



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Journal of Anthropological Archaeology

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/jaa

Folk beliefs, special deposits, and engagement with the environment in early modern northern Finland

Vesa-Pekka Herva*, Timo Ylimaunu

Department of Archaeology, P.O. Box 1000, FIN-90014, University of Oulu, Finland

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 2 November 2007

Revision received 12 February 2009

Available online 13 March 2009

Keywords:

Early modern Finland

Folk beliefs

Historical archaeology

Human–environment relations

Non-human beings

Relationality

Religion

Special deposits

Supernatural

ABSTRACT

It is widely recognized that folk beliefs flourished in early modern Finland which had formally been Christianized for centuries. These folk beliefs seem to propose, in the modern view, that people in the past believed in the existence of non-human beings, such as trolls and spirits, and considered a variety of material things from artefacts to landscape elements to have special properties, such as agency, consciousness, and personality. Folk beliefs, however, may have been misrepresented due to the assumption that they originate in religious-like thinking. This paper reconsiders the nature of folk beliefs, their relationship with religion, and their significance to archaeological interpretation both theoretically and through a case study. It is argued that folk beliefs in early modern northern Finland – and in other similar contexts – can be understood in terms of local perception and engagement with the material world. Folk beliefs, in this view, were embedded in the dynamics of everyday life, and they are, at least in the specific case discussed in this paper, indicative of two-way relatedness between people and various constituents of the material world. The archaeological implications of this view are discussed in the context of the 17th-century town of Tornio on the northern Gulf of Bothnia.

© 2009 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

Introduction

It is commonly recognized that folk beliefs concerning “supernatural” beings and powers flourished in early modern Finland which was part of the Kingdom of Sweden until 1809. The Christianization of Finland had begun in the early second millennium, but neither Catholicism nor Protestantism single-handedly eradicated folk beliefs. “Seventeenth-century court records”, Virtanen and DuBois (2000), p. 89 write, “show that everyone – judges, witnesses, and accused witches alike – believed in the existence of supernatural powers.” Folk beliefs began to lose their authority in the learned circles over the course of the 18th century (see Oja, 2004) but persisted especially in rural areas well into the 20th century (Eilola, 2003, pp. 11–13).

This paper has two aims. First, it considers the nature of folk beliefs about beings and powers that would today be understood as “supernatural”. A topic of particular interest is how folk beliefs were related to “religion proper” and practical everyday life in a peripheral region of early modern Finland. Secondly, the paper addresses some problems of identifying and interpreting material expressions of folk beliefs in the archaeological record. By folk beliefs we mean certain popular conceptions of the world and how it works. There are three aspects to our definition of folk beliefs for

the purposes of this paper. First, folk beliefs were not based on a scientific kind of knowledge or derived from Christian theology. Secondly, they involved “supernatural” beings or powers. Thirdly, they often presuppose other than purely mechanical ways of manipulating the world.

Folk beliefs have generally been understood as a species of religious(-like) thinking and/or metaphorical statements about human social relations, but both views may misrepresent the nature of folk beliefs in such contexts as 17th-century northern Finland. It also tends to remain unclear how folk beliefs contributed to the wider dynamics of everyday life, apart from giving rise to occasional “ritual” practices (see also Gazin-Schwartz, 2001; Wilkie, 1997). Intriguingly, too, historical sources and folklore indicate a wealth of folk beliefs in early modern Finland whereas the archaeological evidence of such beliefs appears scanty. There are several possible reasons to that contradiction, of course, but we will argue that a main reason is a failure to appreciate what folk beliefs were ultimately about, and how they are, or could be, expressed in the archaeological record. This failure, in turn, is proposed to be founded on modern western ontological assumptions. This paper suggests that folk beliefs in early modern northern Finland, and probably in other similar contexts as well, were not really beliefs in the sense beliefs are usually understood – that is, faulty conceptions about the world – and neither were they metaphorical expressions of social relations. Rather, folk beliefs were inextricably embedded in the local mode of perceiving and engaging with the material world in everyday life.

* Corresponding author. Fax: +358 9 191 23520.

E-mail addresses: vesa-pekka.herva@oulu.fi, vpheva@gmail.com (V.-P. Herva), timo.ylimaunu@oulu.fi (T. Ylimaunu).

The approach adopted here is primarily informed by the recent anthropological discussions of animism and the relational constitution of the world (e.g., Bird-David, 1999; Harvey, 2005; Ingold, 2000, 2006; Willerslev, 2007), which have had some influence on the archaeology of (small-scale) non-western and pre-modern societies, but little impact on the historical archaeology of post-medieval European communities (see also Mrozowski, 2006, pp. 24–25). The fresh ideas on animism and relationality, however, are relevant also to the interpretation of archaeological material from relatively recent and seemingly familiar historical contexts. This paper considers archaeological material from the small and peripheral 17th-century town of Tornio on the northern Gulf of Bothnia and uses the case as a springboard for a more general consideration of the nature and significance of folk beliefs.

The world in the relational perspective is very different from the world in the modern western view, and a brief comment on certain terms (and what they *do not* imply) is therefore needed. The term “special properties” is used in this paper to denote such perceived properties of material things that are not reducible to the physical constitution of things. Thus, for instance, organism-like properties of artefacts or person-like properties of plants and animals are described as special properties. “Non-human beings” is a similar shorthand term for spirits, trolls, and other such beings referred to in folk beliefs. These beings would be considered imaginary or supernatural in the modern western point of view, whereas this paper proposes that they were real and “this-worldly” entities in the past. The purpose of the above-mentioned terms is simply to keep the argument intelligible, and they are not intended to describe how people actually perceived, classified, and understood different things and their properties. Indeed, it will be argued that modern distinctions between the natural and the supernatural, or the natural and the cultural, would not have made sense to people in the early modern world, especially in such peripheral regions as northern Finland.

Historical background

The town of Tornio was founded on the order King Gustav II Adolf of Sweden on the small island of Suensaari in the delta of River Tornio in 1621 (Fig. 1). Sweden had established itself as a

northern European great power in the early 17th century, and the founding of new towns on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia arose from the Crown's interest to control trade by concentrating it in urban centers. There had been no urban settlements on the northern reaches of the Gulf of Bothnia prior to this urbanisation boom of the 17th century, but market places had served some functions of towns since the Middle Age (see Ylimaunu, 2007). The burghers of Tornio were granted a privilege to control the highly profitable Lapland trade which had previously been in the hands of powerful farmer-merchants (Mäntylä, 1971). Despite its economic success, Tornio remained a very small town throughout the 17th and 18th centuries during which time its population never exceeded 700 residents (Mäntylä, 1971, pp. 404–407, 418–423).

Like most small towns in early modern Sweden, Tornio was village-like and agrarian in character especially in the 17th century, and its economy relied heavily on traditional rural activities such as keeping livestock, fishing, and hunting (see Lilja, 1995; Mäntylä, 1971; Puputti, 2006; Ylimaunu, 2007). This is unsurprising given the first residents probably comprised mainly of local peasants although at least some burghers moved in from other towns (see Mäntylä, 1971). Fishing was economically important, and large quantities of dried fish had been exported from the Tornio region to Central Europe via Stockholm already in the Middle Age (Luukko, 1954, pp. 194–197; Wallerström, 1983). Hunting was also widely practiced. The proportion of wild animal bones in the 17th-century osteological assemblage of Tornio is ca. 30%, which is an exceptionally high figure in comparison to other Swedish towns (Puputti, n.d.; see also Puputti, 2006).

