

Kerkko Nordqvist & Oula Seitsonen FINNISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE PRESENT-DAY KARELIAN REPUBLIC UNTIL 1944

Abstract

Archaeological studies carried out by the Finns in the so-called 'East Karelia' in the late 19th century and early 20th century, as well as during the Finnish occupation of the area in World War II, have been relatively forgotten during the last half a century. This article reviews these studies and some of them are published here for the first time. The conducted research is also briefly discussed in its wider framework, taking into account various scientific, political and personal motivations for studying the area. The Finnish archaeological activities in the present-day Karelian Republic had two peaks: the 1890s and World War II. The first was influenced and motivated by the general development of antiquarian activities in Finland, national-romantic and nationalistic sentiments (Karelianism), some scientific aims and personal interests; and it produced a large number of artefacts, mostly randomly collected stray finds, for the collections of the National Museum of Finland. During the second peak nationalism, scientific interest to study areas now available for research, personal agendas and the general spirit of humanistic studies of the time, in other words re-defining natural and national borders and binding occupied areas to the Finnish-related realm, were their driving forces. The result was more systematic collections of material from the Stone Age, Early Metal Period and Iron Age dwelling sites and burials, as well as data on environmental history and conditions. However, because of the research traditions and interests, as well as the zeitgeist and political situation, no real tradition on Karelian archaeology was ever established in Finland. Therefore, the material collected in past studies has been utilized relatively little and, in addition, studies and fieldwork after the World War II until the present day have been scarce, although intensifying towards the early 21st century.

Keywords: Archaeology, history of research, Stone Age, East Karelia, Karelian Republic, Olonec, White-Sea, Karelia, World War II

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INTRODUCTION

This article presents archaeological studies carried out by the Finns in the present-day Karelian Republic from the beginning of collecting and other research activities in the early 19th century to the end of World War II. The aim is to describe the studies conducted with their results, as well as to present their intellectual and social background, as well as to ponder the later meaning of the research.

The area discussed in this paper includes the so-called Itä-Karjala ('East Karelia'), comprising

the areas east of the pre-1920 Finno-Russian border and the regions of the so-called Venäjän Karjala ('Russian Karelia') or Kauko-Karjala ('Far-away Karelia' or 'Distant Karelia'). While the spatial focus is predominately in the area of Olonec (Fin. Aunus or Aunuksen Karjala), areas to the north into the valley of the River Kem', and to the south and west coasts of the White Sea Basin ('Dvina' or 'White Sea Karelia') – commonly referred to in Finnish as Viena or Vienan Karjala – are included in the study (Fig. 1).¹ Historically this is the core area where the Karelian people have lived and where the

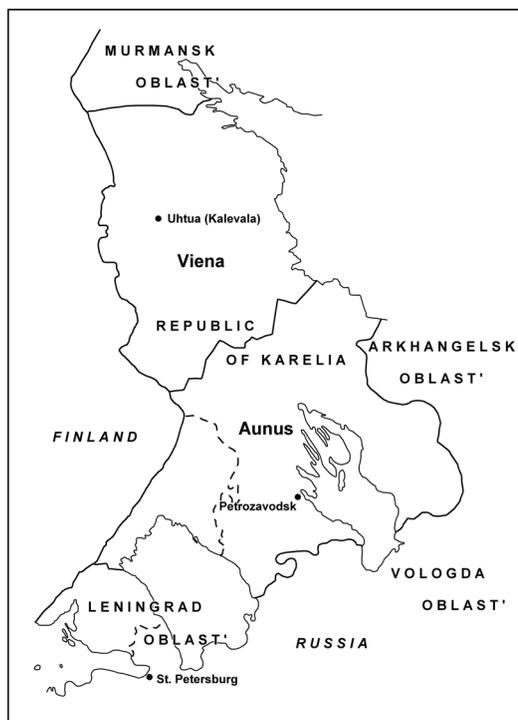


Fig. 1. The location of Olonec (Aunus) and Viena in the Karelian Republic and the neighbouring administrative areas. Map: K. Nordqvist after Torikka 2003.

Karelian language was spoken – consequently the area was seen as the area inhabited by the Finns, or, more correctly, regarded as the ‘Finno-Ugrian sister nation’ (e.g., Sihvo 1973: 9).

