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The distribution of village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal names in the northern Baltic Sea area

The article studies pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms and their spread in the northern Baltic Sea area at the end of Middle Ages (c. AD 1520). This is done by analysing village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements. The primary research material consists of various editions of documents from the 15th and 16th centuries. The analysis demonstrates that village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are most densely located in Varsinais-Suomi, Häme, Northern and Eastern Estonia, Southern Karelia, the Karelian Isthmus and Eastern Ingria. The first four areas are home to significant Iron Age settlements. It seems that the use of the pre-Christian Finnic name elements under investigation originally started in these areas and spread eastwards.

1. Introduction

This article presents an overview of the geographical distribution of pre-Christian Finnic personal names (anthroponyms) in the northern Baltic Sea area during the Middle Ages (c. 1100–1500). This is done by searching for village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements mainly in editions of 15th- and 16th-century documents. The result is compared to archaeological and linguistic information. Thus, this work is not only about the use of old pre-Christian Finnic personal names but also sheds light on the linguistic and cultural changes that took place in the Baltic Sea area during the Middle Ages (cf. Leibring 2016: 211–212).[1]

For a long time, onomastics have been a vital part of studies concerning Finno-Ugric languages and their history. As early as the 19th century, linguists interested in Finno-Ugric languages noticed that toponyms located in northeastern Europe were important sources for their studies (e.g. Sjögren 1861). Soon after, researchers understood the significance of personal names as well (e.g. Gottlund 1872; Forsman 1894). Thus, from the late 19th century onwards, researchers interested in the history of the Finno-Ugric languages have been dealing with names. Lately, researchers such as Pauli Rahkonen (2013) and Denis Kuzmin (2014a) have studied place names and revealed new details about the history of Finnic languages. Very much connected to this work are articles recently published by Saulo Kepsu (2015a) and Janne Saarikivi (2017), where they conduct research on toponyms based on pre-Christian Finnic personal names. In addition, an article written by the author (2019) focuses on the Finnish village names derived from pre-Christian Finnic personal names.

Thus, the value of names as a historical source is moderately well-known among scholars interested in the history of Finnic languages and tribes. Despite this, there are still many opportunities in the study of personal names that have not been fully exploited. For example, most of the above-mentioned studies concentrate on present-day nomenclature. Even though place names tend to survive for long periods, it is logical to assume that names used in old documents are better sources for describing the past than the contemporary names. Moreover, those few studies that focus on Finnic

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1. An example of this is the influence of Western anthroponymic systems: in the 16th century, six out of the seven most popular first names were the same in Finland and Sweden (Kiviniemi 1982: 70).

personal names mentioned in old documents are often limited to certain geographical areas and lack a broader perspective on the developments of Finnic pre-Christian anthroponyms (e.g. Karlova 2014; Sobolev 2017).

Explicit mentions of personal names in old documents would be the best source material for studying the distribution of pre-Christian Finnic personal names. The problem is, however, that the northern part of the Baltic Sea area has been a relatively remote place, where written culture did not emerge until the Middle Ages. As a result, most of the preserved medieval documents concerning the northern Baltic Sea area are from the 15th and 16th centuries. To give an example, a major collection of Finnish medieval documents called *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (FMU) contains slightly more than 6,700 edited documents, whereas *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven* (SDHK) has more than 40,000.[2]

Another problem is that the documents from the 15th and 16th centuries include only a few pre-Christian Finnic personal names. Persons mentioned in the documents usually have (Eastern and Western) Christian main names, such as *Anders*, *Fedko*, *Heinrich*, *Mikulka* or *Olof*. Areal, cultural and temporal differences in documentation are considerable as well. For example, taxation documents concerning the 16th-century Tammela parish in the province of Häme (Swedish *Tavastland*) have peasants with names in the form of a Christian name followed by a patronym (e.g. *Erik Persson* in Kaukjärvi village). In Tyrvää parish in the province of Satakunta, peasants are named differently, with the Christian name followed by various kinds of bynames (e.g. *Staffan Musta* 'black', *Clemet Äiänpoia* 'son of Äijä', *Jöns Koskenlaskia* 'white water rower'). Moreover, it is often difficult to distinguish whether a person's byname is a "given name" or an inherited one. For example, there was a farmer called *Morthen Tojuo* (~ *Toivo* 'hope') in Tyrvää parish in 1546 and, from 1585 onwards, *Per Frantsson*, later known as *Per Toiffuo*, owned the farm.[3] (SAYL.)

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2. *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* ('Medieval sources of Finland') (published 1910–1935) includes different kinds of editions of medieval documents (from the 9th century to 1530) concerning Finland. *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven* ('The Main Catalogue of Diplomatarium Suecanum') is a digital register that contains editions of medieval documents related to Sweden (most of the Finnish documents are also included, since the western and southern parts of Finland belonged to Sweden during the Middle Ages.) (https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk, retrieved 1 November 2018).

3. Translations are based on modern-day speech and made by the author unless noted otherwise.

Considering the above-mentioned difficulties, it is understandable that the spread of Finnic personal names cannot be studied solely based on anthroponyms mentioned in old documents. There are, however, other possibilities. Pre-Christian personal names can be found in epithets (e.g. *Kuningas*), patronyms (*Illonpoika*, *Toivalov*), surnames (*Kurki*), names of villages (*Hyvälempe-lä*) or names of homesteads (*Lempiä-lä*).[4] (Kiviniemi 1982: 36; Rintala 2008: 21–22.) Of the above-mentioned 'secondary sources', village names are the most adequate (cf. Kepsu 2015a). This is why this article focuses on medieval village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal names (from now on, the expression *Finnic village names* is used as a synonym).

The structure of the article is as follows: First, a short overview of the history of the area under investigation is given in Section 1. The second section introduces background information on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms and village name systems in different medieval documents. The third section provides a description of the research materials and methods. The next section presents the results and the geographical spread of village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal names. Finally, in the fifth section, conclusions are drawn from the results of the study and discussed.

1.1. Historical background and study area on a map

Most of the research results regarding the early history of Finnic tribes (c. AD 800–1400) are based on fragmentary written sources and scarce archaeological findings. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the area inhabited by Finnic tribes was remote and sparsely populated compared to the central areas of Europe (e.g. Venice or the Holy Roman Empire). In the beginning of the Viking Age (c. AD 800), the most influential powers in Northern Fennoscandia were Scandinavian groups coming from Denmark and Sweden. In addition to these, the influence of Slavic people was fast increasing. During the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, these groups were expanding their influence and fighting each other in order to control lands and trade in Northern Fennoscandia. (CHS: 60–221; CHR: 45–210.)

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4. *Kuningas* 'king', *Illonpoika* 'son of *Illo*', *Toivalov* 'son of *Toiva*' (*toivo* 'hope') and *Kurki* 'crane' (and a famous Finnish noble family). The village name *Hyvälempelä* consists of the personal name element *Hyvälempi* (*Hyvä* 'good, nice, kind' + *lempi* 'lovely, love, favourite') and a locational suffix (*-lA*).

By the end of the 15th century, the Teutonic Order controlled the present-day areas of Estonia and Latvia. The Danish king had been forced to sell the kingdom's territory in Northern Estonia. The Realm of Sweden controlled Western Finland and the southern coastal area all the way to the city of Vyborg on the Karelian Isthmus. The eastern parts of Fennoscandia and the eastern parts of the Gulf of Finland were ruled by the city-state of Novgorod. (CHS: 392–410; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 338–359.)

Map 1 displays the approximate regions covered by the materials used in this study. It is important to recall that during the Middle Ages, borders in the northern Baltic Sea area were not strict lines between nations but rather spheres of interest between the most powerful actors in the region. The borders were changing constantly during the Middle Ages, and especially in sparsely populated areas, the division between different powers remained unclear well into the early modern period (cf. Korpela 2002). The thick black dotted line represents the approximate outer borders of the late 15th-century Diocese of Åbo, which was the eastern part of the Realm of Sweden.[5] The northern parts of present-day Finland were still an area not permanently controlled by any government. The eastern parts of Finland were controlled by the Novgorod Republic. On the Karelian Isthmus and in Eastern Finland, the border is based on the Treaty of Nöteborg (1323), where the Realm of Sweden and Novgorod signed a peace treaty and, for the first time, established their border. Only this southern part of the border is indisputably described in the different versions of the treaty. The border remained an official division between Sweden and Novgorod until 1595.

At the end of the 15th century, the administration of Novgorod's so-called original lands was divided into five parts, each known as a *pjatina* 'fifth' (Ronimus 1906: 5). The thin dotted line depicts the borders of the fifths.[6] The names of these areas are also displayed on the map.[7] The western border of Novgorod, beginning from the south, stretched to the Pskov Republic, Livonia (or the Teutonic Order) and the Diocese of Åbo. One may notice that

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5. The borders of Diocese of Åbo are based on the maps presented in the book *Atlas of the settlement in Finland in the 1560s* (SAK) (1973). This atlas depicts the locations of villages that were considered part of the Swedish taxation area in the 1560s.

6. The borders of Novgorod's territory are based on maps presented by K. A. Nevolin (1853).

7. These are Bežetskaja, Derevskaja, Obonežskaja, Šelonskaja and Vodskaja. The transliteration is according to ISO 9.

the lines between Novgorod and Sweden overlap with each other. This again emphasises how unclear the borderline really was between these two powers. It also depicts how Finnish settlers from the Diocese of Åbo had established new settlements in the disputed border area during the 16th century.

The black line depicts the current border of Estonia. During the Middle Ages, Estonia was part of Livonia, which also included the current area of Latvia. This approximately corresponds to the area conquered by the Teutonic Order during the crusades of the 13th century. Livonia was divided into many sub-regions governed by different ecclesial or secular powers (cf. Zetterberg 2007: 79–129).

Map 1: The study area (map drawn by the author). Base map: Stamen Toner Lite.

1.2. Pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms

There are many studies presenting the topic of pre-Christian Finnic personal names from different perspectives, but Detlef-Eckhard Stoebke's dissertation (1964) remains the most comprehensive research conducted to this day.[8] For this reason, the following introduction is based on his work.

Stoebke (1964: 109–135) states that Finnic names were composed in three different ways: there were simplex names (e.g. *Lempo, Mieli, Iha*), simplex names with a suffix (*Lemmi-tty, Miela-kka, Iha-ttu*) or complex names (*Hyvä-lempi, Mieli-valta, Iha-lempi*). Semantically, names were probably originally descriptive and transparent. For example, the name *Hyvälempi* consists of two parts: *hyvä* 'gut' (English 'good') + *lempi* 'liebe' ('love, dear') (ibid. 136, 139). It is likely that attributes used in a name were often based on the hopes and wishes of the name givers. People could also be named based on their appearance or characteristics. The exact meaning of name elements was not always the primary principle of naming. Naming children after their predecessors is one example of this kind of custom.[9]

Many different name elements have been regarded as pre-Christian in previous studies. This work adheres to Stoebke's idea of pre-Christian Finnic personal names. He has used twofold criteria when asserting which name elements were used in old Finnic anthroponyms: the name element must be found in various areas inhabited by speakers of Finnic languages and it cannot be considered a borrowed name (Stoebke 1964: 82). The 22 name elements identified by Stoebke are: *Auva, Heimo, Hyvä, Iha, Ikä, Ilma, Jou(t)si, Kaikki, Kauk(k)a, Kirja, Kyllä, Lempi, Meeli, Neuvo, Päivä, Toivo, Un(n)i, Unta, Valta, Viha, Vihta* and *Vilja* (ibid. 83–108).

It must be noted that this is not a complete list of names. There are not enough sources to create an accurate depiction of a millennium-old

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8. Altough Stoebke speaks of "Finnic personal names" ("ostseefinnischen Personennamen"), he has included Saami names as well. In contemporary linguistic research, Saami is not considered a Finnic language (Lehtinen 2007: 82).
9. Old tax accounts show that it was common to name children after their predecessors. For example, the following list presents householders of the homestead Knuutti in the village of Vataja in old Tyrvää (Swedish Tyrvis) parish: householder *Lars Jönsson* (1540), *Jöns Larsson* (1565) and *Lars Jönsson* (1569) (SAYL). The Saami people had similar customs in the 18th century: the first son was named after his father's father and the second one after his mother's father (Valtonen 2017: 306–307).

personal name system. Nevertheless, Stoebke's name elements lay a good foundation for this kind of study, and they are widely accepted by other researchers. For instance, Kepsu (2015a: 130) has 17 of Stoebke's chosen name elements in his list of 60 probable pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements used among the Finnic tribes.[10] Moreover, this study can indicate whether all of Stoebke's name elements are adequate. This being the case, the chosen name elements should be encountered in old village names.