The continuance of the “traditional” ways of life also accounts for the preservation of pre-modern conceptions of the world, as reflected in folk beliefs, well into and throughout the early modern period (see also Lahelma, 2007, pp. 122–123 with references). Christianity had been spread along the coast onto the bottom of the Gulf of Bothnia during the medieval period; the first parishes and churches in this region date from the 14th century (Luukko, 1954, pp. 256–265; Paavola, 1997, pp. 28–29). Catholicism, however, did not eradicate pre-Christian cosmology (see Luukko, 1954, pp. 293–296; Talve, 1979, p. 215; Toivo, 2006). Lutheranism was adopted as the state religion in Sweden in the 16th century, but it did not cause any abrupt changes in peripheral parts of Swe-

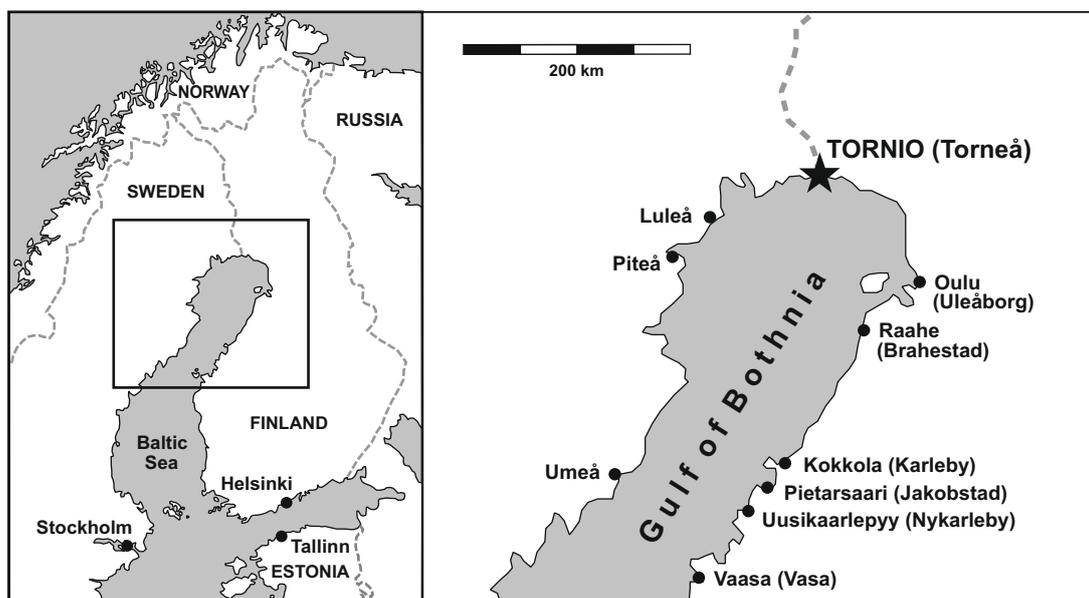


Fig. 1. Location of Tornio on the northern Gulf of Bothnia. Map: V.-P. Herva.

den. Rather, both pre-Christian and Catholic conceptions continued to flourish, and even though Lutheran Orthodoxy “officially” prevailed in the kingdom, fight against “paganism” and heterodoxy was not characteristic to religious life in Finland (Lehtonen, 2002, pp. 238–239; Luukko, 1954, pp. 653–656; Virrankoski, 1973, pp. 699–709).

The residents of 17th-century Tornio were formally Christians, and they undoubtedly adhered to Christianity in one way or another, as well as performed the religious practices that they were expected to. There is evidence that at least some people remained ignorant of Christianity in Finland even in the late 18th century (Keskisarja, 2006, p. 110), but the wide-spread education of the people and the obligation to participate in the church service must have made most people in towns familiar with Christianity (see e.g., Toivo, 2006, pp. 183–184, 190–191). On the other hand, however, it is simplistic to assume that common people in peripheral Sweden were deeply immersed in Protestantism, or that Christian ideas determined their understanding of the world in some straightforward manner. Indeed, it is argued below that folk beliefs, or what they were about, were integral to the understanding of the world in early modern northern Finland.

Special deposits in the archaeology of Tornio and beyond

The town of Tornio has been subject to relatively extensive archaeological research by Finnish standards. More than 3000 square meters and a dozen early modern plots have been

(partly) excavated since the late 1960s (for a summary, see Ylimaunu, 2007, pp. 17–20). Most excavations have been of small scale, but a large-scale rescue campaign was conducted in 2002 and the remains of a dozen buildings in several early modern plots studied. Overall, the excavations in Tornio have produced a rich collection of material but only four finds which might be identified as “special deposits” and material expressions of folk beliefs in the conventional sense (see e.g., Merrifield, 1987; Hukantaival, 2007). At least three, and maybe all four, are so-called foundation deposits which were associated with three buildings (Figs. 2 and 3).

The clearest special deposit comprises of a broken earthenware cooking pot placed under the corner of a log house (Building A) dating from the early 17th century. The vessel had been broken at or prior to the deposition, and most fragments derive from under the log foundation. The handle had been separately deposited in a cylindrical pit nearby, and three potsherds ended up in the otherwise clean clay lining of the log foundation. Some fragments were also found in the yard. All three legs and some other fragments are missing, but this cooking pot is nonetheless the only virtually complete vessel (i.e., restorable from the recovered pieces) identified in the 2002 assemblage (see also Herva and Nurmi, forthcoming). There are no known parallels to the hidden cooking pot in the Finnish archaeological record or specific beliefs (that we are aware of) which would involve hiding cooking pots under houses (see also Tuppi, 2006), although the possible phallic and fertility symbolism of (the handles of) tripod pipkins has been discussed (Berggold et al., 2004, pp. 19–22).

