.

Crake (Rev. A. D.).

EDWY THE FAIR; or, The First Chronicle of Æscendune. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.*ALFGAR THE DANE*; or, The Second Chronicle of Æscendune. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*THE RIVAL HEIRS*: being the Third and Last Chronicle of Æscendune. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.*THE HOUSE OF WALDERNE*. A Tale of the Cloister and the Forest in the Days of the Barons' Wars. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.*BRIAN FITZ-COUNT*. A Story of Wallingford Castle and Dorchester Abbey. Cr. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Lang (ANDREW).—EDITED BY.

THE BLUE FAIRY BOOK. With 138 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE RED FAIRY BOOK*. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE GREEN FAIRY BOOK*. With 99 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE YELLOW FAIRY BOOK*. With 104 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE PINK FAIRY BOOK*. With 67 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE BLUE POETRY BOOK*. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE BLUE POETRY BOOK*. School Edition, without Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d.*THE TRUE STORY BOOK*. With 66 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE RED TRUE STORY BOOK*. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.*THE ANIMAL STORY BOOK*. With 67 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s.Molesworth—*SILVERTHORNS*. By Mrs. MOLESWORTH. With 4 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 5s.

Meade (L. T.).

DADDY'S BOY. With 8 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*DEB AND THE DUCHESS*. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*THE BERESFORD PRIZE*. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*THE HOUSE OF SURPRISES*. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.Praeger.—*THE ADVENTURES OF THE THREE BOLD BABES: HECTOR, HONOR AND ALISANDER*. A Story in Pictures. By S. ROSAMOND PRAEGER. With 24 Coloured Plates and 24 Outline Pictures. Oblong 4to., 3s. 6d.Stevenson.—*A CHILD'S GARDEN OF VERSES*. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Fcp. 8vo., 5s.Sullivan.—*HERE THEY ARE!* More Stories. Written and Illustrated by JAS. SULLIVAN. Crown 8vo., 6s.Upton (FLORENCE K. AND BERTHA).—*THE ADVENTURES OF TWO DUTCH DOLLS AND A 'GOLLIWOGG'*. With Coloured Plates and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Oblong 4to., 6s.*THE GOLLIWOGG'S BICYCLE CLUB*. With 31 Coloured Plates and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Oblong 4to. 6s.*THE VEGE-MEN'S REVENGE*. With 31 Coloured Plates and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Oblong 4to., 6s.Wordsworth.—*THE SNOW GARDEN AND OTHER FAIRY TALES FOR CHILDREN*. By ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH. With Illustrations by TREVOR HADDON. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Longmans' Series of Books for Girls.

Price 2s. 6d. each.

ATELIER (THE) DU LYS: or, an Art Student in the Reign of Terror.

By THE SAME AUTHOR.

MADemoiselle MORI: a Tale of Modern Rome. *THAT CHILD UNDER A CLOUD.**IN THE OLDEN TIME*: a Tale of the Peasant War in Germany. *HESTER'S VENTURE THE FIDDLER OF LUGAU.**A YOUNGER SISTER.* *A CHILD OF THE REVOLUTION.**ATHERSTONE PRIORY.* By L. N. COMYN.*THE STORY OF A SPRING MORNING,* etc. By Mr. MOLESWORTH. Illustrated.*THE PALACE IN THE GARDEN.* By Mrs. MOLESWORTH. Illustrated.*NEIGHBOURS.* By Mrs. MOLESWORTH.*THE THIRD MISS ST. QUENTIN.* By Mrs. MOLESWORTH.*VERY YOUNG; AND QUITE ANOTHER STORY.* Two Stories. By JEAN INGELON.*CAN THIS BE LOVE?* By LOUISA PARSONS.*KEITH DERAMORE.* By the Author 'Miss Molly'.*SIDNEY.* By MARGARET DELAND.*AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE.* By DOROTHEA GERARD.*LAST WORDS TO GIRLS ON LIFE AT SCHOOL AND AFTER SCHOOL.* By MARGARET GREY.*STRAY THOUGHTS FOR GIRLS.* By LUCY H. M. SOULSBY. 16mo., 1s. 6d. net.

The Silver Library.

CROWN 8VO. 3s. 6d. EACH VOLUME.