1.3. The concept(s) of a village

The concept of a village differs depending on the institution that has overseen the documentation. The main fact is that a village was a taxation unit. In 16th-century Sweden, a village (Swedish *by*) meant a tax unit that included one or more homesteads. However, this system was not homogenous (see Seppälä 2009). In Ostrobothnia, for example, the same settlement could have been considered a village in secular documentation but not in ecclesial documentation, and vice versa (SAK: 16).

In medieval Livonia, the administration systems differed from region to region. The current area of Estonia was divided into many smaller areas controlled by the Church or the German nobility.[11] In the Livonian countryside, settlement patterns often remained similar to the way they were before the conquest of the Teutonic Order. The basic formation of settlements was a village that consisted of several homesteads (Šnē 2008: 92). Surviving medieval documents from the area of present-day Estonia imply that the village was a basic administrative concept (cf. Johansen 1938; LCD). Documentation was mainly produced in Latin and (Low) German, but later, Swedish was used as well. Between 1561 and 1721, parts of Estonia were under Swedish rule.

The documents preserved in the area of Novgorod were not compiled by the city-state itself. The Grand Duchy of Moscow had subjugated the

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10. The name elements chosen by Kepsu (2015a: 130) are *Ahti, Aika, Aina, Ano, Arpa, Asi, Auva, Hala, Heimo, Himo, Hurtta, Hyry, Hyvä, Iha, Ikä, Ilma, Ilo, Kaipa, Kauko, Kilpa, Kirja, Kyllä, Leina, Lempi, Mieho, Mieli, Miero, Monta, Muoto, Neuvo, Niha, Nousia, Paha, Para, Parka, Pelko, Päivä, Raha, Rahko, Raukka, Saira, Salli, Satta, Sota, Suuri, Tapa, Tenho, Toivo, Tora, Unta, Urja, Uska, Utu, Vaino, Valta, Viha, Vihti, Vilja, Voipa* and *Vähä*.
11. The Kingdom of Denmark controlled the northern parts of Estonia all the way until 1346.

city-state and its belongings before the end of the 15th century (CHR: 211–239). The Muscovites ordered documentation after the conquest had been finalised (Ronimus 1906: 3–6). The documents were written in so-called Russian chancery language.[12] A typical village was commonly called a *derevnja* (*деревня*). The size of a village could vary. The smallest ones were the size of one homestead and the largest ones consisted of up to 69 homesteads (Ronimus 1906: 80). The expression *selo* (*село*) referred to a village (usually a larger one) with a church (Nevolin 1853: 98).

To summarise, it is fair to say that the definition of a village was not homogenous. However, there are also some similarities between different areas. First, most of the villages were originally homesteads (cf. Kepsu 2015a: 128). A homestead turned into a village when more fields were cleared or obtained and more homesteads were established. In addition, a single homestead could be counted as a village if the authorities had reason to do so, for example, if a settlement was far from the others.[13]

1.4. The concept(s) of village name

A village name is another concept that needs to be explained in more detail. Village names can be divided into two groups: names based on names of natural places and names based on personal names. The names of central, visible or important places in nature have been used to name villages because these places have been significant to the inhabitants (cf. Kepsu 2015a: 128). Village names based on nature names are regarded in the Finnish onomastic literature as older than those derived from personal names (cf. Ainiala et al. 2012: 92–93; Alanen 2004: 135).[14]

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12. Chancery language was developed for the purposes of the Muscovite government and its need for bureaucratic documentation from the 15th century onwards (Worth & Flier 2012).
13. For instance, a homestead called *Kolkko* in the former Kyrö parish (nowadays Ikaalinen parish) was considered a village in ecclesial taxation, but in secular taxation it was a homestead belonging to the neighbouring village of Sikuri (SA: 103).
14. Kepsu (2018: 11) has presented a good summary on the theory of estimating the relative age of a village name. In addition, in Finland, the villages whose names are derived from nature names are often larger and more central than those whose names are based on personal names. Regional differences do, however, play a significant role in this matter.

Village names based on personal names, in turn, are generally derived from homestead names, which, again, were named after their founders. Thus, many homestead names include personal names (Kiviniemi 1990: 167). Consequently, some village names are supposedly based on pre-Christian personal names. (Kepsu 2015a: 128.)

It should be noted that a village name based on a pre-Christian personal name does not always mean that a person or persons with the same name would have lived there. So-called transferred names (see Brink 2016) could have affected the spread of the Finnic village names as well.[15] In other words, a name could be based on a settler's village or homestead of origin. Regardless of whether the name is transferred or not, the distribution of Finnic village names still shows a certain naming culture.

Another thing to bear in mind is that the geographical distribution of Finnic village names does not necessarily indicate migration of Finnic settlers but perhaps rather the spread of Finnic cultural influences. It is a well-known fact that personal names are borrowed from language to language more readily than other language elements (Ainiala et al. 2012: 136). The expansion of Christian personal names in Northern Europe during the early Middle Ages is a good example of this (ibid.).

It is noteworthy that within such a wide study area, one can find different ways of naming villages and other settlements. For example, in the western and southern areas of Finland, village names based on nature names are less popular than in the east and north (cf. Kepsu 1987: 65). This can be explained, at least partly, by the fact that the villages are usually older in many places in southern Finland, and the population density used to be higher as well (Kepsu 2018: 11; Raninen & Wessman 2015). The same phenomenon can be seen in the documents concerning the area of the Novgorod Republic. In the northern regions, village names based on nature names (e.g. lake names) are common, whereas in areas with a higher population density, names based on anthroponyms are more popular.[16] Naturally, this is also

15. Transferred names are names that are transferred from one place to another. It has been a fairly common phenomenon in Finnic areas that homesteads established by settlers are named after their home villages (Kepsu 2010: 48–49).
16. The truth is, however, more complicated. In the Onega fifth, for example, most of the village names used in the census books are derived from nature names, but military documents compiled in the beginning of the 18th century show that the names used by the locals differed from the official ones. Often, these local names were based on personal names. (Vitov 1962: 34.)

due to the fact that the landscape is different. For example, on the Karelian Isthmus, where sandy ridges and lakes are widely characteristic, the landscape is visibly different from the flat plateau of the Izhora uplands.[17]

Differences in livelihoods are another reason for heterogeneous village naming conventions. In the beginning of the Middle Ages, densely populated areas were located in terrain that was suitable for ancient cultivation technologies and were thus inhabited all year round. The ownership of land was an important concept in these regions, and personal names were used to name different possessions (e.g. *Vihattu-la*, a homestead owned or established by *Vihattu*). In contrast, lifestyles based on hunting, fishing or slash-and-burn cultivation, which existed in more remote and wooded areas in eastern and northern Finland, for example, required a more mobile lifestyle.[18] The possession of land was probably not that important or well-defined for people with this kind of lifestyle, as long as there was enough land for everybody (Korpela 2004: 233; Voionmaa 1969: 188). On the other hand, it is important to remember that this is only a simplified comparison. In reality, the concept of land ownership has varied in different places and at different times. Using Eastern Finland as an example, the court and taxation documents from the 16th-century province of Savo (Swedish *Savolax*) indicate how important land ownership had become despite the region still being sparsely populated (Pirinen 1982: 83–88, 331–333, 349–350). Nonetheless, in the northern parts of 16th-century Savo, most of the place names mentioned in the documents are based on nature names (Kepsu 2015b).

In addition to this, there is no certainty that a name mentioned in old documents was the one that local people actually used. For example, scribes in 16th-century Novgorod had a specific descriptive way of naming the smaller and less significant villages. These were often named after bigger villages, for example Д. *другая Копаница на Систи* ('(village) second Kopanica at the River Sisti') (NPK III: 501), or after the names of the rivers, lakes, hills and other natural formations nearby, for example Д. *надъ*

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17. For example, Knyazeva & Eydlina (2018) provide a good overview of the landscape in Northwest Russia.
18. In this case, a mobile lifestyle refers to a way of living where peasants and their families kept moving while looking for new slash-and-burn sites, hunting grounds and fishing waters. There were, however, significant differences in this kind of lifestyle depending on place and time. In the 16th century province of Savo, this could mean that a family had a permanent homestead in a village but during the summer they stayed closer to their possessions (Pirinen 1982: 63–64, 293).

озеромъ надъ Валгомонъ ('(village) upon Lake Valgomon') (NPK III: 929). It is unlikely that locals used these kinds of descriptive forms of their villages (Kepsu 2010: 11).

Names tend to change over time, but village names are usually preserved well (cf. Hausen 1924). As is often stated in onomastics, the more central and important a place is, the more likely the original name is to have survived for a long time (Ainiala et al. 2012: 21). This can be applied to village names as well. Furthermore, the establishment of written documents has affected the survival of names: the use of settlement names became more stabilised because they were recorded and used continuously for administrative purposes.

However, there are many regional differences when it comes to the preservation of names. The Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period were a rather peaceful and prosperous period in many regions in Finland, which means there were no dramatic changes in the lifestyle for centuries. On the other hand, many areas in Estonia and Ingria were stages for numerous battles and plunders during the 16th and 17th centuries. Consequently, many villages were destroyed and abandoned.

Moreover, the scribes who wrote the documents had an impact on how the village names were presented.[19] The customs for naming villages in medieval accounting differed depending on the time and place. King Gustav (Vasa) I of Sweden renewed many aspects of the taxation system during the first decades of the 16th century, which led to more comprehensive and accurate documentation (Seppälä 2009: 18).[20] Documents from the area of the Novgorod Republic were a product of a certain order coming from the Grand Prince of Moscow (Nevolin 1853: I–XII). The ruler wanted to know how much income the Grand Duchy of Moscow should acquire from the newly conquered area (ibid.). The officers appointed to this task probably did not visit all the villages they documented. Instead, local priests and trusted men were used as informants (Ronimus 1906: 6).

As stated earlier, the present-day area of Estonia was controlled by many different powers during the Middle Ages (cf. Zetterberg 2007: 76). This means that the documentation was not systematic. The documents that have survived are inconsistent, and especially in southern Estonia, the

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19. In addition, the style of documentation prepared by the Church was somewhat different from secular documentation. The sources used in this study are mainly of the latter type.
20. Gustav I (Vasa) of Sweden ruled in 1523–1560.

oldest documents are comprehensive only from the 17th century onwards (Evar Saar, oral information 2 March 2018). In addition, due to the actions of local aristocrats and the Church, many villages were incorporated into lands owned by these two powers and, consequently, their names were lost (Zetterberg 2007: 129).