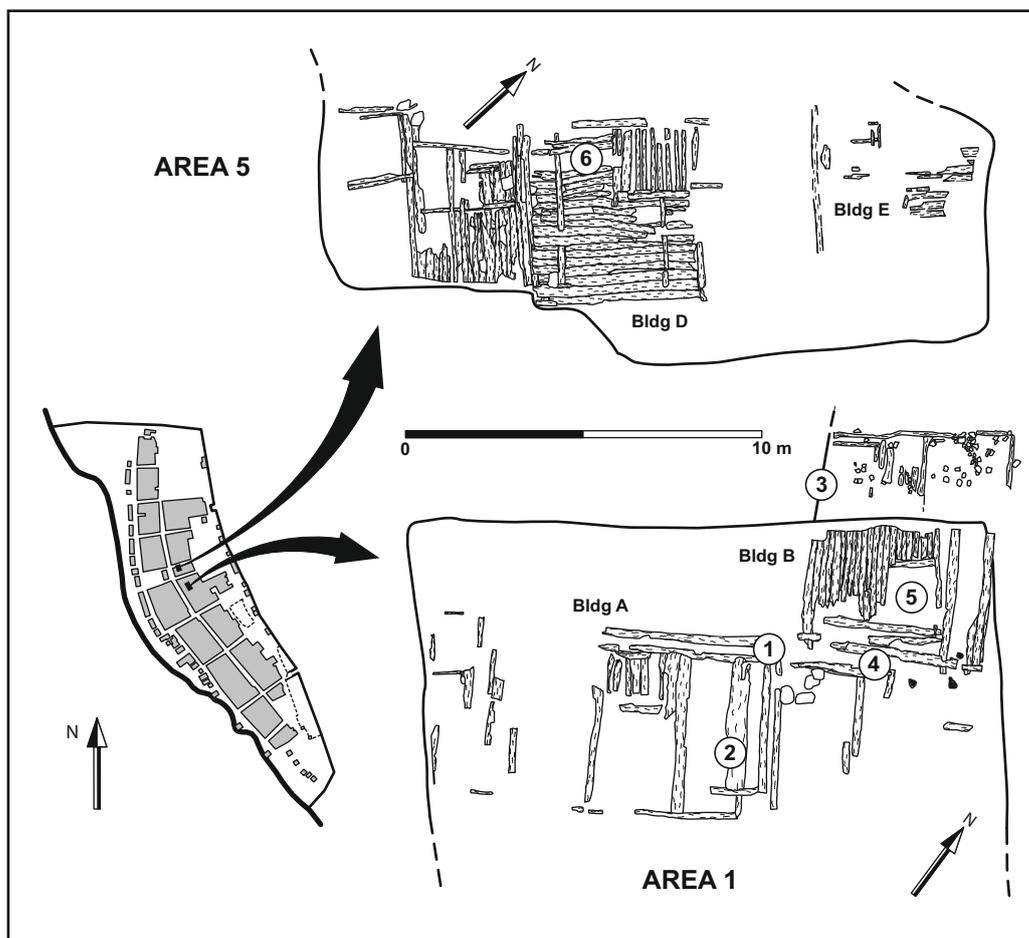


Fig. 2. Tornio in ca. 1647 and the locations of six certain or possible special deposits in relation to building remains. Key: (1) Cooking pot. (2) Iron bar. (3) Axe-head. (4) Bear claws. (5) Bone spoon handle. (6) Pottery and cannon balls. Drawing: V.-P. Herva, based on the maps by K. Arminen and R. Nurmi/Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Oulu.



Fig. 3. Some intentionally deposited artefacts from Tornio. The cooking pot was found in pieces. Photo: V.-P. Herva.

Two other probable foundation deposits comprise of single iron artefacts. An intact iron bar was found under the floor of Building A. The artifact had been placed on or next to the logs supporting the floor, and it did apparently not serve any structural purpose. The context and intact condition of the iron bar are suggestive of a special deposit, even though it is theoretically possible, of course, that the iron bar had been stored under the floor and forgotten there after the house had been destroyed (see Tuppi, 2006). The other iron object is an axe-head which was found under the floor of a building which overlay Building B. The exact context of the artifact is slightly unclear, but the interpretation of the axe-head as a foundation deposit dating from around 1700 is certainly plausible. The use of iron bars and axe-heads for magical purposes, specifically for protecting livestock, is documented in later folklore from the River Tornio Valley (Oukka, 1976, pp. 65, 68, 70–71), and magical associations of iron and iron objects are common in Finland and elsewhere in the world (Forbes, 1950; Haaland, 2004; Hukantaival, 2006, pp. 87–89, 93–94; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 131–133).

The fourth special deposit comprises of nine bear claws in the clay lining of the log foundation of Building B. The building dates from the later 17th century and was located cornerwise to Building A. The nine claws were discovered in a single lump whereas a tenth claw was found little farther in the yard. The context and the fact that no other bear bones have been identified in the osteological assemblage of Tornio (Puputti, n.d.) suggest a special deposit. The exact nature of the deposit is not entirely clear because the deposit can be interpreted as a foundation deposit, but it may also have been associated with the border between two plots (Nurmi, forthcoming; cf. Hukantaival, 2007, pp. 72–73). There is a long tradition in Finland of attributing a special status and power to bear (Pentikäinen, 2005, pp. 55–58; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 38–43), and the intentional deposition of the bear claws makes sense against that background even though parallel finds from similar contexts are not known to us (see also Tuppi, 2006, p. 9).

There is only one other find from northern Finland, specifically Oulu, that might compare to the special deposits from Tornio. The town of Oulu, founded in 1605 and located approximately 100 km south-east of Tornio, has been extensively excavated over the last decade. The excavation of a late 18th-century building revealed a possible special deposit of a pig's hind legs in association with the foundation (Lipponen, 2006, pp. 13–14), but the interpretation

of this seemingly peculiar find is debatable (Hukantaival, 2006, p. 98).

The archaeological material from historical sites in northern Finland has been studied only very incompletely so far, and no systematic research on the material expressions of folk beliefs in the archaeological record has been conducted. The low number of supposedly belief-related finds is therefore likely to be illusory, but quantities of relevant finds are unlikely to turn out even in a closer examination of the available material. Hukantaival's (2006, 2007) recent research on Finnish "ritual" building deposits appears to confirm the scarcity of belief-related special finds as they are conventionally understood: she identifies less than 30 building deposits which might be associated with folk beliefs. These deposits date from the late Iron Age to the 19th century, and only a half of them derive from archaeological contexts. Hukantaival also observes that the interpretation of particular finds as ritual building deposits is problematic in several cases. It must be noted, though, that her survey is by no means comprehensive and focuses largely on south-western Finland and the city of Turku. Excavations in Turku have produced nine finds that Hukantaival identifies as possible building deposits.

It is probable that special finds and deposits have gone unidentified in the excavations of Tornio and other sites. The difficulty of identifying special finds, especially on the basis of excavation reports, may largely account to the scarcity of the archaeological evidence of folk beliefs (Hukantaival, 2006, pp. 106–108). Various factors from the ephemeral nature of the expression of folk beliefs to formation processes have certainly contributed to the relative invisibility of folk beliefs in archaeology, but broader theoretical problems are also involved. Most importantly, in our view, the very nature of folk beliefs – and thus also their expressions in archaeological material – requires rethinking. To begin with this endeavor, we will first take a look at folk beliefs in early modern Finland.

Folk beliefs in folklore and history

The reconstruction of folk beliefs in early modern Finland is not a straightforward matter, but snippets of information survive in documentary sources such as court records, and folklore also preserves elements of the early modern, and even pre-Christian, understanding of the world (e.g., Eilola, 2003, p. 27; Lahelma, 2007; Siikala, 1992). Folklore is a particularly rich and useful source of folk beliefs even though the folk beliefs derived from folklore cannot directly be projected onto specific early modern contexts. The relevant folklore has mainly been collected during the nineteenth and early 20th century, but historical data indicate that similar conceptions were held in the early modern period. The folk beliefs discussed below are not specific to Tornio, or the 17th century, but represent broader Finnish and Nordic traditions. Since the present paper operates with folk beliefs on a rather general level, the details and regional or other variations of specific beliefs are not of much concern here. The aim of the following summary is simply to introduce a number of themes which are relevant to the argument developed in the present paper. The emerging picture is therefore about the *kinds* of beliefs that people in early modern northern Finland are likely to have had about non-human persons and the special properties of material things.

Folk beliefs describe a world which people inhabited with different kinds of non-human beings which in the modern view are not real, but which people in the past took seriously. Some non-human beings were more human-like in form and behavior than others, and non-human beings could also have properties and skills that humans generally speaking did not have (but see below). Trolls, for instance, were capable of metamorphosing into animals and natural phenomena, whereas maidens of the forest looked like humans from the front and trees from the back (Asplund Ingemark,

2004, p. 95; Sarmela, 1994, p. 168). Historical documents show that non-human beings were considered quite real: people could be sentenced in court for such offenses as sleeping with maidens of forest (Keskisarja, 2006, p. 146; see also Eilola, 2003, p. 153). It is also instructive to note that the famous priest Lars Levi Laestadius, who was a highly influential figure in northern Finland during the 19th century, did apparently not doubt the existence of earthlings but instead explained their origin in biblical terms (Laestadius, 1897; see also Oukka, 1974, pp. 45–65).

