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Title: Several names, several identities? The orthography of Finnish country people's names from the 18th to 20th centuries

Year: 2013

Version:

Please cite the original version:

Kotilainen, S. (2013). Several names, several identities? The orthography of Finnish country people's names from the 18th to 20th centuries. In A.-C. Edlund, & S. Haugen (Eds.), Människor som skriver. Perspektiv på vardagligt skriftbruk och identitet (pp. 65 - 78). Umeå universitet. Institutionen för nordiska språk. Nordliga studier; Vardagligt skriftbruk, 4; 2.

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MÄNNISKOR SOM SKRIVER. PERSPEKTIV PÅ VARDAGLIGT SKRIFTBRUK OCH IDENTITET. UMEÅ 2013. S. 61–74

SOFIA KOTILAINEN

Several names, several identities?

The orthography of Finnish country people's names from the 18th to the 20th centuries

ABSTRACT. In this article, I shall examine how the personal names of the Finnish-speaking population of rural Finland, who themselves were generally unable to write, were written in Swedish equivalents in various documents in the 18th and 19th centuries, and how this influenced the formation of their identities. The advent of laws governing language towards the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century was manifested in official documents in which the authorities gradually started to write personal names in Finnish. The population of the countryside began to acquire the ability to write finally when compulsory universal education came into force in 1921. Before that, the majority of the rural population had signed documents by making their mark. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, marks and signatures were used to some extent side by side, so therefore the use of a mark does not always indicate that the person was unable to write. In the life of the rural people the different ways in which their names were written were all part of their social identity.

The most important external symbol of identity is a personal name (e.g. Kotilainen 2008:70f., 318; Kotilainen 2011:49; Kotilainen 2012:17f.). By means of it a person can be identified not only in speech, but also on paper, in other words through documents alone. In that case, the signature usually affirms that the signatory is truly the person s/he claims to be. But how was it possible to identify the mainly illiterate rural people of the early modern period who could not write their own names? In this article, I study how the names of the Finnish-speaking peasants could be written in several different ways depending on who wrote them and in what connection. I also examine how those who spoke Finnish wrote their own names in documents. In this context, "early modern" refers to a period which continued right up to the acquisition of employment of functional literacy as a social practice, which means the active use of literacy skills in order to achieve set goals or social advancement in the local community (Barton & Hamilton 1998:6–13). The major breakthrough in people's ability to read in the local community examined took place only at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Only after that could the population independently obtain information about other innovations of the modern age (see Kaukiainen 2005:226–231). The early modern era can be defined in very different ways, and modernization did not take place simultaneously in different spheres of life (Fornäs 1995:25–27). Modernization came to the local community examined here very slowly (see Kotilainen 2008:110–112, 275, 326).

A personal name is the linguistic expression and symbol of a person's identity. It is connected with how individuals understand themselves and their existence, which groups and communities they feel they belong to and how they experience difference from others. And also with how the local community for its part identifies them and places them in particular groups. One can indicate membership of the groups one belongs to through language (Blommaert 2005:203–206). Admittedly, linguistic identity is fairly subjective, but especially in a traditional rural community it was a manifestation of strong solidarity with neighbours and the village community. The Finns mainly spoke regional dialects. A standard spoken language was developed only very late, during the 19th century with the advent of the modern age (Häkkinen 1994:13–16). In a community that was based on an oral culture, identity was to a great extent constructed through spoken language and remembering. Since few rural people were able to write, writing one's own name on documents, for example, was a special and therefore very significant event.