2. Research material

The research materials used for this study approximately cover the area presented in Map 1. Village names from the Diocese of Åbo have been collected from the book *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla* ('The settlements in Finland in the 1560s') (SA), which includes all of the villages mentioned in the ecclesial and secular documents during the 1550s and 60s.[21] The source contains 7,798 settlements, but the number of names is approximately 8,000 because the names of some villages varied depending on the document.[22]

The sources concerning the area of the Novgorod Republic are edited versions of 15th- and 16th-century documents known as the Novgorod census books (Russian *переписные книги* or *писцовые книги*).[23] The third part of the book series *Novgorodskie pistsovye knigi* (NPK III) covers the southern and western parts of the Vodskaja *pjatina* ('fifth').[24] The northernmost part of the Vodskaja fifth is covered in books titled *Perepisnaja okladnaja kniga po novugorodu votskoj pjatiny* (POKV I–II).[25] The original

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21. The province of Savo (part of the Diocese of Åbo) is a special case, because villages are only occasionally documented as taxation units in the 16th-century documents. Peasants are mostly divided into larger groups responsible for paying taxes (referred to in Finnish as *arviokunta*, *neljänneskunta* and *kymmenyskunta*). The 17th-century documents already include villages with names. Researchers have used these later names and compared them to the epithets that were used for peasants in 1561–62. By doing so, they have been able make a reliable supposition of which villages already existed in the 1560s (e.g. 1561: *Grels Auffuinen* > 1664: *Auffwila by*). (SAK: 14–15.)
22. This number also includes manors and seat farms because many of them were originally villages. For example, the crown had established a manor called *Mustiala* based on the village located in that place earlier (cf. Alanen 2004: 140–141).
23. These documents are also referred to as *scribe books*, *cadastres* or *land registers* in English.
24. Новгородские писцовые книги ('Scribe books of Novgorod').
25. Переписная окладная книга по Новугороду Вотьской пятины ('Census tax book of Novgorod's Vodskaja fifth').

documents from the Vodskaja fifth seem to be fairly well preserved, as only a few pages of the original document are missing. This applies to the documents of the Derevskaja fifth from 1495 (NPK I–II) as well. The original documents for the other administrative fifths have not been preserved as well. Thus, the research material consists of census books from various years. The book *Materialy po istoričeskoj geografii Novgorodskoj zemli: Šelonskaja pjatina po piscovym knigam 1498‒1576 g.g.* (MIN) includes the areas of the Šelonskaja fifth.[26] *Piscovyje knigi Obonežskoj pjatiny* (PKOP) contains editions of documents concerning the Obonežskaja fifth.[27] The Bežetskaja fifth is covered in NPK VI, which contains information from the years 1501, 1545, 1551 and 1564. All of these areas can be seen on Map 1.

As mentioned in Section 1.3, the Novgorod census books were produced because the Grand Duchy of Moscow wanted to maintain records of its possessions in the area of Novgorod. The form of documentation in each of the books is almost identical. They contain information about the possessions of former and current landowners (e.g. nobles, authorities, Churches and monasteries).

It is difficult to give an estimation of how many villages are mentioned in the Russian sources listed above. POKV II, which covers a bit less than one fifth of the sources page-wise, contains approximately 3,800 village names. Thus, the overall number of Russian village names should be around 20,000. The problem is, however, that many of the villages are mentioned several times. For example, the taxable objects of one village could be shared by three different boyars, which means that the village is mentioned whenever the possessions of each man are presented.

Medieval and 16th-century documents relevant to the present-day area of Estonia have their origins in many different sources. It would have been too time consuming to go through all of the documents for this study. However, the handbook of Estonian place names *Eesti kohanimeraamat* ('Dictionary of Estonian place names') (KNR) covers a large portion of the villages mentioned in old documents. Thus, this study relies on the information presented in the handbook. KNR contains circa 4,500 village

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26. Материалы по исторической географии Новгородской земли: Шелонская пятина по писцовым книгам 1498–1576 г.г. ('Materials of historical geography of Novgorod land: the Šelonskaja fifth according to census books 1498–1576').
27. Писцовые книги Обонежской пятины ('Scribe books of the Obonežskaja fifth').

names (Estonian *küla*). Out of these, those that are presumably derived from the 16th century or earlier are included. The dating is based on the information presented in the book itself.

It should be emphasised that the research material does not include original documents, but rather editions of them. Consequently, there is the possibility that the editors have transcribed some of the village names incorrectly. Furthermore, even the original documents may contain misleading information. Scribes have written the name as they have understood it or how it has been told to them. Misspellings, analogies or translations of names probably occurred often.[28] One must also remember that 16th-century scribes in Estonia, Finland or Russia did not have any common rules for writing.

3. Methodology

The aim of this study has been to find village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements and locate them on a map. The following section explains how this process was carried out and according to what principles. The names were mainly collected by studying the material page by page. The village names are readily listed in the source *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla* (SA). In the case of KNR, names that have been considered village names were selected for the study. The Russian sources are more heterogeneous, but expressions such as *derevnja* (*деревня*), *selo* (*село*) and

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28. Misspelling occurred partly because scribes were used to using certain letters and syllables while writing and those were not suitable for writing down Finnic words. For example, some Finnic diphthongs have been confusing for Russian scribes, such as in the case of names with the element *Kauko*: *Гавгуево* (*Gavguevo*) (POKV I: 358). Analogy, in turn, means that scribes adapted Finnic names or parts of them into names or words that were more familiar to them. This is difficult to recognise if other attestations of the name do not reveal the analogy. It is also difficult to know if the analogy has been created by a scribe or by the users of the name themselves (cf. Vitov 1962: 29–30). A good example of (folk) analogy is the name of the medieval parish *Kivennapa* (Swedish *Kivinebb*), which most likely derives from the old Swedish word *kiffuinebb* 'wooden fort' (Kepsu 2018: 203) but which has been probably mistaken by the locals for the Karelian words *kivi* 'stone' and *napa* 'navel, belly button'. The translation of names happened in some areas, but personal name elements were apparently not translated. Some possible cases occured in Ingria, such as *Долгино* (*долгий* 'long; tall') (POKV I: 170), which could be the same village as *Pitkälä* (*pitkä* 'long; tall'), a village that has references from the 17th century onwards (Kepsu 2010: 342).

their abbreviations make village names more easily recognisable. The Russian material has also been analysed by reading it through page by page, but due to the vast amount of data, the likelihood of missing some village names is high. To minimise this possibility, editions of documents were converted to editable text format. Then, the different kinds of letter combinations, which could originate from Finnic personal name elements, were used as search words in accordance with approximate string matching (also known as fuzzy string search).

From the sources mentioned above, only village names that are (highly probably) derived from the chosen pre-Christian Finnic name elements have been selected. The list of name elements included in the searches, which is based on Stoebke's research, is presented in Section 1.3. To reduce the probability of incorrect selections, many place name and personal name surveys are used when examining whether a name is based on a pre-Christian Finnic anthroponym. The main surveys concerning current area of Finland are the following: FSBN (*Finlandssvenska bebyggelsenamn* 'Finland Swedish settlement names'), SPNK (*Suomalainen paikannimikirja* 'Book of Finnish place names') and USNK (*Uusi suomalainen nimikirja* 'New book of Finnish names'). Saulo Kepsu's studies have been of great help when dealing with the village names in Northwest Russia. His publication *Kannaksen kylät* ('Villages of the Karelian Isthmus') (2018) and his manuscript *Inkerin pogostat: vanha nimistö ja asutus* ('*Pogosts* of Ingria: old nomenclature and settlement') (2010) address many of the village names relevant to this study. In addition, the following sources have been useful in examining the names located in Northwest Russia: publications of Kuzmin (e.g. 2014a–b), Matveev (e.g. 2015), Mullonen (e.g. 2008) and Saarikivi 2006. A further relevant source has been KNR, an etymological survey of Estonian place names.

One must remember, however, that there are no certain etymologies when speaking of names that are hundreds of years old. Many of the problems related to the quality of the sources were already discussed in Section 2. In addition, there are other peculiarities connected to the studied village names that must be considered when attempting to uncover the origins of names. First of all, many of the Finnic personal name elements derive from appellatives, which were or still are used in everyday speech. It is possible that on some occasions, the naming principle of a chosen village name is not based on a personal name, but rather a descriptive noun. For example, the name element *Kauko* derives from the word *kauka*, the basic meaning of which in Finnish is 'remote, far away' (SSA s.v. *kauka*). Earlier, *kauka*

also meant 'long' (SPNK s.v. *Kauklahti*). All of these meanings are common among Finnish toponyms (cf. Kiviniemi 1990). Thus, some of the names starting with *Kauk-* might be based on a descriptive word rather than a personal name. This is obvious, for example, in the case of the village name *Kaukjärvi* (SA: 132) (**Kauk(a)järvi*, *kauka* 'long' + *järvi* 'lake') where the element *kauka* describes the shape of the lake.[29] The village name *Kaukurla* (SA: 21) in Mynämäki parish could as well derive from descriptive noun, because it has been located next to a long bay.[30] On the other hand, those Finnic and Russian village names that are based on anthroponyms often have specific suffixes attached to them. For instance, the Finnic locational suffix *-lA* is frequently used in cases where a personal name is the naming principle (cf. Kepsu 1987; Rintala 2008: 22). Similarly, Russian possessive suffixes *-icy-/-iču-* and *-ov-/-ev-* are usually found in those village names that are based on anthroponyms (cf. Kepsu 2010: 33–34; Mullonen 2008: 185–186).

In addition, the southern and eastern regions of the study area in Northwest Russia are incompletely covered in the onomastic surveys and sources mentioned above. Further scrutiny is thus needed when analysing village names located in these areas. For example, there are toponyms in the Vologda region starting with the element *Iga-*, which is often thought to be derived from Finnic *Iha* (cf. Rintala 2008; Saarikivi 2017: 19). However, similar words are found, for instance, in the Mari language and thus, A. K. Matveev has thought that many of the *Ig-* names in the Vologda region are of Mari origin (2015: 166–167). Furthermore, it is problematic that there are many old Russian personal names resembling Finnic ones (cf. Superanskaja 2009). For instance, the above-mentioned *Iga* has been used as a form of the name *Igor* (which is itself derived from Old Norse name *Ingvar*) (ibid.).

In the case of village names located in the territory of Novgorod (or the Grand Duchy of Moscow), a list of contemporary Russian toponyms is used as comparative material in order to identify cases that need more research.[31] As an example, the geographical spread of the settlement names starting with *Vil-* in European Russia indicates that this name element is

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29. The village of Kaukjärvi is located in southern Finland in the former province of Häme (Swedish *Tavastland*).
30. Mynämäki is located in Southwest Finland (Varsinais-Suomi).
31. The list is based on the names listed in a place name registry on the webpage Geoserver (http://www.geonames.org/), accessed 12 November 2018. The page contains approximately 360,000 place names.

popular in areas next to the border of Finland, near the city of Perm and on the western shores of the upper Volga. The names with the element *Vil-* near Finland probably derive from a Finnic personal name, but the same origin is improbable in the latter two areas.

The rule of thumb applied in this work is that the likelihood of names being of Finnic origin is high in those areas where there has presumably been a Finnic presence during the Middle Ages. Thus, the ethnic and linguistic history of Northwest Russia must be taken into consideration. Especially the studies of Rahkonen (2013) and Rjabinin (1997) have been important when solving the origins of Finnic-looking village names. For example, the village name *Vylygalovo* (MIN: 366) could be based on Finnic name element *Vilja*, but it is located around 200 kilometres southwest of the city of Novgorod, where signs of archaeological finds (Rjabinin 1997) and toponyms (Rahkonen 2013) that could be connected to Finnic tribes are limited. Thus, the name has not been chosen for this study. On the other hand, the village name *Igaevo* (MIN: 70) is included even if it is fairly far away from other Finnic village names, around 150 kilometres west of Novgorod. It is situated within the area that Rahkonen regards as having been inhabited by "Chuds" (2011: 248), and, in addition, a village called *Čudkovo* lies in the vicinity (MIN: 69).[32]

The villages are placed on the map in different ways. Most of the villages in Estonia and Finland are accurately situated according to the coordinates of the villages' current successors. The coordinates have been obtained from the National Land Survey of Finland and the Republic of Estonia Land Board (16 April 2018). Some of the villages no longer exist, but they can be placed on the map with good accuracy using leads from other sources. In Finland, for example, 16th-century taxation documents called *fogderäkenskaper* ('bailiff's accounts') present villages in geographical order. Villages located in the same area are also found in taxation documents near one another. Thus, the location of a place under investigation can be determined by figuring out the whereabouts of villages mentioned together with it in the taxation documents.

The villages in the Russian territory are placed on the map by hand. Villages situated in the areas that were part of the Kingdom of Sweden during the 17th and 18th centuries are easier to locate, because the old Swedish taxation documents and maps are well preserved (e.g. in the National

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32. The meaning of the ethnonym *Chud* is still under discussion, but popular consensus is that it has been connected to the Finnic tribes living in Northwest Russia. See Grünthal 1997 for more details.

Archives of Finland). Kepsu's manuscript (2010) has been very useful in determining the locations of these villages. In addition, two experts on Finnic toponyms in Northwest Russia, Denis Kuzmin and Irma Mullonen, have been helpful in working with some more problematic names.

