

## **From Maria to Marjatta: The Transformation of an Oral Poem in Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala*<sup>1</sup>**

**Thomas DuBois**

The question of Elias Lönnrot's role in shaping the texts that became his *Kalevala* has stirred such frequent and vehement debate in international folkloristic circles that even persons with only a passing interest in the subject of Finnish folklore have been drawn to the question. Perhaps the notion of academic fraud in particular intrigues those of us engaged in the profession of scholarship.<sup>2</sup> And although anyone who studies Lönnrot's life and endeavors will discover a man of utmost integrity, it remains difficult to reconcile the extensiveness of Lönnrot's textual emendations with his stated desire to recover and present the ancient epic traditions of the Finnish people. In part, the enormity of Lönnrot's project contributes to the failure of scholars writing for an international audience to pursue any analysis beyond broad generalizations about the author's methods of compilation,

---

<sup>1</sup> Research for this study was funded in part by a grant from the Graduate School Research Fund of the University of Washington, Seattle.

<sup>2</sup> Comparetti (1898) made it clear in this early study of Finnish folk poetry that the *Kalevala* bore only partial resemblance to its source poems, a fact that had become widely acknowledged within Finnish folkloristic circles by that time. The nationalist interests of Lönnrot were examined by a number of international scholars during the following century, although Lönnrot's fairly conservative views on Finnish nationalism became equated at times with the more strident tone of the turn of the century, when the *Kalevala* was made an inspiration and catalyst for political change (Mead 1962; Wilson 1976; Cocchiara 1981:268-70; Turunen 1982). The 1980s were marked by both the centennial of the *Kalevala* (1985) and a renewed interest in the topic of its (in)authenticity, addressed by some of the leading figures in Finnish and American folklore studies (Dundes 1985; Honko 1986 and 1987; Jones 1987; Alphonso-Karkala 1986; Lord 1987/1991; Pentikäinen 1989; Voßschmidt 1989).

overall interpretations, thematic molding, and career phases.<sup>3</sup> Shortcut explanations—citing the small number of lines actually composed by Lönnrot himself, for instance—oversimplify and obscure the role Lönnrot played. Side-by-side textual comparison of the sort facilitated by the publication of Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch's (1977) excellent bilingual anthology of verbatim folk epic texts offers a means of sensing Lönnrot's role in transforming such texts into cantos for his *Kalevala*. Researchers who have availed themselves of this resource to date, however, have concentrated largely on thematic variation rather than linguistic or stylistic alteration (Alphonso-Karkala 1986; Lord 1987/1991; Sawin 1988). What is needed, I believe, is a detailed thematic and stylistic analysis of a single portion of Lönnrot's poem in order to demonstrate exactly how the author handled traditional material and (re)presented it to an outside audience.

This close analysis must rest, I believe, on a twofold attention to both the author's *intellectual* agenda (what he believed he was accomplishing for the Finnish people and for the world) and his *artistic* agenda (what he believed constituted an aesthetically pleasing poem). If we compare a passage from Lönnrot's text—here, a portion of the epic's final Poem 50—with the transcription of an oral performance that served as its model—the *Nativity* song of Arhippa Perttunen (SKVR I,2 1103)—then we can glimpse the scholarly and poetic judgments that underlie Lönnrot's epic. We can see, in other words, how Lönnrot's good intentions led him to alter significantly the poems he had observed in their traditional milieu.

Undertaking the task of comparing two such pieces of poetry—one the product of a single oral performance and the other the product of a long process of literary revision—would be valuable in itself as a defense or explication of Lönnrot's motivations. We may reap additional rewards from such an analysis as well, however. For in comparing these two texts, we will come to appreciate the contrasting aesthetic systems that informed Arhippa's oral epic performance and Lönnrot's literary epic product. And an understanding of these underlying artistic considerations will prove, I believe, a far more significant and wide-ranging discovery than any devoted solely to the cause of defending or criticizing Elias Lönnrot.

In this paper, then, I propose to examine first how Arhippa Perttunen, singing in an oral tradition he had experienced all his life, conceived of and controlled his poetry. By referring to three alternate

---

<sup>3</sup> Not so in the Finnish literature, where extremely detailed studies have been produced: See Kaukonen 1939-45, a detailed examination of the sources Lönnrot used for his epic; Kaukonen 1979, a shorter history of Lönnrot's method and career; and similar useful overviews by Anttila 1985, Kuusi and Anttonen 1985, and Pentikäinen 1989.

performances of the same song—Arhippa's 1834, 1836, and 1839 versions of the *Nativity*—we can perceive the stylistic range and regularities he commanded. Then, with this oral aesthetic system in mind, we will examine how Elias Lönnrot approached, appropriated, and textually performed the same poem in his 1849 *Kalevala*. Again, alternate “performances”—this time Lönnrot's earlier 1833 and 1835 written versions—will help us discern the poet's range and tastes. An examination of these poets' stylistics will lead us to an appreciation of contrasting discursive agendas, that is, the structural and narrative imperatives resulting from Arhippa's oral aesthetic and Lönnrot's Romantic sensibilities. And an understanding of these discursive considerations will allow us, finally, to perceive how each poet contextualized his performance in a wider intertextual framework: the pious Messiah Cycle for Arhippa (a cycle of poems concerning the life and career of Jesus), and a surmised pre-Christian heroic Väinämöinen Cycle for Lönnrot. We will learn, I contend, a great deal about the workings of oral performance in traditional Finland and its transformation into the product of a particular mode of nineteenth-century literacy.

### **Arhippa Perttunen: Oral Performer in Context**

Much is known about the singer Arhippa Perttunen (1769-1840) and his relation to the epic songs that he performed. Later dubbed the “King of Finnish folk poetry” (*runon kuningas*; Haavio 1943:35), Arhippa could boast beautiful songs and a prodigious memory that brought him fame during his life in local and national contexts alike. He attributed his repertoire and skills to his father, who used to spend evenings singing epic songs with a farmhand from another district. The songs that Arhippa learned from his father, Suuri Iivana (“Great Iivana”) were in turn passed on to the next generation's Arhippainen Miihkali, whose blindness may have contributed to the continuation of this familial oral tradition (Haavio 1943:39). Arhippa's acclaim as a singer led to repeated notations of his repertoire: not only did Elias Lönnrot visit him for the purpose of collecting his poems (1834), but J. F. Cajan (1836) and M. A. Castrén (1839) each, in turn, made a pilgrimage to the village of Latvajärvi for the same purpose. The 4124 lines of poetry collected from Arhippa thus include multiple versions of many of his favorite songs over a wide span of years.

Nineteenth-century folklorists studying Arhippa's poetry limited their

analyses primarily to considerations of subject matter and memory. Cajan and Castrén both noted Arhippa's reluctance to sing *loitsut* (incantations), which the singer viewed as sinful and godless (*ibid.*:38). Haavio (1943:40) notes Arhippa's particular fondness for the epic genre, although he knew poems of other genres as well. In addition, folklorists observed the overall unity, or wholeness, of Arhippa's poems, finding little evidence of logical gaps or inconsistencies (*ibid.*:38-40). It is clear that these observers attributed Arhippa's consistency to his fine memory rather than to any particular rhetorical structuring operating within the poems themselves and conveying the impression of integrity. For collectors of the day, such performances were viewed as fossils, preserving the artistry of poets far in the past. The better the memory, the more faithful the rendition, and the more valuable the text.

Several researchers have studied Finnish Kalevalaic poetry from contemporary perspectives. Oral-formulaic theory has been applied tentatively to Finnish oral epic singing by such eminent researchers in the field as Paul Kiparsky and Albert Lord. Kiparsky (1976:96) notes that singers in the tradition varied texts not so much by adding otherwise independent themes or passages but by varying the completeness of the rendition they gave: details could be included or omitted, provided they "belonged" to the song as generally sung in the singer's region. Albert Lord (1987/1991) focuses in part on the relations between Lönnrot's *Kalevala* and published variants of source folk poems, although his comments are necessarily limited. Lord also draws attention to Lönnrot's own distinction between singers who desired to repeat their songs verbatim—as Lord puts it, those who memorized—and those who instead remembered: reconstructing their songs in a process which Lord notes is "more potent, I believe, than it is generally credited with being" (1987:307; 1991:115).

In Finland, Jukka Saarinen and Lauri Harvilahti have furthered oral-formulaic research on this genre. After extensive computer-assisted analysis of Kalevalaic texts, Harvilahti arrives at a three-level model for understanding the way in which Finnish folk poets stored, retrieved, and performed their songs (1992:93):

Competent singers characterize or recall first of all the poem's overall structure (the contents and order of broad narrative wholes). These broad entities are in turn constituted from small, recurrent optional units, which vary in number within the tradition: precise descriptions of actions/events, frames/individuals, and characterizations. A third group is made up of recurrent units at the level of the line or below.

He also notes that variation on these secondary and tertiary levels can be used by a singer to give a particular shape to a performance, modulating it “according to his own preferences and purposes” (1992:97).

Jukka Saarinen (1988; 1991) has further explored such variation in the songs of both Arhippa Perttunen and his son Miihkali. In the later article he distinguishes between two types of narrative elements, hierarchically treated within the tradition. Lower-level elements (typically those that describe, detail, specify, or ground) cannot occur without the upper-level elements they augment. On the other hand, such upper-level narrative elements can appear with or without lower-level adjuncts. This hierarchical system helps explain why certain parts of Arhippa and Miihkali's songs are open to variation while other parts remain fixed. Saarinen goes on to discuss the greater and lesser kinds of additions, repetitions, and alternations characteristic of the singers' songs. The addition of extra lines, especially supplemental parallel lines (see below for further discussion) arises, according to Saarinen and musicologist Ilkka Kolehmainen (1977), from the desire to match closing or climactic moments in the melodic line with similarly charged moments in the narrative.

In a related vein, I have attempted to demonstrate the ethnopoetic architecture of Arhippa's performances and its underlying basis in an oral aesthetic (DuBois forthcoming). Not only did accomplished Finnish performers comply with the prosodic conventions of the folk poetry genre, I maintain, they used a related set of linguistic devices to delineate an overarching rhetorical structure for their poems as wholes. Whereas the prosody of Finnish folk poetry includes a particular meter (trochaic tetrameter), rules about syllable placement within the line, alliteration, and line-pair parallelism, broader aesthetic shaping was achieved by such features as line groupings of three and five, strategic use of particles (e.g., *niin*, “thus”) and enclitics (e.g., *-nsA*, third-person human possessive marker), and an interplay of succinct and lengthy passages. In the case of the particularly artful singer Arhippa Perttunen, improvisational additions, repetitions, and deletions of lines allowed the singer to vary his performance, selectively highlighting a given narrative moment through techniques of expansion and compensating for the investment of discourse time by streamlining other portions of the poem. Such improvisation allowed the singer to spotlight a given aspect of the narrative, structure the performance in a novel way, and tailor the performance itself to the tastes, familiarity, and interests of the audience. Following Hymes (1981; 1982; 1985), we can contextualize this body of rules and practices as a kind of

ethnopoetic “grammar,” set in play nearly automatically during the oral performance. And crucially, it was the implicit understanding of this grammar of performance that permitted audiences to appraise and appreciate the artistry of their entertainers. As in all good performance, a balance between predictability and innovation had to be struck, and this balance lay along the axis of traditional prosody and rhetorical shaping.

Appendix I contains a transcription of Arhippa’s 1834 performance of the *Nativity*, as performed for Elias Lönnrot. The text’s printed appearance has been altered along lines suggested by scholarship in ethnopoetics to make evident the rhetorical mechanisms operating within the poem itself.<sup>4</sup> Below I shall make some observations about the particular kinds of artistic shaping noticeable in Arhippa’s text.