Due to prevalence of research on Stone Age issues, these are also the main focus of this paper, as the Metal Periods were dealt with only sporadically by the Finnish scholars active in East Karelia. Apart from the early studies of David Emmanuel Daniel Europaeus on the south-eastern side of Lake Ladoga (D. Europaeus 1874; see also Tallgren 1916a: 26–35; Edgren 1988: 129–30; 1990: 126), it was not much before World War II that the Metal Periods of this area gained the attention of scholars (e.g., Salonen 1929; Kivikoski 1944a). Finnish archaeological activities during World War II, the Stone Age studies in particular, have so far faced relatively little attention and they are not described in extremely high detail here either. As the present authors are preparing a separate

study on the topic, this paper is designed to cover a wider time period.

This article is partly based on a presentation given by the authors in a seminar ‘Multi-disciplinary Humanitarian Study of the White Sea Basin’ organized by Nadežda Lobanova and Mark Kosmenko (Institute of Language, Literature and History, Karelian Research Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences, Petrozavodsk) in 24–27 May 2006 in Petrozavodsk, Karelian Republic, Russia. While preparing the seminar presentation, and in the course of the seminar, it became evident that the archaeological activities of Finnish scholars in East Karelia are very little known both in Finland and Russia. Thus there is an evident need for pulling the information together and discussing it in its wider framework.

THE NATIONALIST BACKGROUND: MOVEMENT OF FINNISHNESS AND KARELIANISM

The 19th century

The political and ideological situation in the early 19th century led to the rise of the ‘movement of Finnishness’ (Fin. suomalaisuusliike). Consequently the ‘national disciplines’ (Fin. kansalliset tieteet), including ethnology, folklore and archaeology, became very important within the literate and academic spheres. Behind this so-called ‘Fennoman movement’ were the ideas and needs to justify and define Finnish national character, to create and state reasons for the existence of Finnish culture, and to prove the ancestry of its civilization. In archaeology this materialized as the study of the history of the Finns, and more accurately of the Finns as part of the widespread group of peoples speaking Finno-Ugrian languages, and as the search of their assumed common home land (Kokkonen 1984: 151, 153; T. Salminen 2003a: 39–40; Fewster 2006: 23–4).

In the spirit of linguist Matthias Alexander Castrén, and led by the first state antiquarian Johan Reinhold Aspelin, Finno-Ugrian comparative archaeology was born and in the beginning shaped on the grounds of linguistics. The original Finno-Ugric homeland was considered to be

in the Altai region in South Siberia (Aspelin 1875: 65ff, 367–9; 1877–84: 102) and several archaeological expeditions were launched in that direction (Tallgren 1913: 673–4; 1920: 105–7, 110–7; Kokkonen 1984: 153–4; T. Salminen 2003a: 22, 33–40). These studies focused on the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, which were assumed to be the periods when Finnic people migrated from the Altai towards Finland (e.g., Aspelin 1875: 210–2, 367–9; 1877–84: 41–7, 101–2). The Stone Age was not seen as relevant or interesting in the framing of this question² (T. Salminen 2003a: 41; 2006: 28).

Due to above-mentioned goals, East Karelia was obviously outside the focal point of the fieldwork. As a matter of fact, in the antiquarian studies Karelia was traditionally considered as a part of Finland proper. Even so, in 1876 Aspelin presented a four-year plan for studying the whole Ural-Altai area. In this plan Viena and Olonec were included in the fieldwork program of the fourth summer, although as an alternative to some studies in the Altai region. Ultimately this plan was never realized as such (Tallgren 1916b: 273–5; 1920: 107, 118; T. Salminen 2003a: 22, 63–4). Karelia and especially the parts of Karelia belonging to Russia were the mystic land of Finnish folklore, treated with a certain national-romantic and nationalistic sentiment – not least because the main corpus of folklore in the Finnish national epic Kalevala originated from this area (Sihvo 1973: 33–6).

The way Karelia and the Karelians were dealt with became somewhat canonized (see e.g., Topelius 1941 [1876]: 186–8; also Tiitta 1994: 257–80). In fact, it was generally thought that Karelia and the Karelians, a ‘sister nation’ to a certain extent, still represented the cultural level depicted in Kalevala (see e.g., V. Salminen 1932: 487; Tallgren 1938a: 9, 11). The first wave of Karelianism had its heyday in the 1890s, when its aim became to discover the origins of Finnish culture, and to form the so-called ‘culture of Kalevala’ that would be the Finnish equivalent to the Homeric antiquity (e.g., Sihvo 1973: 11–2, 36; 1999: 186; Fewster 2006: 21).