Sometimes Russian villages could not be accurately located even using all of the above-mentioned sources. The editions of Russian documents, however, often give hints as to the whereabouts of villages. For example, it is possible to identify the neighbouring village or a natural landmark near the village under study. As stated earlier, village names in these documents frequently have descriptive additions. For example, the phrase *Деревня на Галтеевѣ жъ островѣ Лембитово Сѣдѣне* ('Village Lembitovo settlement on Galteev island') (POKV I: 416) reveals that a village containing the Finnic personal name element *Lempi* is located on an island called *Galteev*. Some of the village locations have remained unresolved despite all efforts. These places are located in the centre of their 16th-century *pogost* or 17th-century Swedish parish.

Each village name is counted and placed on the map only once. It is not always simple to find out if a name mentioned in another village name refers to the same place or not. The Finnish (SA) and Estonian (KNR) sources are not problematic in this sense, because it is rather easy to notice if the same village name is mentioned several times. Russian sources, by contrast, are more difficult to comprehend, because one village name might be included in many other village names as well, e.g. *Деревня **Вилокала** жъ* ('village Vilokala also'), *Деревня Новое въ **Вилокалѣ*** ('New village in Vilokala'), *Деревня Волосово в **Вилокалѣ*** ('village Volosovo in Vilokala') and *Деревня **Вилокала** жъ на озерѣ на Вилокалгѣ* ('village Vilokala also at Lake Vilokala') (POKV II: 64–65).

As a rule of thumb, similarly written names or name elements in the same *volost* (part of a *pogost* 'parish') are considered one village name (as in the case of *Вилокала* ('Vilokala') above). Often the name phrase reveals the village location. There are, for example, two village names in Nikolʹskij Ižorskij parish where the Finnic name element *Kauko* is found: *Деревня Гавгуево въ Ѳоминѣ концѣ* ('Village Gavguevo in Fomin (end)') (POKV I: 358) and *Деревня на Кавгулѣ на Лисинѣ* ('Village Kavgula in Lisino') (POKV I: 422). Here, the name element *Kauko* clearly refers to two different locations, as *Fomin* is one of the islands on which the city of Saint Petersburg was built (Kepsu 1995: 41), whereas *Lisino* is a village approximately 80 kilometres southwest of Saint Petersburg.

The next sections present the results of the study. Section 4 focuses on statistics and displays the collected names on a map, while Section 5 analyses the results in a broader historical and linguistic context.

4. Results

Altogether, there are 305 names collected from the sources mentioned in Section 2. More than half of the names (172) are from the area of the Diocese of Åbo. A total of 67 names come from Russian sources and the remainder (66) from Estonia. The high number of Finnish names is significant but, at least partly, it can be explained by the nature of the sources. As mentioned earlier, SA covers various kinds of documents from the 1560s, whereas sources like NPK usually contain information from only one specific tax survey. Nevertheless, there are almost three times more Finnic village names in the Diocese of Åbo compared to the two other areas. This kind of difference cannot be explained by the heterogeneity of the sources alone. It must therefore be concluded that the pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements searched for in this study were used more frequently to name villages in the Diocese of Åbo than in Estonia or Northwest Russia.

4.1. Collected names

All of the names collected for this study are presented in the Appendix. Each village name is counted only once, as explained in the previous section. Because of limited space, only the following information is given about each name: the name of the village, the present-day municipality or administrative region and the source. The first column shows the names collected in alphabetical order. The second column presents the sources. The abbreviations used for the sources are explained in the references.

Due to the diversity of the research material, the village names are presented in various forms in the Appendix. Names collected from *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla* (SA) are presented in the same way as they are in the book. Estonian village names are written according to the official practices of the Estonian Land Board (https://geoportaal.maaamet.ee/, accessed 16 April 2018) if possible. Otherwise, the oldest known form of the name is used. Russian names are presented in the same form as in the sources but transliterated using Latin letters according to the ISO 9 standard. Due to the lack of space, only the names are presented, meaning that locative

descriptive additions, prepositions, postpositions and such are excluded. The nominative form of the name is presented whenever possible. Otherwise, the name is written as it is mentioned in the source. Names that have same form as in the original source material are written in italics. The letter *ě* (ѣ) is an old Cyrillic letter that in modern Russian writing has been replaced by the letter *e* (е) in most cases.

As already stated in Section 3, all of the village names identified in the study are placed on the map and given coordinates. In the Appendix, the second column shows the contemporary municipality or administrative region where the village is located. Information concerning Estonian and Finnish villages has been obtained from the Republic of Estonia Land Board and the National Land Survey of Finland (16 April 2018). Officially, the names of Estonian municipalities include the expressions *vald* (English *municipality* or *parish*) or *linn* (*city*) (e.g. *Raasiku vald*). To save space, only the place names are displayed in the Appendix. Russian villages are listed according to their administrative regions (Russian *район*). The map of the administrative divisions in Russia was obtained from https://gadm.org/index.html (accessed 16 April 2019).

As the Appendix shows, most of the pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements chosen by Stoebke (see Section 1.2) are found in the research material. The only name elements not referenced are *Joutsi* and *Kaikki*. This is in line with Kepsu's list of pre-Christian Finnic personal names, which does not include these elements (2015a: 130). The most frequently used name element is *Kauko*, with 43 occurrences.[33] In addition, the name elements *Lempi* (40), *Iha* (28), *Vilja* (24), *Toivo* (21) and *Kirja* (19) are common. In ten cases, the Finnic village names derive from pre-Christian complex names, for instance *Iha-lempiä-lä* (SA: 209). All but one of these instances occur in the Diocese of Åbo.

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33. As stated in Section 2, some of the etymologies of chosen names are not completely certain, which means that the number occurrences of each name element is only an estimation. One must also note that a village name can consist of two different pre-Christian name elements, e.g. *Kauko* and *Lempi* in *Kaukolempiälä* (SA: 210). Both of these are included in the calculations.

4.2. The geographical spread of Finnic village names

The round dots on Map 2 present the geographical distribution of Finnic village names. The star illustrates the location of Novgorod. The process of determining the precise locations of villages has been explained in Section 3, while the borders presented in the map were described in Section 1.2.
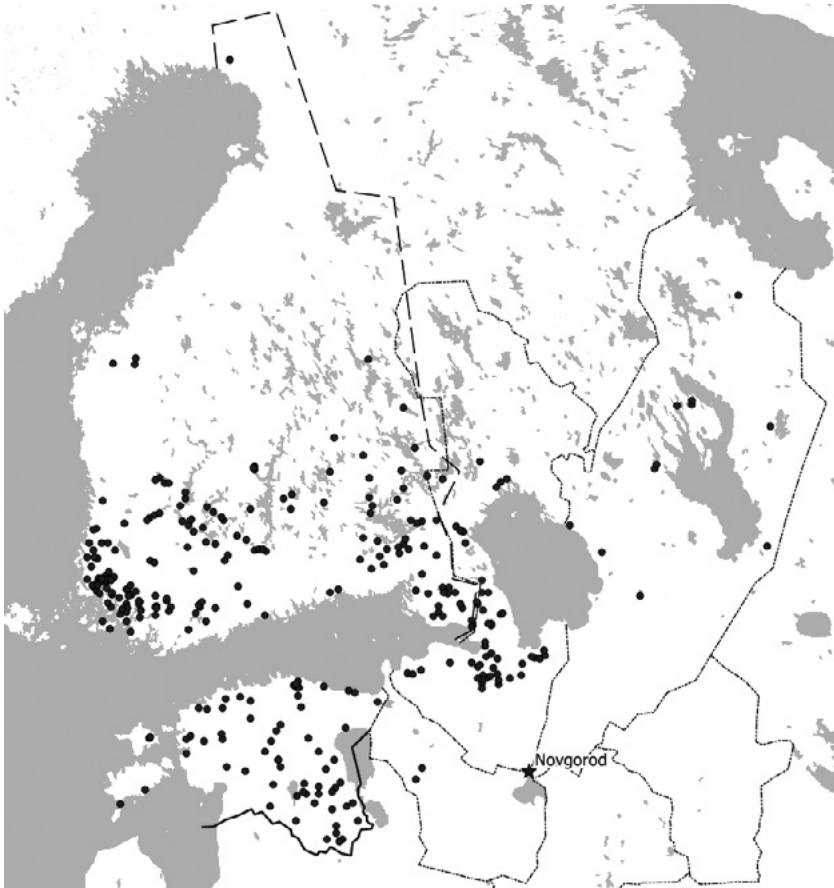

Map 2: The geographical distribution of village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements (map drawn by the author). Base map: Mapbox Basic Template.

Most of the names are located close to the Gulf of Finland. The name elements under investigation occur most densely in Southwestern Finland and in the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland near present-day Saint Petersburg. Furthermore, many names occur in the old province of Häme (Swedish *Tavastland*), especially around Lake Vanajavesi. In addition, there are many names near the present-day Finnish-Russian border south of Lake Saimaa. The names on the Karelian Isthmus can be seen as a continuum of the ones in Eastern Finland. There are also many occurrences of the names in Estonia, especially in the northern parts and in the southeastern part.

4.3. Areal differences in the spread of name elements

Map 3 shows where the four most used name elements (*Kauko*, *Lempi*, *Vilja* and *Iha*) are found. The high number of *Kauko* names in southern Finland is notable (Map 4 presents these). Otherwise, there are no
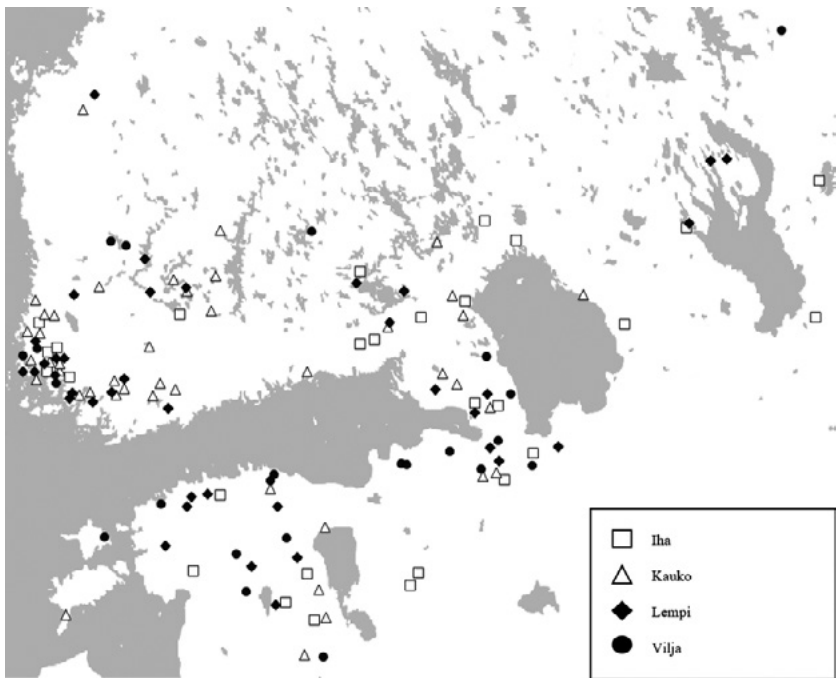
Map 3: The spread of the name elements *Kauko*, *Lempi*, *Vilja* and *Iha* (map drawn by the author). Base map: Mapbox Basic Template.

significant differences in the distribution of these name elements. This is not a surprise, as a consistent distribution throughout the area was one of Stoebke's criteria for deciding whether a name element is Finnic or not. Nevertheless, the number of different names is too low to draw any proper conclusions about the areal differences in name use.

Map 4: The spread of name element *Kauko* (map drawn by the author). Base map: Mapbox Basic Template.

5. Discussion

The aim of this article is not only to determine where Finnic village names were spread in the Middle Ages, but also to provide a broader overview of the historical development of Finnic anthroponyms and, simultaneously, to shed light on the history of Finnic tribes and languages. First, it is presumable that Map 2 shows areas that were populated by speakers of Finnic languages during the 15th and 16th centuries. The truth, however, is not that straightforward. Finnic people could have inhabited many other areas as well (cf. Frog & Saarikivi 2015). Conversely, Russian or Swedish speaking inhabitants could have occupied villages with Finnic names. Nonetheless, Map 2 introduces many interesting perspectives on both Finnic personal names and the history of their users. Next, the most intriguing observations are discussed (Section 5.1), the geographical distribution of Finnic village names is compared to archaeological data (Section 5.2) and an overall picture of the spread of the Finnic village names is given (Section 5.3).