- Arnold's (Sir Edwin) *Seas and Lands*. With 71 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Bagehot's (W.) *Biographical Studies*. 3s. 6d.
- Bagehot's (W.) *Economic Studies*. 3s. 6d.
- Bagehot's (W.) *Literary Studies*. With Portrait. 3 vols, 3s. 6d. each.
- Baker's (Sir S. W.) *Eight Years in Ceylon*. With 6 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Baker's (Sir S. W.) *Rifle and Hound in Ceylon*. With 6 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Baring-Gould's (Rev. S.) *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*. 3s. 6d.
- Baring-Gould's (Rev. S.) *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*. 2 vols, 3s. 6d. each.
- Becker's (W. A.) *Gallus: or, Roman Scenes in the Time of Augustus*. With 26 Illus. 3s. 6d.
- Becker's (W. A.) *Charicles: or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks*. With 26 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Bent's (J. T.) *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*. With 117 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Brassey's (Lady) *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'*. With 66 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Clodd's (E.) *Story of Creation: a Plain Account of Evolution*. With 77 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Conybeare (Rev. W. J.) and Howson's (Very Rev. J. S.) *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. With 46 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Dougall's (L.) *Beggars All: a Novel*. 3s. 6d.
- Doyle's (A. Conan) *Micah Clarke. A Tale of Monmouth's Rebellion*. With 10 Illus. 3s. 6d.
- Doyle's (A. Conan) *The Captain of the Polestar, and other Tales*. 3s. 6d.
- Doyle's (A. Conan) *The Refugees: A Tale of the Huguenots*. With 25 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Doyle's (A. Conan) *The Stark Munro Letters*. 3s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *The History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*. 12 vols. 3s. 6d. each.
- Froude's (J. A.) *The English in Ireland*. 3 vols, 10s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon*. 3s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *The Spanish Story of the Armada, and other Essays*. 3s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. 4 vols. 3s. 6d. each.
- Froude's (J. A.) *Oceana, or England and Her Colonies*. With 9 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *The Council of Trent*. 3s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life*. 1795-1835. 2 vols. 7s. 1834-1881. 2 vols. 7s.
- Froude's (J. A.) *Cæsar: a Sketch*. 3s. 6d.
- Froude's (J. A.) *The Two Chiefs of Dunboy: an Irish Romance of the Last Century*. 3s. 6d.
- Gleig's (Rev. G. R.) *Life of the Duke of Wellington*. With Portrait. 3s. 6d.
- Greville's (C. C. F.) *Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria*. 8 vols., 3s. 6d. each.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *She: A History of Adventure*. With 32 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Allan Quatermain*. With 20 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Colonel Quaritch, V.C.: Tale of Country Life*. With Frontispiece and Vignette. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Cleopatra*. With 29 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Eric Brighteyes*. With 51 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Beatrice*. With Frontispiece and Vignette. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Allan's Wife*. With 34 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard (H. R.) *Heart of the World*. With 15 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Montezuma's Daughter*. With 25 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *The Witch's Head*. With 16 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Mr. Meeson's Will*. With 16 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Nada the Lily*. With 23 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Dawn*. With 16 Illus. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *The People of the Mist*. With 16 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard's (H. R.) *Joan Haste*. With 20 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Haggard (H. R.) and Lang's (A.) *The World's Desire*. With 27 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Harte's (Bret) *In the Carquinez Woods and other Stories*. 3s. 6d.
- Helmholtz's (Hermann von) *Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects*. With 68 Illustrations. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.
- Hornung's (E. W.) *The Unbidden Guest*. 3s. 6d.
- Howitt's (W.) *Visits to Remarkable Places*. With 80 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Jefferies' (R.) *The Story of My Heart: My Autobiography*. With Portrait. 3s. 6d.
- Jefferies' (R.) *Field and Hedgerow*. With Portrait. 3s. 6d.
- Jefferies' (R.) *Red Deer*. With 17 Illus. 3s. 6d.
- Jefferies' (R.) *Wood Magic: a Fable*. With Frontispiece and Vignette by E. V. B. 3s. 6d.
- Jefferies' (R.) *The Tollers of the Field*. With Portrait from the Bust in Salisbury Cathedral. 3s. 6d.
- Kaye (Sir J.) and Malleon's (Colonel) *History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8*. 6 vols. 3s. 6d. each.
- Knight's (E. F.) *The Cruise of the 'Alerte': the Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad*. With 2 Maps and 23 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Knight's (E. F.) *Where Three Empires Meet: a Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Baltistan, Gilgit*. With a Map and 54 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Knight's (E. F.) *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: a Coasting Voyage from Hammersmith to Copenhagen in a Three-Ton Yacht*. With Map and 11 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Köstlin's (J.) *Life of Luther*. With 62 Illustrations and 4 Facsimiles of MSS. 3s. 6d.
- Lang's (A.) *Angling Sketches*. With 20 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
- Lang's (A.) *Custom and Myth: Studies of Early Usage and Belief*. 3s. 6d.