Dialogue stands as a crucial structuring device in Arhippa’s *Nativity*. Each of the three main parts of the performance (which Kuusi [1977:552; 1980:233-34] believes originate in separate poems) features a particular type of dialogue, made central by its placement in the text and paucity of competing detail. Part I, entitled here “The Berry and Mary” (ll. 1-28), focuses on the berry’s terse and mysterious call to Mary, a call that results in her eventual impregnation. The lengthy second part of the poem, “Mary, Piltti, and Ugly Ruotus’ Wife” (29-230), is dominated by Mary’s three attempts to find a sauna in which to give birth, instructing her servant Piltti to run to the village three times, and receiving there a negative response from Ugly Ruotus’ wife on each occasion. The repetition of Mary’s instructions to Piltti, Piltti’s word-for-word rendition of these lines for Ruotus’ wife, the wife’s equally repetitive responses, and Piltti’s faithful rendition of these as well create a highly stylized passage in which familiar lines are repeated for purely aesthetic reasons. In the final part of the poem, “Mary, the Road, the Moon, and the Sun” (231-94), Mary’s conversations again form the core of the text, as Mary addresses each of three natural beings (the road, the moon, and the sun) for information about her lost son.

What is crucial to note about these turns at talk is that they do not simply “help” tell the story or delineate the characters—rather, they are the narrative events around which the entire poem’s structure revolves. Thus, Arhippa’s poem opens with only two brief lines prior to the berry’s call and ends with the final words of the sun. No further discourse is necessary in a text so emphatically dominated by dialogue.

---

<sup>4</sup> For further discussion of this methodology, and its application to Finnish folk poetry, see DuBois forthcoming.

On the more local, stanzaic level, too, Arhippa uses various devices to structure and give point to his song. He transgresses the prosodic rule of line-pair parallelism, for instance, to create line groupings of three or five at prime narrative moments. Note, for example, his description of where Mary hides her child:

Neitsy Maria emonen	Virgin Mary little mother	231
rakas äiti armollinen	dear mother full of grace	232
piiletteli poiuttahan	she hid her son	233
kullaista omenoansa	her golden apple	234
alla sieklan sieklottavan	under a sieve for sifting	235
alla korvon kannettavan	under a pail for carrying	236
alla jouksovan jalaksen	under a running sled runner	237

Here the regular progression of line pairs is dramatically offset by the final series of three lines, stylistically linked by the repetition of the addressive preposition *alla* (“under”), as well as by syntactic and grammatical parallelism. Such a covariation between groupings of two and three breaks the potential monotony of the poetry and allows the singer to identify key moments.

Likewise, the crucial narrative moment at which Mary consumes the berry is highlighted by a striking “run” of five parallel lines:

Tempo kartun kankahalta	She drags a pole from the marsh	21
senni päällä seisataksen	and standing on that	22
heitti marjan helmohinsa	she threw the berry into her lap	23
helmoiltansa vyönsä päälle	from her lap onto her belt	24
vyönsä päältä rinnoillensa	from her belt onto her breast	25
rinoiltansa huulellensa	from her breast onto her lip	26
huuleltansa kielellensä	from her lip onto her tongue	27
siitä vatsahan valahti.	from there it slid into the stomach	28

Here the regular alternation of the ablative (“from off of”) and allative (“onto”) cases, along with the presence of the personal ending *-nsA* help express the lines’ unity. And the final, fifth line (28), which culminates the action of the previous four, is at once semantically linked to and poetically differentiated from the lines leading up to it: shifting to an elative/illative (“from out of/into”) progression, replacing a noun with a pronoun (*siitä*) and including a verb (*valahti*, “slid”). We can sense here, in other words, a very fine management of audience expectation and surprise—an impression borne out by examination of similar structuring devices in others of Arhippa’s songs.

An examination of Arhippa's poetry may also lead to the conclusion that we can use the presence or absence of ethnopoetic structuring as an index of the integrity, or even orality, of a given portion of the *Kalevala*. For although Lönnrot understood the prosody of Kalevalaic poetry well, he did not sense the kinds of structuring described here. And the absence of this notion, coupled with a literary poetic sensibility largely at odds with that of the folk tradition, led to major restructurings of the poems destined for inclusion in the *Kalevala*. The fact that Lönnrot himself conceived of his assimilation of the Kalevalaic tradition as largely oral—since he had memorized most of the lines of the *Kalevala*—obscured for him the very substantive ways in which literacy altered his understanding, appreciation, and appropriation of the poetry.

### **Elias Lönnrot: Literate Performer in Context**

Before examining Lönnrot's version of the lines quoted above, we need to understand the process by which he created his text. Although Lönnrot clearly enjoyed the folk epic tradition and became one of its great extollers to the world, it must be said that his views and interpretations of Kalevalaic singing differed markedly from those of traditional singers or audiences. Whereas a traditional singer such as Arhippa contextualized his songs within his childhood experiences and lifelong familiarity with the performed tradition itself, Lönnrot contextualized the poems within the intellectual construct of "national literature." As an educated doctor, schooled in the general European embrace of such works as the *Iliad*, *Edda*, and *Ossian*, Lönnrot was thrilled primarily by the fact of the poems' existence, and secondarily by the seeming antiquity of the poems' content. Matters of style, performance context, repertoire choice, and so forth—those aspects so interesting to folklorists today and so consequential to the performers themselves—seemed trivial in comparison with the historical significance of the poems.

Thus, whereas the traditional audience listened to a song for entertainment in the here and now, Lönnrot listened for enlightenment in the ancient past and validation in the intellectual present. And whereas a singer such as Arhippa Perttunen gained competence in the tradition through listening repeatedly to the songs and absorbing gradually what Kuusi and Anttonen have termed the *kalevalakieli* (the traditional aesthetic means and practices that characterize this mode of singing; 1985:61-63), Lönnrot spent his brief moments as an audience member engaged in the

necessarily logocentric act of shorthand notation: documenting for his contemporaries and followers the fact and the content of the poems he heard.

When Lönnrot returned home after any of his numerous short-term collecting expeditions, he brought with him long passages of written words with only a glimmering memory of their performed reality. Literacy allowed him to distance the poems from their performed context, and he then approached them anew along lines established by his own teachers and contemporaries (Ong 1986: points 4 and 7, 39-40). The great H. G. Porthan (1739-1804) had initiated Finnish intellectual interest in Kalevalaic singing and its content. Drawing on Macpherson's purportedly authentic Scottish epic *The Poems of Ossian* (1765) for inspiration, Porthan collected and published a number of Finnish epic songs in his five-part study *Dissertatio de Poesie Fennica* (1766-78) and led his students to examine the content of such songs in detail (Hautala 1954:62-68). Under the tutelage of the Turku Romantic scholar R. von Becker, one of the next generation of scholars to find significance in Kalevalaic poetry, the young Lönnrot pursued studies of the epic figure Väinämöinen, resulting in his thesis of 1827 (*ibid.*:101-2). K. A. Gottlund (1796-1875), drawing further on literary fascination with epics, pointed to the possibility of constituting an epic equal to those of Homer out of the traditional songs of the Finnish people (1817) and made a first attempt at creating one in his two-volume work *Pieniä Runoja Suomen Poijille Ratoxi* (*Little Songs for the Entertainment of the Sons of Finland*, 1817-21; Kuusi and Anttonen 1985:43). And Sakari Topelius (1781-1831), a district physician from Uusikarlepyy, created his own first draft of such an edited epic in his five-part *Suomen Kansan Vanhoja Runoja ynnä myös Nykyisempiä Lauluja* (*Ancient Poems of the Finnish People along with some Newer Songs*, 1822-31) a text which Väinö Kaukonen (1979:19) describes as crucial to the formation and form of Lönnrot's original *Kalevala*. Lönnrot's experience of any text he collected thus hinged on the notions created by these intellectuals and the variant texts familiar to him from Topelius' collection.

The editing methodology that Lönnrot developed on this basis became a combination of faithful transcription and careful comparative emendation. A given singer's poem led Lönnrot to associate it in his own mind either initially with other poems of precisely the same content, or secondarily with poems of seemingly related content. Lönnrot writes repeatedly in his essays and letters of the existence of *toisinnot* ("variants")—by which he means different versions of the same *ikivanha* ("ancient") poem. When writing of Arhippa Perttunen, for instance,

Lönnrot states: “A number of these [poems] were ones that I had not obtained yet from anyone else,”<sup>5</sup> from which we can infer that he viewed the poems as having their own separate existence outside of given performances. When describing the wealth of collected poems available to him for his revision of the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot writes to A. J. Sjögren that his note pages are “almost entirely full of additions, although many of these are variants.”<sup>6</sup> This superorganic view of the poems naturally led the editor more toward regularization and emendation than toward absolute fidelity to transcribed texts, as we shall see.

Particularly subject to alteration in Lönnrot’s compilation work were the very kinds of three- and five-part runs of lines that help structure Arhippa’s poetry. Lönnrot’s method and mindset favored expansion at the expense of structural harmony, a shortcoming much criticized by some contemporaries familiar with the folk tradition (e.g., Castrén [Kaukonen 1979:165]). And structuring devices inherent in a given performer’s singing became lost in a confused jumble of lines from different performances. As an example, consider the path the berry follows in Lönnrot’s 1849 *Kalevala*:

Tempoi kartun kankahalta	She dragged a pole from the marsh	107
jolla marjan maahan sorti	by which she knocked the berry	108
	to the ground	
Niinpä marja maasta nousi	thus the berry rose from the ground	109
kaunoisille kautoloille	to the beautiful shoetops	110
kaunosilta kautoloilta	from the shoetops	111
puhtahille polviloille	to the spotless knees	112
puhtahilta polviloilta	from the spotless knees	113
heleville helmasille.	to the bright apron-hem.	114
Nousi siitä vyörivoille	It rose from there to the waistline	115
vyörivoilta rinnoillensa	from the waistline to her breast	116
rinnoiltansa leuoillensa	from her breast to her chin	117
leuoiltansa huulillensa	from her chin to her lips	118
siitä suuhun suikahutti	from there it slipped into the mouth	119
keikahutti kielellensä	tripped quickly on her tongue	120

---

<sup>5</sup> “Useimmat niistä [runoista] olivat sellaisia, joita en ennen muilta ole saanut” (Haavio 1943:35).

<sup>6</sup> “melkein kaikkialla täynnä lisäyksiä, mutta paljon niistä on toisintoja” March 1848 (Kaukonen 1979:163).

kieleltä keruksisihin	from the tongue into the throat	121
siitä vatsahan valahti.	from there it slid into the stomach.	122

Presenting Lönnrot's text in an ethnopoetic format reveals the extent to which his conglomerative editing damages the structural cohesiveness of the source oral performances. In the above sequence of 14 lines (50:109-22) we can recognize several competing ethnopoetic systems. Lines 109-14 begin with the particle *niinpä* (the phatic expletive *niin*, "thus," plus the emphatic enclitic *-pA*, "indeed"), an occurrence that tends to announce a significant unit of related lines or climax moment in the singing of poets such as Arhippa (DuBois forthcoming). Indeed, in Lönnrot's text, this particle announces the occurrence of a unified run of lines, each formed of a reference to an article of clothing or body part plus an appropriate adjective. A regular alternation between the allative ("onto") case and the ablative ("from off of") further links line pairs so that the singleton line 114 "heville helmasille" ("onto the bright apron-hem") stands as a contrastive climax to the berry's run. Rather than leave the berry there, however, Lönnrot uses lines reminiscent of Arhippa's rendition to bring the berry from the maiden's waist to her mouth (115-18). Here, the verb *nousi* ("rose") is repeated, announcing a further run of related lines in which references to two body-parts are combined within each line with an alternation of ablative and allative cases. As in Arhippa's poem, the enclitic personal marker *-nsA* ("her") again provides further structural cohesion. Finally, in lines 119-22, Lönnrot uses an amalgamation of repeated words (e.g., *siitä* "from there"), related verbs (*suikahutti*, "slipped"; *keikahutti*, "tripped"; *valahti*, "slid"), and references to body-parts to build a final sequence for his berry.