During the last years of the 19th century, East Karelia lured numerous renowned cultural figures. Many of them later played a decisive

role in forming and shaping the ‘canonized’ image of Kalevala and Karelia. The persons who sought inspiration from the Karelian folk culture included, to name a few, photographer Into Konrad Inha, painters Albert Edelfelt, Akseli Gallén-Kallela, Eero Järnefelt, Pekka Halonen and Louis Sparre, writers Eino Leino, Ilmari Kianto and Juhani Aho as well as composer Jean Sibelius (e.g., Inha 1999 [1911]; Kianto 1918; Sparre 1930; see further, Sihvo 1973: 246ff; Konttinen 2001: 141ff).

Besides these artists, several Finnish scholars had also visited the area since the early 19th century. Recording the folk culture and folklore was part of their activities from the beginning, as these were seen as important elements of the unwritten history of Finno-Ugrian past (Sihvo 1973: 33–6). Nonetheless, Karelia also started to attract scholars, who began to study and record the folk culture in a more systematic way (see e.g., Blomstedt & Sucksdorff 1900). The aims of these scholars and their studies varied, being both cultural and artistic, as well as scientific and political (Sihvo 1973: 256; Laine 1993: 102). In addition, the collecting of linguistic material among the Finno-Ugrian peoples in Karelia had been started by the Finnish Literature Society (Fin. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, founded in 1831) and the Société Finno-Ougrienne – Finno-Ugrian Society (Fin. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, founded in 1883) (Korhonen et al. 1983: 7, 25–6, 178).

The early 20th century

The romantic sentiment towards East Karelia and its inhabitants started to get more severe and realistic tones during the second half of the 19th century. This new attitude directed more critique to social defects and advocated spiritual and cultural edification, even a kind of missionary work. At first this ‘tribal ideology’ (Fin. heimoaate) encompassed all Finno-Ugrian peoples, but became later tied to those in Karelia. Central in the formulation and rising up of the so-called ‘Karelian question’ (Fin. Karjalan kysymys) was August Wilhelm Ervasti and his works (see Ervasti 2005 [1880]). Ervasti was largely compiling old ideas, but while advocating

his views he came to be considered as the father of ‘tribal ideology’ and the ‘Karelian question’ (Sihvo 1973: 195–202; also Ervasti 2005 [1880]: 13–5; 229, 242). This ideological Karelianism had wide effect, and by the 1910s the ‘Karelian question’ had been politicised throughoutly (Sihvo 1973: 296).

An example of the new interest towards Karelia was the publication of the first edition of *Karjalan kirja* (The Karelia Book) (Härkönen 1910). It is a collection of articles and essays not only presenting all the information available about the geography, history and ethnography of Karelia (Finnish and Russian Karelia to the same extent), but also including stories and folklore. Archaeology is represented in an article written by Alfred Hackman (1910a), summarizing the most important features of the prehistory of Finland up to that point, and also including some issues concerning East Karelia – so-called Russian Karelian artefacts, animal-head weapons and the rock art of ‘Bjesovets’ (Hackman 1910a: 108, 112, 115). The following article about the Iron Age of Karelia by Arne Michaël Tallgren (1910) does not touch upon East Karelia, maybe because of the lack of finds. J.R. Aspelin (1910a) discusses the relationship of archaeology and East Karelia. In his opinion, while the archaeology of this area had been generally neglected, the Finnic people had arrived there quite recently replacing the earlier inhabitants of the region, the Lapps (Aspelin 1910a: 135–6). In the same volume, Aspelin (1910b) presents his views regarding the later periods, as well as on the question of Bjarmia.

The 1910s witnessed the second wave of Karelianism. Many of the artists were now producing their finest and most famous works on the subject. For example, the picture book by I.K. Inha of his journey in the region almost 20 years earlier (Inha 1999 [1911]) was published. It has been seen as one of the most influential works in the realm of Karelianism: it came to represent how the Karelia of Kalevala should look like (e.g., Sihvo 1973: 268–9; Laaksonen 1999: IX–X). The ideas of founding high culture on the basis of Kalevala were still strongly alive. A bit later, even a plan of establishing a Finno-Ugrian central museum in a monumental

‘Kalevala-house’ to be built in Helsinki was developed in some circles (Sihvo 1973: 350–1; Fewster 2006: 330–3).