A person's ability to write her/his name did not necessarily indicate a wider ability to write, but in this article I also consider whether the use of a mark ('puumerkki', 'bomärke') as a signature was necessarily an indica-

tion of an inability to write. What difference was there, actually, between a mark and a signature from the point of view of identification? Here I examine in particular how people were identified and on the other hand how they identified themselves, in other words what names they regarded as their own in any particular situation. The clergy registered the names of the Finnish-speaking population in the records in their Swedish equivalents. *Matti* was written either *Mats*, *Matts*, *Matthias* or *Mathias*, and *Riikka* could be written either *Erica*, *Erika*, *Fredrica*, *Fredrika* or *Ulrica*. A similar phenomenon has been found in other bilingual communities in which only the language of the administration and the educated was used in writing, and the vernacular language was used merely to express things orally. The authorities then had to express in their own language the concepts contained in the people's spoken language, which meant that their meanings inevitably changed in some ways (Bloch 1984[1954]:164–166. On the primary position of the Swedish language as the language of official documents in the 18th and early 19th centuries' Finland, see Häkkinen 1994:12f., 47–53). An examination of these different uses also reveals to some extent how the rural population experienced and understood the difference between spoken and written names in their everyday life. In the light of all this, it can also be discussed how and why it was the written name that eventually came to define a person's identity.

As my main source I use a prosopographic database (SUKU), in which I have compiled the biographical data of about 9 000 inhabitants of the Central Finnish parish of Kivijärvi and of their family communities from the 1730s to the 1950s. My research concentrates on the names of the inhabitants of the parish of Kivijärvi, which was a chapelry in the parish of Viitasaari until 1858. In the early decades of the 20th century, the parishes of Kinnula and Kannonkoski seceded from Kivijärvi. My main sources are the records of baptisms, marriages and funerals and other documents in the archives of the local parishes, as well as the sepulchral monuments (more detailed see Kotilainen 2008:26–44).

Even though I utilize the genealogical method (Kotilainen 2011; see also Kotilainen 2008) and a large database, the approach in this article is more microhistorical (Ginzburg 1992[1986]). Thus I study a very broad phenomenon on a small scale; in other words rural people's way of writing their personal names, of which small traces survive in various sources. I have taken by way of example the forms in which the individual members of a few families inscribed their own names in order to examine their ability to write. By focusing the viewpoint of the research, we can perceive how the names of the rural population were actually written during the transition period from an oral to a written culture and to interpret the relationship between

names and the identities which they symbolized in the spoken and written language. On the other hand, use of the genealogical method helps one to ascertain which different spellings of names refer to the same person. Not only is there variation according to time and place, but the same person can also use language differently in different situations. Such variation is also evident in the texts written by rural people themselves at the time when their writing skills were increasing (Milroy & Gordon 2003[1999]:51).

The transition period from an oral to a written Finnish name culture

In the early modern countryside, an individual's identity was firmly tied to the conception of her/him formed by her/his family, clan and immediate community. A person's local social status (including e.g. age, gender or marital status) created an important foundation for his or her communal identity (Hall 1999:20, 22, 30; Fornäs 1995:232f.). For example, hereditary names were an important factor in forming a person's identity, since a person's status was also passed down along with his or her name. Personal names have always been central instruments of identification in the spoken language. Not only was the personal name an important factor in building an identity, it also had other communal and institutional functions. For example, people affirmed their consent to some judicial or administrative action with their signatures. (I have examined the shaping of the identities of the inhabitants of a rural community in the early modern period from the viewpoint of their family community and own local naming culture in more detail elsewhere, see Kotilainen 2011:45, 52–54).

In Finland the language of administration had traditionally been Swedish, even after Finland was annexed into the Russian Empire in 1809. The need for the use of Finnish expanded considerably in the next decades. It was employed increasingly in science, education and public affairs. This change required more extensive reforms to the lexicon and structure of the Finnish language than before. At the same time, the spelling of the standard language, which had traditionally followed the models of Swedish, also was reformed (Häkkinen 2008:9–11, 14). Along with the rise of nationalist ideas in the course of the 19th century, the concept of a written Finnish language became an important element of nation-building and politics. In many other European countries as well, national languages assumed an important position (Wright 2004:8f., 68).