Although structuring devices abound in Lönnrot's passage, they do not achieve the unity evident in Arhippa's briefer run. Instead, the flow of discourse is interrupted as poetic voice and device shift from section to section. Clearly, Lönnrot's penchant for expansion and desire to create stanzas of roughly even length led him to combine lines from different poets in imperfect ways.

In some cases Arhippa, too, alternated structuring devices to break the berry's run up into several parts, as in the version of the poem he performed for Cajan. But in contrast to Lönnrot's attempts, Arhippa is able to create a unified passage in which seemingly distinctive portions are linked together by shared devices and vocabulary (SKVR 1103a:23-37):

Niin mänövi mättähälle	Thus she went to the hill	23
tempo kartun kankahalta	she drags a pole from the marsh	24

senki peällä seisataksen	and standing on that	25
Heitti marjan helmoillensa	She threw the berry onto her lap	26
voatteille valkeille	onto the white clothes	27
pätöville peäsomille	onto the worthy headdress	28
Niin marja ylemmä nousi	Thus the berry rose up	29
polosille polvillensa	onto her dear knees	30
niin marja ylemmä nousi	thus the berry rose up	31
riveille rinnoillensa	onto her nimble breast	32
niin marja ylemmä nousi	thus the berry rose up	33
leveälle leuallehe	onto her broad chin	34
leualta on huulellehe	from the chin to the lip	35
huulelta on kielellehe	from the lip to the tongue	36
siitä vatsahan valahti	from there it slid into the stomach	37

Here we can notice that the same structuring devices recur throughout the lines: *niin* is used over and over again to tie the lines together, while the personal enclitics *-nsA* and *-he* (“her”) further mark structural unity. Although lines 27-28 seem to differ from the run of three lines interlarded with the repeated “Niin marja ylemmä nousi” (“Thus the berry rose up”—29, 31, 33), the interspersed lines retain the same adjective plus alliterating noun structure, the same use of the allative case *-lle*, and the same recurrence of personal markers as was introduced in the previous two lines. The overall effect of this progressively more elaborate run of lines 26-34 is that the culminating set of three lines (35-37) stands apart as terse and final, illustrating the interplay of long and short passages that pervades Arhippa’s songs.

As time progressed, and the corpus of poetry familiar to Lönnrot grew, so too, the minuteness of comparison of which Lönnrot was capable increased. In the revision of the *Kalevala* undertaken during the years 1847-48, we see Lönnrot associating poems on the basis of fragmentary congruence or partial thematic similarity. A firsthand observer, August Ahlqvist, described Lönnrot’s method for revising his epic in detail. According to Ahlqvist, Lönnrot had set up a large board on which he had displayed the contents of the *Kalevala*. After reading a passage from a collector’s notebook (be it his own or that of any of the several fieldworkers who contributed material for the revised *Kalevala*), Lönnrot consulted the board to locate the place where the passage would “best” fit. He then opened his copy of the *Kalevala* to the appropriate page and wrote in the alternate lines on one of the separate blank pages inserted into the

work for this purpose. The result of this months-long process was a resource book for the revision of the *Kalevala* so extensive that Lönnrot wrote to his friend Fabian Collan in May of 1848: "Now the collected poems could well yield seven *Kalevalas*, each entirely different."<sup>7</sup> The fact that this process of association depended largely on Lönnrot's own internalization of the poems' content is underscored by Ahlqvist's comment: "This work would be much more difficult for someone else, since Lönnrot knows almost every word of the *Kalevala* by heart so that in that way he needn't consult his board so often but can go instead straight to the *Kalevala*."<sup>8</sup>

This process of text-building was for Lönnrot not only largely associative but also necessarily sequential, in a manner that we may recognize as characteristic of literacy (Ong 1982,1986; Lord 1987). The poems that Lönnrot had heard and learned first became the stem on which he grafted further texts, *lisäyksiä* ("additions"), much in the way that the initial string of cards in a game of solitaire provides the basis for all subsequent acts of association. Thus, since Arhippa's *Nativity* was not collected until the year after Lönnrot had created the proto-*Kalevala* (a first draft of the epic completed in 1833 but never published), the new poem had to be worked into a preexisting narrative framework that contained none of the Messiah Cycle poems.<sup>9</sup> The existence of a *Nativity* poem in the final portion of Topelius' anthology (Kaukonen 1979:20) along with the occurrence of a marsh<sup>10</sup> seems to have led Lönnrot to associate the poem's Maria with the pregnant girl and condemned illegitimate son of the poem known by folklorists as *Väinämöinen's Judgment* (*Väinämöisen tuomio*).<sup>11</sup> Thus, although in the proto-*Kalevala* (in the manuscript entitled

---

<sup>7</sup> "nyt kerätyistä runoista saisi hyvin seitsemän kappaletta Kalevaloja, kaikki erilaisia" (Kaukonen 1979:164).

<sup>8</sup> "Vaan toisille olisi paljon vaikeampi tämä työ, sillä L. muistaa melkein joka sanan Kalevalasta ulkoa, eikä niinmuodoin tarvitse niin yhä katsoa tauluunsa, menee vaan suoraan Kalevalaan" (Kaukonen 1979:162).

<sup>9</sup> For translations of the Proto-*Kalevala* and 1835 *Kalevala*, see Magoun 1969; for a complete translation of the 1849 *Kalevala's* Poem 50, see Magoun 1963.

<sup>10</sup> Note that Lönnrot's final version of this poem both starts and ends in the marsh; see Appendix II.

<sup>11</sup> For a classic examination of this poem's reconstructed Urform, see Haavio 1950.

“Väinämöinen”) the Nativity story is entirely absent, the 1835 *Kalevala* has included those portions of the poem (with significant alterations; see below) leading up to the son’s mysterious disappearance (the beginning of section III in Arhippa’s text). At that point, Lönnrot ties the text to the beginning of his previous account of Väinämöinen’s judgment by placing the son not in the heavens but in a marsh—the place of illegitimate children condemned to infanticide. From there he will be rescued and condemned again to death by Väinämöinen, only to miraculously upbraid the ancient hero for his foolishness. In the 1849 *Kalevala* Lönnrot has included even more of Arhippa’s song, although, again, the child ends up in the same morass. Thus, although the Nativity song swells from 171 lines (its length in the 1835 version) to a full 341 lines (in the 1849 version), it remains narratively subordinated to the song of Väinämöinen’s Judgment, for which it becomes a kind of introductory excursus, leading to the important moment of Väinämöinen’s insulted departure from the land of Kalevala.

### **Lönnrot vs. Arhippa: Clashing Aesthetic Systems**

It is in this act of linking poems that Lönnrot’s own ideas about poetry and narrative come to the fore. And here, too, Arhippa’s oral aesthetic finds its most concerted challenge. An examination of the beginning of Lönnrot’s Nativity sequence provides an apt example. Consider lines 73-88, similar in many details to their source in Arhippa’s performance:

Marjatta, korea kuopus	Marjatta comely youngest child	73
viikon viipyi paimenessa	long worked as a shepherd	74
paha on olla paimenessa	it is hard to be a shepherd	75
tyttölapsen liiatenki:	too much indeed for a girlchild	76
mato heinässä matavi	a worm slithers in the hay	77
sisiliskot siuottavi.	lizards wriggle	78
Ei mato maaellutkana	a worm really didn’t slither	79
sisilisko siuotellut	nor did a lizard wriggle	80
Kirkui marjanen mäeltä	Cried a berry from the hill	81
puolukkainen kankahalta:	a lingonberry from the marsh	82
“Tule, neiti, noppimahan,	“Come maiden and pluck me	83
punaposki, poimimahan	red cheek pick me	84
tinarina riipimähän	tin-breast gather me	85
vyö vaski valitsemahan	copper-belt choose me	86

ennenkuin etana syöpi	before the snail consumes	87
mato musta muikkoavi!	the black worm destroys!"	88

If we compare Lönnrot's reworking of this passage to Arhippa's original, we can note some of the ways in which Lönnrot's literary tastes cause him to alter the poem's stylistic mechanisms and character motivations. In Arhippa's version, for instance, the idea of the berry falling prey to lowly slithering beasts (*etana*, "snail"; *mato*, "worm") stands as a poetic metaphor for natural decay: that which is not harvested by humans will be consumed by miserable scavengers. The berry calls for the maiden to save it from rotting on the vine. In Lönnrot's version, on the other hand, the berry clearly plays on the maiden's delicate fear of slithering things. By prefacing the berry's call with the lines "a serpent is slithering on the grass / lizards are wriggling there / the serpent did not really crawl / nor the lizard wriggle" (77-80), Lönnrot creates a psychological character sketch of a high-strung maiden—one earlier elaborated by the various tasks that the overly modest girl refuses to do, e.g., eating fertile eggs (23-24) or the meat of once-pregnant ewes (25-26), touching cows' teats (27-34), or riding in a sled drawn by sexually mature horses (35-42). The crafty berry uses the girl's fears to trick her into consuming it. Finally, the passage is rounded out by lines that accord the maiden a unique position among countless other women similarly tempted by the berry. It is only the extremely modest, sensitive Marjatta who responds to the berry's entreaty and fear tactics.

Lönnrot's text thus makes explicit both the motivations and the psychology of its characters, depicting them with foibles and guile absent from Arhippa's poem. This tendency arises, of course, from the fact that for Arhippa the characters are already familiar to his audience. The Virgin Mary and Holy Spirit need no characterization; one need only invoke what Kellogg (1979) has called the "vast context of story"—the great intertextual or extratextual body of other narratives and knowledge shared by performer and audience alike, signalled *metonymically*, as Foley (1991, 1992) would put it, by the very use of their names or actions. When Lönnrot chooses to desacralize the Virgin (a choice that we will examine below), the now-unfamiliar, faulted, and demonic figures he creates require explication entirely superfluous to Arhippa's traditional performance. We will return to this particular and crucial difference between these two performances at the end of this paper.

For Lönnrot, the cryptic brevity of Arhippa's opening passage must have seemed deplorably incomplete, clearly the sign of a degenerated form. In addition to the lack of immediate psychological grounding, Lönnrot

perceived at least three major lacks in this short passage, emended in his own version. First, in accordance with literary standards of his time, Lönnrot could not accept the notion that dialogue could precede character identification: both the berry and the maiden needed to be identified as characters and embedded in an interaction that would justify the dialogue. As a corollary to this initial structural shortcoming, Lönnrot must have felt that since the maiden becomes the more consequential character in the poem as a whole, she must be introduced first and in greater detail than the berry. The fact that Arhippa's poem fails to identify the maiden in any way prior to the berry's calling to her becomes evident as a narrative "flaw" when we notice the pains to which Lönnrot went to correct it. The opening lines of Poem 50 (1-42) are thus devoted to characterizing the maiden "Marjatta korea kuopus" ("Marjatta comely youngest child"), whose traits, by the way, are anything but divine. For Lönnrot, the opening must have seemed a naked dialogue scene calling for the textual grounding provided by the opening of the *Väinämöinen's Judgment* poem.