THE FIRST ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES: THE FINNISH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Linguist and ethnographer Anders Johan Sjögren was the first antiquarian active in the study area. In 1823–25 he travelled mostly in the southern Olonec, but also made a trip reaching the River Kem’ valley and the later-to-become canonized villages of Kalevala poetry including Vuokkiniemi and Vuonninen. Despite his experience in archaeology, Sjögren mostly focused on folklore and linguistics (Sihvo 1973: 70–3).

David Emmanuel Daniel Europaeus, one of the eminent Fennophiles, was first and foremost a linguist and folklorist, but was also interested in archaeology. Europaeus made numerous trips to collect linguistic material and folklore around Northwest Russia. He made also archaeological investigations, especially between 1872 and 1879 in the area south-east of Lake Ladoga and along several rivers between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega. Altogether he excavated over 30 Late Iron Age barrows, but of them only the ones located by the River Alavoisenjoki are within the borders of the study area (D. Europaeus 1874; Aspelin 1877–84: 223–4; Salonen 1929; Edgren 1988: 129–30; 1990: 126). In addition, Europaeus made some poorly documented trips to the north, to Petrozavodsk and all the way up to Kantalahti. There he mostly collected linguistic material, but possibly also conducted some unreported archaeological excavations (V. Salminen 1906: 143–5; Edgren 1990: 125–6).

Founded in 1870, the Finnish Antiquarian Society (Fin. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys) introduced a more systematic and organized way of collecting and recording antiquities. From the beginning the aim of the society was to search, collect and protect antiquities. A central aspect, in the spirit of the times, was to educate the broader public (Tallgren 1920: 7, 22). One salient way of doing this was to send scholars to map and collect antiquities, ethnography and folklore in the different jurisdictional districts

of Finland. As a result, between the 1870s and 1910s the scholars collected artefacts and recorded monuments and other information in the majority of Finnish districts and wrote accounts of their travels, of which roughly a half were published (Tallgren 1920: 55–70; see e.g., Juvelius 1889; Pääkkönen 1898).

In 1882 ethnologist and archaeologist Axel Olai Heikel suggested in a meeting of the Finnish Antiquarian Society that also East Karelia ought to be studied in the same way as the areas of Finland. This was because East Karelia was seen to be in the same position as Finland proper, at least in part due to the above-mentioned ‘family ties’ and Kalevala. East Karelia was also regarded as vitally important to the prehistory of Finland (Tallgren 1920: 118; Sihvo 1973: 238). Accordingly, in the same year two scholarships were opened for applications at the initiative of Axel August Borenus (later Lähteenkorva). The first of these was granted to Dr. Oskar Adolf Forsström (later Hainari), student Julius Anselm Bergh (later Lyly), school counselor Hjalmar Basilier, and teacher J. Väänänen to study the Olonec and Petrozavodsk districts all the way to the Lake Onega and River Svir. Their findings included 92 Stone Age artefacts (Appendix 2), most of which came from Salmenniska and Säämäjärvi areas (Pääkkönen 1898: 142–8; Tallgren 1920: 118–9; Sihvo 1973: 227–8, 238).

In 1882 a scholarship had also been granted to A.O. Heikel to study the Viena-Kemi region in the north, but it was left unused (Tallgren 1920: 119). In 1886 another scholar of the Antiquarian Society, teacher Johan Wilhelm Juvelius travelled in the area. The results of his two-month trip included 65 stone artefacts, the majority of which were found along the River Kem’, in Jyskyjärvi, Vuokkiniemi and the Uhtua areas (Juvelius 1889: 27–37; see also Sihvo 1973: 239–40). Similar to other accounts and reports of collecting expeditions, the published account of these travels (Juvelius 1889) also included, in addition to the list of collected artefacts, descriptions of other finds and monuments (different kinds of cairns, pits etc. of unknown character and dating). Supplementary data discussing geography, ethnography, economy, social and religious conditions, folklore and history was also often included.

