

The Folklore of the Ladybird



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(Chapter 2: Sweden and Finland)

Chapter 2: Sweden and Finland

a. Sweden

The next step in the research of the folklore of the ladybird was the making of maps, and the first one to do that was the Swedish researcher Strindberg, who made his first sketches in 1876, that would eventually lead to the publication of an outline map in 1881 in the first issue of *Svenska folket*. His material he collected with the help of the recently formed *landsmålsföreningarna* at Uppsala.

The sketches of Strindberg, now at the Nordiska museet in Stockholm, are depicted in the *Atlas över Svensk Folkkultur*. The first sketch concerns the denominations, the second one the oracular rhymes and the third mixes rhymes and denominations.

Gerd Eklund, in a recent article about 'The Institute of Dialect and Folklore Research: The Background, Growth and Activities of an Uppsala Archive' writes of Strindberg's map of 'ladybird' (Marianyckelpiga, coccinella): 'It was also Strindberg who produced our country's first dialect and folklore map, which was published in 1881. In addition to this map of names for the ladybird, he produced drafts for two other maps: one of divination rhymes associated with ladybirds and one of a combination of names and rhymes. He collected this material with the assistance of the dialect associations in Uppsala. Strindberg conducted this 'ethnographical experiment' in order to show-in opposition to what is usually believed – the variation that existed within Swedish folk-culture. Strindberg was aware of the sensitive role of the recorder.

Moreover, he wanted to obtain as much information as possible for his investigation. Thus, he realised the value of being critical of one's sources and of having a sufficient amount of material to carry on one's investigations. Perhaps Strindberg's work on maps and the hypotheses governing his work can be seen merely as a passing fancy. In addition, he enjoyed little recognition from his contemporaries. However – even though he had done this in an amateur fashion – he had touched upon problems and theories which would not be dealt with by research until much later. For example, he hoped that compilations of different materials, among them archaeological and linguistic data, would lead to increased clarity: "When the maps of dialects have been completed, perhaps the question can be answered", he writes in a footnote. And the "question" referred to here is exactly the historical question concerning strata of culture, the relationship between foreign and domestic, something which later necessitated the work which was done in systematic surveys.'¹

On the map with ladybird denominations by H. Geijer we see the following names, starting in the North: *Gullko* (which is also present more to the south along the border with Norway), *Gulltyppa*, *Gullsigrid*, *Maria kåpa*, *Gullhöna*, near Uppsala and Stockholm: *Jungfru Maria nyckelpiga*, continuing southwards: *Fårpiga* [sheep-girl], *Handsmärkare*, *Jungfru Maria*, *Gullpytta*. Running on into Denmark is *Åkerhöna*.² The Fin-Swedish denominations are, starting also in the north: *Gullkudda m*, *Gulltippa m*, *Kärnpiga*, and on the South coast: *visbrud m*. On the islands between Sweden and Finland: *Nyckelpiga*, *Gullgubbe*, on the islands before the coast of Estonia: *Gullmes m*. Also Danish denominations are noted. On the island Bornholm: *maripyta*, around Copenhagen *Vor herres høne*, *Vor herres putte*. In the north of Jylland: *Guldsmed*, *Mariehøne*, *Maria* [?], *Vor herres kylling* [chick], *Guldhøne*.

¹ Gerd Eklund, 'The Institute of Dialect and Folklore Research: The Background, Growth and Activities of an Uppsala Archive', in: *DiG* 3 (1995), 97-114, here 103.

² There is near Kristianstad a denomination noted that is hard to make out: *AKARNE HUNA* (?).

On the map of ladybird rhymes by H. Geijer (1936) the rhymes are indicated by catchwords, in the same order as before: *Tjära, Grot guld, Solen opp*, near Uppsala: *Handskar, Strumpor, Kläder*. To the south: *Fästman, Handskar, Vackert väder*, on the island Gotland also *oväder*, on the SW coast *Solskensväder*. Near Malmö *brinn brinn*. Fin-Swedish: *visa kläder, kärna smör*. On the south-coast of Finland *Stockholm*, between Sweden and Finland: *nycklar*, coast of Estonia: *solmoln*. On Bornholm *solskyn*. The main type in Denmark is *godt vejrr*, in the north of Jylland: *kjole deen* [?], in the middle: *slaa vinge, solskin* and on the border *solskinsver* [?]. On the map of ladybird rhymes by Åke Campbell (1936) the rhymes are indicated by signs. The indicated rhymes are:

1. “Flyg upp till Gud, bed att det blir vackert väder i morgon” or “flyv op til Vorherre og be om godt ver” or something like that.
2. “Flyg, i morron blir det solsken och grant vär” or “solskens grant vär or the like.
3. “Flyg, i morgon blir det vackert väder.”
4. “Flyg, i morgon blir det vackert väder, i morgon blir det oväder” or “storm”, “torn”, “regn” or “flug, i dag æ dæ vont vær, i morgo bli dæ godt vær” or the like.
5. “Låt solen skina, molnfläcken låt havet driva” or the like.
6. “Gullhöna, gullknopp, låt solen skin opp.” (Also as introduction of marriage prediction.)
7. “Märk mig en handske”, or oftener just a denomination “handsmärkare”.
8. “Ge mig lite tjära [Give me a little tar], annars...”
9. “Ge mig lite gull, annars...”
10. “Kärna åt mig lite smör.”

b. Finland

On instigation of professor Herman Geijer, who held in June 1934 at Turku a lecture concerning the Swedish denominations of the ladybird and the related rhymes, the Finnish researchers Maija Juvas and Kustaa Vilkuna made an overview of the available material from the Baltic Fins. The employed reports come from several Finnish and Estonian archives. It concerns in total about 600 Finnish and 700 Estonian nursery-rhymes and about 1000 Finnish and 900 Estonian denominations.

A. The nursery-rhymes (by Maija Juvas)

The nursery-rhymes can be divided into 14 main types:

1. The ladybird is ordered to fly away without any indication whereto (29 Finn; 14 Estonian).
2. The ladybird is ordered to fly over sea, town, etc. (25 F; 1 E).
3. The ladybird is requested where the wood, sea, river is (10 E).
4. Children and people who lost their way ask where the house is (3 F; 4 E).
5. The ladybird is requested where its nest or house is (5 F; 11 E).
6. The ladybird is commanded to fly to the father or to the mother (underneath a church or a stone) (198 F; 94 E; 2 Livonian).
7. The ladybird is requested to predict the bridegroom or the bride (210 F; 225 E), it is asked to where the chest will be brought (8 E).

8. The ladybird is ordered by flying through heaven and earth to predict (5 F; 1 E; 1 Wepsian).
9. The ladybird is ordered to predict what kind of weather will come (41 F; 11 E).
10. The ladybird is ordered to predict the year's yield (2 F).
11. The ladybird is ordered to fly after the jingling of the cow-bells with the cattle (19 F; 17 E).
12. The ladybird is ordered to bring (golden) cloths (4 F).
13. The ladybird is asked whether the informer will be coming to church Sunday, tomorrow, etc. (21 F).
14. Prediction of war (7 F; 268 E; 2 Vot.).
15. The ladybird is asked to deliver a letter (16 E).
16. Remainder (9 F).

1. The ladybird is summoned to fly away without exactly saying whereto. Often this is accompanied by the promise of a reward or the threat of punishment.

<i>Lepo lepo lehmäne,</i>	Lepo lepo (?) little cow,
<i>Lennä minun käestäni.</i>	Fly from my hand. ³

Variants: 1. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, you will receive butter and bread'; 2. '..., you will receive a sandwich; when you don't fly, you won't receive it'; 3. '..., then you will receive butter and white bread'; 4. '..., if you don't fly, I will kill you'; 5. '..., if you don't fly, I'll hang a black stone on your neck and sink you to the depth of the sea.'⁴

<i>Lennä, lennä, leppäkerttu!</i>	Fly, fly, ladybird,
<i>Jollet sinä lennä,</i>	If you don't fly,
<i>Niin mina paan sinut</i>	I will put you
<i>Kiven alle kitumaan,</i>	Under a stone where you will perish,
<i>Ja kannon all katumaan</i>	And under a tree-stump where you will regret. ⁵

1. '..., under a stone where you will perish, under iron where you will lament'; 2. '..., if you don't fly, I'll remain between two stones'; 3. '..., underneath a kettle where you will burn, underneath (above) a stone where you will perish'; 4, after 3: '..., underneath an oven where you must lay bricks'; 5. or: '..., when you do fly, I will give you a tub with buttermilk and a sandwich'; 6. '..., when you do fly, I'll give you a big piece of bread (or a tub of buttermilk); 7. '..., then I'll give your father and mother golden boots'; 8. '..., you will get butter and white bread. But when you don't fly, you will be tossed in a burning oven'; 9. '..., then you will get butter, white bread. When you don't fly, you will get with a golden cudgel on your forehead'; 10. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, you won't fly very far, before your difficult death'; 11. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, your father and your mother are deceased.'⁶

These 29 variants originate mainly from an area, stretching over North Karelia, Savo, Häme to mid-Pohjanmaa, in short the northern edge of the area of distribution of the nursery-rhymes. A comparable group can be found in the Estonian variants: 'Ladybird, ladybird, fly.'⁷

³ Juvas, 157, from Salmi in Karelia (SKS Haavio 1082).

⁴ 1. Lappee in Savo; 2. Haapavesi in Pohjanmaa; 3. Kontiolahti in Karjala; 4. Maaninka in Savo; 5. Lappajärvi in Pohjanmaa.

⁵ Juvas, 158 from Oulo in Pohjanmaa.

⁶ 1. Pyhäjärvi in Pohjanmaa; 2. Hailuoto in Pohjanmaa; 3. Sonkajärvi, Pielavesi, Iisalmi in Savo, Nivala in Pohjanmaa, Kiihtelysvaara, Liperi in Karjala; 4. Sonkajärvi; 5. Sonkajärvi, Kiuruvesi in Savo; 6. Sonkajärvi (2x); 7. Raahe; 8. Tuusniemi, Nilsia in Savo; 9. Riistavesi in Savo; 10. Rautavaara in Karelia; 11. Valtimo, Nurmes in North Karelia.

⁷ Hanila, Läänemaa.

*Lepatriinu, lenda ära
kui ei lenda, tapan ära.*

Ladybird, fly,
When you don't fly, I'll kill you.

They can be found in North Estonia at the coast or thereabouts. In Turi they add: 'If you don't fly, then I'll kill you between two stones.' In Kadrin and Haljala (dist. Wirumaa) they say: 'Ladybird, fly, if you don't fly, I'll throw you in the oven.' At Koeru in Järwamaa: 'Ladybird, fly away or I'll toss you on the hot oven.' At Tallinn in Harjumaa: 'Ladybird, fly, when you don't fly, I'll throw you on the ground, if you fly, I'll give you a sandwich.'

The variants do not form a coherent area, but most of them were recorded in North and Middle Estonia. The threats and promises that follow the summons to fly are generally the same as in Finland. Juvas remarks that these variants are possibly defect, because the Finnish originate from the utmost border region, where they have spread the latest and where the tradition is weakest.

2. The ladybird is summoned to fly over the sea and the town, etc. The variants originate mainly from North Häme and South Pohjanmaa: 1. 'Ladybird, fly over nine seas, underneath (through, above) eight towns'; 2. + 'at a stone church, in the castle of the beloved'; or: 3. 'there you will find your father and your mother eating a sandwich'; 4. 'over ten seas'; 5. 'over a hundred seas'; 6. 'over seven seas, over nine and a half seas'. 7. First there is the summons belonging to group 5, then it flies away 'over nine seas, for the half of the tenth'; 8. 'over the sea'; 9. 'over nine seas, beyond ten waters'; 10. 'over nine seas', ('bring from there whatever is requested'); 11. 'on an island on the other side of the sea'; 12. 'through eight towns'; 13. 'over two towns'; 14. 'over the town'; 15. 'over nine seas, through eight houses'; 16. 'through eight wells'; 17. 'to the house of my bridegroom, over the church, over seven seas'; 18. 'over the church, over the mountain, you will get there a big sandwich'.⁸ In three cases the following threat is added: 'If you don't fly, I will put you between stones to torment you, underneath a cooking-pot to roast you.'⁹

3. This group we find mainly in Middle Estonia, where, as in the previous group, the ladybird is requested to fly in a certain direction. He must show where the sea is (1, 2), or also, where the river is and the wood. Added is in 3, 'if you don't fly, then I will kill you'; 4. 'if you don't show it, then I will beat you to pieces between two stones, if you fly, then I will give you a sandwich'. In the same way the ladybird is ordered to show where the river is (1) and added is (5, 1): 'if you don't show it, then I will flatten you between two stones'. Also it is said (in 1): 'show where the wood lies, if you don't do it, then I will throw you in the oven'; 6. 'fly there where the wood lies, to Nooda.' According to one variant (7) the request is: 'Fly, fly, ladybird, show in which direction Russia lies; when you don't do it, then I will kill you.'¹⁰

4. In this group people who have lost their way say to the ladybird (1): 'Fly, ladybird, to home; ..., where my home is.' A very similar version from Estonia (2) is: 'Ladybird, ladybird, show the way, show the way', then you will come on the shortest way home. Of three variants it is not possible to see whether the house of the ladybird is meant or that of the informer:

⁸ 1. Kuru, Ruovesi, Uurainen in Häme; Alavus and Kuortane in Pohjanmaa; 2. Kihniö in Satakunta; 3. Saarijärvi in Häme; 4. Karstula in Häme; 5. Kalajoki in Pohjanmaa; 6. Paavola in Pohjanmaa; 7. Pielavesi in Savo; 8. Alajärvi in Pohjanmaa; 9. Jyväskylä in Häme; 10. Saarijärvi in Häme; 11. as 5; 12. Ilmajoki in Pohjanmaa; 13. Karttula in Savo; 14. Veteli in Pohjanmaa; 15, 16. Viitasaari in Häme; 17. Yläne in Actual Finland; 18. Töysä in Pohjanmaa.

⁹ In 4, 13 and 15. In Estonia there are no variants of this group, be it an accidental one, saying: 'Fly, fly, ladybird, over the house vurz, vurz.' (onomatopoetic words; Tartu).

¹⁰ 1. Paide in Järwamaa; 2. Lügänuise in Wirumaa; 3. Rakvere in Wirumaa; 4. Suure-Jaani in Wiljandimaa; 5. Türi in Järwamaa; 6. Setumaa; 7. Koeru in Järwamaa.

*Lenda lenda leppatriinu,
lenda oma kodu poole.*

Fly, fly, ladybird,
fly in the direction of the own house. (3)

4. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, show, where the house is. If you don't show it, then I will kill you'; 5. 'Ladybird, ladybird, say, where the home is. If you don't say it, I'll throw you into the oven.'¹¹

5. In this group the ladybird is asked where his nest or home is.

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| 1. | <i>Lennä, lennä, leppäkertuu
Misse sinun pesäs on?
Ruohokossa, ranikossa
Kukka kuusen alla.</i> | Fly, fly, coccinella,
Where is your nest?
In the grass, near the water,
Underneath the flowery fig (tree). |
| 2. | <i>Lennä, lennä, leppäkerttu
Tie pellolle pesäs,
Kalliolle kartanos,
Koivun oksalle kotis.
Siell on armas asustella.</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird,
build on the field your nest,
on the rock your estate.
on the birch-twig your home.
There it is good living. |

3. 'Fly on a stone, there is your nest'; 4. '... , where is your house, in the east or west or yonder in Pohjanmaa?' 5. 'Tiiru liiru (onomatopoetic words) ladybird, where is your home? From there the war will come', etc. These few variants come from very diffused areas.¹²

A comparable type can be seen in East Estonia with scattered variants in the rest of Estonia. The question is (1): 'Where is your nest?' and added is: 'to the wood or to the sea?' 2. 'fly into the alder-leaves, jump into the elder-bush, there is your nest'; 3. 'fly to the south; there is your nest.'

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| 4. | <i>Tier, tier lepalind,
kus sinu pesa on,
kuiva kuuse otsas
märja männi latvas.</i> | Tier, tier, ladybird,
where is your nest,
in the crown of the dried pine,
in the top of a wet fir-tree. |
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In a few variants there follows another line with onomatopoetic words (5). Also it is said:

'Ladybird, ladybird, speak: where is your home?' to which is added: 'if you don't say it, then I will kill you' (6); 'then you will be killed, then I will throw you in the oven' (7).