The second major structural lack in the passage—from Lönnrot's point of view—was the failure to explain how or why the maiden came to be in a marsh in the first place. The very expression "in the first place" here highlights the nineteenth-century literary habit of delineating place (setting/situation) as a necessary precondition to the presentation of plot details. There must be a reason, in other words, for the convergence of the characters in a certain spot and a basis for their eventual interaction. In a nineteenth-century Romantic epic sensibility dominated by works such as Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian*, where place is elevated to the status of central theme, it would be unconscionable to allow the topographic vagueness of Arhippa's poem to stand. Thus, Lönnrot provides a sound and logical justification for the maiden's arrival in the marsh in lines 43-48: she has been sent there as a shepherdess and has been led to the marsh by her sheep. This explication provides information on not only where the maiden is, but also why she is there, harnessing the delineation of setting and character to the broader cause of emplotment. Marjatta sits on the hill in the marsh because she has been made a shepherdess, a task assigned to her in turn because of her overly modest refusal to do other types of household work. Characterization (lines 1-42) leads to a resultant situation and setting (43-58) that culminates in the dialogue.

Thirdly, however, Lönnrot must have found the berry's initiation of the dialogue entirely too forward and abrupt, even given the elaborate preamble provided by the above-mentioned lines. Thus, in the 1849 *Kalevala* he places the first utterance of the conversation in Marjatta's

mouth, making her sighingly question (in the manner of nineteenth-century pastoral heroines) her present condition and fated destiny:

Tuossa tuon sanoiksi virkki,	There she said a word	59
itse lausui, noin nimesi:	herself uttered, thus spoke:	60
“Kuku, kultainen käkönen,	“Cuckoo, golden cuckoo-bird	61
hope’inen hoilattele,	call out, silver one,	62
tinarinta, riukuttele,	tin-breast, sing out	63
Saksan mansikka, sanele	German strawberry, say	64
käynkö viikon villapäänä	will I live long with free hair	65
kauan karjanpaimenena	spend much time as a shepherd	66
näillä aavoilla ahoilla,	in these open clearings,	67
leve’illä lehtomailla!	in these broad groves!	68
Kesosenko, kaksosenko	One summer’s time, a pair,	69
viitosenko, kuutosenko	a fifth, a sixth	70
vainko kymmenen keseä	perhaps ten whole years	71
tahi ei täyteen tätänä?”	or not fully that?”	72

With these lines provided (drawn largely from lyric poems outside the Messiah cycle), Lönnrot creates a narrative sequence appropriate to the genre of nineteenth-century epic. The “completion” of Arhippa’s narrative “fragment” depends on Lönnrot’s own notions of narrative requisites and the associative processes that led him to connect Arhippa’s lines with those of other poems.

This associative process took place during the first stage of Lönnrot’s revisions: when collected lines were written in as “variants” (*toisinnot*) in the leaves of Lönnrot’s notebooks and modified *Kalevala*. Once this process of association was complete—a process mediated by literacy but also reliant on Lönnrot’s quasi-oral internalization of the tradition—the more fundamentally literary process of text-building could begin. But crucially, throughout both stages of the process, Lönnrot’s mindset remained unmistakably literate, conceiving of texts in a way that only someone learned in the ways of written literature would.

Lönnrot’s resultant emendations are very different from the kinds of variations evident in Arhippa’s three versions of the *Nativity*. Where Arhippa modifies his performance, it is for surface (though not trivial) aesthetic effect rather than fundamental narrative restructuring. Whether Maria sends her servant three times forth to search for a sauna (as in the version Arhippa performed for Lönnrot) or only once (as in the versions performed for Cajan and Castrén), the overall interactions, characterizations, and narrative events remain unchanged. The performance is varied to entertain, to refine, to surprise within the framework of its

tradition—not to “rewrite” the story. Such cannot be said, in contrast, of Lönnrot’s variations.

### **Maria and Marjatta: Intertextual Contexts**

Chief among the transformations which Lönnrot effects in his use of the Nativity stands the desacralization of Maria, her conversion from “rakas äiti armollinen” (“dear Mother full of mercy/grace”) to “Marjatta korea kuopus” (“Marjatta comely youngest child”). This change is accomplished through more than simple epithet substitutions, however. Throughout Lönnrot’s text, the virgin is accorded emotions and reactions wholly absent from Arhippa’s Virgin, recasting her as a young, frail, and very human character. In the lines prior to the berry’s call (as discussed above) Marjatta is portrayed as overly modest and dreamy, and in the portion of the poem developed from Arhippa’s performance, Marjatta evinces nervousness (75-80), embarrassment (129-30), plaintiveness (156-60, 179-84), indignation (169-78, 195-200) and tearful sorrow (289-90). So humanized is the *matala neiti* (“lowly [i.e., deflowered] maiden”) that Lönnrot is able to place a very mortal midwife’s charm into her mouth (304-14) as a young mother’s prayer. Such entreaties to God are absent from Arhippa’s poem, probably because the Virgin is regarded as not needing to call on God for help, being always confident of his assistance.

For Arhippa, such attention to the emotive life of his protagonist would have seemed unnecessary or inappropriate. Arhippa’s Maria is dignified and forceful, even in her predicament: her entreaties of Piltti and of Ruotus’s wife, as well as those of the road, moon, and sun, are made with forceful insistence rather than high-strung plaintiveness. Likewise, her search for her son has a tone of empowerment absent from Lönnrot’s passive Marjatta. Indeed, when Arhippa supplies further epithets for *Neitsy Maria* (“Virgin Mary”) in other versions of the poem, these are ones that emphasize her sacredness: for example, “vanhin vaimoloista” (“oldest of women”) and “eläjien ensimmäinen” (“first among beings”) (1836 version, SKVR I,2 1103a:11-12). And in the 1839 version of the poem sung for Castrén (SKVR I,2 1103c), the refusals of the road and moon to divulge the whereabouts of the child result in the Virgin cursing them, dooming them (in the manner of etiological Saints’ legends) to the lowly duties that they perform today.

Part of the reason for Arhippa’s silence regarding his protagonist’s emotions must lie also with the generic expectations of Finnish oral epic.

The lyric sentiment belonged to other kinds of songs in the Kalevalaic meter, for instance the *huolilaulu* ("song of cares"), *itkuvirsi* ("lament"), and certain wedding songs—and was marked as a particularly (though not exclusively) female theme (Timonen 1990a, b). Lönnrot's readiness to transgress these generic bounds in his *Kalevala*, thus creating a mixed form atypical of the folk tradition, reflects his Romantic notions of the epic genre and nineteenth-century tastes born of such poets as Macpherson and Runeberg.

When one knows the folk poems that served as Lönnrot's base, one can sense in the *Kalevala* both its author's oral familiarity and the text's written artificiality. There is a pulling together of detail and commentary that could arise only from a truly intimate knowledge of the main plot and form of the epic; at the same time, however, the plethora of addenda alert us to a mind working over time rather than within it and unaware of the complexities that underlay that momentary achievement of the oral performance.

Lönnrot's Poem 50 differs from Arhippa's *Nativity* in that the former places plot above all else, delineating characters that help convey the significance of the plot actions and deploying details so as to heighten and prolong the reader's awareness of these actions. Arhippa's *Nativity* does something entirely different. The plot is already known; it exists in the Bible. The *Nativity* is an intertextual, metonymic meditation on that plot, in which, I think, the hierarchy of importance that places action over character over place over detail is exactly inverted: now the details (sparse though they be) command prime attention, coupled with imaginatively (but economically) depicted settings, in which somewhat less important characters carry out nearly trivial acts. The sacred events within the narrative—the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion—are camouflaged within metaphorical structures that operate as a somewhat puzzling allegorical narrative, sensible, nonetheless, to an audience "alive to the encoded signals for interpretation" (Foley 1992:293). It may be possible to conjecture, as Haavio did (1935:67-77), that the notion of an impregnating berry arose from a lax understanding of the "Hail Mary" or a misguided interpretation of a painted Flight into Egypt (in which the Virgin is often depicted riding a donkey and eating strawberries; Kuusi 1963:292-300), but Arhippa Perttunen, at least, knew better than that. For him, this poem was sacred and beloved, not because it was quaintly misinformed, but because it recapitulated a sacred event. It participated in a valuable way in the great unity of story that constituted the Christian message.

For Lönnrot, on the other hand, the Christianity of the poem poses certain problems. Most obviously, it strenuously resists any assumption of pre-Christian provenience, threatening as well to drag the other poems of the *Kalevala* into the Christian Middle Ages by association. Thus, somehow, Lönnrot must partition this most Christian of poems, set it off as different from its (earlier) counterparts. The most logical way to accomplish this end, is, of course, by placing it at the end of the epic and linking it to an ascribed era of conversion, when understandings of biblical events would have been tenuous and naive. The point can be driven home by enveloping the poem into the Väinämöinen cycle, making it not the recounting of a sacred act alone, but a detail in explaining how the pagan hero Väinämöinen came to leave his beloved songlands. The very human Marjatta becomes reminiscent of the Virgin Mary but not identical to her, further distancing the poem from its pious origin. And if most readers of the *Kalevala* would probably think of Poem 50 as a poem about Marjatta and the arrival of Christianity (for Marjatta, notwithstanding all Lönnrot's emendations, remains an extremely appealing and central character), it is clear from Lönnrot's own synopsis of the epic that for him Poem 50 was about Väinämöinen's departure and the coming of Christianity. Marjatta is not even mentioned in the description of the epic Lönnrot wrote late in life:

The last song, which gives an explanation of Väinämöinen's departure, also signifies the downfall of paganism before the teachings of Christianity, said downfall being the principal reason for Väinämöinen's leaving.<sup>12</sup>

In placing the Nativity at the end of his work, Lönnrot followed the lead established by Topelius in his earlier anthology, who accorded the poem the status of a "newer poem" reflective of a Roman Catholic era. But in embedding this Christian song in a pagan heroic epic carefully cleansed of other overtly Christian references before its final canto, Lönnrot was acting entirely on his own, accomplishing a transformation that he no doubt believed reflected the poem's original state, but that can hardly be regarded as a slight emendation.

In essence, Arhippa's *Nativity* is a complex oral meditation, Lönnrot's Poem 50 a complex literary explanation. Arhippa's song

---

<sup>12</sup> "Viimeinen laulu, mikä antaa selvityksen Väinämöisen lähdöstä, tarkoittaa sitä paitsi pakanuuden väistymistä uuden kristillisen opin tieltä, mikä väistyminen kaiketi oli tärkein syy Väinämöisen poistumiseen" [Lönnrot, "Lyhyt selostus" prepared for professor J. K. Grot, 1882 (Kaukonen 1979:184)].

provides a metaphoric recapitulation of the birth and death of Christ, focusing on that female (p)recapitulation of Christ himself, the Virgin Mary. Lönnrot's poem, for its part, provides an explanation of how the prior 49 poems of the 1849 *Kalevala* fit into Finnish history: Poem 50 is the single point in the epic in which the mythic, legendary, and quasi-historical elements of the poems meet the solid earth of historical reality in the moment of conversion. If Väinämöinen is compelled to leave by the arrival of Christianity, symbolized (but no longer necessarily embodied) in the son of Marjatta, then all the narrative events prior to that moment must have occurred in the pre-Christian past. There is no need to wonder whether some of the poems may be of more recent vintage: the Christian elements so assiduously expunged from the prior 49 poems must have been late additions, removed by a judicious editor.

Examining Arhippa's oral performance and Lönnrot's literary text side by side teaches us a great deal about the traditional poetics of Finland and the nineteenth-century ideals of its Romantic elite. Each man looked to a different aesthetic system for his foundation, and built songs with tools characteristic of that world. Arhippa found his groundings in the oral tradition of his father, and created a text structured through devices typical of that same tradition. Lönnrot found his groundings in the intellectual movements of his day, and created a text structured along contemporary literary lines. And each man embedded his particular song of a maiden and child in a different "vast context of story": the miracle of the Christian revelation for Arhippa, and the miracle of a national soul for Lönnrot.