Especially in the early modern hierarchical society, language served as a tool of control (Halliday 1992[1978]:190, 230f.). Also in Kivijärvi, the chaplain, and later the parish priest, were the leading figures in the rural community, and through the information available to them as educated persons

they wielded authority over the rest of the community. The clergy could themselves decide on the spellings of names pretty well up to the mid-19th century, for instance by using the nomenclature in the nameday calendars of the time as examples. They did not usually document in the parish registers any information about the spoken form of a baby's name (JyMA, KSA, the records of the baptisms 1737–1959). It was enough that the newborn child could in the future be identified by the name that was written in its Swedish form in the church registers.

In the local community examined here, usually only members of the higher estates could speak and write Swedish, which continued to be the language used in local government documents right up to the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Language Decree issued by the Tsar in 1863 ordained that the Finnish language should henceforth have an equal position with Swedish in administrative documents, and that within the space of a twenty-year transition period the Finnish-speaking population were to be allowed to present their cases to the authorities in their native language (Häkkinen 1994:54; Jussila 1999:57; Tala 2008:92–94).

Usually Finnish personal names appeared in documents in their Swedish equivalents until the 1880s even though in the spoken language the demotic Finnish forms were used. These dominant literacies of administration were institutionalized configurations of power and more influential than vernacular literacies in defining the ways in which Finnish forenames were written. For example, education aimed to support the dominant literacy practices. Gradually popular education standardized the dialectal spellings of names (Barton & Hamilton 1998:10f.), but in Finland this took place only slowly during the transition period from the issue of the 1866 Decree on Elementary Education to the implementation of compulsory education.

Even though the common people had been taught reading skills by the church for centuries in Finland, in the mid-19th century the ability of the inhabitants of the outlying countryside to read consisted mainly of learning by rote. The "reading" skills taught by the church meant learning (by heart) the most important teachings of the church and did not signify that people were able to use their literacy skills to acquire information independently. Furthermore, there was still very little popular literature available in Finnish, especially in the hinterland rural communities. On the other hand, a person might be an able reader in spite of her/his inability to write. Many of the descendants of the families studied did not know how to write even as late as the mid-19th century. In Finland, the rural people's possibilities to develop their literacy had also been prevented by the opposition and prejudices of the higher estates (JyMA, KSA, confirmation records 1772–1919; SUKU; Leino-Kaukiainen 2007:420–438; Mäkinen 2007:402–419).

When the 1865 Local Government Act came into force in the countryside, more members of the local population were needed to perform administrative tasks, and consequently it was important that they should be literate. Earlier local scribes, mostly members of the common people, were needed as mediators between the oral and the written culture (SUKU; JyMA, KSA, records of parish meetings and church meetings 1816–1913; VTK, Vkk, pk 1838–53, 1858–69, STK, Kkk, pk 1869–1905). The ability to write spread late to the remotest areas of the Finnish countryside at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and it only became the property of the whole nation after the establishment of elementary schools and the introduction of compulsory universal education in 1921. In 1872 the first elementary school was founded in the church village of Kivijärvi with the support of the parish priest. Even in 1906, however, only a little over a tenth of the parish's children of school age went to school (Mönkkönen 1986:440f., 446–448; see also Kotilainen 2013a).

From the late 19th century on, the literate members of the agricultural population usually wrote their names in the documents in Finnish themselves (e.g. JyMA, KSA, records of parish and church meetings 1816–1913). Only with the improvement in writing skills of the whole population brought by popular education and the language legislation reform did the rural population get the possibility to specify the spelling of their own names and the right to written names in their native language (Kotilainen forthcoming). Towards the end of the century, the names were recorded by the clergy in the parish registers in more Finnish forms and even in intentionally dialectal forms, mainly as a result of the influence of Fennoman nationalist ideas. However, the spellings of personal names had not yet been fixed in the 18th and 19th centuries in the forms in which they appear in modern nameday calendars (or indeed in those of the time), and different forms of the names of rural persons might be used either in Swedish or Finnish in different situations (JyMA, KSA, the records of the baptisms 1737–1959). Even among the educated, the orthography of names has differed in different ages; in other words there was no established way of writing personal names in earlier centuries. The ways in which the mainly illiterate common people wrote their names fluctuated even more, because they took their model randomly from a few sources, consisting of printed texts and handwritten documents.[1]