THE INTENSIVE PHASE: LAURI V. PÄÄKKÖNEN’S COLLECTING EXPEDITIONS

With regard to Finnish collecting activities in the area of Olonec the most important contribution was made by teacher Lauri Vilho Pääkkönen. As an enthusiastic scholar of the Finnish Antiquarian Society he conducted four collecting expeditions in the area in 1892–99 (Fig. 2). Pääkkönen also studied the Salmi jurisdictional district north-east of the Lake Ladoga in 1893. The results were impressive; Pääkkönen studied intensively folklore, ethnography and archaeology of this vast area, and collected ca. 1800 prehistoric artefacts. Apart from this large material, one of his most significant finds was the Stone Age dwelling site of Alasalmi in Salmenniska in 1899. This is located on the shore of Lake Vähätjärvi at the mouth of River Suoju. Unfortunately only one published account of his travels, concerning the 1892 journey, exists (Pääkkönen 1898; see also Sihvo 1973: 240–5). All the other accounts (Pääkkönen 1896a; 1896b; 1897; 1899a; 1899b) are manuscripts in the archives of the National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki, Finland (hence MV/AOA).

In 1892 Pääkkönen toured the large area between the southern shore of the White Sea and the Finnish border, including areas in Repola, Paatene and Rukajärvi. From this trip he brought back 64 stone artefacts, most of them solitary objects from different places (Pääkkönen 1892 in MV/AOA; Pääkkönen 1898: 121–30). In 1896 Pääkkönen was again in Olonec, this time with ethnographer J.H. Karvonen. They travelled mainly in the western part of Olonec, including areas along the River Suoju and around the Lakes Säämäjärvi, Nuosjärvi, Vieljärvi, Munjärvi, and Kenjärvi. From this region Pääkkönen was able to buy 528 artefacts. The expenses of this collection trip were actually so high that the Finnish Antiquarian Society was not able to claim this collection; instead it was reclaimed by the Antell’s delegation, as was later the 1899 collection also (Karvonen 1896; Pääkkönen 1896a; 1896b in MV/AOA).³

In 1897 Pääkkönen studied areas in the Petrozavodsk and Olonec districts, from the Lakes Vieljärvi and Säämäjärvi up to Lake Seesjärvi.

The results included stone artefacts catalogued under 566 entries in the main registry of the National Museum of Finland. Approximately a third of the finds were collected from Suoju – the rest came from the coasts of Lake Onega, along the Rivers Suoju and Suunu and around the above-mentioned lakes (Pääkkönen 1897 in MV/AOA).

The last three-month long collecting trip, in 1899, took place in southern Petrozavodsk district, around the Lakes Vieljärvi, Säämjärvi and Pyhjärvi. This expedition resulted in 632 catalogue numbers of finds (630 stone artefacts and 2 entries of potsherds). This was also the year when Pääkkönen was finally able to locate the Stone Age dwelling site of Alasalmi in the Lake Vähätjärvi area, of which he had heard rumours on his earlier collecting trips. After locating the dwelling site and having received a constant flow of artefacts from the villagers, he conducted some surface collecting and test-pitting in the area – or more correctly prevented the site from being totally robbed and destroyed by the locals who were looting it for saleable antiquities. His test-pits revealed a clear cultural layer at the site. Pääkkönen also located another Stone Age dwelling site on the opposite shore from the island, but left this unstudied (Pääkkönen 1899a; 1899b in MV/AOA).

Over half of the finds Pääkkönen brought back from 1899 expedition derive from the Alasalmi dwelling site(s), totaling in over 350 catalogue entries. Two entries comprise potsherds, the rest of the assemblage consists of whole or broken stone artefacts. Very few small finds, such as lithics or burnt bones, are included in the material. The ceramic material consists of at least Typical Combed Ware, Pitted Ware and Rhomb-Pitted Ware, as well as Asbestos-tempered Ware (Pääkkönen 1899a in MV/AOA; Tallgren 1914: 21; Ailio 1922: 35–43; Brjusov 1940: 227). Based on his observations at Alasalmi, Pääkkönen also made a tentative palaeo-geographical reconstruction of the area. He interpreted that the small spit on which the site is situated was a remnant of a larger cape, which was connected to the mainland at the mouth of the river during the Stone Age, but had been eroded in later times (Pääkkönen 1899a in MV/AOA).