The Silver Library—*continued.*

- Lang's (A.) *Cock Lane and Common-Sense.* 3s. 6d.
 Lang's (A.) *The Monk of Fife: a Story of the Days of Joan of Arc.* With 13 Illusts. 3s. 6d.
 Lees (J. A.) and Clutterbuck's (W. J.) *B. C. 1887, A Ramble in British Columbia.* With Maps and 75 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Macaulay's (Lord) *Essays and Lays of Ancient Rome, etc.* With Portrait and 4 Illustrations to the 'Lays'. 3s. 6d.
 Marbot's (Baron de) *Memoirs.* Translated. 2 vols. 7s.
 Marshman's (J. C.) *Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock.* 3s. 6d.
 Merivale's (Dean) *History of the Romans under the Empire.* 8 vols. 3s. 6d. each.
 Merriman's (H. S.) *Flotsam: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny.* 3s. 6d.
 Mill's (J. S.) *Political Economy.* 3s. 6d.
 Mill's (J. S.) *System of Logic.* 3s. 6d.
 Milner's (Geo.) *Country Pleasures: the Chronicle of a Year chiefly in a Garden.* 3s. 6d.
 Nansen's (F.) *The First Crossing of Greenland.* With 142 Illustrations and a Map. 3s. 6d.
 Phillipp's-Wolley's (C.) *Snap: a Legend of the Lone Mountain.* With 13 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *The Orbs Around Us.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *The Expanse of Heaven.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Light Science for Leisure Hours.* First Series. 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *The Moon.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Other Worlds than Ours.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Our Place among Infinities: a Series of Essays contrasting our Little Abode in Space and Time with the Infinities around us.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Other Suns than Ours.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Rough Ways made Smooth.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Pleasant Ways in Science.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Myths and Marvels of Astronomy.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Nature Studies.* 3s. 6d.
 Proctor's (R. A.) *Leisure Readings.* By R. A. PROCTOR, EDWARD CLODD, ANDREW WILSON, THOMAS FOSTER, and A. C. RANYARD. With Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Rhoscomyl's (Owen) *The Jewel of Ynys Galon.* With 12 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Rossetti's (Maria F.) *A Shadow of Dante.* 3s. 6d.
 Smith's (R. Bosworth) *Carthage and the Carthaginians.* With Maps, Plans, etc. 3s. 6d.
 Stanley's (Bishop) *Familiar History of Birds.* With 160 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Stevenson's (R. L.) *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; with other Fables.* 3s. 6d.
 Stevenson (R. L.) and Osbourne's (Ll.) *The Wrong Box.* 3s. 6d.
 Stevenson (Robert Louis) and Stevenson's (Fanny van de Grift) *More New Arabian Nights.—The Dynamiter.* 3s. 6d.
 Weyman's (Stanley J.) *The House of the Wolf: a Romance.* 3s. 6d.
 Wood's (Rev. J. G.) *Petland Revisited.* With 33 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Wood's (Rev. J. G.) *Strange Dwellings.* With 60 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
 Wood's (Rev. J. G.) *Out of Doors.* With 11 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.

Cookery, Domestic Management, &c.