Non-human persons were often considered to dwell in, or be otherwise associated with, certain places or landscape elements. Giants and trolls inhabited forests and were associated especially with rocky places, including prehistoric stone structures, and they could be perceived through the sounds that they made (Asplund Ingemark, 2004, pp. 86–96; Eilola, 2003, pp. 135–139; Okkonen, 2003, pp. 49–57). Nature spirits are described as inhabiting particular landscape elements, such as springs and so-called “sacred” trees and groves, and while they were usually invisible, they could manifest themselves in human or animal form (Sarmela, 1994, pp. 46–48, 156–172; Talve, 1979, p. 207). Non-human beings often dwelt in the wilderness, but some, especially household spirits, inhabited the domestic sphere (Eilola, 2003, pp. 135–139; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 156–172; Talve, 1979, pp. 206–208), and the tradition of household spirits is integral to understanding the special deposits found in Tornio, as will be discussed later.

Ordinary animals, plants, and artefacts could also have special properties, powers, and identities, as was indicated in association with the bear-claw deposit from Tornio. Bear was considered a particularly powerful and human-like animal, and it features conspicuously in Finnish folklore (Pentikäinen, 2005, pp. 55–58; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 38–43), but special properties were attributed to other animals as well. These include, for instance, pet snakes and fishes (usually pikes) which were kept under the house and in the well, respectively. People related closely with pet snakes and fishes, and the former was sometimes likened to the tutelary spirit of the livestock (Sarmela, 1994, pp. 51–53). In general, animals were considered closer to humans in early modern Finland than they are today, and human–animal hybrids were commonly believed to exist (Keskisarja, 2006, pp. 23, 26, 151–152, 209, 212). Folklore also shows that plants could have special powers and properties. Trees in particular were regarded as responsive beings with person-like properties in at least some contexts (see Guenat, 1994; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 46–48; on the special properties of trees more generally, Frazer, 1993 [1922], pp. 109–135; Rival, 1998).

The concept of “*väki*” makes a frequent appearance in folklore when it comes to the special powers and properties of landscape elements. The meaning of *väki* is somewhat ambiguous. It is used in various contexts and can refer to (an aggregate of) non-human beings on the one hand and an impersonal, intrinsic power of things on the other (see e.g., Koski, 2003; Stark-Arola, 2002, pp. 68, 72–74; cf. Boivin, 2004, pp. 166–169). The idea of *väki* is arguably of an ancient origin even though the concept is first mentioned by that name in 18th-century documents (Stark-Arola, 2002, p. 72). There is no need to dwell on the intricacies of *väki* here, and it suffices to notice that manifold natural and cultural things were considered to possess some kind of special power (see further Stark-Arola, 2002, pp. 68, 72–74). Inappropriate behavior towards entities with *väki* brought diseases and maladies to people. The forest was very potent in this respect, but soil, water, wind, fire, and animals had similar powers (Eilola, 2003, pp. 75–77; Sarmela, 1994, p. 127; Stark-Arola, 2002, p. 68).

Various man-made constructions, artefacts, and materials were also considered inherently powerful. Stone cairns, for instance, tended to have a special status regardless of their origins; even the heaps of used stones from sauna stoves, piled up in a peripheral place of farmhouse yard, were feared for their associations with the

dead and diseases (Okkonen, 2003, pp. 39–42). Prehistoric stone axes and adzes, to take another example, were understood as thunderbolts and considered powerful due to their association with the superhuman being known as Ukko in Finnish folklore (Muhonen, 2006). Historical sources also show that ecclesiastical artefacts, such as wafers and altar cloths, were thought to possess special powers and used for magical purposes (Eilola, 2003, pp. 60–61). Furthermore, special properties were attributed to certain materials of which iron is perhaps the most well-known example (see Sarmela, 1994, pp. 131–133).

Relationality and the richness of the lived-in world

Received wisdom suggests that folk beliefs involving non-human beings and special properties of ordinary things cannot describe the “external” physical world as it really is and must therefore concern the “inner” mental world (see further e.g., Willerslev, 2007, pp. 181–188). Plausible as this view may seem, it actually builds on ontological premises which can be challenged for good reasons. The world according to modern western thought is composed of bounded physical objects in a pre-existing space-time continuum. The properties of things are thought to be fixed so that trees, for example, are living entities because of their particular physical constitution whereas stones are mere lumps of inert matter. Both trees and stones are also regarded fundamentally different from conscious, intentional, and sentient human beings. The attribution of life to a stone or consciousness to a tree, in this view, stems from erroneous beliefs of what the world is really like.

Modern western thought, then, presupposes that things in the world are “are sealed by an outer boundary or shell that protects their inner constitution from the traffic of interactions with their surroundings” (Ingold, 2006, p. 11), whereas relational thinking proposes that neither organisms nor things have inner essence. Rather, the identities and properties of all entities are generated through their continuous involvement in the world, which means that identities and properties are context-dependent and determined by the relationships that entities are endowed with (Bateson, 2000 [1972], pp. 151–153; Gell, 1998, pp. 99–101; Ingold, 2000, pp. 18–19, 132–151; Ingold, 2006, pp. 10, 12–14; Järvilehto, 1994, pp. 77–80, 151–152, 191–192). Whether, say, a stone is a “mere stone” or a thing with special properties – that is, properties which stones do not have in the modern western view – depends on how people relate with the stone. Thus, all entities from artefacts to landscape elements and natural phenomena can potentially be active agents and social person-like beings in certain contexts of interaction (e.g., Harvey, 2005; Willerslev, 2007). A thing is a person-like being if it is perceived to act upon and/or engage with people – that is, behave like conscious and sentient beings are expected to behave (Ingold, 2000, pp. 90–100).

The relational perspective, combined with folk beliefs, proposes that the ordinary everyday world in early modern northern Finland was more complex in structure and richer in content than the modern western view would have it. Non-human beings may have been more difficult to perceive and only occasionally encountered, but there is no reason to believe that people regarded them as “supernatural” or “not-this-worldly” beings in any meaningful sense, since such judgements are based on the modernist understanding of what is real and “natural”. The ability to shift shape, for instance, might seem such an “unnatural” skill which categorically separated non-human beings from humans and the natural world, but transformation is not really extraordinary at all because all living things change their shape linearly or cyclically. Shape shifting could simply be conceived as an extreme form of the ordinary dynamics of life. A further point is that human persons could also have special skills and properties. Witches and smiths comprise an obvious example of that (see

Eilola, 2003, pp. 126–132; Forbes, 1950, pp. 62–104; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 131–133).

Religion, folk beliefs, and human–environment relations

Finnish folk beliefs concerning non-human beings and special properties of things are usually understood as survivals of pre-Christian (animistic and/or shamanistic) belief systems and popular misinterpretations of Christian beliefs. Folk beliefs in this view were fused with Christian religion in the medieval and early modern period, comprising a syncretistic belief system (e.g., Eilola, 2003, pp. 90–94; Stark, 2002, pp. 14, 28–29; also cf. Lane, 2001). Folk beliefs are thus conceived as categorically similar to, albeit different in “content” from, Christian beliefs, but there are actually fundamental differences between the two. Christianity is a characteristically belief-centered religion which requires believing in something that is not fully knowable (Bloch, 2005, pp. 109–110, 117–118). The existence of non-human beings and special properties, by contrast, was empirically based rather than subject to mental contemplation (see also Bloch, 2005, p. 112). Unlike Christian god, non-human beings could be directly perceived and known even if they were not always around or engaging with people (see Bird-David, 1999, pp. 74–75; Harvey, 2005, pp. 122–127; Willerslev, 2007). For example, to encounter a nature spirit was to recognize that a spring, tree, or some other landscape element behaved in a manner characteristic to persons.