Also in Estonia a group of three variants has been recorded (8): 'Ladybird, ladybird, fly home quickly (*or*: fly away), the children are crying there, the children are weeping there behind the oven.'¹³

6. In group 6 the ladybird is summoned to fly 'to a church, to a stone church' or 'underneath a great stone'. Usually this is combined with promises of rewards. The great church and the stone church can be found in variants from Actual Finland, Satakunta and Häme, meaning in the area, where old stone-churches can be found. Not clear is which one is older: the stone or the church. The stone is present in the whole area in 150 variants, while the church is present in 31 (see also group 7). Juvas remarks that the transformation of a stone church and great church into a great stone is easier to understand than the opposite.

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| 1. | <i>Lennä lennä leppälintu</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird, |
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¹¹ 1. Tuulos, Laukaa in Häme; Lappee in Savo; 2. Kullamaa in Läänemaa; 3. Põide op Saaremaa; 4. Põltsamaa in Wiljandimaa; 5. Kursi in Tartumaa.

¹² 1. Nilsjä in Savo; 2. Suonenjoki in Savo; 3. Kuusjoki in Actual Finland; 4. Mietoinen in Actual Finland; 5. Soikkola in Ingermanland (see group 14).

¹³ 1. Tõstamaa on the SW-coast; 2. Jaani in Harjumaa; 3. Laiuse in Tartumaa; 4. Jõhvi in Wirumaa; 5. Narva in Ingermanland, Torma in Tartumaa; 6. Põltsamaa in Wiljandimaa, Äksi in Tartumaa; 7. Kursi in Tartumaa; 8. Paldiski in Harjumaa, Maarja Magdalena in Tartumaa.

<i>kivikirkon juureen,</i>	underneath a stone church,
<i>siellä isäs ja äitis keittää</i>	there your father and your mother cook
<i>sulle makeeta puuroo.</i>	sweet porridge for you.

Variants can be found in Nakkila in Satakunta and Yläne in Actual Finland, here the stone church is a great church. Further:

2. <i>Lennä lennä leppäkerttu</i>	Fly, fly, ladybird,
<i>kivikirkon juureen,</i>	underneath a stone church,
<i>isältäs ja äitiltäs</i>	from you father and your mother
<i>voitakakkoo saamaan.</i>	to receive a sandwich.

In stead of the second line: 3. ‘underneath a great church’; ‘... give you a great sandwich’; ‘... the mother butters and gives a great sandwich’; ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, underneath a stone church, there are your father and your mother, who churn butter for you’; ‘... churn buttermilk for you’ (4); ‘... there butter is churned and will also be given to you’ (5). Related variants are: 6; ‘... underneath a great church’ (7). Some variants have only the first two or three lines (8). Further:

9. <i>Lennä lennä leppälintu</i>	Fly, fly, ladybird,
<i>kivikirkon juureen,</i>	underneath a stone church,
<i>siel saat isältäs voileivän</i>	there you will receive from your father a sandwich
<i>ja äidiltäs punasem hammeen.</i>	and from your mother a red skirt.

A variant has as second line: ‘... underneath a great church’ (10) or the second line is missing (11), or is replaced by ‘fly on an island in Finland’ (12), as is frequent in group 7.

‘Fly, fly, ladybird, to Finland, on an island, underneath a great church, to your father and your mother, to receive a red skirt. There butter is churned, there will also be given something to you.’ (13). This last variant can also be counted to group 12, where the ladybird is requested to bring cloths. Further: ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, on a stone plate underneath a stone church’ (14).¹⁴

The dominant type though is the one in which there is talk about a stone:

1. <i>Lennä lennä leppäkerttu</i>	Fly, fly, ladybird,
<i>Ison kiven juureen,</i>	underneath a great stone,
<i>Siellä sinum isäs äitis</i>	there your father and mother cook
<i>Keittää sinulle puuroo</i>	porridge for you.

This type is distributed over the whole of South Finland. Some variants show slight variations: ‘... fly underneath a stone’; ‘underneath a small stone’; ‘on a field underneath stone’; ‘cook a kettle full of porridge’; ‘sweet porridge’; ‘good porridge’; ‘black [= rye] porridge’; ‘hot porridge’; ‘there stands porridge ready in a great nap’; ‘buttermilk and porridge’; ‘expect you for the porridge’; ‘the father makes spoons, the mother cooks porridge’ (2).

Some variants are accompanied by a strong threat: ‘If you don’t fly... then I will put you underneath a stone where you will perish, underneath a kettle, where you will burn’ (3). Further: 4. ‘... if you don’t fly, you will be knocked on the head with the black cudgel of the vicarage’; 5. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, underneath a great stone, there your mother cooks black porridge for you. If you don’t fly, I will kill you, but when you fly, I will give you a sandwich.’ Promises: 6. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, underneath a great stone, there will be your father and your mother, you will get there a big sandwich.’ The same with as last line (7): ‘to bring me butter.’ 8. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, underneath a great stone. If you fly, you will get a cheese and a sandwich, if you don’t fly, I will

¹⁴ 1. Lavia in Satakunta; 2. Metsämaa in Satakunta, = Korpilahti in Häme; 3. Punkalaidun in Satakunta, area of Tampere (3x), Ylöjärvi and Orivesi in Häme; 4. Ikaalinen in Satakunta; 5. Suodenieniemi in Satakunta (= Kiiikka); 7. Kiiikoinen in Satakunta, area of Tampere (2x), Ylöjärvi in Häme; 8. 4x; 9. Ruovesi in Häme; 10. Hämeenkyrö in Satakunta; 11, 12 Kangasala in Häme; 13. Punkalaidun in Satakunta; 14. Uurainen in Häme.

drop a hot stone on your neck.’ 9. In stead of the great stone: ‘behind a spotted stone’. 10. ‘There are your father and your mother, who are preparing diner for you.’ There are also some ‘defect’ variants: 11. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, underneath a great stone’; 12. ‘to the father and the mother’; 13. ‘to father and to mother underneath a great stone’.¹⁵

According to Juvas, a nursery-rhyme referring to a church can easily transform into a prediction of death, for the graveyard is near the church.

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| 1. | <i>Kultakännä, kultakännä,
Mihin pain sa lennät,
Kivikirkon juureen,
Mustan mullan poveen.</i> | Ladybird (2x),
where do you fly to?
Underneath a stone church,
at the bosom of the black earth. |
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The first ladybird seen in spring is interrogated the same way. When he flies on the church, the informer will die the same year. 2. Also it is asked: ‘near which church will I come?’ (= where will I be buried?). 3. Fly, fly, [little] ladybird, / underneath a great church, / there fly your father and your mother, / resounds the church-bell. 4. Fly, ladybird, fly, / in the grave of the stone church: / there your father and your mother will give / you sandwich. 5. Fly, ladybird, fly, / in the church-garden, / fly over waters, lands. / Do not fly confused.

Also the next variants are reckoned by Juvas, besides the 181, to this group: 6. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, to the direction where I will die’; 7. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, to the church, where I will die’; 8. ‘Fly ... underneath a great tree, there your father and your mother are cooking porridge for you’; 9. the same, except for ‘underneath a little tree’; 10. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, underneath the red gate. There your father and mother are cooking milk-soup for you’ or ‘will give you a big sandwich’; 11. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, from one island to the next. There will be your father and your mother and give you a sandwich.’¹⁶

A small group is formed by the following variants:

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| 1. | <i>Lennä lennä leppäkerttu
Ison kiven juureen,
Pääset häitä hyppäämään
Satulinnaan suureen</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird,
underneath a great stone,
you will arrive at a wedding-dance
in a great fairytale castle. |
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Once it is added (2): ‘... if you don’t fly, I will put you between stones.’ In a variant (3) it is said: ‘... go from there and wander in a great fairytale castle’ or (4): ‘in the great castle of Tapio (the wood-spirit).’¹⁷

Group 6 is spread over the largest area, has also the most variants and is distributed quite evenly over South Finland; some variants form contaminations with group 7. In most variants the ladybird is ordered to fly to father and mother. That this was an original trait in this group is according to Juvas proven by the fact that this type is especially numerously represented in Estonia, mainly in Northern Estonia. 1. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, there where your father and your mother are, indicate (or: say), where your father and your mother are.’ In some variants there is also the line known from other groups: ‘fly into the alder-wood, jump into the birch-wood’ (2). Many variants continue with the threat: ‘if you don’t fly, then I will kill you’ (3). Also there is the

¹⁵ 1. Mäntyharju in Savo; 2. Parikkala in Karjala; 3. Pielavesi in Savo; 4. Kuopio in Savo; 5. Tervo in Savo; 6. Ilmajoki in Pohjanmaa; 7. Pirkkala in Satakunta; 8. Isokyro in Pohjanmaa; 9. Kankaanpää in Satakunta; 10. Taivassalo in Actual Finland; 11. Halikko in Actual Finland; 12. Pielisjärvi in Savo; 13. Ii in Pohjanmaa.

¹⁶ 1. Raisio in Actual Finland; 2. Yläne in Actual Finland; 3. Vihti in Uusimaa; 4. Punkalaidun in Satakunta; 5. Merimasku in Actual Finland; 6. Yläne, Kuusjoki in Actual Finland; 7. Nummi in Uusimaa; 8. Hankasalmi in Savo; 9. Mäntyharju in Savo; 10. Vehkalahti in Uusimaa; 11. Eräjärvi in Satakunta.

¹⁷ 1. Hollola and Pihlajavesi in Häme; Kuortane in Pohjanmaa; Mäntyharju in Savo; Heinjoki, Vuoksela and Uusikirkko on the Karelian isthmus; 2. Vieremä in Savo; 3. Kauhava in Österbotten; 4. Siikainen in Pohjanmaa.

addition: ‘fly behind the cabin in the crown of the oak’ (4); or ‘then I will kill you between two stones’ (5); or ‘I will chop off the head and leave the body’; ‘if you don’t say it to me, then you will drop down quickly’ (6).¹⁸

Often it is said: ‘where are your father and your mother, in the direction of the sea or on the side of the land, on sea or on the land? (1), or ‘on the side of the river or on the side of the wood or on the side of the sea’ (2); ‘on the side of the sea or on the side of the mainland’ (3); ‘on the sea or in the wood’ (4). Another question concerns the quarter, where father and mother are: ‘in the north or south, in the east or the west’ (5); once: ‘where is your father and your mother, fly there quickly, over the river, over the hill’ (6).¹⁹

In Tallinn a variant has been recorded several times:

<i>Lenda lenda leppa triinu,</i>	Fly, fly, ladybird,
<i>kus su isa ema on,</i>	where are your father and your mother,
<i>vene turul palgi all?</i>	on the Russian market under the beams?

This form can also be seen in Jöelähtme in Harjumaa, where also once ‘under a beam-load’ appears. In other variants it is called: ‘on the beams’. Also there appears in stead of *veneturu* ‘the Russian market’ *vanaturu* ‘the old market’; also it is said *veneturu kaelas* ‘in the corridor leading to the market’. The continuation of the song is: they sew (*or* sell) there the old fur (coat); or: they eat there milk and bread’, ‘they eat there sour milk and bread’, ‘eat groats and milk’, or ‘eat pilchards and bread’. In 4 variants it is said, that father and mother are *täiturul* ‘on the flea-market’; they eat pilchards and bread (Tallinn).

Sometimes the Russian market has been substituted by the fishing bank:

<i>Lepatriinu lepatriinu,</i>	Ladybird, ladybird,
<i>kus su isa ema on,</i>	where are your father and your mother,
<i>kalarannas palgi all,</i>	at the fishing bank underneath the beams,
(or: <i>kalarannas paadi all</i>	at the fishing bank underneath the boats)
<i>söövad silku leiba.</i>	eat pilchards and bread.
(or: <i>söövad liha leiba</i>	eat meat and bread)
(or: <i>teevad sulle püksa.</i>	make trousers for you.)

Slight variations exist like in stead of *palk* ‘beams’ *plang* ‘bars’ or *kang* ‘poles’; it is said that father and mother ‘eat sour pilchards and salt and bread’. In one variant the ladybird is ordered: ‘fly to there, where the land (field) belongs to your father.’

In total there are 94 variants, mainly from North Estonia. At the Livonians some similar verses were recorded: ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, where my father with the mother is’ and ‘*špiñ, špiñ*, ladybird, where in the neighbourhood is your mother.’²⁰

7. Group 7, wherein the ladybird is ordered to fly to the bridegroom or to the bride, is recorded very frequently both in Finland and Estonia. The simplest form is:

<i>Lennä lennä leppäkerttu,</i>	Fly, fly, ladybird,
<i>missä minun sulhaseni on?</i>	where is my bridegroom?

¹⁸ 1. Tallinn, Jaani and Kuusalu in Harjumaa; Kadrina, Lügänuuse and Narva in Wirumaa; Madise, Ambla in Järwamaa; 2. Järva-Madise, Tallinn, Jöelähtme, Harju-Jaani and Kuusalu in Harjumaa; Kadrina, Lügänuuse and Narva in Wirumaa; Vönnu in Tartumaa; 3. Järva-Madise, Harju-Jaani, Rapla and Juuru in Harjumaa, Paide in Järwamaa; 4. Harju-Jaani in Harjumaa; 5. Tallinn; 6. Kadrina.

¹⁹ 1. Keila and Tallinn in Harjumaa; Narva in Wirumaa; 2. Häädemeeste in Pärnumaa, Tallinn and Narva; 3. Harju-Jaani; 5. Kärälä on Saaremaa; 6. Häädemeeste, Harju-Jaani, Haljala in Wirumaa as well as Narva.

²⁰ From Oskar Loorits, *Volkslieder der Liven*, 140 (Verh. Gel. Estn. Gesellsch. XXVIII); collected by Lauri Post in Kuolka, where also variants in the Latvian language can be found.

Or: ‘fly to where my bridegroom, my bride is’, ‘say, where my bridegroom is’, ‘from where I will receive a bridegroom, a bride’, ‘bring me a bridegroom, a bride’, ‘where lives my bridegroom’, ‘point me the bridegroom, the bride’ (1). In stead of the bridegroom and the bride there can also be a man, an old man, a woman, an old woman, the friend, the beloved. This type is spread over Actual Finland, in Uusimaa and on the Karelian isthmus; some variants can also be found in Häme, Satakunta and Savo. In total there are 60 variants.

A second frequently appearing type is: ‘Whereto will I marry’ or: ‘In which direction will I marry?’ The variants come mainly from Häme and only a few from Actual Finland (2). In one variant (3) it is said: ‘bring me away to get married’, in another one (4): ‘whereto do you go to marry?’ In some variants the question is: ‘whereto will I be brought?’ In total there are 37 variants. Further:

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| 6. | <i>Lennä lennä leppäterttu,
Kunne neito vietänee,
Kunne kuletettanee?
Jos et lennä,
Niin minä viskoon tuliseen uuniin.</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird,
whereto will the bride be brought
whereto led?
When you don’t fly,
then I’ll throw you in the fiery oven.
then take a rest.) |
| (Or: | <i>niin lepee</i> | |
| 7. | <i>Lenninkäine, lenninkäine,
lennäk kullam maalle,
Lensikkös sä kullm maalle,
näikkös kultaseni?</i> | fly to the land of the most beloved!
Did you fly to the land of the most beloved,
did you see my most beloved? |
| 8. | <i>Lennä lennä leppäkerttu,
inne päin sä lentänet,
sielt kosiat tulkohon,
sulhaset suihkahtakko.</i> | wherever you may fly to,
there may also the suitors come,
the bridegroom flash nearby. |
| 9. | <i>Lennä lennä, leppoolintu,
kussa kuulet kullan äänen.</i> | to where you hear the voice of the beloved. |
| 10. | <i>Lennä lennä leppäkerttu
minne neito naitaneen,
orpana otettaneen</i> | to where the girl will be married,
the girl will be taken up. |

As continuation: ‘will she be taken to Turku or to Savo?’ (11) Or: ‘from where the girl will be married.’ (12) In some variants the question is: ‘where is the wedding?’ (13); ‘where is my wedding?’ (14) ‘where will the marriage be celebrated the first time?’²¹

The question or order directed to the ladybird is often made more specific: ‘Ladybird (2x), from where will you bring me a man, from the east or from the west?’ (1) So also: 2. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, from where will I receive a bridegroom, from the north, east, south or west’; 3. ‘... exactly in the north’; 4. ‘... where is my beloved, in the west, east, south or yonder in Pohjanmaa’; 5. in stead of the fourth line: ‘from the winds of Pohjanmaa’; 6. ‘in Sweden or Finland’; 7. ‘... or under the deals of the sauna’. Sometimes all that is said is (8): ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, wherever you want, to the east or west (to pohjanmaa)’.