- Acton. — *MODERN COOKERY.* By ELIZA ACTON. With 150 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo., 4s. 6d.
 Buckton. — *COMFORT AND CLEANLINESS: The Servant and Mistress Question.* By Mrs. CATHERINE M. BUCKTON, late Member of the Leeds School Board. With 14 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2s.
 Bull (THOMAS, M.D.).
HINTS TO MOTHERS ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THEIR HEALTH DURING THE PERIOD OF PREGNANCY. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
THE MATERNAL MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
 De Salis (MRS.).
CAKES AND CONFECTIONS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
DOGS: A Manual for Amateurs. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
DRESSED GAME AND POULTRY À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
 De Salis (MRS.).—*continued.*
DRESSED VEGETABLES À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
DRINKS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
ENTRÉES À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
FLORAL DECORATIONS. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
GARDENING À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo. Part I., Vegetables, 1s. 6d. Part II., Fruits, 1s. 6d.
NATIONAL VIANDS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
NEW-LAID EGGS. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
OYSTERS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
PUDDINGS AND PASTRY À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
SAVOURIES À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.
SOUPS AND DRESSED FISH À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.

Cookery, Domestic Management, &c.—*continued.*De Salis (Mrs.)—*continued.**SWEETS AND SUPPER DISHES À LA MODE.* Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.*TEMPTING DISHES FOR SMALL INCOMES.* Fcp. 8vo., 1s. 6d.*WRINKLES AND NOTIONS FOR EVERY HOUSEHOLD.* Crown 8vo., 1s. 6d.Lear.—*MAIGRE COOKERY.* By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. 16mo., 2s.Poole.—*COOKERY FOR THE DIABETIC.* By W. H. and Mrs. POOLE. With Preface by Dr. PAVY. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Walker (JANE H.).

A BOOK FOR EVERY WOMAN. Part I., The Management of Children in Health and out of Health. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Part II. Woman in Health and out of Health. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

A HANDBOOK FOR MOTHERS: being Simple Hints to Women on the Management of their Health during Pregnancy and Confinement, together with Plain Directions as to the Care of Infants. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Miscellaneous and Critical Works.

Allingham.—*VARIETIES IN PROSE.* By WILLIAM ALLINGHAM. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 18s. (Vols. 1 and 2, Rambles, by PATRICIUS WALKER. Vol. 3, Irish Sketches, etc.)Armstrong.—*ESSAYS AND SKETCHES.* By EDMUND J. ARMSTRONG. Fcp. 8vo., 5s.Bagehot.—*LITERARY STUDIES.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. With Portrait. 3 vols. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.Baring-Gould.—*CURIOUS MYTHS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.* By Rev. S. BARING-GOULD. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.Baynes.—*SHAKESPEARE STUDIES,* and other Essays. By the late THOMAS SPENCER BAYNES, LL.B., LL.D. With a Biographical Preface by Professor LEWIS CAMPBELL. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Boyd (A. K. H.) ('A.K.H.B.').

*And see MISCELLANEOUS THEOLOGICAL WORKS, p. 32.**AUTUMN HOLIDAYS OF A COUNTRY PARSON.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*COMMONPLACE PHILOSOPHER.* Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.*CRITICAL ESSAYS OF A COUNTRY PARSON.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*EAST COAST DAYS AND MEMORIES.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*LANDSCAPES, CHURCHES, AND MORALITIES.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*LEISURE HOURS IN TOWN.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*LESSONS OF MIDDLE AGE.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*OUR LITTLE LIFE.* Two Series. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.*OUR HOMELY COMEDY: AND TRAGEDY.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.*RECREATIONS OF A COUNTRY PARSON.* Three Series. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.Brookings and Ringwalt.—*BRIEFS AND DEBATE ON CURRENT, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TOPICS.* Edited by W. DU BOIS BROOKINGS, A.B. of the Harvard Law School, and RALPH CURTIS RINGWALT, A.B. Assistant in Rhetoric in Columbia University, New York. With an Introduction on 'The Art of Debate' by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D. of Harvard University. With full Index. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Butler (SAMUEL).