*University of Washington, Seattle*

### References

[SKS= Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society)]

- Alphonso-Karkala 1986      John B. Alphonso-Karkala. "Transformation of Folk Narratives into Epic Composition in Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala*." *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 31:13-28.
- Anttila 1985                 Aarne Anttila. *Elias Lönnrot: Elämä ja toiminta*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Cocchiara 1981             Giuseppe Cocchiara. *The History of Folklore in Europe*. Trans. by John N. McDaniel. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

- Comparetti 1898 Domenico Comparetti. *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co.
- DuBois forthcoming Thomas DuBois. "An Ethnopoetic Approach to Finnish Folk Poetry: Arhippa Perttunen's *Nativity*." *Studia Fennica Folkloristica*, 2.
- Dundes 1985 Alan Dundes. "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Folklore: A Reconsideration of *Ossian*, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, and Paul Bunyan." *Journal of Folklore Research*, 22:5-18.
- Foley 1991 John Miles Foley. *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Foley 1992 \_\_\_\_\_. "Word-Power, Performance, and Tradition." *Journal of American Folklore*, 105:275-301.
- Haavio 1935 Martti Haavio. *Suomalaisen muinaisrunouden maailma*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Haavio 1943 \_\_\_\_\_. *Viimeiset runonlaulajat*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström Oy.
- Haavio 1950 \_\_\_\_\_. *Väinämöinen: Suomalaisten runojen keskushahmo*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström Oy. Trans. as *Väinämöinen Eternal Sage*. Folklore Fellows Communications, 144. Helsinki: Suomen Tiedeakatemia, 1952.
- Harvilahti 1992 Lauri Harvilahti. "The Production of Finnish Epic Poetry—Fixed Wholes or Creative Compositions?" *Oral Tradition*, 7:87-101.
- Hautala 1954 Jouko Hautala. *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*. Helsinki: SKS. Trans. as *Finnish Folklore Research 1828-1918*. Helsinki: SKS, 1969.
- Honko 1986 Lauri Honko. "The *Kalevala* Process." *Folklife Annual* 1986:66-80.
- Honko 1987 \_\_\_\_\_. "The *Kalevala*: Myth or History?" In *The Heroic Process: Form, Function, and Fantasy in Folk Epic*. Ed. by B. Almqvist, S. Ó Catháin, P. Ó Héalaí. Dublin: Glendale Press. pp. 279-92.

- Hymes 1981 Dell Hymes. *"In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hymes 1982 \_\_\_\_\_. "Narrative Form as a 'Grammar' of Experience: Native American and a Glimpse of English." *Journal of Education*, 164, ii:121-42.
- Hymes 1985 \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Subtleties of Measured Verse." In *Proceedings of the Niagara Linguistic Society, 15th Spring Conference*. Ed. by June Hesch. Buffalo, NY: Niagara Linguistic Society. pp. 13-57.
- Jones 1987 Michael Owen Jones. "Folk Poetry, Finnish Identity, and Lönnrot's *Kalevala*." In *The World of the Kalevala*. Ed. by M. O. Jones. Los Angeles: UCLA Folklore and Mythology Publications. pp. 1-25.
- Kaukonen 1939-45 Väinö Kaukonen. *Vanhan Kalevalan kokoonpano I-II*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Kaukonen 1979 \_\_\_\_\_. *Lönnrot ja Kalevala*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Kellogg 1979 Robert Kellogg. "Varieties of Tradition in Medieval Narrative." In *Medieval Narrative: A Symposium*. Ed. by Hans Bekker-Nielsen et al. Odense: Odense University Press. pp. 120-29.
- Kiparsky 1976 Paul Kiparsky. "Oral Poetry: Some Linguistic and Typological Considerations." In *Oral Literature and the Formula*. Ed. by B. A. Stolz and R. S. Shannon III. Ann Arbor: Center for the Coördination of Ancient and Modern Studies. pp. 73-106.
- Kolehmainen 1977 Ilkka Kolehmainen. "Kalevalasävelmän musikologista syntaksia." Unpub. MA thesis, Department of Folklore, University of Helsinki.
- Kuusi 1963 Matti Kuusi. *Suomen kirjallisuus I*. Helsinki: Otava and SKS.
- Kuusi 1980 \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Suomalaista kertomarunoutta*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Kuusi and Anttonen 1985 \_\_\_\_\_ and Pertti Anttonen. *Kalevalalipas*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Kuusi et al. 1977 \_\_\_\_\_, Keith Bosley, and Michael Branch, trans. and eds.

*Finnish Folk Poetry—Epic: An Anthology in Finnish and English.* Helsinki: SKS.

- Lord 1987                    Albert B. Lord. "Characteristics of Orality." *Oral Tradition*, 2:54-72.
- Lord 1987/1991             \_\_\_\_\_. "The *Kalevala*, the South Slavic Epics, and Homer." In *The Heroic Process: Form, Function, and Fantasy in Folk Epic*. Ed. by B. Almqvist, S. Ó Catháin, P. Ó Héalaí. Dublin: Glendale Press. pp. 293-324. Rpt. in A. B. Lord, *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991. pp. 104-32.
- Magoun 1963                Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr., trans. *The Kalevala or Poems of the Kaleva District*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Magoun 1969                \_\_\_\_\_. *The Old Kalevala and Certain Antecedents*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mead 1962                    R. W. Mead. "Kalevala and the Rise of Finnish Nationality." *Folklore*, 73:217-29.
- Ong 1982                     Walter J. Ong, S.J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London and New York: Methuen.
- Ong 1986                     \_\_\_\_\_. "Writing is a Technology that Restructures Thought." In *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*. Ed. by G. Bauman. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 23-50.
- Pentikäinen 1989            Juha Pentikäinen. *Kalevala Mythology*. Trans. by Ritva Poom. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Saarinen 1988                Jukka Saarinen. "Variaatio Arhippa ja Miihkali Perttusen epiikassa." Unpub. MA thesis, Department of Folklore, University of Helsinki.
- Saarinen 1991                \_\_\_\_\_. "Miikali Perttusen Päivölän virsi." In *Kolme on kovaa sanaa: Kirjoituksia kansanperinteestä*. Ed. by P. Laaksonen and S-L. Mettomäki. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja, 71. Helsinki: SKS.
- Sawin 1988                    Patricia E. Sawin. "Lönnrot's Brainchildren: The Representation of Women in Finland's *Kalevala*." *Journal of Folklore Research*, 25:187-218.

- SKVR 1917-48 *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot (The Ancient Poems of the Finnish People)*. Helsinki: SKS. 33 vols.
- Timonen 1990a Senni Timonen. "Women's Experience as Expressed in their Oral Poems." Paper delivered at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, held at Oakland, CA, 18-21 October.
- Timonen 1990b \_\_\_\_\_. "Orjatar, ruhtinatar, ja vapauden ongelma: Naisten omaelämäkerralliset laulut Inkerissä ja Siperiassa." In *Louhen sanat: Kirjoituksia kansanperinteen naisista*. Ed. by A. Nenola and S. Timonen. Helsinki: SKS. pp. 189-208.
- Turunen 1982 Aino Turunen. "Folk Epic to National Epic: *Kalevala* and *Kalevipoeg*." In *Folklorica: Festschrift for Felix Oinas*. Ed. by E.V. Zygis and P. Voorheis. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies. pp. 277-90.
- Voßschmidt 1989 Liisa Voßschmidt. *Das Kalevala und seine Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Wilson 1976 William A. Wilson. *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.

## Appendix 1

SKVR I,2 1103 Latvaj. Lönnrot AII 6, n. 93 1834. Arhippa Perttunen  
[Present translation based in part on Kuusi et al. 1977:283-91.]

### I. *The Berry and Mary*

Marjanen mäeltä huuti	A berry called from the hill	1
puna puola kankahalta	a cranberry from the marsh:	2
"Tule neiti poimomahan	"Come maiden and pick me	3
vyö vaski valitsemahan	copper-belt choose me	4
ennen kun etona syöpi	before the snail consumes	5
mato musta muikkoali!"	the black worm destroys!"	6
Neitsy Maaria emonen	Virgin Mary little mother	7
rakas äiti armollinen	dear mother full of grace	8
viitisekse vaatisekse	dresses, adorns	9
pää somille suorieli	wrapped her head in a headdress	10
vaatehilla valkehilla	in clothes of white	11

Läksi marjan poimintaan	She went to pick the berry	12
punapuolan katsontaan	the cranberry to see to	13
niin meni mäille, sano	thus she went to the hills, say	14
keksi marjasen meältä	she picked the berry on the hill	15
punapuolan kankahalta	the berry on the marsh	16
On marja näkemiehen	It looks like a berry	17
*puola ilman luomeehen* <sup>13</sup>	*a cranberry without interest*	18
alahahko ois maasta syöä	too low to eat from the ground	19
ylähäkö puuhun nosta.	too high from a tree.	20
Tempo kartun kankahalta	She drags a pole from the marsh	21
senni päällä seisataksen	and standing on that	22
heitti marjan helmohinsa	she threw the berry into her lap	23
helmoiltansa vyönsä päälle	from her lap onto her belt	24
vyönsä päältä rinnoillensa	from her belt onto her breast	25
rinoiltansa huulellensa	from her breast onto her lip	26
huuleltansa kielellensä	from her lip onto her tongue	27
siitä vatsahan valahti.	from there it slid into the stomach.	28

## II. *Mary, Piltti, and Ugly Ruotus' Wife*

Siitä tyyty siitä täyty	Sated from that, filled from that	29
siitä paksuksi panihen	grew fat from that	30
lihavaksi liittelihen	added weight	31
niin kohun kovoa kanto	thus a heavy womb she carries	32
vatsan täyttä vaikieta	a stomach full of trouble	33
Kanto kuuta 2, 3	She carries it for months 2, 3	34
3 kuuta, 4 kuuta	3 months, 4 months	35
4 kuuta 5 kuuta	4 months, 5 months	36
7:n kaheksan kuuta	7, 8 months	37
ympäri 9 kuuta	around 9 months	38
vanhojen vaimon määriin	as old women count	39
kuuta 1/2 10.	half of the tenth month	40
Niin kuulla 10:llä	Thus in the tenth month	41
lyöäh kavon kipua	There strikes the pain of wives	42
imen tulta tuikatah	the fire of girls sparks	43

<sup>13</sup> The asterisk (\*) denotes lines ellipticized in the recorder's fieldnotes but supplied by the editors of SKVR.