5.1. Remarks on the geographical distribution of the Finnic village names

Map 2 shows how Finnic village names are spread around the coastal areas of the Gulf of Finland. However, two areas have a surprisingly small number of village names based on pre-Christian Finnic personal names. First, the regions of Kymenlaakso (Swedish *Kymmenedalen*) and Uusimaa (Swedish *Nyland*) in southern Finland are visibly empty of these names. The reasons for this are presumably twofold. Traditionally, archaeologists have thought that the coastal areas of Kymenlaakso and Uusimaa were only sporadically inhabited in the later part of Iron Age (Raninen & Wessman 2015: 354). This would explain the lack of village names derived from pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements. However, lately more and more Iron Age finds have been made in both areas (Jäppinen 2014; Wessman 2016). Thus, it is difficult to say how sparsely inhabited these areas really were.

The spread of Swedish settlers to the area from the 13th century onwards is another explanation for the lack of Finnic village names. The Swedish-speaking population superseded the Finns and, accordingly, most of the settlement names mentioned in the 16th century are Swedish ones (cf. FSBN). It is still noteworthy that, in both areas, there is a significant number of old village names that are clearly of Finnish origin, but very few of these derive from pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements

(cf. FSBN; Kepsu 2005; Raunamaa 2017). This again implies that Finnic settlements in the regions of Kymenlaakso and Uusimaa were rather sparse and maybe also new.

Western Ingria, or the area of Votes, is another area that is surprisingly lacking in Finnic village names. Personal names and settlement names in the edition of the 16th-century census book (NPK III) indicate that this area has been populated by Finnic speakers. Especially the parishes bordering the Baltic Sea (Toldožskij v Čjude, Kargal′skij and Pokrovskij Djatelinskij) have many anthroponyms that are based on the studied Finnic personal name elements. However, only a few village names are derived from the same elements. Map 5 (below) presents the approximate borders of these parishes as they were in the 16th century, and the number of peasants with Finnic personal names in the research material (POKV I–II, NPK III, IV).[34] In addition, the locations of the Finnic village names are displayed on the map.
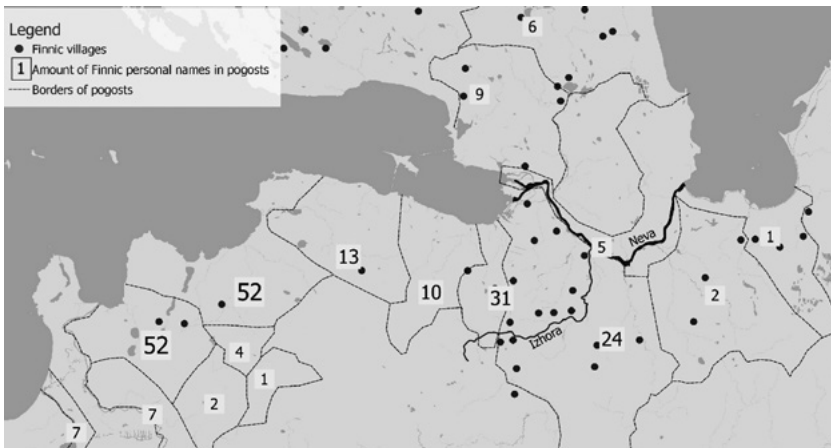
Map 5: *Pogosts* in Ingria and number of pre-Christian Finnic personal names mentioned in 16th-century documents. The chosen personal names are based on the same 22 pre-Christian Finnic name elements that are used in this study. Map drawn by the author. Base map: Mapbox Basic Template.

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34. In addition to the parishes in the northern parts of Vodskaja *pjatina*, pre-Christian Finnic personal names were found near the city of Ivangorod in Šelonskaja *pjatina* (NPK IV). The northernmost areas of Šelonskaja *pjatina* would probably have more references to Finnic personal names, but this area is only sporadically presented in NPK IV.

The lack of Finnic village names can be explained in part by the naming conventions used by the scribes. For example, in Kargalʹskij parish, most of the village names are descriptive and simple in structure, such as *Д. другая Копаница на Систи* ('(village) second Kopanica at the River Sisti') and *Д. третья Копаница на Систи* ('(village) third Kopanica at the River Sisti') (NPK III: 501–502). As mentioned earlier, the designated scribes did not necessarily visit all the villages but instead used local informants. Moreover, the above-mentioned parishes were border regions and located far from Novgorod. On the other hand, it is possible that the incongruity between the number of Finnic village names and Finnic personal names in Western Ingria is evidence of a rather late migration wave that probably came from the direction of Estonia, where pre-Christian personal names prevailed well until the 15th century (Roos 1976: 106). Moreover, the Estonian and Votic languages are closely related to one another (Kallio 2014: 62).

A third area that unexpectedly lacks Finnic village names is the region east and southeast of Lake Ladoga. It is an area that has had a strong Finnic population (Karelians, Ludes and Vepsians) all the way up to the 20th century (Frog & Saarikivi 2015). In addition, there are many other place names in the area that are of Finnic origin (Mullonen 2008). Especially interesting are those settlement names that include the suffix *-l*: e.g. *Hodrilskoe* (**Huotari-la*) and *Kurgilovskaja* (**Kurhi-la / *Kurgi-la*) (Mullonen 2008: 185; PKOP). This suffix is derived from the Finnic locational suffix *-lA*, which is, as mentioned earlier, frequently used in cases where the name is based on an anthroponym. The census books of 1496 and 1563 indicate that Finnic personal name elements (e.g. *Koku-ev*, *Melgu-ev* and *Rahko-ev*) were used in the area, as were the suffixes *-oi/-ui*, which are considered Finnic (Mullonen 2008: 157–159; PKOP).

5.2. The spread of Finnic village names compared to archaeological data

This section presents a comparison between the spread of Finnic village names and archaeological sites in the area under investigation. The aim was to produce a map that, based on the archaeological data, demonstrates the settlement situation at the beginning of the second millennium. The result is presented in Map 6. Areas that were probably inhabited at the end of the Iron Age are marked in grey.
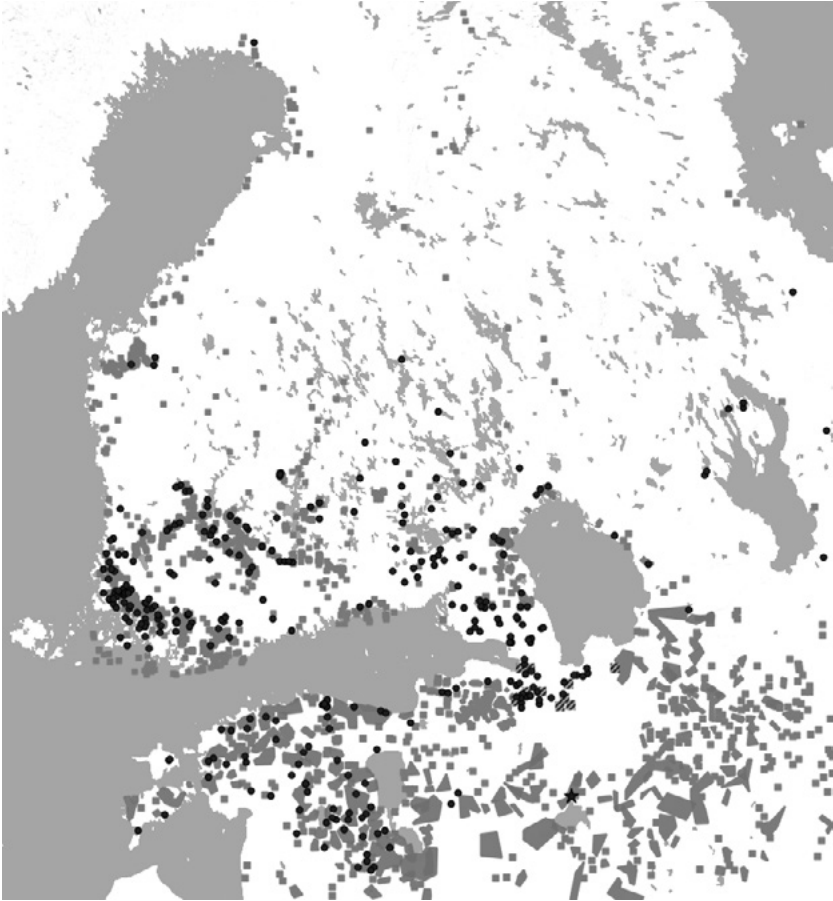
Map 6: Finnic village names (as dots) and archaeological sites (in grey) from the Late Iron Age (map drawn by the author). The oblique lines depict the so-called Finnic graves dated to the 12–14th centuries. The star shows the location of Novgorod. See the body text for more information about the map. Base map: Mapbox Basic Template.

It must be emphasised that the results of the study are only indicative. There are many problems when gathering archaeological data from such a large area. One of the biggest issues is that some regions are better studied than others are. Furthermore, ancient cultures differed in their customs. Some tribes buried their dead with metal weapons and ornaments in big graves made of stones that are still visible, whereas others might do it in such a way that no signs of graves have survived to this day. In addition, as

indicated in Section 5.1, new finds are continuously being made and, consequently, the picture of Late Iron Age settlement in the northern Baltic Sea area may change in the future.

The finds from Finland are based on the Ancient Relics Register (Muinaisjäännösrekisteri). Of these, only those Iron Age finds connected to permanent settlements (cemeteries and dwelling sites) are included.[35] There is no division between the different periods of the Iron Age (500 BC – AD 1150) in the register, which is problematic. Nonetheless, the result is in line with other depictions of Late Iron Age settlements (cf. Raninen & Wessman 2015: 299).

The map of the Late Iron Age dwelling sites in Estonia is based on Kriiska & Tvauri (2007: 173). The settlement situation in the ceded area of Karelia is depicted according to Uino (2003: 350). Again, only finds connected to permanent settlement have been included.

The depiction of the settlement situation in Northwest Russia is more problematic. There are no comprehensive sources presenting the Late Iron Age finds in this area. Thus, the result shown in Map 6 is a compilation of many separate studies, which partly overlap and partly contradict each other. In addition, the studies do not always cover the desired period. For example, one study might present graves dated to the seventh and eighth centuries, but it does not necessarily cover later periods. In cases like this, the assumption has been made that the settlement situation has remained unchanged until the Middle Ages.

The Late Iron Age cemetery finds near the city of Novgorod (c. 100–150 km radius) and in the Bežetskaja fifth are based on a study by Sedov (1982: 60) (for the locations of the different fifths, or *pjatinas*, see Map 1 above). The same study (1982: 167) is also the source of the finds in the area east of Lake Peipus, which covers most of the western parts of the Šelonskaja fifth. The finds in Ingria are based on work by Rjabinin (1997: 17, 19), as are the finds in areas southeast of Lake Ladoga (ibid. 90, 97). The settlement situation in the regions of Lake Onega and Lake Beloye is based on work by Makarov (1997: 82). Since the lower parts of the Neva Estuary and the nearby areas are surprisingly empty of archaeological sites dated to the Late Iron Age, Map 6 also depicts the spread of early medieval cemeteries (AD 1100–1400) in this region (Sorokin 2008: 90–91). These are marked with oblique lines.

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35. Here, the expression "permanent settlement" denotes a homestead or village that was inhabited year-round and was used from one generation to another.

The comparison between the spread of Finnic village names and the settlement situation in the area under investigation reveals many interesting findings. First of all, it can be noted that these two often overlap. In other words, Finnic village names occur near the areas that were probably inhabited at the turn of the first millennium. This applies especially to the areas in Estonia and Western Finland.

However, the picture is slightly different in Northwest Russia, including Karelia. Especially interesting are the southern and western parts of the Karelian Isthmus and the areas near the River Neva. Many Finnic village names are found there. This is not surprising, because the area has been inhabited by Finnic speakers (cf. Uino 1991, 2003; Sorokin 2008). However, it is intriguing that there are not many signs of Late Iron Age settlements in the area.