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| 9. | <i>Lennä lennä leppätiira,
missä päi miu sulhasei,
Sivossa vai Savossa,</i> | where is my bridegroom,
in Sivo or in Savo |
|----|---|---|

²¹ 1. Karuna in Actual Finland; 2. Kuusjoki, Uskela and Merimasku; 3. Urjala in Häme; 4. Alastaro in Satakunta; 5. Jämsä, Lammi and Leivonmäki in Häme; Mikkeli in Savo; 6. Nilsjä in Savo; 7. Merimasku in Actual Finland; 8. Suistamo in Karjala; 9. Veteli in Pohjanmaa; 10. Tohmajärvi in Karjala; 11. Kiihtelysvaara in Karjala; 12. Sotkamo in Pohjanmaa; 13. Hausjärvi in Häme; 14. Askola in Uusimaa; 15. Porvoo in Uusimaa.

Vai oma pello pientariel.

or on the edge of the own field?

Sivo is of course a play-form of Savo, also Simo appears. The last line can also take the form: ‘at the edge of the long field’ (10). Or it can be: ‘of the threshold of the old or of the new church, or of the rubble of the raspberry bush’ (11); sometimes is added: ‘from under the arm of an old woman’ (12). 13. ‘Fly, ladybird, fly, show where my bride(groom) is, in Sivo or in Savo or on the oven of the sauna’, or (14): ‘on the oven of the German merchant’. 15. ‘... Is he on the top of the hay-rick or at the edge of the field?’ Another play-form can be seen in:

16. Fly, ladybird, fly,
where is my bride(groom)?
In Viro (= Estonia) or Varo
at the edge of the holy field.

In this type the fourth line varies: ‘... at the edge of the own field’ (17); ‘on the threshold of the new church’ (18); ‘in the house of the German merchant (?)’ (19). 20. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, where is my beloved, in Germany or in Finland or in the stone-socket of the church’. A twisted variant (21): ‘... on the stone or out of the barrel, or on the threshold of the church’. 22. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, from where will I get a man, from the threshold of a rich man or from the rubble of the raspberry-bush?’ 23. ‘... from Sweden or from Reval’.²²

The Actual Finnish version is (1): ‘Ladybird, fly, fly, from where will I get a man (woman, etc.), from Piikkiö or from Paimio’ (parishes in A.F.). The verse is continued (2): ‘... or from under the bench of the vicar’. Further (3): ‘or from under the bench of the sauna of the vicar’; 4. ‘from under the bench of the son of the vicar’; 5. ‘from under the bench of the vicar’s servant’; 6. from under the church of Muurla’; 7. ‘from Savo or from the guys from Hähkänä.’²³

A group by itself is made up of variants, wherein there is a chamber and a sauna:

1. Fly, ladybird, fly,
fly here, fly there,
to where will I be brought?
Fly into the new chamber in Turku,
on the floor of the sauna of the German (merchant).
2. ‘Fly, ladybird, fly, in the new chamber in Turku, in the old sauna of the German (merchant)’.
3. *Lennä lennä leppälintu,*
Turun tuvan ikkunalle,
Saksan saunan laattialle,
sinnepäin, mihkä minuu nailaan.
at the window of a chamber in Turku,
on the deals of a German sauna,
whither I will get married.
4. ‘Fly, ladybird, fly, at the window of the nine chambers, on the threshold of the sauna of the German (merchant)’, or: ‘the old sauna, to where I will be abducted (next year)’. 5. ‘Fly, ladybird, fly, in the crack of the sauna of alder-wood.’ 6. ‘Fly, ladybird, fly, from the window of the old castle, to the window of the new castle’. 7. ‘Fly, ladybird, fly, whither will I be brought? Under the chamber of the judge, under the sleeve-folds of the vicar’. Further:

²² 1. Rymättylä in Actual Finland; 2. Mäntyharju in Savo and with minor deviations: Askainen in Actual Finland and Savitaipale in Savo; 3. Kymi in Uusimaa; 4. Raisio, Uusikirkko (2x), Vehmaa in Actual Finland, Loimaa in Satakunta; 5. Taivassalo in Actual Finland; 6. Uskela in Actual Finland; 7. Miehikkälä in Karjala; 8. Naantali, Merimasku in Actual Finland; 9. Lappee in Savo (2x); 10. Lappee, Lemi, Taipalsaari, Puumala and Luumäki in Savo; Vahviala in Karjala; Vuoksenranta on the Karelian isthmus; 11. Pertunmaa in Häme; Mäntyharju in Savo; 12. Mäntyharju; 13. Viipuri; 14. Säkkijärvi in Karjala (an incomplete one is Lappee); 15. Lemi in Savo; 16. Vuoksenranta on the Karelian isthmus; 17. Kirvu in Karjala; 18. Antrea; 19. Koivisto in Karjala; only the first three lines: Kuolemanjärvi on the Karelian isthmus; 20. Lohja in Uusimaa; 21. Mäntyharju in Savo; 22. Anttola in Savo; 23. Uskela in Actual Finland.

²³ 1. Halikko; 2. Muurla, Perniö; 3. Uskela, Muurla; 4. Uskela = 5.; 6. Pertteli; 7. =4.

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| 8. | <i>Lennä lennä leppälintu,
Tammiselle lautaselle,
Koivuselle korennolle,
Minkä päin mua naidaan?</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird,
on the plate of alder-wood,
on the yoke of birch-wood,
whither I will marry? |
|----|--|---|

9. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, on the plate of alder-wood, on the palm of the own beloved'. Some isolated variants: 10. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, whither I'll get married. The stockings are already tied in a bow, only the shirt-fabric is lacking', or: (11): the other (woollen) glove is lacking'. 12. 'Ladybird, ladybird, show whither I go to marry, you will get stockings, gaiters and a sleeveless shirt'. 13. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, whither I get married, on the roof of the storehouse of the boy.' 14. '... whither the young woman shall get married, she'll be conducted to Matti in Estonia.'²⁴

In one group of variants we see the turn of phrase usual in old runic songs 'in Finland (*Suomi*) or on an island (*saari*)', 'to Finland (*Suomeen*) or on an island (*saareen*)'. As continuation there appears often the line: 'underneath a stone church' or 'underneath a great church', the lines already known from group 7, that also belong to the group discussed here.

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| 1. | Ladybird, ladybird,
from where will I get a man,
from Finland or from an island,
or from under a stone church? |
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Variants: 2. 'from under a great church'. Small variations in the second line, while the third line is replaced by 'on a great island' (3). In stead of the fourth line: 'behind a stone church' (4), 'on a plate of alder-wood behind a stone church' (5). Sometimes there are additions (6) or it is asked: 7. '... whither will I go, to Finland or to an island or underneath a stone church', 8. '... whither will I be brought, to Finland or on an island or on the heath of the church'.²⁵

The flying to a church predicts the death of the informer. There is a small group of variants in which the marriage prediction is followed always as alternative by a death prediction.

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| 1. | <i>Lennä lennä leppälintu,
mihkä minuu nailaan?
Suomeen vai Saareen
vai maan alek hautaan.</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird,
whither will I get married?
To Finland or on an island
or under the earth in the grave. |
|----|--|--|

2. 'in the bosom of the black earth'; 3. 'whither will I be brought', etc.; 4. as line 3: 'to the east or the west'. Some variants: 5. 'Ladybird, fly, from which side will I get a man, from Finland or from an island or from the north'; 6. the same except at the end: 'behind a stone of birch-wood'; 7. '... whither will I be brought, to Finland or to an island', or: 8. 'or on an alder-covered promontory'. 9. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, to Finland on an island, underneath the church of Hattula'.²⁶ Sometimes it is predicted that the informer will remain unmarried, when the ladybird does not fly away (1). This group is also numerous in all of Estonia:

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| <i>Leeslind, leeslind, lenda ära,
näitä kus mu peigmees on.</i> | Ladybird. Ladybird, fly [up],
show, where my bridegroom is. |
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²⁴ 1. Asikalla in Häme (2x); only lines 1-3: Hollola; 2. Luopioinen, Asikkala; 3. Asikkala; 4. Sysmä, Hartola in Häme; 5. Lehtimäki in Pohjanmaa; 6. Hollola in Häme; 7. Iitti in Häme; 8. Korpilahti, Jämsä in Häme; 9. Pihlajavesi in Satakunta; 10. Padasjoki in Häme; 11. Luopioinen; 12. Porvoo in Uusimaa; 13. = 10; 14. Lumivaara in Karjala (continues as satirical song).

²⁵ 1. Kiikala in Actual Finland; also Uskela (2x), Suomusjärvi; 2. Kisko in A.F.; 3. Tammela (2x), Jokioinen (2x), Somero, Urjala in Häme; 4. Lapinjärvi in Uusimaa; 5. Kuorevesi in Häme; 6. Kuusjoki, Muurla, Rymättälä in A.F., Tammela (3x) in Häme; 7. Koski in A.F.; 8. Valkeala in Häme.

²⁶ 1. Jaala in Häme, as well as Iitti (2x); 2. Kymi; 3. Iitti; 4. Anjala; 5. Heinola, all in SW-Häme; 6. Uskela in A.F. 7. Juva in Savo; 8. Iitti-Jaala in Häme; 9. Hattula in Häme.

This simple form is spread all over Estonia. It can also be: ‘show, where my bride(groom) is (or: lives)’, or also: *minu normees* ‘my young man’, *minu noorik* ‘my young woman’, ‘my own’, ‘my beloved’, *kulla kallikene* ‘the most beloved’ or once ‘my cavalier’ or a few times ‘friend’, ‘girl-friend’; ‘fly there, from where I will take or get a wife’; ‘show, whither I will be brought (married)’; ‘show, where my man/wife will come from’, ‘from where my bridegroom will come’, ‘where my suitors are’, ‘from where my suitor comes, suitors come’, ‘to which direction you fly, from there comes my man (bride, etc)’, ‘show, predict (*kuuluta*), from where N. will take his wife’. Once (2): ‘show the bridegroom’. Also it is asked: ‘where is the bridegroom (etc.), there or there?’ and the direction is pointed out. Also the name of the informer may be mentioned. A few times it is asked (3): ‘where is your bride’, 4. ‘where does your husband come from?’ Or the question is: ‘from where do you bring my wife’, ‘fly there (or: show), from where you bring my husband (etc.), ‘whither you fly, bring (or: you will bring) from there my bridegroom.’ Also (5): ‘bring me to the husband (bride)’, 6. ‘seek my bridegroom’. In total there are 104 variants from all parts of Estonia.

On several places it is said, that from the direction of the flight of the ladybird one can predict where the bride of the informer is, although the accompanying rhyme is unknown. Maybe here belongs also the variant (7): ‘fly, fly, ladybird, thither, where my luck is.’²⁷

A small group is formed by the following nursery-rhymes:

1. Fly, fly, ladybird,
fly into the alder-wood,
jump into the birch-wood,
where my bridegroom is.

Often the third line reads (2): ‘jump between the tree-stumps’, or (3): ‘jump into the elder-bush’, 4. ‘jump into the fig-wood’, 5. ‘jump to Kanepi’, 6. ‘fly over the alder-wood, jump over the elder-bush’.²⁸ In the last line bridegroom, bride, man, wife, etc. vary, as indicated above.

In Meremäg in Setumaa the following group of seven variants has been recorded:

<i>Käolehm, lindu landu,</i>	Ladybird, fly, fly,
<i>(Linda sinna lepestikku,</i>	fly into the alder-wood,
<i>Karga sinna kadastikku</i>	jump into the elder-bush),
<i>Tii sinna tiikene,</i>	make therein a little road,
<i>Jäta sinna jälekene,</i>	leave behind little foot-prints,
<i>Koes lää ma mehele</i>	whither I will be conducted. ²⁹

(Once the last line is: ‘from where my brother comes home’.)

Other questions asked are: 1. ‘from where will I get a husband, from the left or from the right side’, 2. ‘whither will you bring me, to the right or to the left side’. 3. ‘where is my bridegroom, in the direction of the wood or in the direction of the sea (in north or in the south)’. 4. ‘... on the land or on the sea, on the table of a (half) in the earth dug-out room’. 5. ‘in the east or in the west, in the south or in the north’, 6. ‘from the valley or from the hill, from the east or from the south’, 7. ‘from the direction of the town or from the west’, 8. ‘from the direction of the countryside or from the town.’³⁰

²⁷ 1. Sakkula and Kirvu on the Karelian isthmus; 2. Nigula, 3. Kullamaa in Läänemaa; 4. Wastseliina in Võrumaa; 5. Karuse in Läänemaa; 6 = 3; 7. Tartu.

²⁸ 1. Kuusalu in Harjumaa; as well as Kanepi, Urvaste in Setumaa, Tartu; 2. Kose in Harjumaa; Võnnu in Tartumaa; Rāpina and Põlva in Võrumaa; 3. Rakvere in Wirumaa; Rõuge, Põlva and Wastseliina in Võrumaa; Otepää in Tartumaa; 4. Kose in Harjumaa; 5. Võnnu in Võrumaa; 6. Petseri in Setumaa.

²⁹ Juvas gives many Finnish lines, reduplications, which makes it unclear, which lines belong together.

1. 'Fly to Germany, fly on the house of the bridegroom, land there.' 2. 'Fly thither on the latch, jump thither on the door-hook'. 3. 'Fly, I ask you for the last time, fly over wide water to where my beloved is'; 4. to this is added: 'bring greetings to my beloved' and continues as a modern love-song. 5. 'Where is your bridegroom, in the direction of the marsh or in the direction of the heath'. 6. 'From where will you bring me the husband, from the direction of Finland or from the direction of the marsh, from the direction of the land or from the direction of the sea'. 7. 'From where will I get the wife, from the thick bush...' 8. 'Ladybird, fly, bring greeting to my beloved'. 9. 'From where will the suitors come, whither will I be brought, to the sons of Piibu Michaels, to the godfather of Michael'.³¹

A group on their own is formed by variants, wherein the ladybird is threatened in some way, when he don't start flying, and a reward is promised when he does. For example:

1.	<i>Lepatriinu, lepatriinu,</i>	Ladybird (2x),
	<i>lenda sinna kus mu pruut,</i>	fly thither where my bride is,
	<i>kui sai näitä tapan ära.</i>	if you don't show it, I will kill you.

Or it is added: 2. 'if you don't fly, I will strike you dead with the axe and foliage-sickle'; 3. 'if you don't show me, then I will kill you,' or: 'then I will flatten you between two stones', 'but if you show it, then I will give you a sandwich'. In a small area in Walk and on the border of Walgamaa and Wõrumaa: 'If you don't fly, I will put you under the stone, to swing (crackle, grate, whistle), under the tree-stump, to creak, under the tree, to turn yourself, on the window, at the door to sing: piss, piss, piss, under the earth-hill, to bleat, under the span, to bear children, under the tree, to bear sons, a bloody knife in the hand.' 4. 'If you don't show [where the bridegroom is], then I take the head and leave the body', 5. 'then I'll take an axe and chop off the head and legs'; 6. 'if you don't show, I'll throw you into the oven'; 7. 'if you don't fly, I will thrash you'.³²

Finally there are a few variants, where the question is about the residence of other persons than the bridegroom and bride.

1.	<i>Lepatriinu lendu landu,</i>	Ladybird, fly, fly ³³ ,
	<i>Lenda üle lepestiku,</i>	fly over the alder-wood,
	<i>Karga üle kraavistiku,</i>	jump over the graves,
	<i>Sinna poole kus on minu lell.</i>	thither where my uncle is.

2. '... whither comes the aunt; if you don't show, where the aunt is, I will take off your head and leave the body.' 3. 'Ladybird (2x), fly there, from where the guests will come.'

At the Livonians a few variants belonging to this group have been recorded (4): 'Fly, fly, ladybird, from which side I will get a husband (wife), from the beach-side or from the land-side or from the evening-side (= the west)'; 'to which side my bride(groom) is'; 'to that side, where my beloved is', 'from which side I will get a wife.'