vaimon vaivaksi tuleepi	a wife's trial comes	44
Sanan virkko noin nimesi:	She says a word, uttered thus:	45
“Piltti pieni piikaseni	“Piltti my little servant girl	46
lähe kylpyä kylästä	go find a bath in the village	47
saunoa Sarajahasta	a sauna in Saraja	48
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	49
avun anke tarvitsisi.”	help for the luckless one in need.”	50
Piltti pieni piikojansa	Piltti her little servant girl	51
hyvä kielas käskieki	good at taking orders	52
kepiä kehuttuoaki	easy to persuade,	53
sekä juoksi jotta joutu	both ran and rushed	54
ylähäiset maat aleni	pulled down the highlands	55
alahaiset maat yleni	pulled up the lowlands	56
Ruman Ruotuksen kotihin.	to Ugly Ruotus' (Herod's) home.	57
Ruma Ruotus paitulainen	Ugly Ruotus shirt-sleeved one	58
syöpi juopi pöyän päässä	eats, drinks at the table's head	59
päässä pöyän paioillaan	at table's head in his shirt-sleeves	60
aivin aivinaisillaan	in his clean linen	61
elääpi hyvän tavalla	he lives life well	62
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus' wife	63
liikku keski lattiella	moves about the middle of the floor	64
lieho sillan liitoksella	lightly treads upon the floorjoint	65
Sano Piltti piikojansa	Says Piltti her little servant girl	66
“Läksin kylpyä kylästä	“I went to find a bath in the village	67
saunoa Sarajahasta	a sauna in Saraja	68
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	69
avun anke tarvitsisi.”	help for the luckless one in need.”	70
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus's wife	71
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word uttered thus	72
“Ei ole kylpyä kylässä	“There is not a bath in the village	73
saunoa Sarajahassa	a sauna in Saraja	74
On talli Tapo meällä	There is a stable on Tapo hill	75
huone hongikko koissa	a room in a fir grove house	76
johon portot pojan saapi	where whores go to have a son	77
tuulen lautat lapsen saapi.”	harlots to have a child.”	78
Piltti pieni piikojansa	Piltti her little servant girl	79
pian juoksi jotta joutu	soon ran and rushed	80

sano tuolta tultuaan	says once she's returned from there	81
“Ei ole kylpyä kylässä saunoa Sarajahassa	“There is not a bath in the village a sauna in Saraja	82 83
Ruma Ruotus paitulainen syöpi juopi pöyän päässä päässä pöyän paiollaan aivin aivinaisillaan elääpi hyvän tavalla	Ugly Ruotus the shirt-sleeved eats, drinks at the table's head at table's head in his shirt-sleeves in his clean linen he lives life well	84 85 86 87 88
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä liikku keski lattiella liehu sillan liitoksella	Ugly Ruotus' wife moves about the middle of the floor lightly treds upon the floor-joint	89 90 91
Mie sanon sanalla tuolla	I say these words when there	92
‘Läksin kylpyä kylästä saunoa Sarajahasta jossa huono hoivan saapi avun anke tarvitseeppi.’	‘I went to find a bath in the village a sauna in Saraja where a wretch can receive attention help for the luckless one in need.’	93 94 95 96
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä ‘Ei ole kylpyä kylässä saunoa Sarajahassa On talli Tapo mäellä huone hongikko keolla johon portot pojan saapi tuulen lautat lapsen luopi’.”	Ugly Ruotus' wife: ‘There is not a bath in the village a sauna in Saraja There is a stable on Tapo hill a room in a fir grove house where whores go to have a son harlots to make a child’.”	97 98 99 100 101 102 103
Vaimon vaivalle tuleeppi Neitsy Maaria emonen niin sano toisen kerran	A wife's trial comes Virgin Mary little mother thus says a second time	104 105 106
“Sekä juokse jotta jouvu mene kylpyä kylästä saunoa Sarajahasta jossa huono hoivan saisi avun anke tarvitsisi.”	“Both run and rush go find a bath in the village a sauna in Saraja where a wretch can receive attention help for the luckless one in need.”	107 108 109 110 111
Piltti pieni piikojansa hyvä kieläs käskieki kepiä kehuttuoki sekä juoksi Ruma Ruotus jotta joutu alahaiset maat yleni	Piltti her little servant girl good at taking orders easy to persuade both ran Ugly Ruotus and rushed pulled down the highlands	112 113 114 115 116 117

ylähaiset maat aleni	pulled up the lowlands	118
Ruma Ruotus paitulainen	Ugly Ruotus the shirt-sleeved	119
syöpi juopi pöyän päässä	eats, drinks at the table's head	120
päässä pöyän paiollaan	at table's head in his shirt-sleeves	121
aivin aivinaisillaan	in his clean linen	122
elääpi hyvän tavalla	he lives life well	123
Sano Piltti piikojansa	Says Piltti her servant girl	124
“Läksin kylpyä kylästä	“I went to find a bath in the village	125
saunoa Sarajahasta	a sauna in Saraja	126
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	127
avun anke tarvitsisi.”	help for the luckless one in need”	128
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus' wife	129
liikku keski lattiella	moves about the middle of the floor	130
liehu sillan liitoksella	lightly treads upon the floor-joint	131
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word utters thus	132
“Eule kylpyä kylässä	“There is not a bath in the village	133
saunoa Sarajahassa	a sauna in Saraja	134
On talli Tapomeällä	There is a stable on Tapo hill	135
huone hongikkokeolla	a room in a fir grove house	136
johon portot pojan saapi	where whores go to have a son	137
tuulen lautat lapsen luopi.”	harlots to make a child.”	138
Piltti pieni piikojansa	Piltti her little servant girl	139
sekä juoksi jotta joutu	both ran and rushed	140
sano tuolta tultuaan	says once she's returned from there	141
“Eule kylpyä kylässä	“There is not a bath in the village	142
saunoa Sarajahassa.	a sauna in Saraja.	143
Ruman Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus's wife	144
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word utters thus	145
‘On talli Tapomeällä	‘There is a stable on Tapo hill	146
huone hongikkokeolla	a room in a fir grove house	147
johon portot pojan saapi	where whores go to have a son	148
tuulen lautat lapsen luopi.’	harlots to make a child.’	149
Niin sanoo mokomin.”	Thus something like that she says.”	150
Oli aikoa vähäsen	There was little time	151
yhä tuskaksi tuleeipi	still the pain comes	152
painuupi pakolliseksi	presses into aches	153

vaimon vaivoksi tuleeipi.	a wife's trial comes.	154
*Kohtu käänty kovaksi etc.*	the womb turns heavy	155
[vatsan täysi vaikieksi] <sup>14</sup>	[the stomach full of trouble]	
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word uttered thus	156
“Piltti pieni piikaseni	“Piltti my little servant girl	157
lähe kylpyä kylästä	go find a bath in the village	158
saunoa Sarajahasta	a sauna in Saraja	159
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	160
avun anke tarvitsisi.”	help for the luckless one in need.”	161
Piltti pieni piikojansa	Piltti her little servant girl	162
sekä juoksi jotta joutu	both ran and rushed	163
alahaiset maat yleni	pulled up the lowlands	164
ylähäiset maat aleni	pulled down the highlands	165
Ruman Ruotuksen kotihin	to Ugly Ruotus' home	166
Ruma Ruotus paitulainen	Ugly Ruotus the shirt-sleeved	167
syöpi juopi pöyän päässä	eats, drinks at the table's head	168
päässä pöyän paiollaan	at table's head in his shirt-sleeves	169
elääpi hyvän tavalla	he lives life well	170
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus' wife	171
liikku keski lattiella	moves about the middle of the floor	172
liehu sillan liitoksella	lightly treads upon the floor-joint	173
Piltti pieni piikojansa	Piltti her little servant girl	174
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word uttered thus	175
“Läksin kylpyä kylästä	“I went to find a bath in the village	176
saunoa Sarajahasta	a sauna in Saraja	177
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	178
avun anke tarvitsisi.”	help for the luckless one in need.”	179
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus's wife	180
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word uttered thus	181
“Ei ole kylpyä kylässä	“There is not a bath in the village	182
saunoa Sarajahassa	a sauna in Saraja	183
On talli Tapomeälle	There is a stable on Tapo hill	184
huoni hongikko keolla	a room in a fir grove house	185
johon portot pojan saapi	where whores go to have a son	186

---

<sup>14</sup> Lines in brackets ([ ]) were added by the present author to complete ellipses occurring in the original text and denoted by “etc.”

tuulen lautat lapsen luopi.”	harlots to make a child.”	187
Piltti pieni piikosehe	Piltti her little servant girl	188
sekä juoksi jotta joutu	both ran and rushed	189
sano tuolta tultuaan	says once she’s returned from there	190
“Ei ole kylpyä kylässä	“There is not a bath in the village	191
saunoa Sarajahassa	a sauna in Saraja	192
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	193
avun anke tarvitsisi.	help for the luckless one in need.	194
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus’ wife	195
sanan virkko noin nimesi	says a word uttered thus	196
‘On talli Tapomeällä	‘There is a stable on Tapo hill	197
huone hongikkokeolla	a room in a fir grove house	198
johon portot pojan saapi	where whores go to have a son	199
tuulen lautat lapsen luopi’.”	harlots to make a child’.”	200
Oli aikoa vähäsen	There was little time	201
vaimon vaivakse tulee	a wife’s trial comes	202
kohtu kääntyy kovaksi	the womb turns heavy	203
vatsan täysi vaikiaksi	the stomach full of troubles	204
Otti vassan varjoksensa	She took a sauna-whisk for protection	205
koprin helmansa kokoili	gathered her skirt in her fists	206
käsin kääri vaatteensa	wound up her clothes in her hands	207
itse noin sanoiksi virkki	herself thus put in words	208
“Lähtie minun tuleepi	“Go I must	209
niin kun muinenki kasakan	just like a farmhand of old	210
eli orjan palkkalaisen.”	or a serf, a hireling.”	211
Astua taputteloo	She steps lightly	212
huonehesen hongikolle	to the room in the fir grove	213
tallih on Tapomeälle	to the stable on Tapo hill	214
niin sano sanalla tuolla	thus she says in words when there	215
“Hengeäs hyvä heponen	“Breathe good horse	216
vatsan kautti vaivallisen	across my troubled stomach	217
kyly löyly löyhähytä	bathhouse heat let loose	218
sauna lämpönen lähetä	sauna warmth send off	219
vatsan kauti vaivallisen	across my troubled stomach	220
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	221
avun anke tarvitsisi.”	help for the luckless one in need.”	222
Hengäsi hyvä heponen	Breathed the good horse	223

kylyn löylyn löyähyytti	bathroom heat let loose	224
sauna lämpösen lähetti	sauna warmth sent off	225
vatsan kautti vaivallisen	across the troubled stomach	226
Jouluna Jumala syntyy	On Christmas God is born	227
paras poika pakkasella	the best boy in the frost	228
syntyy heinille heposen	born onto the hay of horses	229
suora jouhen soimen päähän	into the straight-mane's manger	230

*III. Mary, the Road, the Moon, and the Sun*

Neitsy Maria emonen	Virgin Mary little mother	231
rakas äiti armollinen	dear mother full of grace	232
piiletteli poiuttahan	she hid her son	233
kullaista omenoansa	her golden apple	234
alla sieklan sieklottavan	under a sieve for sifting	235
alla korvon kannettavan	under a pail for carrying	236
alla jouksovan jalaksen	under a running sled runner	237
Kato pieni poikuoh	The little son disappears	238
kultainen omenuutensa	her golden apple	239
alta sieklan sieklottavan	from under a sieve for sifting	240
alta juoksevan jalaksen	from under a running sled runner	241
alta korvon kannettavan	from under a pail for carrying	242
Etsi pientä poiuttansa	She searched for her little son	243
kullaista omenoansa	her golden apple	244
kesällä kevysin pursin	in summer with a light boat	245
talvella lylyin lipein	in winter with sliding skis	246
Etsittiin vain ei löytty	He was searched for but not found	247
Neitsy Maaria emonen	Virgin Mary little mother	248
kävi teitä asteloo	walked roads, stepped	249
tiehyt vastaan tulevi	She comes upon a road	250
niin tielle kumarteleksen	thus bowing to the road	251
itse noin sanoiksi virkki	herself she put in words thus	252
“Tiehyöt Jumalan luoma	“Road, God's creation	253
näitkö pientä poiuttani	have you seen my little son	254
kullaista omenoani?”	my golden apple?”	255
Tie vastaan sanoo:	The road in response says	256
“Jos tietäisin en sanoisi	“If I knew I would not say	257

poikas' on minunki luonut	your son has created me as well	258
ratsuilla ajettavaksi	for riding saddlehorses	259
kovin kengin käytäväksi.”	for using heavy shoes.”	260
Neitsy Maaria emonen	Virgin Mary little mother	261
rakas äiti armollinen	dear mother full of grace	262
aina etsivi etemmä	ever searching onward	263
kuuhut vastaan tulevi	She comes upon the moon	264
niin kuulle kumarteleksen	thus bowing to the moon	265
*itse noin sanoiksi virkki*	*herself she put in words thus*	266
“Sie kuuhut Jumalan luoma	“You, moon, God's creation	267
näitkö pientä poiuttani	have you seen my little son	268
kullaista omenoani?”	my golden apple?”	269
Kuu se vastaan sanoo	The moon in response says	270
“Jos tietäisin en sanoisi	“If I knew I would not say	271
poikais on minunki luonut	your son has created me as well	272
päivällä katoamahan	to hide in the day	273
yön on aian paistamahan.”	to shine at nighttime.”	274
Aina eistyyppi etemmä	Always searching onward	275
Neitsy Maaria emonen	Virgin Mary little mother	276
rakas äiti armollinen	dear mother full of grace	277
etsi pientä poiuttansa	searched for her little son	278
kullaista omenoansa	her golden apple	279
päivyt vastaan tulevi	she comes upon the sun	280
päivälle kumarteleksen	bowing to the sun	281
“Sie päivä Jumalan luoma”	“You, sun, God's creation	282
Näitkö pientä poiuttani	have you seen my little son	283
kullaista omenoani?”	my golden apple?”	284
Niin päivä Jumalan luoma	Thus the sun, God's creation	285
sanon virkko noin nimesi	says a word uttered thus	286
“Poikas' on minunki luonut	“Your son has created me as well	287
päivän ajan paistamahan	to shine in the daytime	288
yön ajan lepäämähän	to rest in the nighttime	289
Tuolla on pieni poikuosi	There is your little son	290
kultainen omenasi	your golden apple	291
ylisessä taivosessa	in the high heavens	292
isän Jumalan siällä	in God the Father's place	293
tulee sieltä tuomitsemaan.”	he'll come from there to judge.”	294