EREWHON. Crown 8vo., 5s.*THE FAIR HAVEN.* A Work in Defence of the Miraculous Element in our Lord's Ministry. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.*LIFE AND HABIT.* An Essay after a Completer View of Evolution. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.*EVOLUTION, OLD AND NEW.* Cr. 8vo., 10s. 6d.*ALPS AND SANCTUARIES OF PIEDMONT AND CANTON TICINO.* Illustrated. Pott 4to., 10s. 6d.*LUCK, OR CUNNING, AS THE MAIN MEANS OF ORGANIC MODIFICATION?* Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.*EX VOTO.* An Account of the Sacro Monte or New Jerusalem at Varallo-Sesia. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.*SELECTIONS FROM WORKS,* with Remarks on Mr. G. J. Romanes' 'Mental Evolution in Animals,' and a Psalm of Montreal. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.*THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY, WHERE AND WHEN SHE WROTE, WHO SHE WAS, THE USE SHE MADE OF THE ILIAD, AND HOW THE POEM GREW UNDER HER HANDS.* With 14 Illustrations. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Miscellaneous and Critical Works—*continued.*

CHARITIES REGISTER, THE ANNUAL, AND DIGEST: being a Classified Register of Charities in or available in the Metropolis, together with a Digest of Information respecting the Legal, Voluntary, and other Means for the Prevention and Relief of Distress, and the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, and an Elaborate Index. With an Introduction by C. S. LOCH, Secretary to the Council of the Charity Organisation Society, London. 8vo., 4s.

Dowell.—*THOUGHTS AND WORDS.* By STEPHEN DOWELL. 3 vols. Crown 8vo., 31s. 6d.

* * * This is a selection of passages in prose and verse from authors, ancient and modern, arranged according to the subject.

Dreyfus.—*LECTURES ON FRENCH LITERATURE.* Delivered in Melbourne by IRMA DREYFUS. With Portrait of the Author. Large crown 8vo., 12s. 6d.

Evans.—*THE ANCIENT STONE IMPLEMENTS, WEAPONS AND ORNAMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.* By Sir JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., etc. With 537 Illustrations. Medium 8vo., 28s.

Hamlin.—*A TEXT-BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE.* By A. D. F. HAMLIN, A.M. With 229 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Haweis.—*MUSIC AND MORALS.* By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS. With Portrait of the Author, and numerous Illustrations, Facsimiles, and Diagrams. Cr. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Hime.—*STRAY MILITARY PAPERS.* By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. L. HIME (late Royal Artillery). 8vo, 7s. 6d.

CONTENTS.—Infantry Fire Formations—On Marking at Rifle Matches—The Progress of Field Artillery—The Reconnoitering Duties of Cavalry.

Hullah.—*THE HISTORY OF MODERN MUSIC;* a Course of Lectures. By JOHN HULLAH, LL.D. 8vo., 8s. 6d.

Jefferies (RICHARD).

FIELD AND HEDGEROW: With Portrait. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE STORY OF MY HEART: my Autobiography. With Portrait and New Preface by C. J. LONGMAN. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

RED DEER. With 17 Illustrations by J. CHARLTON and H. TUNALY. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE TOILERS OF THE FIELD. With Portrait from the Bust in Salisbury Cathedral. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Jefferies (RICHARD)—*continued.*

WOOD MAGIC: a Fable. With Frontispiece and Vignette by E. V. B. CROW. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THOUGHTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF RICHARD JEFFERIES. Selected by H. S. HOOLE WAYLEN. 16mo., 3s. 6d.

Johnson.—*THE PATENTEE'S MANUAL:* a Treatise on the Law and Practice of Letters Patent. By J. & J. H. JOHNSON, Patent Agents, etc. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Joyce.—*THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF IRISH NAMES OF PLACES.* By P. W. JOYCE, LL.D. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 5s. each.

Lang (ANDREW).

THE MAKING OF RELIGION. 8vo.

MODERN MYTHOLOGY: a Reply to Professor Max Müller. 8vo., 9s.

LETTERS TO DEAD AUTHORS. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.

BOOKS AND BOOKMEN. With 2 Coloured Plates and 17 Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.

OLD FRIENDS. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.

LETTERS ON LITERATURE. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.

ESSAYS IN LITTLE. With Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

COCK LANE AND COMMON-SENSE. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE BOOK OF DREAMS AND GHOSTS. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Macfarren.—*LECTURES ON HARMONY.* By Sir GEORGE A. MACFARREN. 8vo., 12s.

Madden.—*THE DIARY OF MASTER WILLIAM SILENCE:* a Study of Shakespeare and Elizabethan Sport. By the Right Hon. D. H. MADDEN, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. 8vo., 16s.

Max Müller (The Right Hon. F.).