Belonging to group 7 is further also a small type of Estonian variants that belong together, wherein the girl asks, whither her chest [with the dowry] will be brought, or the ladybird is

³⁰ 1. Otepää in Tartumaa; 2. Karula in Walgamaa; 3. Häädemeeste in the Pernumaa; Vigala in Läänemaa; 4. Jüri in Harjumaa; 5. Tarvastu in Wiljandimaa, Rannu, Rõngu, Tartu in Tartumaa; Saarde in the Pärnumaa; 6. Collection H. Wiedemanns; 7. Nõo, Tartu in Tartumaa; 8. Juri in Harjumaa

³¹ 1. Madise in Järvamaa; 2. Põlva, Wastseliina in Wõrumaa; 3. Jüri in Harjumaa; 4. Iisaku in Wirumaa; 5. = 3; 6. Helme in Walgamaa; 7. Põide on Saarenmaa (the remainder too rude); 8. collection H. Wiedemanns.

³² 1. Keila, Harju-Jaani in Harjumaa; Kullamaa in Läänemaa; Koeru, Paide in Järvamaa; Pilistvere in Wiljandimaa; Äksi, Nõi in Tartmaa; 2. Rakvere in Wirumaa; 3. Kuresaare on Sauremaa; Paldiski in Harjumaa; Pilistvere and Põltsamaa in Wiljandimaa; Kursi and Tartu in Tartmaa; 4. Kodavere in Tartumaa; 5. Põltsamaa in Wiljandimaa; 6. Koeru in Järvamaa; Jaagupi in Wirumaa; 7. Paide in Järvamaa.

³³ Juvas translates 'Marienkäfer, vögelchen'.

requested to show the chest. 5. ‘Ladybird (2x), show, whither my chest will be brought’, or ‘to which [of two] directions the chest will be driven’. 6. ‘Where is the chest of your bride’, 7. ‘whither will you bring your chest’, 8. ‘where is your chest’, 9. ‘show the chest, if you don’t do it, then I will kill you’. These variants, eight in all, are recorded in a small area of Läänemaa and Harjumaa.³⁴

8. In group 8 the ladybird flies to heaven or to the earth. 1. ‘Ladybird (2x), show, where my dwelling is.’ When it flies up, the dwelling is in heaven, when it flies down, it will be in hell. A variant, in which it is asked, where the marriage of the informer will be celebrated, contains also the idea, according to which from the flight of the ladybird can be determined whether the informer will come, after his death, in heaven or in hell, and if he lives long or will die soon (2). In two variants the ladybird is requested to fly to heaven and bring from there golden cloths (3). In Estonia there is only one variant in which heaven is mentioned:

4. *Lepatriinu lenda taeva,* Ladybird, fly into heaven,
Too mul sealta önnne laeva. bring me from there the luck-ship.³⁵

Among the Wespians in Simjärvi a variant has been recorded by Lauri Posti that belongs to this group: ‘Ladybird, fly, fly into heaven, there your children are gulping milk and are waiting for you.’

9. In group 9 the ladybird performs as weather prophet. The variants in Finland are limited to a small connected area in Actual Finland, in Estonia mainly on Saaremaa. The ladybird is asked whether there will be nice weather tomorrow (or: on Sunday), it is summoned to fly away, so it will be nice weather, or requested to impart nice weather or to bring it.³⁶ In two variants it is asked, whether there will be rain or nice weather (1), in one: ‘will it rain tomorrow’ (2). When the ladybird flies away, there will come nice weather.

Here also we see the adding of threats that we saw before: 3. ‘then I will kill you’, 4. ‘I will put you between two hot stones to lament’, 5. ‘I’ll sling a hot stone on you’, 6. ‘I’ll pour berry-juice on you’, 7. ‘put you in a fiery oven of a kiln’, 8. ‘in a pot with hot water’, 9. ‘pull you out a hind-leg,’ 10. ‘[pull] out the wings’, 11. ‘throw you in the door-corner’, 12. ‘fly on a plate of alder-wood, it will be nice weather tomorrow.’ One variant adds (13): ‘fly over the town’. As example:

14. Ladybird (2x)
 you’ll give nice weather tomorrow,
 if you don’t give it, then I will put you
 between two hot stones,
 to moan and to lament.³⁷

Estonian variants:

1. *Leeslind, leeslind,* Ladybird (2x),
kas on homme kena ilm. will it be nice weather tomorrow?

³⁴ Võnnu, 2. Maarja-Magdalena, 3. Äksi in Tartumaa; 4. Oskar Loorits, *o.c.*, 180; 5. Keila in Harjumaa, Kullamaa and Märjamaa in Läänemaa; 6. Kullamaa; 7. Nissi in Harjumaa; 8. Keila = 9.

³⁵ 1. Eräjärvi in Häme; 2. Askola in Uusimaa (2x); 3. Maaria, Uskela; 4. Koeru in Järvamaa.

³⁶ Taivassalo, Laitila, Mynämäki, Karjala, Paattinen, Rusko, Nousiainen, Vehmaa, Mietoinen, Askainen, Tuusula; Isojoki, Evijärvi, Perho, Veteli in Pohjanmaa; Vesanto, Jäppilä, Pieksämäki, Virtasalmi, Juva in Savo.

³⁷ 1. Taivassalo, Paattinen in Actual Finland; 2. Tver-Karjala; 3. Halsua; 4. Laitila, Eurajoki in A.F.; 5. Vehmaa = 6; 7. Juva; 8. Uusikirkko in A.F.; 9. = 5; 10. Lokalahti in A.F.; 11. Lemu in A.F.; 12. Jäppilä in Savo; 13. Veteli in Pohjanmaa; 14. Laitila in A.F. Juvas points out that in Finland also snails are asked about the weather: ‘Snail, snail, stick out your horns, will it be nice weather tomorrow?’

Another question is, whether there will be warm weather tomorrow (2), or it is added (3): ‘if not, then stay here’, 4. ‘if you fly to the south, then we will be sure, that it will be nice weather, if to the north, then we expect bad weather.’ There are in all ten variants.

In Finland as well as in Estonia a close-adhering variant has been recorded, in which the ladybird is requested to predict the direction of the wind.

5. Fly, ladybird, fly thither,
from where the wind will blow tomorrow.

Also in Merimasku, where the ladybird is summoned to fly to the east or the west, people believe – even though it is not said in the verse – that it will blow the next day from the direction to where the ladybird flies. An Estonian variant says:

6. Fly, fly, ladybird,
from where will it blow tomorrow,
from the east or from the west?³⁸

10. An example from group 10 comes from Teuva in Pohjanmaa:

Fly, fly, ladybird,
will there come a good rye-year?

Also oats-, barley-, potato-, hay-, turnip-year. In Kaavi is recorded: when there are many ladybirds in the summer, then that means a good year.

11. Group 11 has as example: 1. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, as far as you hear the cattle-bells’, 2. as far as you hear the cattle-bells of your father and your mother’, 3. thither, where you hear the cattle-bells’, 4. ‘as far as the bell of our cow can be heard’.

Further: 5. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, the pleasing bells can be heard far away’; 6. ‘so far as the bells of the church can be heard’; 7. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, as far as the bell of the cattle can be heard. If you fly, I’ll give you a sandwich. But if you don’t fly, I’ll hang a hot stone on your neck and sink you into the depth of the sea’; 8. or in stead of the last threat: ‘if you don’t fly, I’ll drop a hot stone on your neck’. Or the summons to fly is continued: 9. ‘there your father and your mother are cooking porridge for you’, or: 10. ‘seat yourself on a red stone and shout cock-a-doodle-doo’, 11. ‘I will knit your knitting and milk your cow’, 12. ‘and wait so long till your father and your mother come’. 13. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, where is my cow’, 14. ‘... where is the lost cow’, 15. ‘... bring my cow home’, 16. ‘...thither, where the cattle-alley is’.³⁹

According to a communication from Hyvinkää in Uusimaa the children there were told that the ladybird herds the cattle. A presentation from Sodankylä in North Pohjanmaa has the ladybird herd as many cows as it has dots on its back.

There are 19 variants, almost all from Ponjanmaa; the verse is namely a saying among the shepherds and Juvas refers to the ladybird-name *piimäpiekko* ‘thick-milk Birgit’ (see below), which she combines with a ladybird verse from Häme: ‘Ladybird, give thick-milk or I’ll kill you.’ Also in two other variants there is mention of cattle:

1. Fly, ladybird, fly,
in Tapiola’s herd,

³⁸ 1. Põide on Saaremaa; idem in Anseküla, Kuresaare and Püha on Saaremaa and at Audru on the west-coast of the mainland; 2. Hageri in Harjumaa; 3. Kuresaare on Saaremaa; 4. Põide on Saaremaa; 5. Kitee in Karjala; Kymi in Uusimaa; 6. Nigula in Wirumaa.

³⁹ 1. Ylihärmä, 2. Laihia, 3. Veteli in Pohjanmaa; 4. Kurikka; 5. Jurva, 6. Kauhava, 7-9. Ylihärma; 10. Laihia; 11=7; 12=2; 13. Mäntyharju in Savo; 14. Eurajoki in Satakunta; 15. Veteli, Kauhajoki in Pohjanmaa; 16. Eura, Rusko in Actual Finland.

buy for me a stout stallion,
a white sallow one.

The Estonian shepherds ask the ladybird:

2. *Meriärg, meriärg,* Ladybird (2x),
kus loomad, kus loomad, where are the cows (2x),
kus lammad, kus lammad. where are the sheep (2x)?

The same way in Tõstamaa (in district Pernau) they ask or say: 'show, where the cattle is' (3), 'fly thither, where my cows are' (4).

5. *Lenda lenda lepatriino,* Fly, fly, ladybird,
lenda sinna lepikohe, fly into the alder-foliage,
karga sinna kaasikohe, jump into the birch-wood,
kohes katte mino kari! where my cattle has gone astray.

In some parishes the verse is continued with the familiar threats: 6. 'if you don't show [where the cattle is], then I will kill you'; 7. 'if you don't show it, I will kill you between two stones.' In a variant (8) the ladybird is asked: 'Where is *your* cattle?' On the island of Kihnu it is said: 'Ladybird (2x), lead my cattle.' In some regions they say that the flight-direction of the ladybird indicates where the lost cattle can be found, though there is no special verse recorded with this notion (9). Then there is this variant:

10. Fly, fly, ladybird,
fly into the alder-foliage,
jump into the birch-wood,
where I will buy me a sheep (cow).

There are also variants from the western islands and from Estonia. In one variant it is said: 'fly thither, where my knife (*veits*) has disappeared.' In this the original word belonging to this type *veis* 'cattle' has been misunderstood. Next they started to ask the ladybird: 'whither has disappeared my clasp, my sewing needle, my gold-purse, my head-scarf, glove, ring, clew of yarn, etc. (11)⁴⁰

12. Group 12, 'Fly, fly, ladybird, bring me golden cloths' (1), has as variants: 2. '..., fly to Sweden, bring me golden cloths', with the continuation: 3. 'keep for yourself the one of serge', or: 4. 'from underneath the back-bench'. 5. 'Fly to Turku and bring me golden cloths', 6. 'fly to heaven and bring me from there golden cloths', 7. 'fly underneath a stone church and bring me from there golden cloths', 8. or: 'fly underneath an old church, on an island in Finland', etc., 9. '... on a big island underneath a stone church', etc., 10. 'fly to my beloved ...', 11. '... from behind golden stones'. 12. '... give me golden cloths, when I die', 13. '... bring me yellow cloths', 14. '... new cloths'; 15. '... a beautiful skirt', 16. 'fly to Sweden, bring me such cloths, as you yourself have', 17. 'fly to Turku, bring me such a coat as you have', 18. '... whither I will get married, on an island in Finland underneath a stone church. Bring me such cloths, as you

⁴⁰ 1. Hausjärvi in Uusimaa; Lohtaja in Pohjanmaa; 2. Kullamaa in Läänamaa; 3. Tõstamaa, Vigala in Pärnumaa; Kolga-Jaani in Viljandimaa; 4. island Muhu; 5. Võnnu in Tartumaa; 6. Märjamaa in Läänemaa; 7. Põltsamaa in Viljandimaa; 8. Kursi in Tartumaa; 9. Kullamaa and Märjamaa in Läänemaa; Kärla and Kuresaare on Saaremaa; 10. Võnnu in Tartumaa = 11.

yourself have.’⁴¹ See also the variants from Häme and Satakunta from group 7, wherein the ladybird is promised a new red skirt.

The variants build a cohesive area in Actual Finland and Juvas points ahead to the name *kultakännä* ‘gold-beetle’. Here are some more variants, wherein the ladybird is requested to bring something of gold, 1. ‘... give me gold’; 2. ‘... bring me a golden apple’.⁴² There are no Estonian variants.

13. In group 13 the children say: ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, will I come (next) Sunday in the church?’ (1), with the continuation (2): ‘if you don’t fly, I will not get away, if you fly, I will get away’. Further: 3. ‘... will I be escorted on Sunday to the church’ with the continuation: 4. ‘if you fly, you will get a big sandwich, if you don’t, I will put your head in a rock-crack.’ 5. ‘... Will I come with Christmas in the church?’ 6. ‘... Will I come this summer in the church?’ 7. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, on a plate of alder-wood, on a yoke of birch-wood, say, will I come this Sunday in the church?’⁴³ The type is Savo-Karelian and does not exist in Estonia.

14. Group 14 concerns the prediction of war; the type is generally spread in Ingermanland as well as among the Finns as the Votes and in East-Europe. In Ingermanland the formula starts with the familiar onomatopoetic words *tiiri-liiri*⁴⁴: ‘Tiiri, liiri, ladybird, whither will the war come?’ Further: 1. ‘... from Finland or from one of the islands’; 2. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, from which direction will the war come, your head will be cut off’; 3. ‘... your head will be cut off, cooked in the eating-pot’. 4. ‘Fly, fly, ladybird, tomorrow will come the war to you. Your head will be cut off, boiled in the pot, cooked in the eating-pot’.⁴⁵

In Estonia it is asked: ‘Ladybird, from where does the war come?’ or: ‘show, from where the war will come, where is war’, ‘fly thither from where the war will come’, ‘where there is war’. This type is spread in all of East-Estonia. Juvas points to the rhyme:

1.	<i>Lenda sinne lepikuse,</i>	Fly into the alder-forest,
	<i>Karga sinna kadakusse.</i>	Jump into the elder-bush.

One time:

2.	<i>Kaasikust vői maasikust</i>	out of the birch-wood or out of the strawberry-land
	<i>mäta alt vői vaarikust.</i>	from underneath the earth-hill or out of the raspberry-bush.

3. ‘Fly into the alder-wood, to [the village] Kanepi’. Once the question is: ‘where is the war and where the peace (*kus pool sõja lepik*)’. In a group of variants (4) it is asked: ‘Ladybird, fly, fly, from where will the war come, from the land or from the sea’. In a twenty variants (5) it is: ‘from the wood or from the sea’, ‘from the side of the wood or from that of the sea’, or the question is for the direction of the compass: 6. ‘from the north or from the south, from the east or from the west’, or: 7. ‘from above or from below’, 8. ‘from the earth or from the sky’. Or:

⁴¹ 1. Perniö, Uskela, Salo in A.F.; Somero in Häme; Marttila, Pöytyä, Rymättylä in A.F.; 2. Lieto, Uskela, Sauvo, Piikkiö, Maaria, Merimasku; 3. Karikainen in A.F.; 4. Vahto in A.F.; 5. Rusko in A.F.; 6. Maaria, Uskela in A.F.; 7. Paattinen in A.F.; 8. Kokemäki, Ruovesi in Satakunta; 9. Tammela in Häme; 10. Uskela (3x) = 11; 12. Salo, Perniö; 13. Rymättylä; 14. Turku; 15. Yläne, Kiikala in A.F.; 16. Paimio in A.F.; 17. Raisio, Uusikirkko in A.F.; Loimaa? In Satakunta; 18. =13.

⁴² 1. Mellilä in A.F.; 2. Sauvo in A.F.

⁴³ 1. Puumala, Heinävesi, Sulkava, Kerimäki, Rantasalmi and Suomenniemi in Savo; Simpele in Karjala; Kivennapa on the Karelian isyhmus; 2. Puumala; 3. Puumala, Anttola, Heinävesi in Savo; Rupkolahti in Karjala; 4. Kerimäki in Savo; 5. Sääminki in Savo; 6. Kivennapa; 7. Leppävirta.

⁴⁴ In Dutch there is a verb *tiereieren* meaning ‘warble, twitter’.