## Appendix II

Elias Lönnrot, *New Kalevala* (1849), Poem 50:ll. 73-420 (Stanzaic divisions as in Lönnrot's text).

Marjatta, korea kuopus	Marjatta comely youngest child	73
viikon viipyi paimenessa	long worked as a shepherd	74
paha on olla paimenessa	it is hard to be a shepherd	75
tyttölapsen liiatenki:	too much indeed for a girlchild	76
mato heinässä matabi	a worm slithers in the hay	77
sisiliskot siuottavi.	lizards wriggle	78
Ei mato maaellutkana	a worm really didn't slither	79
sisilisko siuotellut	nor did a lizard wriggle	80
Kirkui marjanen mäeltä	Cried a berry from the hill	81
puolukkainen kankahalta:	a lingonberry from the marsh	82
"Tule, neiti, noppimahan,	"Come maiden and pluck me	83
punaposki, poimimahan	red-cheek pick me	84
tinarinta riipimähän	tin-breast gather me	85
vyö vaski valitsemahan	copper-belt choose me	86
ennenkuin etana syöpi	before the snail consumes	87
mato musta muikkoavi!	the black worm destroys!	88
Sata on saanut katsomahan	A hundred have come to look at me	89
tuhat ilman istumahan	a thousand just to sit by me	90
sata neittä, tuhat naista	a hundred maidens, a thousand women	91
lapsia epälukuisin	children beyond count	92
ei ken koskisi minuhun	no one would touch me	93
poimisi minun poloisen."	pick poor little me."	94
Marjatta, korea kuopus	Marjatta comely youngest child	95
meni matkoa vähäisen	went a little way	96
meni marjan katsantahan	went to look at the berry	97
punapuolan poimintahan	to pick the lingonberry	99
kätösillä kaunihilla	with her beautiful hands	100
Keksi marjasen mäeltä	She picked the berry on the hill	101
punapuolan kankahalta:	the lingonberry on the marsh:	102
on marja näkemiänsä	It looks like a berry	103
puola ilmoin luomiansa	a lingonberry without interest	104
ylähäkö maasta syöä	too high to eat from the ground	105
alahahko puuhun nousta!	too low to climb into the tree	106
Tempoi kartun kankahalta	She dragged a pole from the marsh	107
jolla marjan maahan sorti	by which she knocked the berry to the ground	108
niinpä marja maasta nousi	thus the berry rose from the ground	109
kaunoisille kautoloille	to the beautiful shoetops	110

kaunosilta kautoloilta	from the shoetops	111
puhtahille polviloille	to the spotless knees	112
puhtahilta polviloilta	from the spotless knees	113
heleville helmasille.	to the bright apron-hem.	114
Nousi siitä vyörivoille	It rose from there to the waistline	115
vyörivoilta rinnoillensa	from the waistline to her breast	116
rinnoiltansa leuoillensa	from her breast to her chin	117
leuoiltansa huulillensa	from her chin to her lips	118
siitä suuhun suikahutti	from there it slipped into the mouth	119
keikahutti kielellensä	tripped quickly on her tongue	120
kieleltä keruksisihin	from the tongue into the throat	121
siitä vatsahan valahti.	from there it slid into the stomach.	122
Marjatta, korea kuopus	Marjatta comely youngest child	123
tuosta tyytyi, tuosta täytyi	grew sated from that, filled from that	124
tuosta paksuksi panihe	grew fat from that	125
lihavaksi liittelihe.	added weight.	126
Alkoi pauloitta asua	She began to live without a waistband	127
ilman vyöttä völlehtiä	to lie about without a belt	128
käyä saunassa saloa	to visit the sauna in secret	129
pime'issä pistelläitä	to frequent in the darkness	130
Emo aina arvelevi	The mother ever wondered	131
äitinsä ajattelevi:	her mother thought about it:	132
“Mi on meiän Marjatalla	“What is going on with Marjatta	133
ku meiän kotikanalla	with our homespun hen	134
kun se pauloitta asuvi	that she lives without a waistband	135
aina vyöttä völlehtivi	ever lies about without a belt	136
käypi saunassa saloa	visits the sauna in secret	137
pime'issä pisteleikse?”	frequents in the darkness?”	138
Lapsi saattavi sanoa	A child thought to say	139
lapsi pieni lausuella:	a little child to declare:	140
“Se on meiän Marjatalla	“This is what's with Marjatta	141
sepä Kurjetta rukalla	this with luckless Mari	142
kun oli paljon paimenessa	she was working much as a shepherd	143
kauan karjassa käveli.”	walked long among the herd.”	144
Kantoi kohtua kovoa	She carried a heavy womb	145
vatsantäyttä vaikeata	a stomach full of trouble	146
kuuta seitsemän, kaheksan	months seven, eight	147
ynnähän yhdeksän kuuta,	a ninth month as well	148
vaimon vanha'an lukuhun	as an old woman numbers it	149
kuuta puolen kymmenettä.	half of the tenth month.	150
Niin kuulla kymmenennellä	Thus in the tenth month	151
impi tuskalle tulevi	the virgin begins to hurt	152

kohtu kääntyvi kovaksi	the womb turned heavy	153
painuvi pakolliseksi.	pressed down painfully	154
Kysyi kylpyä emolta	She asked the mother for a bath	155
“Oi emoni armahani	“Oh my mother dear	156
laita suojoa sijoja	fix me a cozy place	157
lämpymyötä huonehutta	a warm room	158
piian pieniksi pyhiksi	as a girl’s hide-away	159
vaimon vaivahuoneheksi!”	a woman’s room for labor.	160
Emo saattavi sanoa	The mother thought to say	161
oma vanhin vastaella	her elder to answer	162
“Voi sinua, hieen huora!	“Woe to you, demon’s mistress!	163
Kenen oot makaelema?	Whom have you slept with?	164
Ootko miehen naimattoman	With an unmarried man	165
eli naineen urohon?”	or a married husband?”	166
Marjatta korea kuopus	Marjatta comely youngest child	167
tuop’ on tuohon vastoavi:	answered this to that:	168
“En ole miehen naimattoman	“Not with an unmarried man	169
enkä naineen urohon.	nor a married husband.	170
Menin marjahan mäelle	I went to the berry on the hill	171
punapuolan poimentahan	to pick a lingonberry	172
otin marjan mielelläni	I took the berry gladly	173
toisen kerran kielelläni.	a second time on my tongue	174
Se kävi kerustimille	It travelled into my throat	175
siitä vatsahan valahti	from there it slid into the stomach	176
tuosta tyy’yin tuosta täy’yin	I grew sated from that, filled from that	177
tuosta sain kohulliseksi.”	from that I became pregnant.”	178
Kysyi kylpyä isolta:	She asked her father for a bath	179
“Oi isoni armahani!	“Oh my father dear!	180
Anna suojoa sijoja	Give me a cozy place	181
lämpymyötä huonehutta	a warm room	182
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	183
piika piinansa pitäisi!”	a girl pass her pain!”	184
Iso saattavi sanoa	The father thought to say	185
taatto taisi vastaella:	the father knew to answer:	186
“Mene portto poikemmaksi	“Go, whore, be off	187
tulen lautta tuonemma	harlot, away	188
kontion kivikoloihin	to the brown one’s stone-piles	189
karhun louhikammioihin	to the bear’s rock den	190
sinne, portto poikimahan	there, whore, to give birth	191
tulen lautta lapsimahan!”	harlot to bear a child!”	192

Marjatta korea kuopus tuop' on taiten vastaeli: "En mä portto ollekana tulen lautta lienikänä. Olen miehen suuren saava jalon synnyn synnyttävä joll' on valta vallallunki väki Väinämöisellenki."	Marjatta comely youngest child knowingly answered this: "I am not a whore at all not a harlot indeed. I am to bear a great man to give birth to one of noble birth who will have power over the powerful even over the people of Väinämöinen."	193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200
Jo on piika pinteissä minne mennä kunne käyä kusta kylpyä kysellä Sanan virkkoi noin nimesi:	Already the girl is perplexed where to go, where to visit where to ask for a bath She said a word uttered thus:	201 202 203 204
"Piltti pienin piikojani paras palkkalaisiani! Käypä kylpyä kylästä saunoa Saraojalta jossa huono hoivan saisi piika piinansa pitäisi! Käy pian välehen jou'u välehemmin tarvitahan!"	"Piltti my littlest serving girl best of my hirelings! Go get a bath in the village a sauna in Saraoja where a wretch can receive attention a girl pass her pain! Go soon and hurry you will need to hasten!"	205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212
Piltti, piika pikkainen sanan virkkoi noin nimesi: "Keltä mä kysyn kylyä keltä aihelen apua?"	Piltti her small servant girl said a word uttered thus: "Whom shall I ask for a sauna whom shall I entreat for help?"	213 214 215 216
Sanoi meiän Marjattainen itse virkki noin nimesi: "Kysy Ruotuksen kylyä saunoa Sarajan-suista!"	Our small Marjatta said herself said, uttered thus: "Ask for Ruotus' sauna a sauna at the edge of Saraja!"	217 218 219 220
Piltti piika pikkainen tuo oli nöyrä neuvottava kärkäs ilman käskemättä kehumattaki kepeä utuna ulos menevi savuna pihalle saapi. Kourin helmansa kokosi käsin kääri vaattehensa sekä juoksi jotta joutui kohin Ruotuksen kotia. Mäet mätkyi mennessänsä vaarat notkui noutessansa kävyt hyppi kankahalla	Piltti small servant girl she was easy to advise spry without ordering quick without persuading goes out like mist like smoke into the farmyard. She gathered her apron-hem in her palms wound up her clothes in her hands both ran and rushed toward Ruotus' home. The hills rang out as she went the mountains clamored as she climbed the pinecones jostled in the marsh	221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233