Only a few Late Iron Age finds have been made in the western part of the Karelian Isthmus (Uino 2003: 487). It has been assumed that the area was inhabited primarily during the 13th century (ibid. 486; Kepsu 2018: 166, 516). At the basin of the River Neva, the oldest signs of Late Iron Age pagan cemeteries are from the 12th century, and these have been considered Finnic or Izhorian (Sorokin 2008: 88-91, 122–123). The easternmost long barrow cemeteries (*kurgans*) located on the Izhora Plateau, which have been associated with the Slavic expansion (Sedov 1995), are not far away from the Finnic villages found near the upper reaches of the River Izhora. The oldest long barrow cemeteries on the plateau are from the tenth century (Uino 1991: 22). In addition, the oldest cemeteries that are considered Votic or Izhorian in the coastal areas of Ingria are dated to the 12th century at the earliest (ibid. 21-32).

The lack of Iron Age cemeteries in the eastern parts of Gulf of Finland can be partly explained by the lack of research and the outdated sources. It still cannot be overlooked that this area seems to be less populated than and culturally different from the northern Karelian Isthmus or lower Volkhov area, for example. All in all, the geographical distribution of Finnic village names is connected to the development of the Finnic languages and tribes. With this in mind, the next section, which concentrates on explaining the spread of Finnic village names, also presents an attempt to describe the historical and linguistic developments that occurred in the Baltic Sea region during the latter half of the Iron Age (approximately 700-1200).

5.3. The development and spread of Finnic pre-Christian personal names in the light of archaeology and linguistics

As we are mostly speaking about the period at the turn of prehistoric and historic times, the number of written sources is limited. Despite this, there are some archaeological and linguistic assumptions that can serve as guidelines when attempting to describe the development and spread of Finnic tribes, languages and pre-Christian personal names.

First of all, it must be admitted that discerning the age of the pre-Christian Finnic personal name system with current sources is an impossible task. Only limited estimations can be made based on overall knowledge of pre-Christian anthroponymic systems and general assumptions about the history of the Finno-Ugric languages. Most modern linguists date the arrival of Finno-Ugric languages in the Baltic Sea area to centuries before our era. For example, Valter Lang (2018: 263) concludes that the arrival of Finno-Ugric languages should be placed in the Bronze Age (1700–500 BC). Accordingly, we could place these Bronze Age centuries as the *terminus post quem* for the pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms. In addition, it should be noted that the Finnic personal name system has differed from those of other Finno-Ugric speakers, such as Mari and Mordvins (Nissilä 1965: 84). It seems that Finnic speakers adopted a new kind of personal name system after the divergence of their language.

Of the European pre-Christian personal name systems, one of the best known is the Ancient Roman one, which existed for many centuries from about 700 BC onwards. Various things changed in the naming culture during its existence, but many aspects also remained (Salway 1994). Regarding Finnic naming conventions, Old Germanic personal names are more suitable references, because their bearers (Scandinavians) were living near Finnic areas. Ernst Förstemann's survey of Old German (*Altdeutsche*) personal names contains mainly names from Central Europe and excludes Old Norse names (1856: VI).[36] The Scandinavian runic-text database (Scandinavian Runic-text Database), in turn, allows the user to search for personal names that are attested on runestones and are dated to the Old Norse

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36. Förstemann has included names that are older than AD 1100 in his study. The names were collected among various Germanic tribes (Alemanni, Bavarians, Burgundians, Goths, Franks, Frisians, Langobardi, Saxons, Thuringii and Vandals).

era (about AD 900–1200). The comparison of these two sources indicates that the Scandinavian personal names were in various ways similar to the ones used by other Germanic speakers, but also in many ways different. For example, some Scandinavian name stems (such as *Birgiʀ*) seem to be missing from Förstemann's list of Old German names and vice-versa (e.g. *Amal-*). Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the pre-Christian Germanic personal name system remained fundamentally the same for centuries.

Both Ancient Roman and Germanic naming cultures, however, started to change substantially when Christianity gained its foothold (Ainiala et al. 2012: 149–152; Salway 1994: 124). Connected to this, Salway argues that most of the major transformations of Ancient Roman naming culture coincide with the most tremendous political and social changes (1994: 144). Salway's argument can also be applied to other naming cultures. In addition, this is in line with the common perception of the nature of personal names. It is known that personal names are closely connected to the culture around them (cf. Ainiala et al. 2012: 136–137) and, moreover, that they are more prone to change than other lexical elements (Peterson 1994: 159).

To sum up, there is no way to know how far back in history the use of pre-Christian Finnic personal names dates, but we can assume that the development of this naming system is connected to some major social and cultural changes that occurred in the northern Baltic Sea area during the prehistoric era. It is as very likely that the Finnic naming culture has gone through various changes since the predecessors of this language group arrived in the Baltic Sea area during the Bronze Age. Due to these problems, it is better to concentrate on questions of how the village names based on pre-Christian Finnic name elements had spread to the areas seen in Map 2 before the end of the 16th century and leave the origins of pre-Christian Finnic naming culture as a secondary topic.

Regarding the merge and spread of Finnic personal names, the midpoint of the first millennium AD is a sufficient period to start. At that time, Northern Europe was still in turmoil, but it was starting to recover from the effects of the Migration Period. The middle of the first millennium was also a time when Estonia and Western Finland were in close connection with the Scandinavians (Kriiska & Tvauri 2007: 160–187; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 263–269). In addition, there were contacts with the Baltic tribes (e.g. Kriiska & Tvauri 2007: 184; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 269–270). From the eighth century onwards, at the latest, the Scandinavians were influencing the eastern parts of the Gulf of Finland, as probably were the

Slavic tribes (CHR: 47–72; Kallio 2006).[37] It can be assumed that these connections with neighbouring cultures would have affected the language(s) spoken by Finnic people. Germanic loanwords borrowed into the Finnic languages or dialects spoken near the Gulf of Finland (Gulf of Finland Finnic) are a good example of this (cf. Schalin 2018: 67), as is the Christian vocabulary of Slavic origin that is widespread in Finnic languages (Kallio 2006: 156–157). Accordingly, the Finnic personal name system was probably influenced as well. Viljo Nissilä (1965: 87–88) has argued that that the two-part type of Finnic personal names (e.g. *Kauko-valta*) is of Germanic origin.

The second half of the first millennium was a period of growth in Estonia and Western Finland. Both areas were developing economically and culturally. Weapons, coin hoards, ornaments and other archaeological finds are a good example of this. Especially Northern Estonia can be seen as an innovative centre of the Gulf of Finland region during those centuries. In addition, the introduction of a new kind of plough made it possible to cultivate lands of heavy and clayey soil, and thus, new settlements could be established. Fortified hillforts serve as proof of social development, as workforce was needed for the construction and maintenance of these defences. (Kriiska & Tvauri 2007: 165–187; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 316.)

Considering the above, it is understandable that developing areas in Estonia and Western Finland started to spread their influence into the neighbouring areas. These impacts could also explain the distribution of Finnic village names. Northern Estonia had close connections, for example, with Western Ingria (Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 87; Stasjuk 2013), whereas archaeological finds in Karelia and Eastern Finland show influence from Western Finland, most likely from Varsinais-Suomi and Häme (Hiekkanen 2003: 486; Uino 2003: 349–353). Moreover, before the end of the 12th century, the Karelian ethnos was already archaeologically distinct. The northwest coast of Ladoga had become a centre from which the Karelian culture started to spread (Saksa et al. 2003: 385). At the beginning of the second millennium, Karelian influences, and probably their naming culture as well, were extending in many directions, for example towards Eastern Finland (Raninen & Wessman 2015: 358), to the eastern shores of the Gulf of Bothnia (Vahtola 1980: 315–391) and towards Northwest Karelia (Kuzmin 2014a: 76).

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37. On the other hand, Kriiska & Tvauri (2007: 170) claim that there is no evidence of Slavic people in the area of Novgorod before the tenth century.

Ancient Karelian culture was also present in the western parts of the Karelian Isthmus and on the eastern shores of Lake Saimaa (Hiekkanen 2003: 485–486).

Karelian influence is evident in Ingria as well, but the level of this connection has been much debated by archaeologists and linguists (cf. Saksa et al. 2003: 447). Despite the lack of consensus, it seems obvious that, at least linguistically, the Karelians have had an effect on the Izhorian(s) (Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 89). The spread of Karelian culture and naming conventions from the 12th century onwards could also explain the presence of Finnic village names in the eastern parts of Ingria near the rivers Neva and Izhora, as seen in Map 2 and Map 5. This, in turn, is in line with the earlier observation that the earliest Late Iron Age (and pre-Christian) cemeteries found in these areas are dated to the 12th century (Sorokin 2008: 122–123). Thus, it could be assumed that the Finnic presence in the eastern parts of Ingria dates to the same century.

However, the truth is not that simple. It seems obvious that at least at some point during the Iron Age, Finno-Ugric people have inhabited Ingria. Many linguists believe that Finnic speakers or their predecessors have lived in or passed through the area during prehistorical times (e.g. Janhunen 2009: 210; Saarikivi & Grünthal 2005: 136). Similarly, Pauli Rahkonen (2013: 241) suggests that Ingria would have been Finnic territory during the Iron Age (AD 1–800). His suggestion is mainly based on his studies of hydronyms in Northwest Russia.

All things considered, Ingria and especially its eastern parts (the River Neva region) had very little Iron Age activity before the 12th century according to current archaeological data. This does not mean that the region was completely devoid of human presence. Although some areas are swampy and of poor quality for agriculture, the local soil mostly consists of sandy marl and silt, which should have been suitable for Late Iron Age cultivation (Peruskartasto: 9; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 265; Toikka-Karvonen 1990: 168).

The lack of Iron Age graves in Eastern Ingria can be explained by the local burial customs. It is possible that the dead were buried in such a way that no signs of the graves have survived in modern times (cf. Raninen & Wessman 2015: 309). In addition, Eastern Ingria was very much in the middle of Late Iron Age trading networks. As it is known, the rivers Neva and Volhov were important waterways for trade and transportation during the Iron Age. At least from the eighth century onwards, Scandinavians were

active in this region and had an impact on the establishment of important commercial and political centres, such as Staraja Ladoga and Novgorod (Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 72, 76, 78; Kriiska & Tvauri 2007: 168–169). However, the foreign presence did not have only positive effects. Scandinavian Vikings and other aggressive looters have been suggested as one of the reasons for the lack of Iron Age settlement in the coastal areas in Northern Estonia and Southern Finland (Huurre 1995: 158). Even if this reason is disputable, it is still something that could explain why so few Iron Age finds have been made in the River Neva region.

To conclude, it is difficult to know how and when Ingria and especially its eastern parts were inhabited during the Iron Age. Still, an interesting question is whether people that could be called Finnic inhabited the River Neva region before the 12th century. In the light of current knowledge, there are many archaeological sites dated to the Iron Age in neighbouring Finnic areas, such as Northeast Estonia or the western shores of Lake Ladoga. This seems to indicate that the presence of Finnic tribes is archaeologically visible. Accordingly, it can be claimed that those regions in Ingria where there are no archaeological sites dated to the Viking Age were at least culturally different from the neighbouring Finnic areas. This would support the idea that the eastern parts of Ingria underwent strong Finnic influence during the last decades of the Iron Age, which led to the emergence of so-called Finnic or Izhorian graves from the 12th century onwards (Sorokin 2008: 122–123).[38]

This line of thought is supported by Valter Lang's recent study, where he attempts to create a cohesive picture of the formation and development of the Finnic culture and language. Lang suggests that Ingria was not a part of the first wave of Finnic expansion, which emerged in coastal Estonia and Finland around the ninth century BC (2018: 215, 308–311). Based on archaeology and linguistics, he concludes that the emergence of Izhorian culture was the result of Karelian influences, which had started relatively late, probably during the 12th century (ibid. 256).[39] Presumably, these

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38. That said, it is questionable whether the emergence of so-called Finnic or Izhorian graves can be described as strong on the basis of current archaelogical data. There are six burial sites in Eastern Ingria that are considered Finnic ones (Sorokin 2008: 90–91).