⁴⁵ 1. Hietämäki, Ingermanland; 2. Soikkola in Ingermanland = 3; 4. Narvusi; 5. = 2.

9. *kas lääne pool või linna pool* from the west or from the direction of the town,
kas linna poolt või laane poolt (idem)
liinapool või laane pool from the direction of the town or from the wood
liina poolt või lääne poolt (idem)

Some variants contain deviations: 11. ‘from the direction of Tartu or from the direction of Tallinn’, 12. ‘from the direction of the town or from Narva’; 13. ‘from the side of the town or from the island’; 14. ‘from the side of the marsh or from the heath (*soo poolt või aru poolt*)’ and other minor variations. A few times we find:

15. ‘Ladybird, fly, fly,
fly thither on the door-latch,
fly thither on the door-hook,
from where will the war come?’

In a variant it is said: 16. ‘... if war comes, don’t fly there in a straight line, make a curve, make a bow, then I will understand (*tee vimpu tee väntu, siis saa ma aru*)’.

17. *Lend lenda lepriinu,* Fly, fly, ladybird,
sõnele kust soda sõudmas, from where the war will come,
Vaenu vanker veeremas, the war-car will roll,
Tapper tugita tappemas/ (line unclear).

Jestingly:

18. ... *Linnukust või lannikust,*
 või Rada Jaani mannikust
(või sukka sääre sännikust).
19. ... *Leppikust või lappikust* from the alder-wood or ... (onomatopoetic word)
(või sukasääri alikust).
20. ... *Rimmikus või rammikus*
*või lapse sukasääre hallikus.*⁴⁶

A coherent subtype of their own is formed in this group by those verses, in which the ladybird is threatened with death or something else awful, if it does not fly.

1. *Meriärg, meriärg,* Ladybird (2x),
näitä kus poolt tuleb sõda, show from which direction the war comes,
kui et näitä tapan ära. if you don’t show, I will kill you.

This simple form is present in the whole area, wherein variants of this group exist. Usually the danger is specified. In many variants: ‘if you don’t show (speak, fly), I will kill you between two stones’, ‘I will smash you between two stones to dust’, ‘I’ll flatten you between two stones’, in one variant: 2. ‘I’ll bury you (*madan maha mulda*).’⁴⁷ In multiple variants:

Fly, fly, ladybird,
Show, in which direction is the war.
If you don’t fly, then I’ll take
your head off and

⁴⁶ 1. Põlva in Wõrumaa; Tartu; 2. Jaagupi in Wirumaa; 3. Võnnu in Tartumaa; 4. Tallinn in Harjumaa; Nigula, Lüganuse, Jaagupi, Simuna, Iisaku en Vaivaru in Wirumaa; Nõo in Tartumaa; Paistu in Wiljandimaa; 5. Jaagupi, Lüganuse, Vaivaru and Iisaku in Wirumaa, Torma, Kodavere, Maarja-Magdalena and Äksi in Tartumaa; Põltsamaa, Wiljandi in Wiljandimaa; 6. Nigula and Jaagupi in Wirumaa; Laiuse in Tartumaa; Paistu in Wiljandimaa; 7. Laiuse in Tartumaa; 8. Vaivaru in Wirumaa; 9. Tartu, Nõo in Tartumaa; 10. Simuna, Laiuse in Wirumaa; 11. Tartu; 12. Nigula in Wiruma; 13. Maarja-Magdalena in Tartumaa; 14. not mentioned; 15. Põlva in Wõrumaa; 16. Torma in Tartumaa; 17. Jaagupi in Wirumaa; 18. Iisaku in Wirumaa; 19/20. = 16.

⁴⁷ 1. Paistu in Tartumaa; 2. Pilstvere in Wiljandimaa.

leave only the body, the rump (or the legs, the tail).

Also in several variants: 'if you don't fly (show), then I'll throw you into the oven', '... then I'll take off your head and throw it into the oven', 'then I'll take you your head and what's left I will throw in the oven', one time: 'then I will take a blunt knife and cut off your head.' In three variants: 'if you don't show (speak), then I'll throw you into water.' In two dispersed variants: 'if you don't show, then I will take a stick (or: blunt knife) and cut off your head'. One time: 'then you will get thrashed'.

Sometimes a promise of a reward is tied to the threats. 'Ladybird (2x), speak, to which direction is the war; if you show, I'll give you a sandwich, if you don't show, I'll kill you'; 'if you speak, I will give you a sandwich (*kannika võleibas*)'; 'then I'll give you a sugar-cake', 'then I'll sew for you a warm silk shirt'. An example of connected motives:

Ladybird (2x),
speak, from which side the war will come,
from the east or from the west?
If you don't speak, I'll kill you, I'll kill you.
If you speak, if you speak,
I will give you sugar-cake,
sugar-cake and honey-cake. (Tartu-Maarja)

There are 268 variants that ask about the war, 114 of which contain a threat.

15. In group 15 the ladybird is requested to bring a letter. A later type, according to Juvas, that has come about after the ladybird-name *kirilind* 'pied bird' had been interpreted folk-etymologically as 'letter-bird' (*kiri* 'furriery, writing, letter'). 'Ladybird (2x), from where will I receive a letter?', 'fly thither (or: show), from where will I receive a letter'. 'Letter-carrier, letter-carrier, fly thither, from where a letter is coming', 'bring me from there a letter' (Tartu). There can be added: 'if you don't show it, I will throw you into the oven', 'does it come from the direction of Tallinn or Tartu, if you don't say it, I will kill you' (Otepää in Tartumaa).

16. Group 16 consists of isolated variants. The ladybird as bringer of diverse gifts: 1. 'Ladybird (2x), give me medicine', 2. 'give food'. 3. 'Fly, ladybird, fly, fly over nine seas, bring me something from there'. 4. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, from where rags (?) come (*kust poold kalu saab*), from east or from west'.

5. Fly, fly, ladybird,
float, float quickly (*sõua rutusti*),
go through southern countries.
When you return.
then bring me many flowers
and much luck (*kuuluta mul palju õnne*),
as all live there.

The ladybird is asked whither or to what purpose it flies: 6. 'Ladybird, where do you go to, if you don't say it, I will kill you'. 7. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, did you see *Kadaka-Kaie* (German Katherine, an insect), did you go get salt from the town?' 8. 'Ladybird, little bird (*lindu landu*), to which direction, little bird, to Tartu, little bird, what to seek?'⁴⁸ To eat sugar, to drink coffee, splash in mother's bed.' Further: 9. 'Ladybird (2x), why do you have seven dots on your back, why do you have such a red skirt?' 10. 'Fly, fly, ladybird, is it already noon?' Or: 'when will noon come?'

⁴⁸ Here, as above, 'little bird (*lindu landu*)' might also be translated as 'fly, fly'.

The ladybird as guide: 11. 'Bring me to a good berry-spot'. 12. '... Speak, in which direction I will go into service.'⁴⁹

In some variants the ladybird is ordered to fly 'on a plate'. To this verse lines we already met are connected:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>Lennä lennä leppälintu</i> | Fly, fly, ladybird, |
| | <i>Tammiselle lautaselle,</i> | on a plate of oak-wood, |
| | <i>Koivuselle korennolle,</i> | on a yoke of birch-wood, |
| | <i>Minkä päin mua naidaan</i> | into which direction will I get married? |

The last line can also be (2): 'will I come in the church next Sunday?'

3. Fly, fly, ladybird,
on a plate of oak-wood.
Will it be nice weather tomorrow?

To this is added (4): 'Behind a stone church, fly here, fly there, thither, where I will be married next year.'

5. Fly, fly, ladybird,
on a plate of alder-wood,
father and mother are cooking porridge for you.

6. As third line: 'On the hand-palm of my beloved.'

7. Fly, fly, ladybird,
on a stone plate,
near a stone church.

8. Fly, fly, ladybird,
on the alder-plate (*leppäselle lauvalle*).
Don't you fly, then I will kill you,
Do you fly away,
you will receive a sandwich.

In total there are 9 variants.⁵⁰

In all of Finland it is said that the ladybird is protected and treated with care and that the children are forbidden to kill it. In Pohjanmaa, i.e., in the area where the ladybird is ordered to fly to the cattle, they say that it is the aunt of the cow, and if anybody kills it, the cows will give off blood in stead of milk. This is also said about frogs and the dung-beetle. Pulverized ladybirds are according to an old family-doctor's book used as tooth-medicine and from in brandy dissolved ladybirds bed-bug poison is made.

B. The denominations (by Kustaa Vilkuna)

1. Denominations based on colors

Red: In most Baltic Finn names of the ladybird there appears as first part the word *leppä* (Estonian *lepp*), that usually means 'alder, alder-tree', but also 'blood, red'. Finn *leppäkerttu* 'red Gertrud', *-kerppu*, *-kilkka* (1), *-kilko* 'red beetle' (2), *-lintu* 'red bird', *-pirrko* 'red Birgit',

⁴⁹ 1. Askainen in A.F.; 2. Loimaa in Satakunta; 3. Saarijärvi in Häme; 4. Kuusalu in Harrien; 5. Suure-Jani in Tartumaa; 6. Kodavere in Tartumaa; 7. Hageri in Harjumaa; 8. Urvaste in Wörumaa; 9. Paide in Järwamaa; 10. Pyhämaa, Pyhäranta in A.F.; 11. Lavansaari in Karjala; 12. Võnnu in Tartumaa.

⁵⁰ 1. Korpilahti, Jämsä in Häme; 2. Leppävirta in Savo; 3. Jäppilä in Savo; 4. Kuorevesi in Häme; 5. Himanka in Pohjanmaa; Pihlajavesi in Häme; 6. as the last one; 7. Uurainen in Häme; 8. Kuopio in Savo.

-*terttu*, -*tiira*, Est. *lepalind* ‘red bird’, -*tiir*, -*tiiu* ‘red Dorothea’, -*linnuke* ‘little red bird’, -*triinu* ‘red Katherine’, Vot. *Leppätiiro*. Obviously the naming of the ladybird after the red hue and in fact the colour of blood is very old in the East Finn area, because it is the most spread, appears in more languages than the others and has no equivalents in neighbouring languages. Outside the *leppä*-area are only South Estonia and some part of West Estonia as well as some parts of South-west Finland. Also after the red hue is formed the first part of the Finn *punakerttu* ‘red Gertrud’ (3) and *punamaija* ‘red Mary’ (4).⁵¹

Pied: The typical spots of the ladybird may be at the basis of elements of Estonian names built with the Estonian word *kiri*⁵², *kiriv*, *kirju*, like *kirilind*, *kirivlind* ‘pied bird’, *kirivlehm* ‘pied cow’, *kirjatlehm*, *kirjät-lehmäkke* ‘little pied cow’ (1), *kirikarjana* ‘pied deer’ (2), *kirju-kukrik* ‘pied beetle’ (3), *kirikär* ‘pied woodpecker’ (4), *kirjuliisu* ‘pied Lisa’ (5), *kirikind* (6).⁵³ Vilkuna also counts to this group the Estonian ladybird-names *käokirjas*, *käokirjat*, *käokiri*, *käokiris* ‘cuckoo-mould’.

2. Denominations according to other animals

Bird: Finn *lintu*. We meet this in some compounds, of which the most spread is *leppälintu* (Satakunta and border areas), *leppoolintu* (1), Estonian *lepalind*, *leppalinnukke*, *leppälind* ‘red (or: blood) bird’. This is an old type, because it exists in Finn and Estonian and *leppälintu* exists in Swedish Wermland, whither in the 16th and 17th century residents of middle Finland migrated.⁵⁴ In Ingermanland the ladybird is only called *linnukkainen* ‘little bird’ (2) and *lehmälintu* ‘cow-bird’ (3). Also in Livonian ‘bird’ appears in the compounds *mömalikki*, *mömalinkki* ‘little mama-bird’ (?).

Sea-swallow, singer: Finn *tiira* ‘sea-swallow (= tern)’ and Finn *kerttu*, *terttu* ‘singer’ appear in some compounds, but they seem to be folk-etymological transformations of Christian female names.

Woodpecker: Estonian *kirikär* ‘pied woodpecker’ occurs only once in West-Estonia.

Hen: Estonian *kana* ‘hen’ is only present in West Estonia in the compounds: *lėskana*, *lies’kana*, *līs’kana*, *līskami* ‘Lisa-hen’ (4) and *maarja-kana*, *maerikana* ‘Mary-hen’ (5). The hen-names are rare in Baltic Finn and frequent in Scandinavian which brings Vilkuna to the conclusion that the name comes from the last mentioned (Swedish *gullhöna* is on the Swedish speaking island Nuckö *gullhēnu* ‘gold-hen’ and on Worms *Jes-hena* is ‘Jesus’ hen’).

Cock: is only present in a small area on the Estonian Saaremaa as *maarakukk* ‘Mary-cock’.

Cow: Finn *jumalalehmä* ‘God’s cow’, *jumalal lehmo* ‘God’s little cow’ can only be found in East Finland on the Karelian language border (7) and in Ingermanland (8), Karelian *jumalanlehmäni* (9), Olon. *jumalaa-lehmänc* (10), Lüd. *d’umalanlehmäiñe* (11), Wepsian *d’umalanlehmäiñe* ‘God’s little cow’ (12), *šündunlehm* ‘Jesus’ (or: God’s) cow’ (13), Vot. *jumalā lehmä* ‘God’s cow’ (14). Also in East Estonia *jumalalehm* ‘God’s cow’ appears rarely. (15).⁵⁵ Vilkuna points to the adjacent areas, in Russian божья коровка ‘God’s little

⁵¹ 1. Kangasniemi in Savo; 2. Anttola and Mikkeli in Savo; 3. Paavola in North Pohjanmaa; 4. Pornainen in Uusimaa (Finn *puna* = red).

⁵² The Estonian word *kiri* (gen. *kirja*) also means ‘letter’ (as we saw in the verses) and is as such also folk-etymological understood, from where the new name *kirjakandja* ‘letter-carrier’ (Tartu).

⁵³ 1. Helme, Karksi, Paistu, Tarvaste; 2. Saaremaa; 3. Risti; 4. Karula; 5. Lihula; 6. Sangaste.

⁵⁴ In Finn and Estonian *leppälintu*, *lepalind* is also a common name of a collared redstart (*Ruticilla phoenicurus*), but also of other red-marked birds, like the beech-finch, the little red-throat, etc. In Livonian *leppälinn* is ‘butterfly’.

⁵⁵ 1. Laihia in South Pohjanmaa; 2. Soikkola; 3. Narvusi; 4. Saaremaa, Muhu, Läänemaa; 5. Anseküla, Jämaja and Kärla on Saaremaa; 6. Korpeselkä, Jaakkima; 7. Jämaja; 8. Markkova, Narvusi; 9. Salmi, Suojärvi, Kiestinki,

cow' and in Syrjanic *jen-mös* 'God's cow' or *jen-əška* 'God's (little) ox'. These last names can be loan-translations from Russian, but at the Wermland Wood-Fins on the Norwegian-Swedish border a related name, but pointing to a pagan god, has been preserved: *ukoinlehmä* 'Ukko's cow'. Ukko is the thunder-god. That it doesn't have to be an original name Vilkuuna proves with the Swedish *gudsko*, that can be found in Wermland dialects. Against this though there is the name *ukon'lehmä(he)* from an old recording from Rukajärvi in Archangelsk-Karelia. In an adjacent area we see *ukonlammas* 'Ukko's sheep' (infra). In the Estonian there are also *taevaätti lehmäk* 'heaven-father's little cow' or *taevaätti kirjant lehm* 'heaven-father's pied cow' (1), *käolehm* 'cuckoo's cow' (2), *kirjät' lehmäke* 'pied little cow', *kirivlehm* 'pied cow'; *taevaätti kirjant lehm* 'heaven-father's pied cow' (3).⁵⁶

Ox: Estonian *mereärg*, *meriärg* 'sea-ox'. Vilkuuna suggests that *meri* 'sea' may be from Mary (infra). *Merik* is also a cow-name. That the ox is known further eastward we have already seen from the Syrjanic name *jen-əška* 'God's (little) ox' and in the collection of H. Paasonen the name *pakša-puka* 'field-ox' (1) has been recorded in three Erza-mordvinic dialects as well as once *pakšan-skal* 'field-cow' (2).⁵⁷

Sheep: From East Karelia there are a few recordings of the name *ukonlammas* (*ukonlampahainen*) 'Ukko's (little) sheep'. The usual meaning of this word though is a common snipe (Gallinago) or a large, fat sheep. Vilkuuna points to the Hungarian ladybird-name *istenbáránya* 'lamb of God'.⁵⁸

3. Denominations according to activities

Bringer of gifts: The Finn *kultakännä* 'gold-beetle' (Actual F.) does not communicate immediately that the ladybird is a bringer of gifts, but as the name appears exactly there, where in the nursery-rhymes the ladybird is asked to bring golden cloths and other golden things, it is obvious, that the 'gold-beetle' is an insect that can procure these things. Vilkuuna points to the fact that in Swedish gold is often a part of the ladybird-name (*gullbagge*, *-höna*, *-knopp*, *-ko*, *-kóddä*, *-sigrid*, *-tipo*, *-topp*) and that the very coherent *kultakännä*-area in South-west Finland links up with the Scandinavian and Western European area (English *goldie bird*). But the attribute 'golden' can also be found in the Karelian language-area, because from Säämäjärvi in Olonetz comes the following conjuration: *Kuldaine jumalaa lehmäine, äl ehki rikkoi* 'golden ladybird, don't break (= die?) yet.'