someret hajosi suolla	the gravel scattered in the swamp	234
Tuli Ruotuksen tupahan	She came to Ruotus' house	235
sai sisälle salvoksehen.	got inside the log building.	236
Ruma Ruotus paitulainen	Ugly Ruotus shirt-sleeved one	237
syöpi juopi suurten lailla	eats, drinks in the manner of the great	238
päässä pöyän paioillansa	at table's head in his shirt-sleeves	239
aivan aivinaisillansa	in his clean linen	240
Lausui Ruotus ruoaltansa	Ruotus declared from over his food	241
tiuskui tiskinsä nojalta:	scolded from beside his plate	242
“Mitä sie sanot katala?	“What do you have to say, good-for-nothing	
Kuta kurja juoksentelet?”	why, luckless one, do you run about?”	244
Piltti piika pikkarainen	Piltti small servant girl	245
sanan virkkoi noin nimesi:	said a word uttered thus:	246
“Läksin kylpyä kylästä	“I went to find a bath in the village	247
saunoa Saraojalta	a sauna in Saraoja	248
jossa huono hoivan saisi	where a wretch can receive attention	249
avun ange tarvitseisi.”	help for the luckless one in need.”	250
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus' wife	251
käet puuskassa käveli	walked with hands on her hips	252
liehoi sillan liitoksella	lightly treds upon the floor-joint	253
laahoi keskilattialla	thudded about the middle of the floor	254
Itse ennätti kysyä	Herself had time to ask	255
sanan virkkoi noin nimesi:	said a word uttered thus:	256
“Kellen kylpyä kyselet	“For whom do you ask for a bath	257
kellen aihelet apua?”	for whom do you entreat for help?”	258
Sanoi piltti (sic) pieni piika:	Said Piltti <sup>15</sup> the little girl:	259
“Kysyn meiän Marjatalle.”	“I ask for our Marjatta”	260
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus' wife	261
itse tuon sanoiksi virkki:	herself put this into words:	262
“Ei kylt kylähän joua	“There are no bathhouses in the village	263
ei saunat Sarajan suulta.	no saunas at the edge of Saraja	264
On kyly kytömäellä	There is a bathhouse on the burned-over hill	
hepohuone hongikossa	a stable in a fir grove	266
tuliporton poiat saa'a	for a whore to have a son	267
lautan lapsensa latoa:	a harlot to create a child:	268

---

<sup>15</sup> Here Lönnrot's text reads *piltti*, implying the term should be taken as an epithet for “young girl” rather than as a proper name. Since the word seems to be treated as a proper name in the rest of the text, however, and in Lönnrot's *Kanteletar*, I have capitalized it here.

kun hevonen hengännevi	when the horse breathes	269
niinp' on siinä kylpeötte!"	then you can bathe!"	270
Piltti piika pikkalainen	Piltti the little servant girl	271
pian pistihe takaisin	soon comes back	272
sekä juoksi jotta joutui	both ran and rushed	273
Sanoi tultua ta'atse:	said once she'd returned from there:	274
"Ei ole kylpyä kylässä	"There is no bath in the village	275
saunoa Saraojalla.	no sauna in Saraoja.	276
Ruma Ruotuksen emäntä	Ugly Ruotus' wife	277
sanan virkkoi noin nimesi:	said a word uttered thus	278
'Ei kylät kylähän joua	'There is no bathhouse in the village	279
ei saunat Sarajan suulta.	no saunas at the edge of Saraja.	280
On kyly kytömäellä	There is a bathhouse on the burned-over hill	
hepohuone hongikossa	a stable in a fir grove	282
tuliporton poiat saa'a	for a whore to have a son	283
lautan lapsensa latoa.	for a harlot to create a child:	284
Kun hevonen hengännevi	when the horse breathes	285
niin on siinä kylpeköhön!'	then you can bathe inside!'	286
Niinp' on, niin sanoi mokomin	Thus it is, she said like that,	287
niinpä vaimen vastaeli."	thus just so she answered."	288
Marjatta matala neiti	Marjatta lowly maiden	289
tuosta täytyi itkemähän.	began to cry at that	290
Itse tuon sanoiksi virkki:	herself put into words:	291
"Lähteä minun tulevi	"Go I must	292
niinkuin muinenki kasakan	just like a farmhand of old	293
eli orjan palkollisen	or a serf, a hireling	294
—lähteä kytömäelle	—go to the burned-over hill	295
käyä hongikkokeolle!"	visit the fir grove!"	296
Käsin kääri vaattehensa	She wound up her clothes in her hands	297
kourin helmansa kokosi	gathered her apron-hems in her palms	298
otti vastan varjoksensa	She took a sauna-whisk for protection	299
lehen lempi suojaksensa.	a dear leaf-bundle for shelter	300
Astui taputtelevi	She stepped lightly	301
vatsanvaivoissa kovissa	in heavy stomach pains	302
huonehesen hongikkohon	to the room in the fir grove	303
tallihin Tapiomäelle.	to the stable on Tapio hill.	304
Sanovi sanalla tuolla	She says these words	305
lausui tuolla lausehella:	declared this in speaking:	306
"Tule Luoja, turvakseni	"Come, Creator, to give me refuge	307
avukseni armollinen	to help me, dear one	308
näissä töissä työlähissä	in these strenuous tasks	309

ajoissa ani kovissa!	in these heavy times!	310
Päästä piika pintehestä	Deliver the girl from this pain	311
vaimo vatsanvääntheestä	the wife from this stomach-ache	312
ettei vaivoihin vajoi	that she not succumb to her pains	313
tuskihinsa tummeneisi!”	fall beneath her trials.”	314
Niin perille päästyänsä	Thus arriving at the place	315
itse tuon sanoiksi virkki:	herself she put in words:	316
“Henkeäs hyvä hevonen	“Breathe, good horse	317
huokoas vetäjä varsa	puff, young drafthorse	318
kylylöyly löyhäytä	bathhouse heat let loose	319
sauna lämpöinen lähetä	sauna warmth send off	320
jotta, huono, hoivan saisin!	that I, poor one, can find attention!	321
Avun, ange, tarvitseisin.”	Help for me, the luckless one, in need.”	322
Henkäsi hyvä hevonen	Breathed the good horse	323
huokasi vetäjä varsa	puffed the young draft horse	324
vatsan kautta vaivaloisen:	across the troubled stomach:	325
min hevonen hengähtävi	when the horse breathed	326
on kuin löyly lyötäessä	it was like letting loose sauna heat,	327
viskattaessa vetonen.	water being thrown.	328
Marjatta matala neiti	Marjatta lowly maiden	329
pyhä piika pikkarainen	holy little servant girl	330
kylpi kyllyn kyllältänsä	bathed in the bathhouse to her content	331
vatsan löylyn vallaltansa	warmed her stomach as much as she cared	332
Teki tuonne pienen poian	She made a little son there	333
latoi lapsensa vakaisen	created an innocent child	334
heinille hevosen luoksi	onto the hay of horses	335
sorajouhen soimen päähän.	into the straight-mane’s manger.	336
Pesi pienen poikuensa	She washed her little son	337
kääri kääreliinahansa;	wound him up in his swaddling;	338
otti pojan polvillensa	she took the son to her knees	339
laittoi lapsen helmahansa.	placed the child on her apron-hem	340
Piiletteli poiuttansa	She hid her son	341
kasvatteli kaunoistansa	looked after her lovely one	342
kullaista omenuttansa	her golden apple	343
hope’ista sauvoansa	her silver ski-pole	344
Sylissänsä syöttelevi	She fed him in her arms	345
käsissänsä kääntelevi.	turned him over in her hands.	346
Laski pojan polvillensa	She lowered the son to her knees	347
lapsen lantehuisillensa.	the child to her lap.	348
alkoi päätänsä sukia	She began to groom his head	349
hapsiansa harjaella.	to comb his locks.	350

Katoi poika polviltansa	The son disappears from her knee	351
lapsi lannepuoliltansa.	the child from her lap.	352
Marjatta matala neiti	Marjatta lowly maiden	353
tuosta tuskille tulevi	starts to hurt at that	354
rapasihe etsimähän.	sped off to look for him.	355
Etsi pientä poiuttansa	She looked for her little son	356
kullaista omenuttansa	her golden apple	357
hope'ista sauvoansa	her silver ski-pole	358
alta jauhavan kivosen	from under a grinding stone	359
alta juoksevan jalaksen	from under a running sled runner	360
alta seulan seulottavan	from under a sieve for sifting	361
alta korvon kannettavan	from under a pail for carrying	362
puiten puut, jaellen ruohot	branching trees, parting grass stems	363
hajotellen hienot heinät.	separating fine hay strands.	364
Viikon etsi poiuttansa	Long she looked for her son	365
poiuttansa pienuttansa.	for her son her little one.	366
Etsi mäiltä männiköiltä	She looked amid hills, pine groves	367
kannoilta kanervikoilta	tree stumps, heathlands	368
katsoen joka kanervan	examining every heather-bed	369
joka varvikon vatoen	checking every birch stand	370
kaivellen katajajuuret	unearthing juniper roots	371
ojennellen puien oksat.	straightening tree branches.	372
Astua ajattelevi	She walked pensively	373
käyä kääperöittelevi.	stepped along lightly.	374
Tähti vastahan tulevi	She comes to a star	375
tähelle kumarteleikse:	bows to the star:	376
“Oi Tähti Jumalan luoma!	“Oh Star, God's creation!	377
Etkö tieä poiuttani	don't you know of my son	378
miss' on pieni poikueni	where my little son is	379
kultainen omenueni?”	my golden apple?”	380
Tähti taisi vastaella:	The star knew to answer:	381
“Tietäisinkö, en sanoisi.	“Were I to know I would not say	382
Hämpä on minunki luonut	He has created me as well	383
näille päiville pahoille	for these bad days	384
kylmillä kimaltamahan	to shine in the cold	385
pime'illä pilkkimähän.”	to sparkle in the dark.”	386
Astua ajattelevi	She walked pensively	387
käyä kääperöittelevi.	stepped along lightly.	388
Kuuhut vastahan tulevi	She comes upon the moon	389
niin Kuulle kumarteleikse:	thus she bows to the Moon:	390

“Oi Kuuhut, Jumalan luoma! Etkö tieä poiuttani miss’ on pieni poikueni kultainen omenueni?”	“Oh, Moon, God’s creation! Don’t you know of my son where my little son is my golden apple?”	391 392 393 394
Kuuhut taisi vastaella: “Tietäisinkö, en sanoisi. Hämpä on minunki luonut näille päiville pahoille yksin öillä valvomahan päivällä makoamahan.”	The moon knew to answer: “Were I to know I would not say. He has created me as well for these bad days alone at night to stay awake to lie down in the day.”	395 396 397 398 399 400
Astua ajattelevi käyä kääperöittelevi. Päytyi Päivyt vastahansa. Päivälle kumarteleikse:	She walked pensively stepped along lightly. She stopped before the Sun. She bowed to the Sun:	401 402 403 404
“Oi Päivyt, Jumalan luoma! Etkö tieä poiuttani miss’ on pieni poikueni kultainen omenueni?”	“Oh, Sun, God’s creation! Don’t you know of my son where my little son is my golden apple?”	405 406 407 408
Päivyt taiten vastaeli: “Kyllä tieän poikuesi! Hämpä on minunki luonut näille päiville hyville kullassa kulisemahan hopeassa helkkimähän. Jopa tieän poikuesi! Voi poloinen poiuttasi! Tuoll’ on pieni poikuesi kultainen omenuesi onp’ on suossa suonivyöstä kankahassa kainalosta.”	The Sun knowingly answered: “Indeed I know of your son! He had created me as well for these good days in gold to jingle in silver to rattle. Already I know of your son! Woe, your poor son! There is your little son your golden apple he’s up to the waist in the swamp up to the armpits in the marsh.”	409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420
Marjatta matala neiti etsi suolta poikoansa Poika suota löyettiin tuolta tuotihin kotia.	Marjatta lowly maiden searched for her son in the swamp The son was found in the swamp from there he was brought home.	421 422 423 424