[1] The nameday calendars were a possible source of forenames with Swedish spellings when a name for the child was chosen. From the middle of the 19th century on, more and more names were given in their Finnish forms in the calendars (Heikinmäki 1972:64–67; Vilkuna 1959:20).

A standard language is one that has been consciously and publicly regularized through norms. A standard written language is intended to be a neutral language form to be used in public communication. "Modern Finnish" was established in the 1870s and 1880s (Häkkinen 1994:13, 15). The standardization was mainly needed by the authorities for identification and other administrative purposes. However, it was not until the turn of the century that people in the remote countryside started to write in Finnish to an increasing extent, so the language written by the uneducated people contained many dialectal features, and it was only in the early twentieth century, when the majority of the adult population had received some schooling, that the Finnish written by the whole rural population began to resemble the standard language.[2] One cannot even speak of a fixed orthography of personal names in the remote countryside before that (SUKU; JyMA, KSA, records of the baptisms 1737–1959; VTK, Vkk, pk 1838–53, 1858–69, STK, Kkk, pk 1869–1905). Thus the concept of a fixed orthography of the nomenclature is not suitable for a study of onomastic history in the same sense as it is for instance in contemporary linguistics. Even so, research has for a long time striven to normalize these names into the forms in which they appear in 20th-century nameday calendars without considering in more detail how they were actually written (more detailed, see Kotilainen 2013b).

The rural Finnish-speaking population's own ways of writing their names

An examination of the signatures on documents offers one way of ascertaining what kind of communal functions the writing of personal names had and what the inhabitant of the countryside needed this skill for. The purpose of a signature was above all to show that the person thereby accepted the measure or agreement which the document represented. For example, of the members of the families studied, Esaias Lyra and Matti Kinnunen wrote their own names in many documents. However, the spellings used by the people fluctuated. For example, Jaakko Muhonen wrote his forename in the form *Jako*.[3] Eerik Westerinen spelled his forename sometimes as *Erikki*,

[2] The situation varied in different areas in Finland, and the phases of the development and spread of functional literacy skills are still not sufficiently known. I deal with the subject in more detail in a wider research project: The Benefits of Literacy in Everyday Life: The impacts of improved literacy on the opportunities for social advancement in remote local communities (c. 1800–1930), funded by the Academy of Finland (2011–14). This article is a part of my project.

[3] Here and in connection with the names that follow, quote marks around a name indicate an idiosyncratic spelling.

sometimes as *Eriki*. Heikki Kotilainen, who wrote his name himself, spelled his surname[4] *Kotilain* in the same way as the clergy had written it in the parish registers and other documents in Swedish in the early 19th century. On the other hand, Benjamin Leppänen, who did not know how to write, used the letter *P* as his mark. He did not use *B* (for *Benjamin*), the phonetic equivalent of which did not exist in the vernacular but belonged to the more "genteel" Swedish language (SUKU; JyMA, KSA, records of parish meetings and church meetings 1816–1913; VTK, Vkk, pk 1838–1853, 1858–1869, STK, Kkk, pk 1869–1905).