39. A noteworthy remark is that according to archaeologist Olga Kon'kova (2008: 11–21), many of the old gravesites (dated to the 11th–17th centuries AD) in Western Ingria cannot be considered Votic or Slavic, and must therefore be of

contacts occurred near the rivers Neva and Izhora from which, according to Lang, the Izhorians also originate (ibid.). In addition, a good example of Karelian influence is the ethnonym *karielaizet* ('Karelians') that some Izhorians have used to refer to themselves (Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 89).[40]

Lang's study covers the origins of Vepsians as well. Traditionally, the area to the southeast of Lake Ladoga has been considered the place of origin of the Vepsians (Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 91; Kuzmin 2014b: 287). As seen on Map 2, this is also an area that is almost entirely lacking in Finnic village names. Many archaeologists and linguists have suggested that the emerge of a special kind of grave mounds (*sopkas*) at the end of the first millennium AD in the area southeast of Ladoga can be connected to the Vepsians (Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 91; Lang 2018: 257). However, Lang (2018: 257) claims that there are almost no signs of Finnic influence based on the ceramics in the "Vepsian" grave mounds. Furthermore, he suggests that those who buried their dead in grave mounds on the south-eastern coast of Ladoga were indigenous people who only later, as a result of Karelian influence, became linguistically and culturally Finnic. This development is supported by the local place names, of which many are non-Finnic or non-Slavic in origin (ibid.). There are, for example, hydronyms such as *Kalarjärv*, *Padarjärv* and *Syvärjärv* that contain the element *-ar-/-är-*, which probably derives from the generic part **järi* ('lake'). It seems that at some point in (pre)history, local name users no longer understood this and, accordingly, another generic part with the same meaning (*-järv*) was added (Rahkonen 2011: 219). The lack of Finnic village names in the area would be in line with the assumption that the Vepsian culture became

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Izhorian origin. On the other hand, Kon'kova claims that many of the objects found in the graves are comparable to both Russian and Votic culture. In addition to that, there are no signs of Karelian funerary inventory (2008: 22–27). This is in line with the suggestion presented by linguists that there are some old substrate features in the Western Izhorian dialects that are not found in the eastern ones (Lang 2018: 257).

40. These chapters focus on the linguistic and cultural history of Eastern Ingria, but many of the issues discussed are also relevant to the western parts of the Karelian Isthmus, which is another area where many Finnic village names are located but only very few signs of Late Iron Age activity have been found (Uino 2003: 487). An interesting remark is that, according to some linguists (e.g. Leskinen 1991), the Karelian dialect spoken on the western Karelian Isthmus is closely related to Izhorian or has even developed from it. Nevertheless, this topic requires a more thorough review than what can be provided here.

Finnic only later, probably after the use of pre-Christian personal names was already in decline. At the very least, it means that the convention of naming villages after pre-Christian Finnic personal names did not spread among the Vepsians as it had spread to the western part of the Karelian Isthmus and Eastern Ingria.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this article was to study where the village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms had spread by the end of the 16th century. The results shed light on many aspects of the usage of pre-Christian Finnic personal names. In addition, the spread of Finnic village names was compared to the results of archaeological and linguistic research in order to gain a better understanding of the development of the pre-Christian Finnic personal name system.

Despite the problems with the quality of different source materials, altogether 305 village names were collected based on the pre-Christian Finnic personal names. The most common pre-Christian name elements are *Kauko* (44 instances), *Lempi* (42), *Iha* (28), *Vilja* (24), *Toivo* (20) and *Kirja* (19). Due to the number of collected names, it was difficult to study regional differences in the usage of the names. Only the *Kauko* names have a distribution that could be considered a specific one. These names are mainly located in Western Finland (cf. Kepsu 2018: 35).

A wide range of conclusions can be drawn based on the geographical distribution of Finnic anthroponyms (Map 2). This map presents the areas where a certain Finnic naming convention had spread by the 16th century. The map is in line with other descriptions of the topic, for instance Kepsu (2015a) and Saarikivi (2017). Their studies include modern village names as well, and, accordingly, this explains why they have found more names in Northern Fennoscandia and Northern Russia.

Map 2 shows that the core areas of Finnic village names are in Estonia, Western Finland, Eastern Finland including the Karelian Isthmus and Eastern Ingria. These are all areas inhabited by Finnic tribes before the 14th century (cf. Frog & Saarikivi 2015). As Map 5 indicates, the Finnic village names occur in Estonia and Western Finland in areas that were densely inhabited before the end of the first millennium AD, whereas the two more eastern concentrations of names are located in areas that do not show signs of significant Late Iron Age settlements.

Eastern Ingria becomes archaeologically visible only from the 12th century onwards, when the use of so-called Finnic or Izhorian graves began (Sorokin 2008: 122–123). It is conceivable that Finnic village names were spreading to the area simultaneously. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Eastern Ingria could not have been inhabited by Finno-Ugric tribes earlier. Rather, it signifies that Eastern Ingria underwent remarkable influences from the neighbouring Finnic areas after the turn of the second millennium AD. It seems that the western parts of the Karelian Isthmus and Eastern Finland were similarly part of the late spread of Finnic culture. These impacts were probably caused by Karelians who were active in the eastern parts of Gulf of Finland from the Viking Age onwards (Lang 2018: 254–258; Saksa et al. 2003: 383–474; Uino 2003: 381–382). Karelian influence spread also towards the north and east. For example, in the area known as White Sea Karelia (Finnish *Vienan Karjala*), local folklore and place names demonstrate how strong these impacts have been (Kuzmin 2014a). Similarly, based on linguistics and onomastics, it is likely that the area inhabited by Vepsians in the southeast coast of Ladoga were influenced by the Karelians (Lang 2018: 257, 316). These two areas have, however, only a few Finnic village names compared to Eastern Ingria, Eastern Finland and the Karelian Isthmus.[41] Therefore, it can be concluded that the spread of Finnic culture among the predecessors of Vepsians and White Sea Karelians was at least somewhat different from what it was in the areas south and west of Ladoga.

All in all, it seems that the pre-Christian Finnic naming conventions originated in the western parts of Gulf of Finland, from which they spread eastwards. Estonia and Western Finland were areas that were developing quickly, both culturally and economically, during the second half of the first millennium. These were also the areas that had extensive contacts with the neighbouring tribes, for instance Scandinavians and Slavs. It is possible that these contacts influenced the personal name system used by Finnic people as well.

The cultural and economic upswing in Estonia and Western Finland made it possible for cultural and linguistic innovations, probably together

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41. Most of the Vepsian territory and parts of White Sea Karelia are covered in the census book PKOP. The southern coast of the White Sea is covered in the census book compiled by Solovetsky Monastery (ASM), whose index of names was analysed in search of Finnic village names.

with settlers, to spread into new areas, especially to the east. This impact, however, did not spread rapidly throughout the northern Baltic Sea area but rather gradually from the central areas to the periphery. Western Finnic influence was one of the reasons why, at the turn of the second millennium, Karelian culture emerged on the western coast of Ladoga. Karelians were probably the ones who continued to spread Finnic pre-Christian personal name elements into the surrounding areas including Eastern Ingria and the western parts of the Karelian Isthmus.

It seems obvious that the usage of pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements began to decline after Christianity gained a permanent foothold. Foreign political actors, such as the Kingdom of Sweden, the Novgorod Republic and the Teutonic Order, accompanied the spread of Christianity into the area inhabited by Finnic people. These cultural, political and social changes must have influenced the naming conventions as well. Areal and temporal differences are naturally also significant, but from a broader perspective, it seems that the usage of pre-Christian Finnic personal name elements started to decline first in the western parts of Gulf of Finland area and later in the east. For example, only a few Finnic village names occur in the northern parts of Central Finland and Northern Savo, which were inhabited by Savonians mainly during the 16th and 17th centuries (Raunamaa 2019; SAK; Vahtola 2003: 55–57).[42] Apparently, the use of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms was already declining among the settlers.

This study sheds light on the history of pre-Christian Finnic personal names in many ways. Nevertheless, many questions still remain to be answered. For example, it would be intriguing to create a distribution map of all the pre-Christian Finnic personal names attested in old documents. Computational methods would facilitate this kind of research, especially now that many editions of old documents are being converted into digital formats. Similarly, it would be fruitful to broaden the area of this kind of study. Many interesting names could occur, for example, in old documents concerning areas of the Pskov Republic and the Lake Beloye region.

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42. The Savonians are a Finnish tribe originating in Southern Savo. They inhabited many regions mainly in the eastern parts of Finland (Pirinen 1982).

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Appendix: List of village names[1]

Name	Location	Source
Auvainen	Turku	SA: 31
Auvainen	Kaarina	SA: 43
Auvainen	Loimaa	SA: 84
Auvainen	Eura	SA: 91
Auvaismäki	Turku	SA: 26
Auvere	Narva-Jõesuu	KNR s.v. *Auvere*
Auvi	Eurajoki	SA: 92
Auvila	Jämsä	SA: 152
Auvila	Juva	SA: 228
Auvila	Sulkava	SA: 232
Auvola	Masku	SA: 17
Auvola	Paimio	SA: 60
Avvala	Всеволжский	POKV1: 214
Gavguevo	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 358
Gjulelĕ	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 348
Gjuvila	Кировский	POKV1: 266
Haimre	Märjamaa	KNR s.v. *Haimre*
Heimala	Выборгский	SA: 205
Heimala	Выборгский	SA: 216
Heimola	Lohja	SA: 177
Heimos	Raasepori	SA: 161
Hjulböle	Pori	SA: 94
Hyökkälä	Tuusula	SA: 182
Hyövelä	Taivassalo	SA: 2
Hyvälempelä	Parainen	SA: 51
Hyväneula	Hollola	SA: 143
Hyvärilä	Lemi	SA: 204
Hyvärilä	Sulkava	SA: 232
Hyvättilä	Lappeenranta	SA: 203
Hyvättylä	Lieto	SA: 40
Hyvelä	Lohja	SA: 165

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1. See Section 4.1 for details and explanations.

Name	Location	Source
Hyvikkälä	Janakkala	SA: 121
Hyvinkää	Hyvinkää	SA: 121
Ičjapovo	Кингисеппский	NPK III: 509
Igačino	Олонецкий	PKOP: 68
Igaevo	Струго-Красненский	MIN: 70
Igakšala	Сортавала	POKV2: 150
Igala	Лахденпохский	POKV2: 124
Igalkovo	Выборгский	POKV1: 229
Igandova	Тосненский	POKV1: 423
Igandovo	Кировский	POKV1: 439
Igaver	Are	KNR s.v. *Eavere*
Igavere	Raasiku	KNR s.v. *Igavere*[1]
Igavere	Tartu	KNR s.v. *Igavere*[2]
Igoe	Пудожский	PKOP: 173
Igojškoe	Прионежский	PKOP: 119
Igolino	Kitee	POKV2: 144
Igolkino	Всеволжский	PKOP: 207
Igolkino	Всеволжский	POKV1: 170
Igomel	Плюсский	MIN: 92
Ihaksela	Lappeenranta	SA: 205
Ihala	Puumala	SA: 220
Ihala	Raisio	SA: 32
Ihalainen	Lappeenranta	SA: 204
Ihalainen	Mynämäki	SA: 22
Ihalempiälä	Выборгский	SA: 209
Ihalempinen	Hattula	SA: 120
Ihamaru	Kõlleste	KNR s.v. *Ihamaru*
Ihamuotila	Turku	SA: 29
Ihanttula	Taivassalo	SA: 1
Ihaste	Tartu	KNR s.v. *Ihaste*
Ihode	Pyhäranta	SA: 12
Ihola	Выборгский	SA: 199
Ikaala	Urjala	SA: 128
Ikaalinen	Ikaalinen	SA: 103
Ikaaloinen	Janakkala	SA: 124