Relational thinking also proposes that landscape elements, or other things with special properties, were person-like entities in themselves rather than merely inhabited by spirits which were distinct from the material world. The animals and natural phenomena that behaved in certain ways in certain situations could similarly be trolls, noise heard from particular places could be giants, and so forth. “We are not required to believe”, as Ingold (2006), p. 16 puts it, “that the wind is a being that blows, or that thunder is a being that claps. Rather the wind is blowing, and the thunder is clapping, just as organisms and persons are living in the ways peculiar to each.” The recognition of person-like properties in the non-human world, in turn, afforded some degree of sociality between people and non-human constituents of the environment in certain contexts of interaction. This two-way relatedness between humans and non-human entities is not a matter of religion and beliefs but refers to a particular mode of perceiving, knowing, and engaging with the environment. In Pálsson’s (1996) terms, human–environment relations were “communalist” rather than “orientalist” in character, which means that people negotiated their relationships with the surrounding world instead of understanding it reductively in terms of its material and symbolic utility to humans.

If folk beliefs are understood as being embedded in and emerging from practical engagement with the environment, rather than a set of faulty beliefs that people carried around in their head (see also Willerslev, 2007), new perspectives open up on the function of the folklore that describes non-human beings and special properties of ordinary things. That is, such narratives can be conceived as aids for perceiving the richness of the lived-in world; telling the stories guided listeners to notice such aspects of the environment that would otherwise have been more difficult to perceive or remained hidden (see Ingold, 2000, pp. 40–60, 89–100; see also Gibson, 1986, pp. 254, 258, 284). This view corresponds to Harvey’s (2005), p. 101 observation that a function of myths “is to put the hearer into the scene and induce ‘an awareness of being in the world’ of rich relationality and sociality.” Thus, the narratives in question contributed to the production of environmental knowledge by attuning the perceptual system for appreciating the marvels of the relationally constituted world. Altered states of mind may have further helped to perceive the extraordinary aspects of

the environment and thus reveal the richness of the lived-in world (Harvey, 2005, pp. 145–146; Ingold, 2000, pp. 100–102). The dream world, for instance, was arguably understood as part of the real world in early modern Finland (Eilola, 2003, pp. 178, 184–185; Vilkkuna, 1997; also cf. Willerslev, 2007, pp. 173–178).

The main point of this discussion is that Christianity and folk beliefs concerned different aspects of life in early modern northern Finland, and that may also explain the persistence of folk beliefs several centuries after the introduction of Christianity. There must have been some overlap and conflict between Christianity and folk beliefs (or what they were about), but they were not competing belief systems from the standpoint of common people because of their different nature and field of validity (cf. Bloch, 2005, pp. 108–112). Encounters with non-human beings and things with special properties occurred in the context of everyday life and were not religious-like experiences. The “extraordinary” aspects of the everyday environment may well have provoked astonishment (Ingold, 2006, pp. 18–19), but the extraordinary was not something unnatural or “not-this-worldly”. Thus, people could regard themselves as perfectly good Christians, as far as they understood it, and still take the richness of the lived-in world for granted.

When Protestantism and the modernist tendency to objectify the world were gradually rooted deeper in Finland, they necessarily came to change the ways common people perceived the world and engaged with it. Non-human beings and the special properties of things were distanced from everyday life, as the “rules of avoidance” (Koski, 2003) in folklore may imply, and probably conceptualized in a new way. Nature spirits, for example, would originally have been landscape elements with person-like properties, as argued above, but they now came to be understood as spirits that merely inhabited particular landscape elements.

Revisiting Tornio

Relational thinking and the reassessment of folk beliefs in the relational perspective provide a basis for reconsidering the function and meaning of the four foundation deposits from 17th-century Tornio. The relational perspective also encourages rethinking of certain other finds which do not necessarily have any explicit or direct link to folk beliefs. Traditional views on medieval and early modern foundation deposits suggest that the hidden objects were invested with some special power. Specifically, deposited objects are considered to have brought good luck to the household and/or provided protection from the evil (e.g., Hoggard, 2004; Hukantaival, 2007; Merrifield, 1987). The latter view in particular implies that the power of deposited objects was directed towards forces or beings which were external to buildings and households.

The case can be made, however, that the power of deposited objects was actually, or also, directed to the buildings themselves, which basically means that the hidden objects infused their special properties into the structure of the buildings. The purpose of making foundation deposits in 17th-century Tornio would thus compare, for instance, to the incorporation of tufa blocks into historical sacred buildings in Britain. Tufa arguably embodied spiritual properties due to its association with (the water of) holy springs and wells, and the incorporation of tufa into architecture imbued the buildings with those properties (Davies and Robb, 2002). The installing of holy relics into medieval churches was similarly intended to invest the buildings with special properties which animated churches in some sense (Gell, 1998, pp. 142–143). Likewise, the infusion of special properties into buildings by means of foundation deposits would have allowed people in Tornio to engage with buildings by other than purely mechanical means and would thus have contributed to the development of buildings into social beings.

This interpretation dovetails beautifully with the Finnish tradition of household spirits. The relevant folklore indicates that household spirits were perceived rather than believed to exist and that people interacted with spirits in various ways (see Haavio, 1942, pp. 72–109; Sarmela, 1994, pp. 158–164; Jauhiainen, 1999, pp. 216–228). Certain aspects of the household-spirit tradition, considered in the relational perspective, imply that household spirits were not independent brownie-like beings which inhabited the built environment (as the popular representation of household spirits would have it), but buildings as material things were perceived and regarded as living person-like beings in certain circumstances (Herva, n.d.; also cf. Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995; Bradley, 2007). The making of foundation deposits did not give birth to household spirits in any straightforward manner but was only one practice which facilitated the development of buildings into active social beings. It is possible, for example, that something of the power of trees (see above) survived into the “second life” of trees as buildings and invested buildings with special properties (cf. Knight, 1998).

It is fairly clear that there is something “special” about the four deposits discussed so far, but a closer look at the archaeological material from Tornio reveals also some other intriguing finds, although the nature of these finds is somewhat less obvious than that of the “proper” foundation deposits. Yet these more obscure cases, and some aspects of entirely ordinary finds, serve to illustrate and further substantiate the general argument of the present paper.

To begin with, it is possible to identify two or three seemingly anomalous concentrations of slag on the basis of excavation documentation. Since they were not recognized as special during the fieldwork, there is unfortunately no closer documentation on them. Two concentrations were associated with the clay lining of the log foundations of Building B and E. The third derives from between the two different floors of Building D, and its “special” character is even more uncertain than that of the two others. The amount of slag in the three contexts ranges between ca. 130 and 350 g and is therefore not particularly striking. However, the clay lining associated with Building B produced significantly more slag than any other context in the relevant excavation area. The amount of slag produced by the clay lining of Building E is also significant in comparison to most other contexts, and the fill between the two floors of Building D was the most slag-rich context in Area 5 of the 2002 campaign in Tornio. What makes the slag in the clay lining even more interesting is the fact the clay produced almost no other finds. Thus, it is possible that the slag was intentionally put in the clay. The deposition of slag may have had something to do with the powers attributed to fire and/or iron.

There are also two other finds that merit a brief consideration here. The first is the handle of an ornamented antler spoon that was discovered in a tightly-packed clay feature which produced only a few small pieces of glass and pottery and was probably the foundation of a fireplace in Building B (Fig. 2). The clay feature was not part of the original design but apparently added later when the function of the building changed (Haikonen, 2008). Decorated antler spoons were arguably important personal artefacts, and only four other antler spoons, all more or less intact, have been found in Tornio (Nurmi, n.d.; see also Immonen, 2006). It seems likely that the handle had been intentionally deposited in the clay when Building B was being remodeled. If that was indeed the case, this deposit can be understood as a means of renewing or restructuring human–building relations.