In the late 19th century, when the majority of the rural population signed documents with their marks, some persons who were able to write added the tag *omakätisesti* or *oma käsi* ('autograph') to their signatures. The use of the tag was also a manifestation of the person's cultural capital: it was worth indicating explicitly that one was able to write. Jurors, who were chosen from among the farmers, tended to write documents for those who could not turn their hands to this task. For example, on New Year's Eve 1912, a juror from Kivijärvi called J. Pekkarinen wrote an estate inventory deed, in which he wrote the names of the deceased crofter's wife *Ida Sohviija Hakkarainen*, the widower *Erik* and their children *Marijaeliisapet*, *Wilhelmiina* and *Sohviija* (Sofia). In an estate inventory deed that was drawn up in 1911, seven children of the family are mentioned in addition to the widow: *Johan Jalmari*, *Johan emil*, *Kalle viktor*, *Wille Etvart*, *Henterikki* [Heikki], *Etvi ostvalt* (Edvin Osvald) and *Matti ilmar*, of whom Johan Jalmari and Wille Etvart were dead and the last three were underage. In an estate inventory deed written in 1911 the names of the daughters of Ismael Hakkarainen were spelled *Anna Juljaana* (Juliana) and *Elssa* (Elsa). The name *Juho* was at that time still generally written in documents that were otherwise in Finnish in the form of its Swedish equivalent *Johan* (JyMA, KSA, pk and appendices to marriage banns 1783–1914). The writers of the estate inventory deeds used the local vernacular forms of personal names and thus wrote them as they heard them "by ear" according to the dialect spoken in the locality.

Sometimes the names on sepulchral monuments, too, were written in a more demotic form than in the documents drawn up by the authorities. For example, one can see on the tombstones in the graveyards of the Kivijärvi area how the common people themselves inscribed the names of their family members. The forms of these names could deviate from those that had, for example, originally appeared in the baptismal records. Among others who were baptized in the late 19th century, Kaisa Sofia Kinnunen and Tyyne Dagmar Hakkarainen had their forenames written on their gravestones in

[4] The local families had inherited their surnames from their forefathers.

more colloquial forms: *Kaisa Sohvi* and *Tyyne Dakmar* (sepulchral monuments in the graveyards of Kannonkoski, Kinnula and Kivijärvi church parishes; see also Kotilainen 2013b).

The spoken language had a great influence on the writing of names right up to the first decades of the 20th century, as the above-mentioned examples show. The features of the local dialect can be perceived from the spellings, and people wrote forenames according to the way they heard them pronounced in speech. On the other hand, this was only natural because names were largely used in the daily intercourse of the population to refer to people of the same parish. But country people did not always use merely dialectal or colloquial spellings of their own or their family members' names in writing; until the end of the 19th century they also tried to imitate the spellings in Swedish documents. Before the orthography of names became fixed, the writer was involved in a continual search for the best way to represent them that accorded with her/his own feeling for language.

Marks as substitutes for signatures

Even at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries, many common people still used their marks to sign documents. For example, in Kivijärvi the majority of the population resorted to using their marks until the early 20th century. However, it did not necessarily mean that absolutely all of them were unable to write. Objects, too, could be labelled with a personal name, and often a person's mark was a sufficient symbol of ownership. Many marks were hereditary and were passed down from father to son (SKS KRA. Kannonkoski. Laurila). In western Finland, the signature marks also passed down along with a farm to its next owner in the manner of a surname. The mark was not personal but belonged above all to the farm. However, particularly during the 19th century, some persons changed these inherited marks in order to make them "their own", in other words their personal identifiers. Women also used marks when they had to append their name to a document, for example if they were widows or if their husband had been prevented from signing the document. If the woman's mark deviated from that of her husband, one can assume that it was hereditary in her own family (Ekko 1984:60–62, 64f.).

Of the inhabitants of the local community studied, the majority used the first letter of their forenames as marks. For example Matti Snekki used the letter *M*, but wrote it upside down. And at least six men in the same parish used a similar upper-case letter *H* as their mark in the latter half of the 19th century.[5]

[5] Heikki Kemppainen, Heikki Pasanen and Heikki Kauppinen, Henrik Hakkarainen, Henrik Leppänen and Herman Hakkarainen.