INDIA: WHAT CAN IT TEACH US? Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

CHIPS FROM A GERMAN WORKSHOP. Vol. I. Recent Essays and Addresses. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Vol. II. Biographical Essays. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Vol. III. Essays on Language and Literature. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Vol. IV. Essays on Mythology and Folk Lore. Crown 8vo., 5s.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SCIENCE OF MYTHOLOGY. 2 vols. 8vo., 32s.

Miscellaneous and Critical Works—*continued.*

- Milner.**—*COUNTRY PLEASURES*: the Chronicle of a Year chiefly in a Garden. By GEORGE MILNER. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Morris (WILLIAM).**
SIGNS OF CHANGE. Seven Lectures delivered on various Occasions. Post 8vo., 4s. 6d.
HOPES AND FEARS FOR ART. Five Lectures delivered in Birmingham, London, etc., in 1878-1881. Crown 8vo., 4s. 6d.
AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES TO STUDENTS OF THE BIRMINGHAM MUNICIPAL SCHOOL OF ART ON 21ST FEBRUARY, 1894. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.
- Orchard.**—*THE ASTRONOMY OF 'MILTON'S PARADISE LOST'*. By THOMAS N. ORCHARD, M.D., Member of the British Astronomical Association. With 13 Illustrations. 8vo., 6s. net.
- Poore (GEORGE VIVIAN), M.D., F.R.C.P.**
ESSAYS ON RURAL HYGIENE. With 13 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6s. 6d.
THE DWELLING HOUSE. With 36 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Proctor.**—*STRENGTH*: How to get Strong and keep Strong, with Chapters on Rowing and Swimming, Fat, Age, and the Waist. By R. A. PROCTOR. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2s.
- Richmond.**—*BOYHOOD*: a Plea for Continuity in Education. By ENNIS RICHMOND. Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.
- Rossetti.**—*A SHADOW OF DANTE*: being an Essay towards studying Himself, his World and his Pilgrimage. By MARIA FRANCESCA ROSSETTI. With Frontispiece by DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.
- Solovyoff.**—*A MODERN PRIESTESS OF ISIS (MADAME BLAVATSKY)*. Abridged and Translated on Behalf of the Society for Psychical Research from the Russian of VSEVOLOD SERGYEEVICH SOLOVYOFF. By WALTER LEAF, Litt.D. With Appendix. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- Soulsby (LUCY H. M.).**
STRAY THOUGHTS ON READING. Small 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.
STRAY THOUGHTS FOR GIRLS. 16mo., 1s. 6d. net.
STRAY THOUGHTS FOR MOTHERS AND TEACHERS. Fcp. 8vo., 2s. 6d. net.
STRAY THOUGHTS FOR INVALIDS. 16mo., 2s. net.
- Southey.**—*THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY WITH CAROLINE BOWEN*. Edited, with an Introduction, by EDWARD DOWDEN, LL.D. 8vo., 14s.
- Stevens.**—*ON THE STOWAGE OF SHIPS AND THEIR CARGOES.* With Information regarding Freights, Charter-Parties, etc. By ROBERT WHITE STEVENS, Associate-Member of the Institute of Naval Architects. 8vo., 21s.
- Turner and Sutherland.**—*THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE*. By HENRY GYLES TURNER and ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND. With Portraits and Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Warwick.**—*PROGRESS IN WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE*: being the Report of Conferences and a Congress held in connection with the Education Section, Victorian Era Exhibition. Edited by the COUNTESS OF WARWICK. Crown 8vo., 6s.
- White.**—*AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHARGE OF APOSTACY AGAINST WORDSWORTH.* By W. HALE WHITE, Editor of the 'Description of the Wordsworth and Coleridge MSS. in the Possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman'.

Miscellaneous Theological Works.

* * For Church of England and Roman Catholic Works see MESSRS. LONGMANS & CO. Special Catalogues.

- Balfour.** — *THE FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF*: being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Hon. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, M.P. 8vo., 12s. 6d.
- Bird (ROBERT).**
A CHILD'S RELIGION. Cr. 8vo., 2s.
JOSEPH, THE DREAMER. Crown 8vo., 5s.
- Bird (ROBERT)—continued.**
JESUS, THE CARPENTER OF NAZARETH. Crown 8vo., 5s.
 To be had also in Two Parts, price 2s. 6d. each.
 Part I. GALILEE AND THE LAKE GENNESARET.
 Part II. JERUSALEM AND THE PER.