Oracular animal: In several formulas the ladybird appears as oracular animal that, taken on the hand, by its flying or not flying or by the direction of its flight can predict future events or give an answer to diverse questions (see verse-groups 3, 4, 7-10, 13, 14). This faculty of the ladybird is expressed in just one Baltic Finn name, namely in Karelian *arboilindu* 'predict-bird' (Salmi). But there are also a few recordings of the name *onnenkello* 'luck-clock' (Aura, Laihia), and the Estonian *önnelind* 'luck-bird' that is only known from the dictionary of Wiedemann.

Love oracle: The Finn *lemminkäinen* (*lämminkäinen*) is obviously from *lempi* (gen. *lemmen*) 'love' (compare *suoli* 'colon'; *suolinkainen* 'round-worm'). Such names can also be found in

Tolmatšu in Tver; 10. Säämäjärvi, Tulemajärvi; Njekkula, Riipuskala; 11. Mundjärvi, Tiudia; 12. Kaskeza; 13. Šimd'arv; 14. Kattila, Pummala; 15. Tartu, Marja.

⁵⁶ 1. Karksi; 2. Võnnu, Põlva, Röpina, Vastseliina, Setukesien; 3. Karksi.

⁵⁷ 1. Maresevo, district Ardatov, gouv. Sombirsk; Isakly, district Buguljma, gouv. N.-Novgorod; Bajtermiš, district Bugurstan, gouv. Samara. 2. Velikij Vrag, district Arzamas, gouv. N.-Novgorod.

⁵⁸ Beke, l.c., 33. [Not clear which work]

other languages, for instance Italian *celle d'amore* (Chieti) and *amoràn* 'lover' (Sàssari, Sardinia). The love-oracle verse (group 7) is distributed over a very large part of Finland and can also be found in Sweden.⁵⁹ The *lemminkäinen* area is on the land-side surrounded by a narrow zone with *lenninkäinen* (in Naantali *länninkäinen*), of which Vilkuna assumes that it is a later form from the first that explains folk-etymologically the meaning of *lemminkäinen*, cf. Finn *lentää*, *lennän* 'to fly' (the word *lempi*, *lemmen* 'love' is nowadays almost unknown). Even closer to *lentää* is the form *lentiläinen* recorded at the edge of the *lemminkäinen* area (Maaria).

Shepherd and cattle-herd: West Estonian *lambrik* 'shepherd' (1), *lambrine* 'shepherdess' (2). In the now extinct Swedish dialect spoken on the island there was a comparable name *Jesvallpika* 'Jesus' shepherdess', a name that also appears in a large area on the Swedish mainland. In Finland and Estonia the ladybird is part of a sheep-related superstition which says that when a ladybird is killed the luck of the sheep-farming would disappear (3). Also it is remarkable that the saints who were protectors of the cattle and especially the sheep, have given their names to the ladybird in those places where they were church-patrons (infra). The Estonian *kirikarjane* 'pied shepherd' (4) and the Finn *karjanpaimen* 'cattle-herd' (5) and *lehmänpaimen* 'cowherd' (6) appear only at the western edge of the Baltic Finn area and link up with the shepherd-names known from the Scandinavian countries. In the same areas of Finland superstitious ideas are attached to the ladybird that are related to cattle-farming: the killing of a ladybird will harm the cattle (7); from who kills a ladybird a cow will die (8); the ladybird is the aunt of the cow, when a ladybird is killed, the cow will start to give milk-blood or red milk (9); as many dots as there are on the wings of the ladybird, so many cows it herds (10). Vilkuna refers to the verses in which the ladybird is commanded to fly as far as our cattle-bells sound. In Uusimaa (11) the children are told that the ladybird herds the herd; in Savo (12) the shepherds ask where the cows are that disappeared in the woods. They believe that the ladybird then flies to the spot where the lost animal is (13). Also in the next group there can be found much that connects the ladybird with the being that takes care of the well-being and protection of the cattle.

4. Denominations according to saints' names

Katherine: Vilkuna differentiates between a Finn and an Estonian Katherine. Finn *kaija*, from which *lentokaija* 'fly-Kathy' or *kannikaija* 'beetle-Kathy' (1). Here we see the combination of a stone church, consecrated to Katherine, at Huittinen and the ladybird-name derived from the saint. Estonian *lepatriinu* 'red Kathy' is distributed over almost the whole of the Estonian language-area, but is rare in the South and West, where it has arisen according to Vilkuna only after the term had become common in the written language; North Estonia should be the cradle-area, where we find next to *lepatriinu* forms like *lepatiir*, *leppatiiru* 'red tern' (2). This type continues eastward over the Finn dialect of Ingermanland and through the Votic language-area to the Karelian isthmus and from there westward into East Uusimaa, thus containing the whole inside-area of the Finn sea-bosom. The forms vary strongly: Votic *leppätiiro* (3), Ing. *leppätiira* (4), Finn *leppotiuro* (5), *leppätiira*, *-tiira* (6), *-tiiri*, *-tirti* (7). Also here there is a stone church, namely the Kadrina Convent in Tallinn in East Estonia, founded in 1246. A second Katherine-convent was in Tartu in East Estonia, that was already mentioned in the 13th century. And in Virumaa in North Estonia there is an old parish Kadrina

⁵⁹ Vilkuna refers to Strindberg, *Svenska folket, Samlade skrifter* VII, 26; Rietz, *Svenski dialect-lexicon*, 221.

with a Katherine-church, as well as at Võru. Vilkuna points also to the existence of incantations, wherein the H. Katherine appears as protectress of the cattle. Such an incantation to the H. Katherine, ‘the mistress of the cows’, is the following:

8. *Hyva Katrina, kaunis Katrina* Good Katherine, beautiful Katherine,
Syö voita kiisselii; eat butter and kissle,
Elä tapa lehmojaain. don’t kill my cow!

A prayer to her states: ‘Good Katherine, beautiful Katherine, Give me a calf, that is white, Good though would be even a black one, Also a pied one would be good.’⁶⁰ In Estonia Katherine (Kadri) is especially venerated as protectress of the sheep. Also in other languages Katherine appears as a ladybird-name: Hungarian *katica* ‘little cat’, *katicabogár* ‘little cat-beetle’ (9), *istenkaticája* ‘God’s little cat’, *katinka*, *katicska*, *katóka*, *katalinbogár*, *katalína*, etc.; Italian *S. Catarina* (10), *la katarinedda* (11); French *bête à Sainte Catharine* (12).⁶¹

Elizabeth: The completely single-meaning name Elizabeth as denomination of the ladybird can only be found in Estonia on the island Kihnu: *liispet* and in Finland in Tuusula not far from Helsinki: *liispu* ‘Elizabeth’.⁶² Between these places one finds on Saaremaa and West Estonia forms like *kirjuliisu* ‘pied Elizabeth’ (1), *liiskana* ‘Elizabeth’s hen’ (2), *leeskana* ‘sand-hen’ (3), which according to Vilkuna is a folk-etymological deformation, as well as *leeslind* ‘sand-bird’ (4), what should be derived from *liislind*.⁶³ In this Estonian area exists also an Elizabeth-church, in Lihula from the 13th century. Now there is not much to find about Elizabeth, but in old Runic songs she appears as the woman who rocks the fire in the form ‘Lispettä, nurse of God’ or ‘Liispettä, daughter of Ukko’. On her Saint’s day (19 Nov.) there was sometimes pictured a pair of scissors on the old Runic staves as a sign that on that day the sheep should be sheared. And where Elizabeth appears in nursery-rhymes, she is shepherdess. ‘*Liispet, liispet, lennä, juhata mu lambu* (Elizabeth, Elizabeth, fly, give direction to my sheep)’ is said on Kihnu.

Birgit: In the south of Middle Häme and in South Savo the H. Birgit appears in compounds as *lennämpirkko* (1), *linnanperkko* (2), *linnanpirkko* ‘castle-Birgit’ (3). Vilkuna sees in *linna* ‘castle, stronghold’ a contamination with *lentää*, *lennän* ‘to fly’, which is strengthened by the forms *lentopirkka* (1) and *lentopirkko* ‘fly-Birgit’ (4). The ladybird has as mysterious a relation with castles as with churches. Here it is ordered in the nursery-rhymes ‘to fly at the window of an old castle’. A second group consists of *leppäpilku* ‘red spot’ (5), *leppäpirjo* (6), *leppäpirkko* (7), *leppäpirkku* ‘red Birgit’. The first one is surely a deformation of the last one. A third group contains *piimäpilku* ‘buttermilk-spot’ (8), *piimäpirkka* (9), *piimäpirkko* ‘buttermilk-Birgit’ (10). Also here Vilkuna considers the first name a deformation of the last one, which he holds also for probable because of the rarer forms *piinapirkku* ‘pine-Birgit’ (11) and *piimäsirkka* ‘buttermilk-cricket’ (12). Birgit is particularly venerated in Häme, where there are four churches consecrated to her (13) and her Saint’s day was still celebrated with a big feast in the 19th century (14).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ A.J. Sjögren, ‘Ueber die Finnische Bevölkerung des St. Petersburgschen Gouvernements und über den Ursprung des Namens Ingermannlands’, in: *Gesammelte Schriften* I, 555.

⁶¹ 1. Huittinen, Säskylä and Vampula in Satakunta; 2. Kuusalu, Viru-Nigula; 3. Kattila; 4. Hietamäki; 5. Sakkijärvi; 6. Simpele, Kirvu, Vuoksenranta; 7. Koivisto; 8. Tyrö in Ingermanland; 9. Dunaadony; 10. Brescia; 11. Sicilië; 12. Reims.

⁶² In Dutch common derivations of the name, written as Elisabeth, are *Lijsbeth*, *Liesbet*, *Lies(je)*, *Els(bet)*, etc.

⁶³ 1. Lihula; 2. Hanila, Karuse, Lihula, Töstamaa; 3. Kihelkonna, Kärla, Karja, Jaani, Põide on Saaremaa, Muhu; 4. Anseküla, Kaarma, Püha and Põide on Saaremaa, Varbla in Läänemaa, Töstamaa in Pärnumaa.

⁶⁴ 1. Hollola; 2. Mäntsälä; 3. Hollola, Nastola, Pornainen; 4. Hausjärvi, Lammi; Kangasala, Sahalahti; 5. Kangasala, Orivesi, Suoniemi, Urjala; 6. Asikkala, Iitti, Jaala, Kangasala, Lemi, Luopioinen, Savitaipale, Suomenniemi, Tuulos;

Dorothea: In three parishes in Middle Estonia the ladybird-name *lepatiiu* ‘red Dorothea’⁶⁵ appears. It is not clear what meaning Dorothea has in folk-religion, but in any case it is an old woman’s name and in 18th-century manuscripts the forms *Tio*, *Tijo* for Dorothea have been attested. In the Baltic coast-area’s the H. Dorothea is known as a saint who helps to find a good wife, which reminds of the ladybird-rhymes.

Gertrud: Fins *leppäkerttu* (> *-terttu*) ‘red Gertrud’ is a very well distributed name that is exclusive in a large part of Middle and North Finland; next to *leppälintu* ‘red bird’ and *leppäpirkko* ‘red Birgit’ the name also appears in Satakunta and Häme as well as elsewhere in Finland. Here though the name mainly appears in nursery-rhymes. The distribution of the name has been promoted by acceptance in the written language. The place of origin appears to be South Pohjanmaa, where three old church statues of the H. Gertrud can be found. Unclear though is her meaning. In Germany, the land of her origin, she is active in cattle-farming, which connects her to the ladybird.

Maria: Viikuna starts by pointing out that Mary is in a large part of Europe a normal part of the ladybird-name, like in Italian *sa santa María* (1), Catalanian *marieta*, French *bête de la Vierge*, English *ladybird*, *-bug*, *-cow*, German *Unser lieben Frau Kuel* (2), *Marienkäfer*, *-kalb*, *-kuh*, Hungarian *Boldog Asszony Bogara*, Serbian *mara*, Romanian *mariută*, Danish *mariehöne*, Swedish *marianyckelpiga*. But in the Baltic area the combination with Mary is quite rare, despite the large role of Mary in folk belief. Her functions though are on another terrain and besides the bee is consecrated to her. At the edges of the language area we do meet Mary. Finn *punamaija* ‘red Mary’ (3) and *Muna Maja* (4) can only be found in two parishes in Uusimaa near Sweden, where the name Mary is frequently encountered (for example *Gull-Maria* on Pellinge). From Estonia there was already mention of *maarakana*, *maerikana* ‘Mary-hen’ and *marjakuk* ‘Mary-cock’ that were recorded in areas where there used to be a heavy Swedish presence. Also there is an old Mary-church at Anseküla. An unrelated recording of the name *maarakalehm* ‘Mary-cow’ comes from the parish Tartu-Maarja (St. Mary). Possibly the name Mary can be found in the above mentioned Estonian *merihärg* ‘sea-ox’, because *meri* might be folk-etymologically from Mary who amongst other names in Finn is also called *merieukko* ‘sea-woman’ (= mermaid). Also there is the Lüdic ladybird-name *merenemä* ‘sea-mother’ (6), a word also known in Finn and Karelian, but only in the expression ‘big (or fat) as a sea-mother’, said of fat cows, horses and women. The Estonians and Livonians also know the word that with them refers to a shadowy being. Further the Livonian *mōma* ‘moeder, mama’ in the word *mōmalinikki* ‘little mother-bird’ refers obviously to the Virgin Mary. Viikuna sees no connection with Mary in the component ‘grandmother’ in East Russian languages. In Chuwas *kuGamaj* ‘grandmother on mother’s side’, *irsekukamaj* ‘Erzamordvin, impure grandmother’, Votjak *čuž-anaj-papa* ‘grandmother-bird’. A clue to what sort of old images might be behind these denominations Viikuna sees in two Turkish and an Arab name: Turkish *ebem böžügü* ‘beetle of my midwife’ (7) and *hanım böžäji* ‘beetle of the woman’, Arab *baqq al-sitt* ‘bedbug of the wife’, cf. Italian *commaruccia* ‘little aunt (= midwife)’; see also the many stories of the ladybird as child-bringer.⁶⁶

7. Eräjärvi, Längelmäki, Hauho, Tuulos, Sääksmäki; 8. Hattula, Hollola, Lepäälä, Sahalahti; 9. Vanaja; 10. Heinola, Lepäälä, Pukkila, Tuulos; 11. Sääksmäki, Vanaja; 12. Hattula; 13. Lempäälä, Loppi, Padasjoki, Tuulos; 14. at Pirkkala and Lempäälä.

⁶⁵ Kolga-Jaani, Kose, Märjamaa.

⁶⁶ 1. Sardinia; 2. Inntal; 3. Pornainen; 4. Sibbo; 5. Jämaja, Anseküla, Kärila; 6. Sununsuu on the Onega; 7. Jozgat in Middle Turkey.