Thus the mark was not an especially good tool of identification. The act of signing constituted a confirmation of the signatory's agreement to or authorization of the provisions of the document, and the signature or mark could serve as subsequent evidence and symbol of the identity of a person who had agreed to or authorized these provisions. Some marks were very personal or fanciful in their form. Heikki Kinnunen's mark looked like a thunderbolt, and Erik Kinnunen used three lines crosswise in the form of a star as his mark. Of the women, Maria Fredrika Pasanen used the letter *X* as her mark and Liisa Leppänen's mark was *L*. Saara Hakkarainen's mark was a little unclear: it may even have been *SH*, in other words, it may have been formed from her initials, which otherwise was very rare among the marks studied: also Enok Leppänen used initials: his mark consisted of the letters *El* (JyMA, KSA, records of parish and church meetings 1816–1913, pk 1783–1914; JyMA, VTK, Vkk, pk 1838–53, 1858–69, STK, Kkk, pk 1869–1905).

Heikki Kotilainens marks can be examined as an example of the heredity of marks. He used *T*, the initial letter of the name of his home farm (*Tiiro*), as his mark. Kotilainen usually used the mark quite systematically, but once in 1884, a year before his death, he used the letter *H* as his mark. This strange exception was possibly due to the fact that two other farmers, Heikki Leppänen and Herman Hakkarainen, who were signatories to the minutes of the same parish meeting, also used *H*. Thus the master of Tiiro Farm Heikki Kotilainen was the third to sign, and he may well have thought that a line of similar marks looked more aesthetic, or then someone else perhaps signed the minutes on his behalf. However, in the following record his mark is again *T*. After his father's death, the oldest son Matti Kotilainen used the letter *H* as his mark. In the documents he was sometimes named *Matti Tiiro*; in other words, the name of his home farm became at least for the administrative purposes of the parish, his personal cognomen after his father's death. However, he did not inherit the mark *T* from his father Heikki Kotilainen, nor did he use the initial letter of his own forename, but that of his father. A few other parishioners also used something other than the initial letter of their own names as their marks, and in such case it is most likely that the mark was inherited from the father and formed from the first letter of the latter's forename (JyMA, KSA, records of parish and church meetings 1816–1913; SUKU). This also indicates the strong position of the father Heikki in both the local community and certainly also within the sphere of the family.

In order to examine the relationship between the use of a mark and the ability to write we can take as examples farm-owners who held congregational positions of trust. For example, Erik Vesterinen was often appointed to scrutinize the minutes of church meetings written by the priest and to affirm their validity with his signature. He wrote his name

himself under the minutes, sometimes in the form *Eriki Westerinen* but sometimes using only his mark *E* (JyMA, KSA, records of parish and church meetings 8.5.1881, 30.3.1890 and 4.11.1894). Correspondingly, the signature in the following document appended to marriage banns (after 1864 persons under 21 years of age needed the permission of their parents to marry) reveals at the same time how rural people used marks:

> Marriage bann no. 8 1891
> My consent for the marriage banns of my daughter Marja Wilhelmiina kinnunen[6] with this farmer's son Juhan Evertti (Johan Evert) Kemppainen from the parish of pihti pudas [to be published] is hereby witnessed, kivijärvi 14 February 1891
> Eljas Kinnunen
> Witnessed by Erik Puranen
> E
> written by the same [person]
> (JyMA, KSA, pk and addenda to marriage banns 1783–1914.)

Thus in people's minds the mark constituted a kind of a "seal" on official decisions or testimonies. It could then be used in documents instead of a signature even though the signatory knew how to write. In several cases the mark was a legacy handed down from a father or grandfather, in which case it represented the person's home farm. This identificatory practice is also shown by that way in which the hereditary last names of masters of farms were sometimes replaced in documents with the names of their farms in Kivijärvi (see Kotilainen 2008:89). The marks connected to the names of farms were local tools of identification. They were, however, characteristically masculine in nature because in a way they generally symbolized the power of the master of the household. Women only rarely enjoyed such power in the community in the 18th and 19th centuries, and their marks did not as often symbolize their power to run the whole household.