Name	Location	Source
Ikaevo	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 347
Ikätorola	Ruokolahti	SA: 210
Ikelä	Salo	SA: 61
Ikiälä	Выборгский	SA: 215
Ikoila	Mikkeli	SA: 220
Ikoinniemi	Savonlinna	SA: 231
Ikola	Выборгский	SA: 217
Ikola	Juva	SA: 229
Ilmari	Ylöjärvi	SA: 105
Ilmarinen	Lieto	SA: 40
Ilmarinen	Vehmaa	SA: 8
Ilmarinen	Loimaa	SA: 85
Ilmatoivola	Выборгский	SA: 213
Il'mia	Rautjärvi	POKV2: 24
Ilmola	Keminmaa	SA: 256
Ilmuevo	Приозерский	POKV1: 179
Kaugatoma	Saaremaa	KNR s.v. *Kaugatoma*
Kaugu	Rõuge	KNR s.v. *Kaugu*
Kaukela	Lohja	SA: 166
Kaukelmaa	Salo	SA: 64
Kaukila	Выборгский	SA: 215
Kaukka	Pyhäranta	SA: 10
Kaukkala	Pälkäne	SA: 147
Kaukkiala	Jämsä	SA: 152
Kauklainen	Rauma	SA: 13
Kaukoila	Vihti	SA: 174
Kaukoinen	Naantali	SA: 17
Kaukoinen	Masku	SA: 19
Kaukola	Kangasala	SA: 111
Kaukola	Laitila	SA: 12
Kaukola	Tammela	SA: 131
Kaukola	Rauma	SA: 14
Kaukola	Hämeenlinna	SA: 148
Kaukola	Padasjoki	SA: 149
Kaukola	Lohja	SA: 160

Name	Location	Source
Kaukola	Kotka	SA: 191
Kaukola	Seinäjoki	SA: 245
Kaukola	Vehmaa	SA: 3
Kaukola	Sauvo	SA: 48
Kaukola	Salo	SA: 62
Kaukola	Salo	SA: 65
Kaukola	Sastamala	SA: 98
Kaukolempi	Lappeenranta	SA: 203
Kaukolempiälä	Выборгский	SA: 210
Kaukonpieli	Eurajoki	SA: 92
Kauksi	Alutaguse	KNR s.v. *Kauksi*[1]
Kauksi	Põlva	KNR s.v. *Kauksi*[2]
Kaukurla	Mynämäki	SA: 21
Kauvainen	Mynämäki	SA: 24
Kauvonniemi	Savonlinna	SA: 225
Kavastu	Haljala	KNR s.v. *Kavastu*[1]
Kavastu	Luunja	KNR s.v. *Kavastu*[2]
Kavgala	Приозерский	POKV2: 21
Kavgalĕ	Всеволжский	POKV1: 201
Kavgovalda	Лахденпохский	POKV2: 123
Kavgovone	Питкярантский	PKOP: 71
Kavguevskoe	Гатчинский	POKV1: 381
Kavgulĕ	Тосненский	POKV1: 422
Kir'elĕ	Кировский	POKV1: 86
Kirila	Paide	KNR s.v. *Kirila*
Kirimäe	Lääne-Nigula	KNR s.v. *Kirimäe*
Kirisaare	Paide	KNR s.v. *Kirisaare*
Kiritu	Saaremaa	KNR s.v. *Kiritu*
Kirivalla	Kose	KNR s.v. *Kirivalla*
Kirivere	Põhja-Sakala	KNR s.v. *Kirivere*[1]
Kirivere	Jõgeva	KNR s.v. *Kirivere*[2]
Kirjais	Parainen	SA: 50
Kirjakkala	Salo	SA: 63
Kir'jakšino	Сортавала	POKV2: 157
Kirjala	Hartola	SA: 151

Name	Location	Source
Kirjala	Naantali	SA: 34
Kirjala	Parainen	SA: 52
Kirjamo	Lempäälä	SA: 113
Kirjavala	Выборгский	SA: 218
Kirjola	Salo	SA: 62
Kirumpää	Võru	KNR s.v. *Kirumpää*
Kjuljatikov	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 306
Kjullině	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 411
Kjulljujevo	Гатчинский	NPK III: 695
Koukkala	Parainen	SA: 51
Külitse	Kambja	KNR s.v. *Külitse*
Kyllelä	Paimio	SA: 58
Kylliälä	Выборгский	SA: 200
Kylliälä	Savitaipale	SA: 207
Kyllölä	Puumala	SA: 220
Læmestaekilæ	Saue	KNR s.v. *Pällu*[1]
Lämmis	Sauvo	SA: 44
Lehmja	Rae	KNR s.v. *Lehmja*[1]
Lehmja	Saue	KNR s.v. *Lehmja*[2]
Lembagalě	Всеволжский	POKV1: 145
Lembevere	Elva	KNR s.v. *Lembevere*
Lembievo	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 353
Lembina	Кировский	POKV1: 56
Lembitov	Кондопожский	PKOP: 127
Lembitovo	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 204
Lembitovo	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 416
Lemboče	Прионежский	PKOP: 115
Lemboj	Медвежьегорский	PKOP: 2
Lemmätsi	Rõuge	KNR s.v. *Lemmätsi*
Lemmettylä	Pälkäne	SA: 146
Lemmettylä	Mynämäki	SA: 21
Lemmetyinen	Taivassalo	SA: 3
Lemmikküla	Lääne-Nigula	KNR s.v. *Lemmikküla*
Lemmittylä	Uusikaupunki	SA: 11
Lemmküla	Tapa	KNR s.v. *Lemmküla*

Name	Location	Source
Lempälä	Turku	SA: 43
Lempans	Siuntio	SA: 171
Lempiälä	Выборгский	SA: 204
Lempiälä	Ruokolahti	SA: 210
Lempiälä	Выборгский	SA: 210
Lempiäniemi	Ylöjärvi	SA: 106
Lempilä	Salo	SA: 57
Lempilä	Salo	SA: 64
Lempiö	Vehmaa	SA: 6
Lempiskallio	Mynämäki	SA: 21
Lempoinen	Lempäälä	SA: 112
Lempoinen	Masku	SA: 19
Lempoinen	Taivassalo	SA: 22
Lempoinen	Kokemäki	SA: 91
Lempola	Seinäjoki	SA: 245
Lemuvere	Jõgeva	KNR s.v. *Lemuvere*
Lenekale	Приозерский	P2: 119
Meelaku	Rõuge	KNR s.v. *Meelaku*
Meeliku	Võru	KNR s.v. *Meeliku*
Meelva	Lääneranna	KNR s.v. *Meelva*[1]
Meelva	Lääne	KNR s.v. *Meelva*[2]
Melanculæ	Lääne-Harju	KNR s.v. *Padise*
Melitovo	Приозерский	POKV2: 115
Mellaes	Haljala	KNR s.v. *Kavastu*
Melliste	Kastre	KNR s.v. *Melliste*
Mielaanniemi	Sastamala	SA: 99
Mielis	Parainen	SA: 50
Mielisholm	Parainen	SA: 52
Mielismäki	Mynämäki	SA: 22
Miettula	Paimio	SA: 59
Miettylä	Laihia	SA: 246
Neuvoinen	Mynämäki	SA: 21
Neuvola	Выборгский	SA: 217
Neuvola	Pieksämäki	SA: 225
Neuvottoma	Hamina	SA: 191

Name	Location	Source
Nevas	Sipoo	SA: 181
Nõuni	Palupera	KNR s.v. *Nõuni*
Ontika	Toila	KNR s.v. *Ontika*
Päädeva	Märjamaa	KNR s.v. *Päädeva*
Pääväkese	Võru	KNR s.v. *Pääväkese*
Päivälä	Heinävesi	SA: 234
Päivilä	Savonlinna	SA: 230
Pjajala	Всеволжский	POKV1: 162
Toitino	Тосненский	POKV1: 425
Toivaala	Hämeenlinna	SA: 146
Toivakala	Приозерский	POKV1: 186
Toivala	Siilinjärvi	SA: 239
Toivalově	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 294
Toivarila	Lappeenranta	SA: 205
Toivekala	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 364
Toiviala	Ruokolahti	SA: 211
Toivila	Jämsä	SA: 152
Toivila	Salo	SA: 57
Toivola	Hollola	SA: 142
Toivola	Sysmä	SA: 150
Toivola	Выборгский	SA: 218
Toivola	Mäntyharju	SA: 223
Toivottula	Akaa	SA: 133
Tojvala	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 204
Tojvetove	Лодейнопольский	PKOP: 245
Tojvine	Медвежьегорский	PKOP: 151
Tojvoevo	Приозерский	POKV2: 105
Tojvokalě	Гатчинский	POKV1: 343
Tootula	Lieto	SA: 39
Unæs	Haljala	KNR s.v. *Kavastu*
Unaja	Rauma	SA: 13
Unaja	Sysmä	SA: 151
Unajala	Vesilahti	SA: 114
Unakvere	Põhja-Sakala	KNR s.v. *Unakvere*
Undama	Hiiumaa	KNR s.v. *Undama*

Name	Location	Source
Undijala	Сортавала	POKV2: 147
Undla	Kadrina	KNR s.v. *Undla*
Undva	Saaremaa	KNR s.v. *Undva*
Uneste	Haapsalu	KNR s.v. *Uneste*
Uniküla	Kastre	KNR s.v. *Uniküla*[2]
Uniküla	Valga	KNR s.v. *Uniküla*[3]
Unipiha	Nõo	KNR s.v. *Unipiha*
Univere	Karksi	KNR s.v. *Univere*
Unonen	Hämeenlinna	SA: 128
Untamala	Laitila	SA: 12
Untila	Hämeenkyrö	SA: 103
Untila	Hollola	SA: 142
Untola	Turku	SA: 26
Unukse	Viru-Nigula	KNR s.v. *Unukse*
Valaste	Toila	KNR s.v. *Valaste*
Valasti	Paide	KNR s.v. *Valasti*
Valdola	Лахденпохский	POKV2: 122
Vallainen	Mynämäki	SA: 21
Valto	Valkeakoski	SA: 129
Valtola	Lappeenranta	SA: 203
Valtola	Mynämäki	SA: 22
Valtola	Puumala	SA: 234
Vea	Jõgeva	KNR s.v. *Vea*
Vehendi	Elva	KNR s.v. *Vehendi*
Vichterica	Кировский	POKV1: 264
Vigorě	Санкт-Петербург	NPK III: 829
Vihainen	Vesilahti	SA: 113
Vihattu	Hollola	SA: 142
Vihattula	Sastamala	SA: 100
Vihavu	Puhja	KNR s.v. *Vihavu*
Vihola	Nokia	SA: 106
Vihola	Выборгский	SA: 214
Vihtiälä	Sastamala	SA: 102
Vihtiälä	Kangasala	SA: 109
Vihtola	Lappeenranta	SA: 205

Name	Location	Source
Vihula	Haljala	KNR
Vila	Haljala	KNR
Vilikině	Кингисеппский	NPK III: 916
Vilikino	Гатчинский	POKV1: 347
Vilita	Türi	KNR s.v. *Vilita*
Vilivalla	Hiiumaa	KNR s.v. *Vilivalla*[1]
Vilivalla	Lääne-Harju	KNR s.v. *Vilivalla*[2]
Viljainen	Naantali	SA: 35
Viljainen	Vehmaa	SA: 7
Viljakino	Всеволжский	POKV1: 194
Viljakinskoe	Ломоносовский	NPK III: 632
Viljakkala	Ylöjärvi	SA: 104
Viljakkala	Mikkeli	SA: 224
Viljala	Ikaalinen	SA: 103
Viljandi	Viljandi	KNR s.v. *Viljandi*
Viljatova	Сегежский	PKOP: 157
Viljattula	Lokalahti	SA: 7
Villa	Haanja	KNR s.v. *Villa*
Villakvere	Väike-Maarja	KNR s.v. *Villakvere*
Villandi	Haljala	KNR s.v. *Villandi*
Vilokala	Приозерский	POKV2: 64
Vilovaldina	Кировский	POKV1: 433
Viluevo	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 357
Vviluevo	Кингисеппский	NPK III: 929
Vygaleněvě	Санкт-Петербург	POKV1: 340
Vyljagi	Тосненский	NPK III: 369
Vytchotula	Волховский	POKV1: 274
Yläkirjola	Выборгский	SA: 199
Ytterölmos	Kemiönsaari	SA: 72