The second deposit is yet more elusive and problematic, but no less intriguing. It comprises an assemblage of artefacts found in a back-filled cellar pit of Building D (Fig. 2). The pit fell out of use probably at the same time when Building D was rebuilt or remodelled in around 1640. The finds from the pit include two cannon

balls, pieces of some ceramic vessels, and mixed small finds. Cannon balls are very rare finds in Tornio – only three have been found in total – but it is the pottery that is primarily of interest here. The pieces of one maiolica and one earthenware plate make up an untypically large proportion of the complete vessels by the standards of Tornio (Fig. 4). The maiolica plate shows signs of (attempted) repair, and an owner's mark had been incised on the bottom. The pottery also includes a large fragment of a stoneware mug which dates from ca. 1550 and thus predates the deposition, and indeed the very founding of the town, by some three quarters of a century.

The back-filled cellar pit and its contents look ordinary enough at a first glance, but the signs of repair and long use-life, along with the owner's mark, can be taken to indicate that some kind of special relationships had developed between the ceramic vessels and their owner prior to the deposition (see further Herva and Nurmi, forthcoming). This may also propose that there was something more to the deposition of the artefacts than “purely rational” disposal of rubbish. Yet what is of primary interest here is not the exact nature of the cellar-pit deposit but the pottery which suggests that people in 17th-century Tornio could develop close and personal relationships with ordinary everyday artefacts. The archaeological finds that can be interpreted in a similar manner are not limited to the cellar pit but frequently found in Tornio (Herva and Nurmi, forthcoming). A further implication, as is argued in more detail elsewhere (Herva and Nurmi, forthcoming), is that human-artifact relations in 17th-century Tornio cannot properly be appreciated within the subject–object dualism. The special properties of “personalized” pots, clay pipes, and the like have probably been very different from the special properties of, say, thunderbolts. The point, however, is that the dispositions towards certain materials, objects, and landscape elements, as expressed in folk beliefs, extended in some form to things and situations that are not directly described in the documented body of folk beliefs.

Broader implications and discussion

Relational thinking may appear as abstract theoretical speculation, but it brings with it concrete and practical implications to



Fig. 4. Maiolica, earthenware, and stoneware pottery from the back-filled cellar pit associated with Building D. Pieces of other vessels were also found in the same context, along with two cannon balls and a variety of small finds. Photo: V.-P. Herva.

archaeological interpretation, as is briefly discussed in this final section of the paper. The basic premises of relational thinking are simple: things do not have fixed properties or inner essence, and causation in a relationally constituted world is not limited to simple mechanistic cause-effect operations. These premises obviously conflict with modern western thought, but that is expected and inevitable because relational thinking seeks to correct some biases that are inherent to the modern understanding of the world (see further e.g., Ingold, 2006; Willerslev, 2007).

The relational perspective suggests that there are different modes of knowing, engaging with, and acting upon the material world. Knowledge about a tree, for example, as Bird-David (1999), p. 77 argues, can be acquired both by cutting it into pieces and by “talking with” it. Talking with the tree does not stand for literal talking but active engagement with the tree and attentiveness to what a given action does to the tree on the one hand and oneself on the other (Bird-David, 1999, p. 77). It follows that “rituals” and other actions which do not appear “truly functional” in the modern view need not be merely communicative or expressive of function, but they can actually be directed to and efficiently manipulate the real material world.

This idea concurs with Brück's (1999) argument that the category of “ritual” is a product of post-Enlightenment rationality which has more to say about modern western than pre-modern or non-western thought. If seemingly symbolic and ritual practices can manipulate the workings of the real (relationally constituted) material world, it is potentially at fault to identify a distinct category of belief-related finds and treat such finds differently from ordinary everyday finds. The special building deposits from 17th-century Tornio, for example, are best understood in relation to how people perceived, understood, and related with buildings in general. The making of building deposits, in other words, had to do with the local techniques of constructing and maintaining buildings, rather than some abstract system of beliefs. A further implication is that the making of building deposits may have had little to do with other practices associated with folk beliefs in other contexts of action. Thus, the eradication of the category of ritual, or other related categories, does not imply, as Brück (1999) also emphasizes, that the nature and functionality of all actions were understood similarly in a given pre-modern or non-western society. People most certainly identified boundaries, categories, and differences between actions and things, but modern western categories are likely not to apply, and their casual projection onto the past can result in severe misrepresentations of how people conceptualized and organized their worlds (see further Brück, 1999).

The significance of folk beliefs to archaeological interpretation is more readily obvious in the case of “anomalous” or special finds than in the case of ordinary finds, and the former may well be needed to focus attention on the richness of the lived-in world in a particular historical context. As is clear from the above, however, the relevance of folk beliefs is not limited to the interpretation of isolated special finds. Rather, folk beliefs can be conceived as cues for reconstructing and reconsidering the dynamics of human–environment relations. Folk beliefs in past societies were intrinsically embedded in the local modes of relating with the world in everyday life, which means that folk beliefs – or what they have been argued to be about – are potentially relevant to the interpretation of all archaeological data. It is unrealistic, of course, to assume that the significance of folk beliefs and their impact on the patterning of the archaeological record could be identified and appreciated in full. The least that can be done, however, is to cultivate sensitivity to “weak signals” which may be apparently trivial (see also Gazin-Schwartz, 2001, p. 277), as in the case of the back-filled cellar pit in Tornio, but help to grasp some aspects of the richness of the lived-in world in a particular historical context. Indeed, the problems in identifying folk-belief-related finds can partly derive from

the failure to recognize that folk beliefs and folk-belief-related finds do not comprise meaningful category in the first place.

The modern misrepresentation of folk beliefs is nonetheless understandable due to various reasons. The idea that folk beliefs have to do with religion and religious-like thinking, rather than the dynamics of everyday life, goes back to the early modern period. That is, much of the information that survives about folk beliefs directly from the early modern period was recorded in court. It can quite safely be assumed that the cases that ended up in court were more or less special ones. Those cases were also documented by the elite whose understanding of the nature of folk beliefs is likely to have been quite different from that of common people. Popular conceptions about non-human beings and special properties of things could appear to conflict with Christian faith from the standpoint of the elite and thus become represented as a religious issue, whereas common people saw no religious connection whatsoever (see also Toivo, 2006, pp. 185–186).

The marginalization of folk beliefs and their representation as mere idle superstitions derive from Enlightenment rationalism which identified popular ideas about non-human beings and special properties with the pre-Enlightenment “dark” age (Oja, 2004). The relegation of folk beliefs into the margins of history has also to do with retrospective thinking which, while perhaps not dominant anymore, represents the past as the genealogy of modern institutions and the triumph of reason, and folk beliefs necessarily appear only as a footnote in this particular grand narrative (see further e.g., Gibbons, 2001; Katz, 2007).

The tendency to favor straightforward “rationalist” interpretations of archaeological material makes sense against these broader patterns of modern western thought. Post-medieval archaeology, in addition, studies a historical period which is a relatively familiar past in popular and scholarly imagination. Given that a majority of finds and features encountered in post-medieval archaeology make (some) sense in the present without any reference to “odd” conceptions about the world in the past, it may seem unnecessary to give much attention to folk beliefs – the study of the ordinary business of life can supposedly do just fine without folk beliefs. Yet the familiarity of the recent past is deceptive (see e.g., Tarlow and West, 1999), and folk beliefs, when considered within an appropriate theoretical framework, can help to provide new perspectives on how people lived their lives and perceived and engaged with the world around them. The appreciation of the richness of the lived-in worlds in the past, in turn, can promote a new attitude to understanding and interpreting archaeological material.