Miscellaneous Theological Works—*continued.***Boyd (A. K. H.) ('A.K.H.B.')**

OCCASIONAL AND IMMEMORIAL DAYS:
Discourses. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

*COUNSEL AND COMFORT FROM A
CITY PULPIT.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

*SUNDAY AFTERNOONS IN THE PARISH
CHURCH OF A SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY
CITY.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

*CHANGED ASPECTS OF UNCHANGED
TRUTHS.* Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

*GRAVER THOUGHTS OF A COUNTRY
PARSON.* Three Series. Crown 8vo.,
3s. 6d. each.

PRESENT DAY THOUGHTS. Crown
8vo., 3s. 6d.

SEASIDE MUSINGS. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

'*TO MEET THE DAY*' through the
Christian Year: being a Text of Scripture,
with an Original Meditation and a Short
Selection in Verse for Every Day. Crown
8vo., 4s. 6d.

Davidson.—*THEISM*, as Grounded in
Human Nature, Historically and Critically
Handled. Being the Burnett Lectures
for 1892 and 1893, delivered at Aberdeen.
By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D.
8vo., 15s.

Gibson.—*THE ABBÉ DE LAMENNAIS.
AND THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT
IN FRANCE.* By the Hon. W. GIBSON.
With Portrait. 8vo., 12s. 6d.

Kalisch (M. M., Ph.D.)

BIBLE STUDIES. Part I. Pro-
phesies of Balaam. 8vo., 10s. 6d. Part
II. The Book of Jonah. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

*COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTA-
MENT:* with a New Translation. Vol. I.
Genesis. 8vo., 18s. Or adapted for the
General Reader. 12s. Vol. II. Exodus.
15s. Or adapted for the General Reader.
12s. Vol. III. Leviticus, Part I. 15s.
Or adapted for the General Reader. 8s.
Vol. IV. Leviticus, Part II. 15s. Or
adapted for the General Reader. 8s.

Lang.—*THE MAKING OF RELIGION.*
By ANDREW LANG. 8vo., 12s.

MacDonald (GEORGE).

UNSPOKEN SERMONS. Three Series.
Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. each.

THE MIRACLES OF OUR LORD.
Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

10,000/6/98.

Martineau (JAMES).

*HOURS OF THOUGHT ON SACRE
THINGS:* Sermons, 2 vols. Crown 8vo.,
3s. 6d. each.

*ENDEAVOURS AFTER THE CHRISTIAN
LIFE.* Discourses. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

*THE SEAT OF AUTHORITY IN RE-
LIGION.* 8vo., 14s.

ESSAYS, REVIEWS, AND ADDRESSES.
4 Vols. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d. each.

I. Personal; Political. II. Ecclesiastical; Historical.
III. Theological; Philosophical. IV. Academical;
Religious.

HOME PRAYERS, with TWO SERVICES
for Public Worship. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Max Müller (F.)

*THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELI-
GION,* as illustrated by the Religions of
India. The Hibbert Lectures, delivered
at the Chapter House, Westminster
Abbey, in 1878. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

*INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF
RELIGION:* Four Lectures delivered at the
Royal Institution. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

NATURAL RELIGION. The Gifford
Lectures, delivered before the University
of Glasgow in 1888. Crown 8vo., 5s.

PHYSICAL RELIGION. The Gifford
Lectures, delivered before the University
of Glasgow in 1890. Crown 8vo., 5s.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RELIGION. The
Gifford Lectures, delivered before the Uni-
versity of Glasgow in 1891. Cr. 8vo., 5s.

*THEOSOPHY, OR PSYCHOLOGICAL RE-
LIGION.* The Gifford Lectures, delivered
before the University of Glasgow in 1892.
Crown 8vo., 5s.