The conclusion of Vilkuna's research is that there is no common name but an eastern group (Veps, Lüdic, Karelian and partly Votic), that links up with the Russian denomination 'God's cow'; Finn and Estonian names on the other hand have several points of connection in Western Europe. The oldest and most original name appears to be the Estonian-Finn name *leppälintu* 'red bird'. To old religious ideas is referred in any case by names like *ukoinlejmä* 'Ukko's cow', *ukonlammas* 'Ukko's sheep' and *merenemä* 'sea-mother'. Ukko (= the old one), the thunder-god, was the highest god and in particular the ruler of the weather. The weather-predictions are widely dispersed, even in Tver-Karelia there is a recording:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>Jumalan lehmäine</i> | God's cow (= ladybird) |
| | <i>Lievgo huomena vihmaïne?</i> | will there be rain tomorrow? |

This links up with the Russian, where it is said to the ladybird:

Божья коровка,	Ladybird,
полетай за Волгу:	fly over the Volga:
тамъ тепленько,	there it is nicely warm,
зд*сь холодненько.	Here [it is] really cold.

Even nearer is the next Czeremis ladybird-formula:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. | <i>Trä-tär-tär,</i> | Ladybird, |
| | <i>jür liješ γæn, ülkö;</i> | when rain comes, [fly] downwards; |
| | <i>ojar liješ γæn, küškö.</i> | when nice weather comes, upwards. |

And with the Czuvas it is:

<i>vir-ujar, vir-ujar</i>	Ladybird ('vir-nice-weather')
<i>ujar polzan, sülelle!</i>	When it becomes nice weather, upwards!
<i>šamər polzan, ajalla!</i>	When rain comes, downwards!

Also the Votjak inquire after the weather. According to a Russian source they say: 'When there will be rain, fly! If not, go sit!' So it is the opposite of the usual.

In East Russia the ladybird is connected with harvest-oracles and fertility concepts which is in a certain sense also the prediction of the weather. The Chuvvas are of the opinion that the millet grows good when the ladybird flies high; and also it is said: 'When there are many ladybirds on a spring day, good buckwheat will grow.' Some names refer to weather-prediction: Chuvvas *ujar* 'nice weather, ladybird' (3), 'божья коровка' (4), *ojar-vər-vər* 'mooi weer', *vir-ujar*; Czeremis *ajarləpə* 'nice-weather butterfly'. Also Middle-European names link up with this, for instance Czech *sluněčko, slunečnice* 'little sun', German *sonnenkäfer, -scheiner* (5), *-katherine* (6), *-schäfchen* (7); in nursery-rhymes the ladybird is summoned to bring the sun, i.e., to make him shine. Such an extended distribution area gives rise to the idea that the function of the ladybird as weather-oracle originates from very ancient times; in any case it is the oldest layer in the Baltic Finn.⁶⁹

Of a part of the Finn nursery-rhymes it can be deduced, how they first entered the oldest culture centre in South-west Finland, from where they continued their way further inland. Their distribution area namely does not progress as far in the north and the north-east as the Finn language area; the same way they appear to be very rare in White Sea Karelia – there are several negative recordings – and in Lapp there is not even a special name for the ladybird. Vilkuna points to the interesting fact that at the northern and north-eastern boundaries of the distribution area only defective songs can be found, that is to say, general summons to fly, which of course cannot represent the original situation, but testifies to the decay of the song treasure during its peregrinations. The typical from the south-west distributed nursery-rhyme is type 4, wherein the

⁶⁹ 1. Tolmatšu in gouv. Tver; 2. Ufa; 3. Kurmyž dialect; 4. Sedjak, Šibač; 5. Pomeranian; 6. Oldenburg; 7. West-Bohemian.

ladybird is summoned to fly to father and mother underneath a church. In the South-west the goal is usually a stone church or a big stone, but further land-inward the church or the castle become a big stone, to which the darkening of the original meaning and the alliteration of the words (Finn *kirkko* ‘church’, *kivi* ‘stone’) could have led.

Finally, of importance are the small south-west areas of *kultanännä* ‘gold-beetle’ and *lemminkäinen*. The first name and nursery-rhyme type 12, wherein the ladybird is requested to bring golden cloths, etc. cover each other and belong obviously together. When the foregoing explanation is correct, we are here also dealing with churches and gilded saint’s statues, that are also medieval and were distributed from Sweden to Finland. The *lemminkäinen* area is small, but it belongs to the oldest culture area of the land and this points according to Vilkuna to the fact that the ladybird as love oracle has come relatively early to Finland.

c. Sweden again

In 1947 there appeared at Stockholm *Jungfru Maria Nyckelpiga*, a study by Louis Backman of the folklore of the ladybird. After some initial remarks about the medicinal applications of the ladybird Backman treats the relations between the ladybird and the Virgin Mary. This connection can be found in many countries. The Swedish name *Jungfru Maria Nyckelpiga* appears also in Finland and Estonia, where we see also names like *Röda Maria*, *Havskvinna*, *Maria*; *Mariahöna*, *Mariatupp*, *Havsoxe* [*hav* = sea; *kvinn*a = woman; *oxe* = ox]. In Latvia we find *Lilla Maria*, *Maria*, *Mārīna*, *Mārīte*, in Livonia *Liten Modersfågel*, *Liten Mammafågel*, in Denmark *Marihøne*, *Mariputte*, *Marmorshøne* (= Mary [God’s] mother’s hen), in Norway *Maria*, *Marihøne*, *Jomfrue Maria*, in Germany and Austria *Marieken*, *Marikenpferd*, *Marienkälbchen*, *Marienkindken*, *Marienkäfer*, *Marienwürmchen*, *Marienküchlein*, *Mariechenkäfer*, *Mariekenworm*, *Muttergotteskuh*, *Muttergotteskäferl*, *Muttergottesküele*, *Muttergotteslämmchen*, *Liebfrauenkäferl*, *Frauenküele*, *Frauenkühlein*, *Unser lieben Frau Kuel*, *Jungfraukäfer*, *Unser lieben Frauen Küchlein*, *Jungferkäferlein*, in Belgium *Petite Bête de la Vierge*, *Mariabeestje*, *Onze-lieve-Vrou[w]-beestje*, in England *Lady Bird*, *Lady Cow*, *Lady Fly*, in Scotland *Ladylanders*, in French *Marivole*, *Maryavolo*, *Maryabolo*, *Cheval de la Vierge*, *Petite Bête de la Vierge*, *Poule de Sainte Marie*, in Spain *Marieta*, *Mariquita*, *Maria*, *Gallineta de la Mare de Deu*, *Arca de nostro Senyor o de la Mare de Deu*, South Swiss *Avemaria*, *La Madona*, *La Madunina*, *Mariavola*, *Maria*, *Maryola*, *Gallinna de la Madona*, *I Gainét de la Madona*, *Pódl de la Madona*, *Khefre de Sánta Maria*, *La Puina de la Madona*, in Italy *Maria*, *Maria-sgóla* (= *vola*), *Maróttola*, *Marronella*, *Ave Maria*, *Sánte Mariáne*, *Mariuta*, *Maria žoa is*, *Maria žola via*, *La Mariavola*, *La Mariuleyna*, *La Maryella*, *Madonna*, *Madonina*, *La Madonella*, *La Regina*, *Signora*, *Vacheta de la Madona*, *Pecorella de la Madona*, *Bestiolina de la Madona*, *L’Anima de la Madona*, *Báy de la Madona*, *La Pakarédda de la Madona*, *Galineta de la Madona*, *Viola de la Madona*, *Palumella de la Madona*, on Sardinia *Sa santa Maria*, *Sa Mariola*, *Sa Mariolla*, *Sa Maridzola*, on Corsica *Madonella*, in Rumania *Mariuta*, in Serbia *Mara*, in Hungary *Mária Bogárkája* (= little beetle) and with the Gypsies in Sweden *Maristsa*. This overview shows that very often in all kinds of countries the ladybird is connected with Mary.

Rhymes: from Stockholm:

<i>Maria Nyckelpiga,</i>	Mary Key-maiden (= ladybird),
<i>Flyg öster, flyg väster,</i>	Fly to the east, fly to the west,
<i>Flyg norr, flyg söder.</i>	Fly to the north, fly to the south,
<i>Flyg hem till dina bröder (ungar)</i>	fly home to your brother (children)

<p><i>så får du nya kläder</i> (och giv dem mat och kläder).</p>	<p>then you will get yourself new cloths (and give them food and cloths).</p>
<p>From Uppland: <i>Jungfru Maria,</i> <i>Flyg öster, flyg väster,</i> <i>Flyg norr, flyg söder,</i> <i>Flyg bort där min käresta bor.</i></p>	<p>Virgin Maria (= ladybird), Fly to the east, fly to the west, Fly to the north, fly to the south, Fly thither, where my beloved lives.</p>
<p>From Småland: <i>Maria gullhöna,</i> <i>Flyg ...</i> <i>i morgon blir det vackert väder.</i></p>	<p>Maria gold-hen (= ladybird), Fly ... Tomorrow it will be nice weather.</p>
<p>Or: <i>Jungfru Maria, flyg, flyg,</i> <i>i morgon får du nya kläder.</i></p>	
<p>From Gotland: <i>Flyg, flyg, Jungfru Maria,</i> <i>i morgon blir det vackert väder.</i></p>	
<p>From Hälsingland: <i>Jungfru Maria!</i> <i>Flyg hem till Gud,</i> <i>så får du nya kläder.</i></p>	<p>Fly home to God,</p>
<p>And again from Stockholm: <i>Maria Nyckelpiga,</i> <i>Flyg hem till dina bröder,</i> <i>Flyg öster, flyg väster,</i> <i>så får du nya kläder,</i> <i>så blir det vackert väder.</i></p>	<p>Virgin Mary Key-maiden (= ladybird), fly home to your brother, Fly to the east, fly to the west, then you will get yourself new cloths then it will become nice weather.</p>

In 1890 Nordlander published a bunch of ladybird-rhymes. Those from Öland, Småland, Kristianstadstracten and Södermanland begin with *Jungfru Maria Nyckelpiga*, in Gotland with *Jungfru Maria Nycklar*. In Dalby they say: 'Jungfru Maria ha vi alltid sagt, nyckelpiga det ordet lär barnen sig i skolan och det hör man mycket, men då kommer det från herrskap.' (*Jungfru Maria* we have always said, *nyckelpiga* the children learn that at school and one hears that often, but it comes from the upper-class people.) In Södermanland, Östergötland and Närke they say: *Jungfru Marie höna*, *Marie gullhöna* and *Jungfru Marie åkerhöna*. In South-east Blekinge: *Jomfru Maria nöcklapia, fly, fly*. On Gotland it is *Jumfru Maria*, in Södermanland *lilla Jungfru Maria*, in Uppland in *Tensta Maria* and in Fasterna *Jumfru Marja*. Both in Blekinge and Jämtland they say: 'Där är lycka med Jungfru Marie Nyckelpiga' and 'Maria nyckelpiga bådär lycka (brings luck).' And in Småland in Torsås people say: 'Maria Nyckelpiga kallas här jomfru marija med tillägg nyckelpijja ibland, till exempel då hon tillfrågas vackert väder (M.N. is called here *jomfru marija* with the addition *nyckelpijja* sometimes, for instance when she asks for nice weather).'

A *nyckelpiga* or *nyckelkvinna* is a servant (handmaid), who guards the keys of the house. This function is described to Mary, who possesses the keys to the heaven. So the ladybird is identified with Mary and carries names like *Maria*, *Lilla Maria* (= Little Mary), *Ave Maria*, *Jungfru Maria*, *Röda* (Red) *Maria*, *Sancta Maria*, *Madonna*, *Drottningen* (= Queen), *Vår Fru* (Spring Woman), *Havskinna* (Sea-maiden). In Hälsingland they say: '*Jungfru Maria! Flyg hem till Gud* (fly home to God)' or also '*Flyg, fly till himmelen* (fly to heaven)'. From Västmanland and Närke

Strindberg recorded: ‘*Flyg ända till kungens dörr* (fly until the king’s door)’ and from Norrland: ‘*Flyg ända till Konungens borg* (castle)’. In the neighbourhood of Kristianstad Nordlander found the rhyme:

*Jungfru Maria nyckelpiga,
flyg, flyg högt opp,
flyg ända opp till himmelen
och fråga Gud, om det blir vackert väder i morgon.*

(Fly up to heaven / and ask God that tomorrow there will be nice weather.)

In the collection of Geijer many similar examples can be found. In Västmanland the ladybird is summoned to ‘*flyga ända te himmelens dörr*’, in Småland: *Jungfru Maria, far till himlen* (go to heaven), in Dalarna: ‘*Flyg upp till Gud Fader*’, in Uppsala: ‘*Jungfru Maria, flyg upp till himlen*’, and in another one:

*Gullhöna, gullknopp!
Flyg östan, flyg västan,
flyg norr, flyg sør,
flyg ända te Jungfru Marias kyrkodörr* (church-door).

And in Södermanland:

*Flyg östan, flyg västan,
flyg sunnan, flyg norr,
flyg ända till Jungfru Marie borg* (castle).

In Västmanland they used to say: ‘*Fly ända till Jungfru Maria kyrkodörr*’, as well as: ‘*Flyg ända till himmelens dörr*’. And also:

*Gullhöna, gullhöna,
flyg väster, flyg sør,
flyg ända te kungens kyrkodörr.*

Also in other countries the ladybird is requested to fly up to heaven. Brackman cites Mannhardt for German examples of flying to the Land of Angels, flying up high in the sky in the Lord God’s little garden, etc. In France the ladybird has to fly up to heaven and guard there near the angels a spot in Paradise. It also has heavenly names like *Liebenglichen, das liebe Englichen*. Also in Finland, as we have seen, the ladybird is requested to fly over seas and lands into the church-garden, an old-Christian name for Paradise. Further there is talk of the red cloth or cloak of the ladybird and often predictions are connected to the number of dots of the ladybird. Also in Sweden it is asked how long one shall live, how many children one shall have, etc. Usually this is asked of the cuckoo. An example from Västmanland is:

<i>Göke gök, sitt på kvist, säj mäj visst, hur många år jag skall ogifter gå.</i>	Cuckoo, cuckoo, sits on the branch, tell me for sure, how many years will I remain unmarried. ⁷⁰
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A reading recorded by Geijer in 1889 in Gotland is:

<i>Nyckelpiga flyg, flyg! I morgon blir det vackert väder, så får du nya kläder, kjol med många prickar på.</i>	Ladybird, fly, fly, Tomorrow there will be nice weather, then you will get new cloths, a skirt with many dots on it.
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A Finn-Swedish version from Sund:

<i>Jungfru Marias nyckelpiga,</i>	Ladybird,
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⁷⁰ Unclear what the intention of this is. A version from Uppland: ‘*Gullu [= goldie = ladybird?] på kvist, säj me nu förvisst, hur många är ja leva får* (tell me for sure, how many years I’m going to live)’.

<i>gullros, var har du alla dina nyclar,</i>	gold-rose, where do you have all your keys,
<i>flyg norr, flyg söder,</i>	fly north, fly south,
<i>flyg öster, flyg väster.</i>	fly east, fly west.

And also from Åland:

<i>Nyckelpiga, nyckelpiga,</i>	Ladybird (2x),
<i>var har du dina nyclar,</i>	where do you have your keys,
<i>flyg östa, flyg västa,</i>	fly east, fly west,
<i>flyg söder, flyg norr.</i>	fly south, fly north.

From Mannhardt Backman quotes the verse: ‘Little Mary-worm fly away, fly away unto Angel-land, Angel-land is closed, the key thereto is broken to pieces’, and the idea Angel-land is heaven. So when the ladybird flies to heaven, it can’t go in, because the key is broken. This has happened with the Fall, but Mary has given birth to Jesus who was the key that opened heaven again. Brackman continues with versions of the song of the White and Black Swans: ‘*krâne krâne, swikle swâne*, when will we go to Angel-land? Angel-land is closed, the key is broken. Where will we make a new one?’ And: ‘Who wants to go with to Angel-land? Angel-land is closed, the key is broken. Whither shall we go for a new key? And: ‘White swans, black cranes, come, come to Angel-land; Angel-land is closed, the little key is broken to pieces, cling, clang, it is your turn.’ [This is a song for on a swing.]⁷¹

The keys of Mary appear also in other rhymes like the one Hyltén-Cavallius recorded at Finveden in Småland before 1840: ‘*Jungfru Marja, låna mig nyclar dina till att öppna mitt liv och föda mitt barn!* (Virgin Mary, lend me your keys to open my body and bear my children.)’ That these keys are the keys of heaven can be seen in a little verse recorded at Skåne in 1870: ‘*Jungfru Maria och Sancte Per, låna mig nyclar dina medan jag beder för få och fåren mina* (Virgin Mary and Saint Peter, lend me your keys, while I pray for my cattle and sheep).’ Also in a conjuration recorded at Attmar in Medelpad in 1913 we see Mary with keys: ‘*Jesus och Petrus gingo på en väg, då sade Petrus: “Ormen stack.” Då kom Maria med sinaa nycklar små och slog på det onda: “Gå bort!”* (Jesus and Peter walked on a way, thereupon Peter said: “The snake bites.” Then came Mary with her little keys and struck on the snake: “Go away!”)’