Conclusions

This paper has considered the nature of folk beliefs, their relationship with religion, and their implications to archaeological interpretation both theoretically and through a case study of early modern northern Finland, with a particular emphasis on the small and peripheral 17th-century town of Tornio. Folk beliefs have conventionally been understood in terms of religious or religious-like thinking, whereas the present paper has argued that the modern category of folk beliefs is not meaningful at all, and that folk beliefs are better understood as indications of how people in the past related with the material world. Folk beliefs were not misconceptions about the (workings of the) world but embedded in the logic and practice of everyday life. This reinterpretation of folk beliefs has been informed by relational thinking which represents the world as more complex in structure and richer in content than modern western thought would have it.

Folklore and historical sources suggest that folk beliefs about non-human beings and special properties of ordinary things flourished in early modern Finland. These folk beliefs indicate that people co-inhabited their world with various non-human beings, some

of which were closer to humans in form and behavior than others, and that various natural and cultural things in that world had special properties. Yet non-human beings and special properties were not “supernatural” or “not-this-worldly” to those people; unlike Christian god, non-human beings and special properties could be directly perceived and known. Folk beliefs also indicate that there was, in certain situations, two-way relatedness between people and a variety of things including artefacts, buildings, and natural landscape elements. The implications of this perspective for archaeological interpretation were discussed in the context of 17th-century Tornio. It was argued that the special deposits associated with buildings contributed to the development of buildings into person-like beings, and it was also shown that the relevance of the relational perspective extends beyond the interpretation of special finds.

Various factors have contributed to the invisibility of folk beliefs in the archaeological record, but this invisibility may have more to do with modern assumptions about the nature of folk beliefs, and their material expression, than about the available data. The case has been made in this paper that the perceived scarcity of the folk-belief-related archaeological material derives largely from the embeddedness of folk beliefs in the ordinary dynamics of how people related with the material world. This view implies that folk beliefs are potentially relevant to the interpretation of all archaeological material, and not only to the study of occasional special finds. It may not be easy to appreciate the significance of folk beliefs to the interpretation of specific archaeological assemblages, but the first step is simply to accept that folk beliefs structured life in early modern northern Finland, and in other similar contexts, more deeply than is presently recognized. Accordingly, there is a need to move from the identification and interpretation of single special finds and contexts to the consideration of how folk beliefs – or what are today identified as such – mediated relationships between people, material culture, and the environment.

Acknowledgments

We are most grateful to Antti Lahelma and Kirsti Paavola for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of the paper. The editor John M. O’Shea and an anonymous referee provided very useful comments which, we hope, have significantly improved the paper. We also thank Risto Nurmi for his invaluable help with the study of the archaeological material from Tornio. Vesa-Pekka Herva is an Academy of Finland post-doctoral fellow, and Timo Ylimaunu’s post-doctoral research is funded by the Emil Aaltonen Foundation.

References

- Asplund Ingemark, C., 2004. *The Genre of Trolls: The Case of a Finland–Swedish Folk Belief Tradition*. Åbo Akademi University Press, Åbo. <<http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:951-765-223-2>>.
- Bateson, G., 2000. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1972).
- Berggold, H., Bäck, M., Johansson, M., Menander, H., Niukkanen, M., Tulkki, C., Wallebom, U., 2004. Handled with care: on typology and symbolism of redware pottery. *Muinaistutkija* (2), 2–25.
- Bird-David, N., 1999. “Animism” revisited: personhood, environment, and relational epistemology (with comments). *Current Anthropology* 40 (Supplement), 67–91.
- Bloch, M., 2005. Are religious beliefs counter-intuitive? In: Bloch, M. (Ed.), *Essays on Cultural Transmission*. Berg, Oxford, pp. 103–121.
- Boivin, N., 2004. Geoaerchaeology and the goddess Laksmi: Rajasthani insights into geoaerchaeological methods and prehistoric soil use. In: Boivin, N., Owoc, M.A. (Eds.), *Soils, Stones and Symbols: Cultural Perceptions of the Mineral World*. UCL Press, London, pp. 165–186.
- Bradley, R., 2007. Houses, bodies and tombs. In: Whittle, A., Cummings, V. (Eds.), *Going Over: The Mesolithic–Neolithic Transition in North–West Europe*. Oxford University Press for the British Academy, Oxford, pp. 347–355.
- Brück, J., 1999. Ritual and rationality: some problems of interpretation in European archaeology. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2 (3), 313–344.
- Carsten, J., Hugh-Jones, S. (Eds.), 1995. *About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Davies, P., Robb, J.G., 2002. The appropriation of the material of places in the landscape: the case of tufa and springs. *Landscape Research* 27 (2), 181–185.
- Eilola, J., 2003. *Rajapinnoilla: sallitun ja kielletyn määritteleminen 1600-luvun jälkipuoliskon noituus ja taikuustapauksissa*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Forbes, R.J., 1950. *Metallurgy in Antiquity: A Notebook for Archaeologists and Technologists*. Brill, Leiden.
- Frazer, J., 1993. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. Wordsworth, Ware (1922).
- Gazin-Schwartz, A., 2001. Archaeology and folklore of ritual, material culture, and everyday life. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5 (4), 263–280.
- Gell, A., 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Gibbons, B.J., 2001. *Spirituality and the Occult: From the Renaissance to the Modern Age*. Routledge, London.
- Gibson, J., 1986. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.
- Guenat, S., 1994. Puulajien perusolemuksista kansanperinteessä. *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja* 73, 120–133.
- Haaland, R., 2004. Technology, transformation and symbolism: ethnographic perspectives on European iron working. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 37 (1), 1–19.
- Haavio, M., 1942. *Suomalaiset kodinhaltijat*. Werner Söderström, Helsinki.
- Haikonen, L., 2008. *Pohjoistalon arvoitus: Tornion Rakennustuotteen tontin tunnistamaton rakennus*. Unpublished BA thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Oulu.
- Harvey, G., 2005. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*. Hurst, London.
- Herva, V.-P., Nurmi, R., forthcoming. Beyond consumption: functionality, artefact biography, and early modernity in a European periphery. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*.
- Herva, V.-P., n.d. *Building persons: relationality and the life of buildings in an early modern Swedish town*.
- Hoggard, B., 2004. The archaeology of counter-witchcraft and popular magic. In: Davies, O., de Blécourt, W. (Eds.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 167–186.
- Hukantaival, S., 2006. “. . . Sillä noita ei sellaisen kynnyksen yli pääse!” *Rakennusten ritualistiset kätköt*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Turku.
- Hukantaival, S., 2007. Hare’s feet under a hearth: discussing ‘ritual’ deposits in buildings. In: Immonen, V., Lempäinen, M., Rosendahl, U. (Eds.), *Hortus Novus: Fresh Approaches to Medieval Archaeology in Finland*. Society for Medieval Archaeology in Finland, Turku, pp. 66–75.
- Immonen, V., 2006. Sámi spoons as artefacts of ethnicity: archaeological reflections on an ethnographic artefact group. In: Herva, V.-P. (Ed.), *People, Material Culture and Environment in the North: Proceedings of the Twenty-second Nordic Archaeological Conference, University of Oulu, 18–23 August 2004*. University of Oulu, Oulu, pp. 42–51.
- Ingold, T., 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. Routledge, London.
- Ingold, T., 2006. Rethinking the animate, re-animating thought. *Ethnos* 71 (1), 9–20.
- Järvillehto, T., 1994. Ihminen ja ihmisen ympäristö: systeemisen psykologian perusteet. Pohjoinen, Oulu.
- Jauhainen, M., 1999. *Suomalaiset uskomustarinat: tyytit ja motiivit*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Katz, D.S., 2007. *The Occult Tradition: From the Renaissance to the Present Day*. Pimlico, London.
- Keskisarja, T., 2006. “Secoituksesta järjettömään luondocappalden canssa”: perversiot, oikeuselämä ja kansankulttuuri 1700-luvun Suomessa. PhD Dissertation, Department of History, University of Helsinki <<http://www.thesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/hum/histo/vk/keskisarja/secoitux.pdf>>.
- Knight, J., 1998. The second life of trees: family forestry in upland Japan. In: Rival, L. (Ed.), *The Social Life of Trees: Anthropological Perspectives on Tree Symbolism*. Berg, Oxford, pp. 197–218.
- Koski, K., 2003. “Outoa tuntematonta väkeä”: näkökulmia väkeen tuonpuoleisen edustajana. *Elore* 1/2003. <http://www.cc.joensuu.fi/~loristi/1_03/kos103a.html>.
- Laestadius, L.L., 1897. Prowasti Lars Levi Laestadiusen Uusi postilla: 35 vuotta hänen kuolemansa jälkeen painamattomista saarnoista koottu. Oskari Grönroos, Pori.
- Lahelma, A., 2007. ‘On the back of a blue elk’: recent ethnohistorical sources and ‘ambiguous’ Stone Age rock art at Pyhänpää, Central Finland. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 40 (2), 113–137.
- Lane, P., 2001. The archaeology of Christianity in global perspective. In: Insoff, T. (Ed.), *Archaeology and World Religion*. Routledge, London, pp. 148–181.
- Lehtonen, T.M.S., 2002. Reformaatio. In: Lehtonen, T.M.S., Joutsivuo, T. (Eds.), *Suomen kulttuurihistoria 1: taivas ja maa*. Tammi, Helsinki, pp. 237–250.
- Lilja, S., 1995. Small towns in the periphery: population and economy of small towns in Sweden during the early modern period. In: Clark, P. (Ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 50–76.
- Lipponen, S., 2006. *Oulu Pakkahuoneenkatu 9, 1/15/1–2: kaupunkiarkeologinen koekäiväys 17.10.–28.10.2005*. Unpublished excavation report, Department of Monuments and Sites, National Board of Antiquities.
- Luukko, A., 1954. *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2: Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin keskiaika sekä 1500-luku*. Pohjois-Pohjanmaan maakuntaliiton ja Lapin maakuntaliiton yhteinen historiatoimikunta, Oulu.