A multiple signature as part of a country person's identity

According to my sources, in Central Finland a person's mark still had an important identificatory role in the early 20th century. Even persons who were able to write and were respected in the community and appointed to congregational positions of trust and other joint administrative duties used a mark to identify themselves with; in other words they saw nothing shameful in it. The mark was a locally valid mark of identity in early

[6] The spelling and use of capital letters in the translation replicate those of the original document.

modern society. By the 1930s, however, the mark had become obsolete, and people had shifted over to the modern practice of using signatures.

The analysis of my various sources shows that written names could identify objects as well as persons, and marks served a similar function. It was possible to lay claim to an object by means of a mark, and on a written document it could also stand for the signatory. In the latter case, it survived as a more permanent and significant symbol than on perishable utility artefacts. In this way, marks too "left their traces" in the documents of their time. The mark could identify an individual as belonging to a particular family or to the household of a particular farm. Generally, an individual was identified as a member of his or her family by the surname, while the forename was more personal, even though it may have been inherited from earlier generations (see also Kotilainen 2008). The significant difference between these was that people could decide for themselves what kind of marks they wanted to choose to symbolize their personalities, but their first names were given at baptism and surnames were usually inherited from father.

Before the development of the literacy skills of the whole Finnish population, the writer of a document usually wrote a person's name in the text using the Swedish spelling even if the signatory her- or himself used her/his mark. As the documents examined here indicate, some of the older population had learned to write their forenames when Swedish spellings were generally used for the names of the Finnish-speaking population. So it was natural for them to use such forms later on as well. Generally, Swedish forms were not often used, but they apparently had "a more official ring" to them in the minds of people at the turn of the century; in other words, they were associated with situations in which a person affirmed her/his own assent to decisions about such matters as marriage or the sale or inheritance of property by signing a document.

The name used in documents was for the person involved the name which outsiders, such as the authorities and their representatives, usually used of her/him. On the other hand, the common people had also learned to use these names in official documents, so they were an integral part of their identity. A written personal name defined one's identity in situations which were important to the bearer from an administrative and/or juridical point of view. However, s/he most probably identified with the forename by which s/he was called every day. Thus people were actually identified by several designations: an informal forename, the "official" name of the parish registers and a mark, which could be used like a seal or other symbol to express their identity on documents or material objects. They were all features of people's identities, with which they could identify depending on the situation and which designated them and their ownership or actions as needed.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Genealogical database (SUKU)
Collective biographical data concerning the Hakkarainen and Kotilainen families, who lived in the Kivijärvi area, have been compiled mainly from documents in the archives of the parishes of Kannonkoski, Kinnula, Kivijärvi, and Viitasaari. These comprise records of baptisms, marriages and funerals; confirmation records and records of unconfirmed children; migration records and demographic statistics. The oldest archives of the parishes of Viitasaari and Kivijärvi are stored in the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä. The research extends from c. 1730 to 1960. Compiled by Sofia Kotilainen.

The provincial archives of Jyväskylä
Archives of the judicial district of Saarijärvi (STK)
Jurisdictional district of Kivijärvi (Kkk), estate inventory deeds (pk) 1869–1905
Archives of the judicial district of Viitasaari (VTK)
Jurisdictional district of Viitasaari (Vkk), estate inventory deeds (pk) 1838–53, 1858–69
Archives of the Parish of Kivijärvi (KSA), Kivijärvi and provincial archives of Jyväskylä (JyMA) Records of baptisms 1737–1959
Estate inventory deeds (pk) and addenda to marriage banns 1783–1914
Records of parish and church meetings 1816–1913

Finnish Literature Society (SKS), Folklore Archives (KRA), Helsinki Kannonkoski. Laurila, Lauri

The sepulchral monuments in the graveyards of Kannonkoski, Kinnula and Kivijärvi church parishes

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