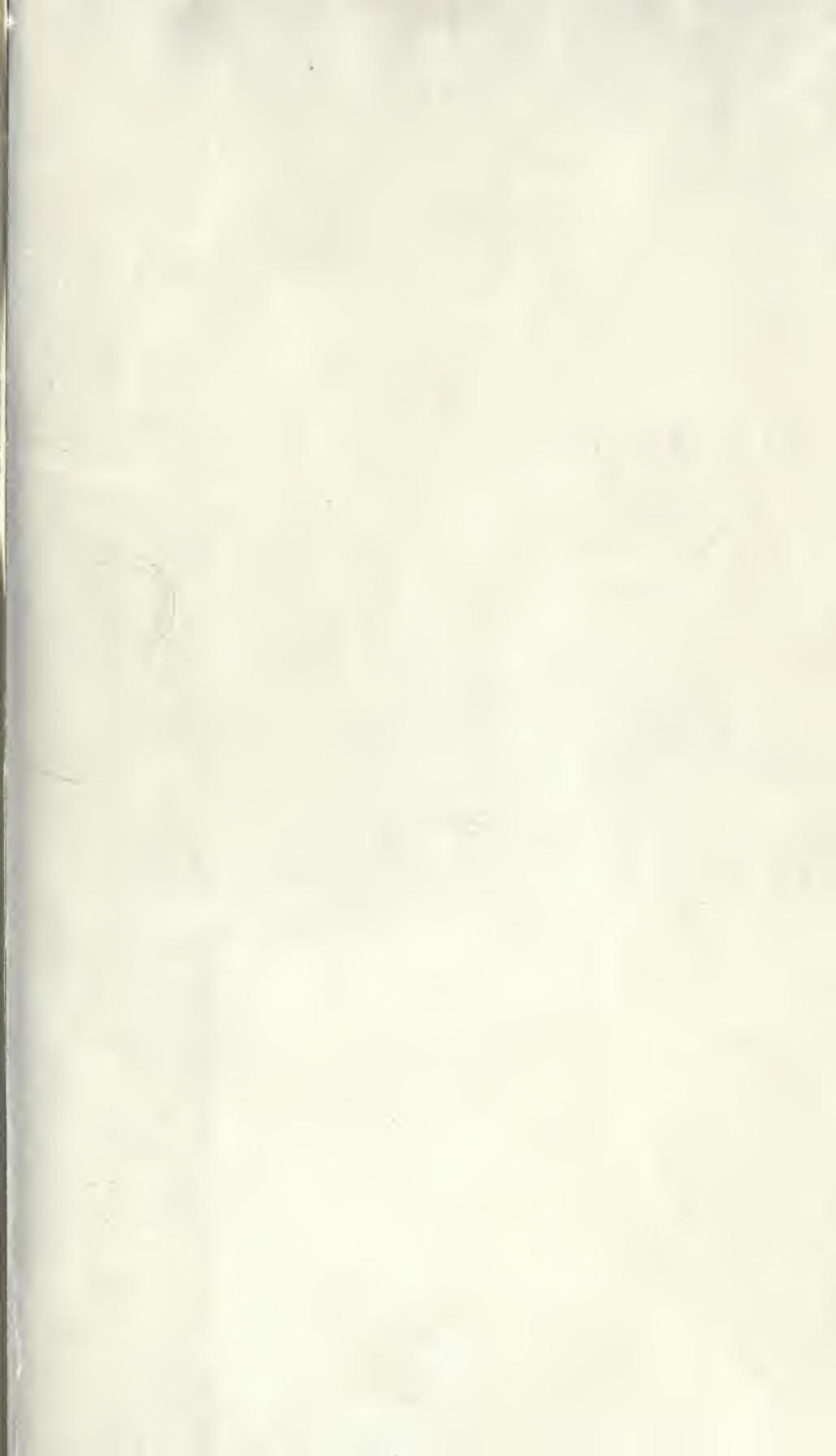
*THREE LECTURES ON THE VEDĀNTA
PHILOSOPHY,* delivered at the Royal
Institution in March, 1894. 8vo., 5s.

Romanes.—*THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.*
By GEORGE J. ROMANES, LL.D., F.R.S.
Crown 8vo., 4s. 6d.

Vivekananda.—*YOGA PHILOSOPHY:*
Lectures delivered in New York, Winter of
1895-96, by the SWAMI VIVEKANANDA,
on Raja Yoga; or, Conquering the Internal
Nature; also Patanjali's Yoga Aphorisms,
with Commentaries. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

252

234





**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