- Mäntylä, I., 1971. Tornion kaupungin historia, 1. osa: 1621–1809. Tornion kaupunki, Tornio.
- Merrifield, R., 1987. *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. Batsford, London.
- Mrozowski, S., 2006. Environments of history: biological dimensions of historical archaeology. In: Hall, M., Silliman, S. (Eds.), *Historical Archaeology*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 23–41.
- Muhonen, T., 2006. Kolme ajallista näkökulmaa ukonvaajoihin: kivikauden kiviesineet myöhempien aikojen kuriositeetteina. *Kuriositeettikabi.net* 3/2006. <<http://www.kuriositeettikabi.net/numero3/Ukonvaajat.pdf>>.
- Nurmi, R., forthcoming. Red earthenware from Tornio. In: *Redware Pottery 1500–1800: Tradition and Transaction in the Central Baltic Region*. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm.
- Nurmi, R., n.d. The others among us? Saami artefacts in the 17th century urban context in the Tornio town, northern Finland.
- Oja, L., 2004. The superstitious other. In: Davies, O. (Ed.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 69–80.
- Okkonen, J., 2003. Jättiläisen hautoja ja hirveitä kiviröykkiöitä: Pohjanmaan muinaisten kivirakennelmien arkeologiaa. University of Oulu Press, Oulu. <<http://www.herkules.oulu.fi/isbn951427170X/isbn951427170X.pdf>>.
- Oukka, A., 1974. Tornionlaakson kansanperinnettä II. Arvid Oukka, Tornio.
- Oukka, A., 1976. Tornionlaakson kansanperinnettä IV. Arvid Oukka, Tornio.
- Paavola, K., 1997. Kepeät mullat: kirjallisiin ja esineellisiin lähteisiin perustuva tutkimus Pohjois-Pohjanmaan rannikon kirkkohautoista. University of Oulu Press, Oulu.
- Pålsson, G., 1996. Human–environmental relationships: orientalism, paternalism and communalism. In: Descola, P., Pålsson, G. (Eds.), *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Routledge, London, pp. 63–81.
- Pentikäinen, J., 2005. Karhun kova kohtalo: jumalaisesta pyhydestä pakanuuden perikuvaksi. In: Halonen, T., Aho, L. (Eds.), *Suomalaisten symbolit*. Atena, Jyväskylä, pp. 54–58.
- Puputti, A.-K., 2006. Bones, economic strategies and socioeconomic status: an analysis of two bone assemblages from seventeenth century Tornio. *Fennoscandia archaeologica* 23, 47–54.
- Puputti, A.-K., n.d. Bones in pits and ditches: a contextual approach to animal bone distribution in early modern Tornio.
- Rival, L. (Ed.), 1998. *The Social Life of Trees: Anthropological Perspectives on Tree Symbolism*. Berg, Oxford.
- Sarmela, M., 1994. *Suomen kansankulttuurin kartasto, 2: Suomen perinneatlas*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Siikala, A.-L., 1992. *Suomalainen šamanismi: mielikuvien historiaa*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Stark, L., 2002. Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises: Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Stark-Arola, L., 2002. The dynamistic body in traditional Finnish-Karelian thought: *väki, vihat, nenä, and luonto*. In: Siikala, A.-L. (Ed.), *Myth and Mentality: Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought*. Finnish Literary Society, Helsinki, pp. 67–103.
- Talve, I., 1979. *Suomen kansankulttuuri: historiallisia päälinjoja*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Tarlow, S., West, S. (Eds.), 1999. *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*. Routledge, London.
- Toivo, R.M., 2006. Usko arjessa ja pyhässäkin. In: Häggman, K. (Ed.), *Suomalaisen arjen historia: savupirttien Suomi*. WSOY, Helsinki, pp. 174–191.
- Tuppi, J., 2006. Raudan, tulisoiton ja Jumalan sanan voimalla: perustuskätköjä 1600-luvun Tornioista. Unpublished BA thesis, Department of Art Studies and Anthropology, University of Oulu.
- Vilkuna, K.H.J., 1997. Menneisyyden ihmisen todellinen unimaailma: unet ja persoonallisuus historiassa. In: Roiko-Jokela, H. (Ed.), *Huhut, unet, sodomiitit, moraalinvartijat, elämäkerrat, puhuttelusanat ja ammattinimikkeet*. University of Jyväskylä, Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä and Historical Society of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, pp. 9–54.
- Virrankoski, P., 1973. Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 3: Pohjois-Pohjanmaa ja Lappi 1600-luvulla. Pohjois-Pohjanmaan, Kainuun ja Lapin maakuntaliittojen yhteinen historiatoimikunta, Oulu.
- Virtanen, L., DuBois, T., 2000. *Finnish Folklore*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Wallerström, T., 1983. Kulturkontakter i Norrbottens kustland under medeltiden. *Norrboten* 82–83, 16–55.
- Wilkie, L.A., 1997. Secret and sacred: contextualizing artifacts of African–American magic and religion. *Historical Archaeology* 31 (4), 81–106.
- Willerslev, R., 2007. *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism, and Personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Ylimaunu, T., 2007. Aittakylästä kaupungiksi: arkeologinen tutkimus Tornion kaupungistumisesta 18. vuosisadan loppuun mennessä. Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys, Rovaniemi.