Many ladybird-rhymes contain the wish that the ladybird will predict the weather or make good weather, let the sun shine and the clouds disappear. Some of the variants:

Bohuslän: ‘tomorrow comes sunshine and nice (or: good) weather’.

Blekinge: ‘tomorrow we will have nice weather’.

Stockholm: ‘so it will become nice weather’.

Småland: ‘tomorrow it will be nice weather’.

Halland: ‘promise nice weather tomorrow’.

Kristianstad: ‘and ask God that it will be nice weather tomorrow’.

Skåne, Blekinge: ‘tomorrow we will get sunshine and nice weather’.

Skåne: ‘tomorrow there will be sunshine and beautiful weather’.

Gotland: ‘today it is nice weather, tomorrow it will be bad weather (*oväder*)’.

Västergötland: ‘*i mora bli de vackert, i mora bli de ont* (? tomorrow it will remain nice weather, tomorrow it will remain bad)

The ladybird is used for predictions: when it flies up, when the rhyme is said, then it will remain nice weather, when it keeps sitting on the hand, it will keep on raining.

Västmanland: ‘let the sun stream up (*rinna opp*)’.

Uppland, Västmanland: ‘let the sun shine up (*skin opp*)’.

⁷¹ Brackman makes use of a ‘Mannhardt method’ of tying together fitting things like the fairytale of ‘The True Bride’ (*KHM* 186) that ends with the choice between the new and the old key.

Dalarna: ‘the sun shines, the sun shines’; ‘let the sun shine! Don’t let the clouds reign!’

Västmanland: ‘let the sun go up, over wood (*trä*), over cattle (*fä*), over all small children that are in the woods.’

A Swedish ladybird-rhyme, quoted by Strindberg from French literature, says:

<i>Gullhöna, gullhöna,</i>	Gold-hen, gold-hen,
<i>låt solen lysa,</i>	let the sun sparkle,
<i>låt vinden förjaga molnen!</i>	let the wind chase away the clouds!
<i>Låt det klarna i söder,</i>	Let it clear in the south,
<i>låt molnen försvinna i norr!</i>	let the clouds disappear in the north.

A Swedish verse from Estonia:

<i>Gullmisa, gullmisa,</i>	Ladybird, ladybird,
<i>låt solen skina,</i>	let the sun shine,
<i>molnfläcken, molnfläcken,</i>	cloud-patches, cloud-patches,
<i>låt havet driva.</i>	let the sea chase away.

A variant reading:

<i>Gullhöna, gullhöna,</i>	Ladybird (2x),
<i>låt solen skina,</i>	let the sun shine,
<i>molnklimpen, molnklimpen,</i>	little cloud-clump (2x),
<i>låt fåren glina.</i>	let the sheep [...(thrive?)]

On Bornholm (Denmark) they put a ladybird on the hand and say:

<i>Mariputte, Mariputte, fløj, fløj, fløj!</i>	Ladybird (2x), fly, fly, fly!
<i>I Morgen bliver det Solkskin og grant Vær</i>	Tomorrow the sunshine remains as well as beautiful weather.

From Estonia (Nuckö and Wormsö) (cf. Mannhardt, 248f):

<i>Gullhöna, gullhöna,</i>	Gold-hen, gold-hen,
<i>låt solen skina!</i>	let the sun shine!
<i>Molnfläcken, molnfläcken,</i>	Cloud-patch, cloud-patch,
<i>låt vinden fördriva!</i>	let the winds drive away
<i>Låt det klarna i södern,</i>	Let it clear up in the south,
<i>molnen gå ned i nordan!</i>	clouds go down in the north!

Washing cloths

Östergötland: ‘*i morgon blir det vackert väder, så får du tvätta dina kläder* (tomorrow it will stay nice weather, so you can wash your cloths)’.

In Scotland the ladybird is sometimes called *Lady Landers* (‘put up your cape around your head and fly away to *Flanders*’).

From Ångermanland (Barsviken, Säbrå):

<i>Maria kåpa,</i>	Ladybird (Maria cape),
<i>få vi såpa,</i>	do we get soap,
<i>far till himlen,</i>	go to heaven,
<i>få vi nya kläder.</i>	Do we get new cloths.

Often the ladybird-rhymes end with a wish for new cloths (in Dalarna)

‘*flyg upp till mor, får du nya kläder* (fly up to the mother, you will get new cloths)’.

‘*flyg till Gud, får du nya kläder* (fly to God...)’

‘*flyg upp till Gud, där får du nye skor och en vackrare skrud* (... new shoes and a beautiful robe)’.

‘*flyg upp till Gud Fader, så får du gullkrona* (... a golden crown)’.

From Gotland:

'I morgon blir det vackert väder, så får du nya kläder, kjol med många prickar på (... a cape with many dots on it).'

'flyg hem till dina fader, så får du nya kläder (fly home to your father ...)

Halland:

'om det blir vackert väder, så får du nya kläder (when it stays nice weather...).'

Hälsingland:

'flyg hem till Gud, så får du nya kläder'

'flyg till väders, får du både gullskor och gullkläder (fly to the father, you will get gold-shoes and gold-cloths).'

'flyg upp till himlen, så får du vita kläder (... white cloths).'

From Medelpad:

'flyg up till Gud efter gullkläder en gullskor (... for gold-cloths and gold-shoes).'

From Stockholm:

'så får du nya kläder, så blir det vackert väder (... then it will stay that nice weather).'

'flyg hem till dina bröder (ungar), så får du nya kläder (... to your brother [children]...).'

From Södermanland:

'så får du nya skor å kläder, å allt vad han äger (... with all that he has).'

'flyg hem til far och mor, begär nya strumpor och skor (... beg for new stockings and shoes).'

From Skåne:

'på söndag får du nya klär (on Sunday you will get new cloths).'

'i morgon blir det vackert väder, då får jag nya kläder'

From Småland:

'i morgon får du nya kläder'

'far till himlen, så får du nya kläder'

From Uppland:

'flyg hem till din kära far och mor, så får du gullstrumpor och gullskor (fly home to your dear father and mother, then you will get gold-stockings and gold-shoes).'

'så får du byta nya kläder, för din man är död (... changed [?] new cloths, for your man is dead).'

'flyg upp till himlen, så får du nya skor och kläder'

'far upp till himlen och bed om kläder åt våra barn (... and ask for cloths for our children).'

'så får ja nya kläder och får då nya skor'

From Västmanland:

'så får du gröna gullstrumpor och röda gullskor (... green gold-stockings and red gold-shoes).'

Also in other countries there appears the motif of the new cloths as well as golden cloths.

The motif of the bride and bridegroom

A large group of ladybird-rhymes are centred on the question where the future bride or bridegroom lives.

Asele lappmark: *'flyg dit tjärestan bor (fly to where my beloved⁷² lives).'*

Dalarne: *'flyg till min käraste vän (fly to my dearest friend).'*

⁷² Translation unsure: *Tjärestan* (or *tjärastan*) (*tjära* = fragile, delicate) = ? *där kärestan* = where my beloved (lit. where the dearest).

Medelpad: ‘*flyg dit där min käreste bor* (fly thither where my beloved lives)’ or ‘*flyg till vännen den baste* (fly to the best of friends)’.

Närke: ‘*flyg ända till min fästeman (-mö) bor* (fly to where my fiancé lives)’.

Öland: ‘*flyg ända till kärestans dörr* (fly onto my beloved’s door)’.

Skåne: ‘*flyg ända där kärestan bor* (fly to where the beloved lives)’.

Småland: ‘*och visa var min käresta bor* (and show where my beloved lives)’ or ‘*Va frann ska fästmann kåmma o frijja* (? From where will the beloved come to suit)’.

Södermanland: ‘*flyg dit där min käreste bor*’, ‘*dit du flyger, där bor kärestan* (thither you fly, there lives the beloved)’, ‘*flyg hem till min fast[e]mös dörr* (fly home to my fiancé’s door)’, ‘*flyg till min älskades borg* (fly to my beloved’s castle)’, ‘*flyg till din fästmans borg* (fly to your fiancé’s castle)’.

Uppland: ‘*ända till kärestans dörr* (till the beloved’s door)’, ‘*ända bort te min fästemens dörr* (on until my fiancé’s door)’, ‘*flyg bort där min käresta bor*’, ‘*flyg dit min man är* (fly to where my husband is)’.

Västergötland: ‘*ge mig en fästeman i år* (give me a fiancé this year)’.

Västmanland: ‘*lät solen skin opp. Skin öster, skin vaster, skin vart du vill, där har jag min käresta lill* (let the sun shine up. Shine east, shine west, shine where you want, there I have my beloved little one)’.

From Södermanland comes a recording from before 1889:

<i>Flyg öster, flyg väster,</i>	Fly east, fly west,
<i>flyg söder, flyg norr,</i>	fly south, fly north,
<i>flyg hem till min älskades dörr,</i>	fly home to my beloved’s door,
<i>så får du båd’ strumpor och skor.</i>	then you’ll get both stockings and shoes.

Also from other countries these kind of rhymes are known (Bohemia, Mähren, France, Italy, Germany, England, Swiss). A Latvian girl takes the ladybird on the hand and says: ‘Fly, fly, Mary, where do you want to lead me? Thither where my bridegroom is.’

Bridal gloves

Intimately associated with the motif of the bride and bridegroom in the ladybird-rhymes is the motif of the bridal gloves. When the ladybird is walking on hands and arms it is like he is measuring out bridal gloves:

Östergötland: ‘*Nyckelpigan märka handskar* (Ladybird marks [= measures] gloves)’, ‘*Gullhöna, gullhöna, spin gullhandske åt me* (Gold-hen, spin me gold-gloves)’.

Skåne: ‘*mät mig granna handskar* (measure me beautiful gloves)’, ‘*lät den krypa längs fingrarna. Det kallades att taga matt till handskar* (let it creep along the fingers. This is called taking the measure for gloves)’.

Småland: ‘*märkte till handskar* (marked for gloves)’.

Vänersborg: ‘*Gullhöna, gullhöna, märk mig en handske* (... mark me a glove)’.

Västmanland: ‘*handskmätare* (glove-measurer)’.

In Uppland, Värmland, Gästrikland, Småland, Närke, Södermanland, Västergötland and Dalarna: ‘*marker handskar* (marks gloves)’. In a recording from Västergötland there is made mention of a ladybird (*gullhöna*) that creeps on the hand as ‘*märka handskar*’ and when it crept along the arm, then it was marking ‘*bruarehandskar*’ (bridal gloves), in Uppland when it crept on the hand then it was busy ‘*smida brudhandskar* (forging bridal gloves)’, and: ‘When a ladybird crept up along the hand, then one was getting long bridal gloves.’ In Närke (recorded before 1868) it was said, that when a ladybird crept over the fingers, then it was measuring new gloves and there would either be a wedding or a funeral.

Also in other countries (Swiss, England, Germany, Italy) there are ladybird-rhymes about the measuring of bridal gloves.

Groats and milk

There are a number of rhymes wherein the ladybird is requested to fly away to go get groats and milk or some other kind of food.

Angermanland: '*flyg till min broder, skall du få bade mat och kläder* (fly to my brother, you will get both meat and cloths)'.
Bohuslän: '*i morgon får du en skeppa råg och en skeppa vete* (tomorrow you will get a bushel of rye and a bushel of wheat)'.
Gästrikland: '*flyg till öster, får du åta gröt och mjölk* (fly to the east, you will get to eat groats and milk)', '*flyg till Gud, får du åta gröt och mjölk* (fly to God...)', '*flyg ända in i himmelrik, så får du gröt och mjölk* (fly into the kingdom of heaven, then ...)'.
Hälsingland: '*flyg, flyg till himmelen, får du gröt och mjölk*', '*flyg hem till far och mor, får du gröt och fläsk till kvällen* (fly home to father and mother, you will get groats and meat till the evening)', '*flyg upp till Gud, så får du åta gröt och mjölk på silverfat* (on a silver dish)'.
Snappertuna, Nyland: '*så ska du få ett stort smör-å-brö å ett lite utanpå* (then you will get a big sandwich on a little from outside [?])', '*så ska du få en storer smörgås, storer smörgås* (then you will get a big sandwich, a big sandwich)'.
Stockholm: '*flyg hem till dina bröder (ungar), och giv dem mat och kläder* (fly home to your brother (children), and give him meat and cloths)'.
Uppland: '*flyg till Gud, så får du gröt och mjölk*'.

The same thing can be seen in Finn and als in German rhymes. In East Prussia the ladybird has to fly home to its children, because its children want bread. In Transylvania it is: 'Ladybird⁷³, I will give you milk and bread.' And in Petersburg: 'God's cow, fly to heaven, get us bread.'

Death-motif

The ladybird is connected to the death-motif. An example from Rättvik:

*Gullhöna, gullhöna,
flig opa Gud å fråga
hur mån år je får leva.*

Ladybird (2x),
fly up to God to ask,
how many years I will live.

We saw that in Närke it was said of the ladybird's creeping on the hand that it was taking the measure for new gloves, because one will go to a wedding or to a funeral. (See also the cuckoo: *Gullu på kvist*, etc.)

The burning house and the weeping children

From Skåne originates the recording:

*Agerhynna, fly, fly,
ditt hus bränner åpp,
dina onga di gråter.*

Ladybird, fly, fly,
your house is burning down,
your children are crying.

And also:

*Ager – Agerhönna, fly, fly,
ditt bo bränner,
o alle dina unga ä döa.*

Ladybird, fly, fly,
your nest is burning,
and all your children are dead.

⁷³ In Swedish *Pastoren kommer* (? The vicar/priest is coming).

From Kalmar before 1890:

*Jungfru Nyckelpiga, flyg, flyg,
ditt hus står i brand,
dina ungar di gråter.*

Ladybird, fly, fly,
Your house is on fire,
your children are crying.

Of course the German versions are very well-known. Further versions are known from Italy, Austria, France and England.

Ladybird-rhymes as conjurations

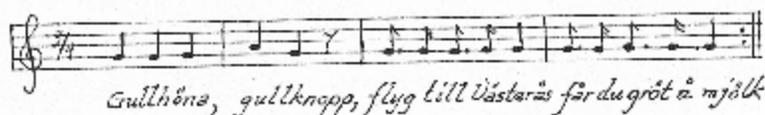
In a recording from Agnetorps in Västergötland it is mentioned that the verse is sung in a slow and monotonous mode. The verse sounds:

*Gullhöna, gullhöna,
flyg opp till Gud,
bed, att det blir
vackert väder i morgon!*

Ladybird (2x),
fly up to God,
ask, that it will stay
nice weather tomorrow!

At the words *flyg* and *Gud* the tune sinks, at *väder* it rises again to sink again at *morgon*.

From Gävle (1944) comes the musical notation:



(Gold-hen, gold-knob, fly to the west, you will get groats and milk).

From Mönsterås (Småland) comes the recording:



(Ladybird fly, fly; Ladybird fly, fly).

From Skåne:



(Ladybird fly, fly, fly! Your house is on fire, your children are crying.)

From Stenvista in Södermanland:



(Ladybird fly east fly west fly home to your brother, then you will get meat and cloths.)
 From Ramsberg in Värmland:

Gull-hö-na, gull-topp Lätt so-la ski-na opp.
 Ö-ver topp ö-ver trä, ö-ver folk ö-ver få
 ö-ver al-lu små vall-barn i sko-gen.

(Gold-hen, gold-shirt. Let the sun shine up. Over top over wood, over people over cattle over all small shepherd's children in the woods.)

From Nuckö in Estonia:

lättgäende
 Gull-hö-nan, gull-hö-nan, lät so-ten börja ski-na!
 Gull-bru-nan blev bort och Röd-Ski-an kom hem;
 Skärt upp i sun-nan, mullet ner i nor-dan.
 så yn-kligt, så ro-ligt med gräten-de tårar.

(Ladybird, ladybird, let the sun start to shine! Gather up in the south, 'cloud' down in the north. Gold-brown stay away and Red-Shine come home; now pathetic then cute with weeping tears.)