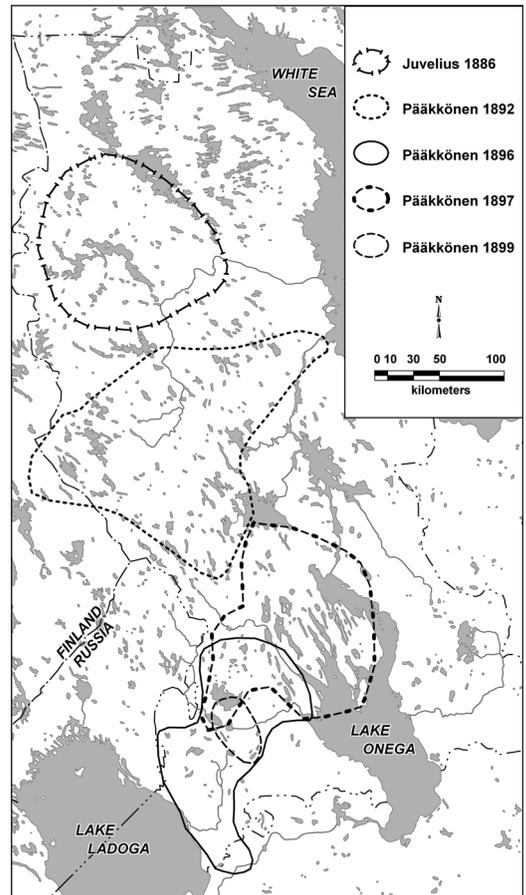


Fig. 2. The main areas covered by the most important archaeological collection expeditions organized by the Finnish Antiquarian Society in the 19th century. Map: K. Nordqvist.

CLOSING THE BOOKS OF ANTIQUITIES COLLECTING

After Pääkkönen's 1899 expedition, no more Finnish expeditions with specific aim to collect prehistoric antiquities in East Karelia were launched. Still, emotional interests to study the area were shown by some archaeologists (e.g., Aspelin 1907: 30) and although the expeditions carried out in the area in the early 20th century did not have specific archaeological aims, many of these were organized by the Finnish Antiquarian Society. The purpose of the later expeditions was to record the contemporary folk culture, mainly ethnography and architecture as well as linguistic material (e.g., Kekkonen

1929; Paulaharju 2003; Sirelius 2008a; 2008b; see also Korhonen et al. 1983: 185–94; 209–16). Deriving from these expeditions, some randomly encountered prehistoric artefacts were delivered to the National Museum – the last such artefacts were catalogued in 1920 and 1921.

The end of the antiquities collecting by amateurs and semi-professionals (see Tallgren 1918: 10) coincides well with the general professionalization and institutionalisation of Finnish archaeology. It began in the second half on the 19th century, became well visible at the beginning of the 20th century and started to change the way things were done (T. Salminen 2003a: 19; Fewster 2006: 146–50). Other evident reasons for the decline of East Karelian studies can also be pointed out. After the 1890s the first heyday of Karelianism came to an abrupt end. Another important factor affecting the possibilities to work in the area was the actions of Russian authorities on the border, which hindered the movement of Finnish scholars (Sihvo 1973: 291, 294).

In addition to the artefacts gathered by the Finnish collectors and stored in the National Museum in Helsinki, many more had been recovered and collected during the years described above. There are plentiful references by Pääkkönen (1896a; 1897; 1899a; 1899b in MV/AOA) to several Russian collectors active in the same region; ‘Lavrentsii’, ‘Uchonoff’ and ‘Ragitsy’ are mentioned by name. However, no further information exists about their activities in the Finnish archives. The artefacts collected by these men and their colleagues formed the collections of East Karelian artefacts stored in other museums and collections than the National Museum of Finland (see Kočkurkina 2007: 3). To some extent, they were known to the Finnish researchers of the late 19th and early 20th century. For example, Pääkkönen reports in his published account (1898) that ca. 100 archaeological artefacts from East Karelia were kept in a private local museum in Petrozavodsk. He also mentions the existence of artefacts from Olonec and the White Sea shores in the Museum of Viena, as considered probable to find others in the local museums in Vytegra and Kargopol. He also names three different collections in St.

Petersburg and Moscow that included altogether 390 artefacts from Olonec (the collections of N.F. Butenev and A.M. Raevskaja) (Pääkkönen 1898: 148–62).

In any case, even as late as in 1920 the number of artefacts from East Karelia in other museums than the National Museum of Finland was relatively low. A.M. Tallgren saw the National Museum as the central museum of the Stone Age of Olonec and Bronze Age of West Russia. According to him the collections in Helsinki actually included three times more artefacts than the collections of all the Russian and other museums together (Tallgren 1916a: 26; 1916b: 275; 1920: 120; 1928: 147; 1938a: 10). A number of stone artefacts from Olonec were also displayed in the museum of Sortavala, resulting from a collection expedition organized by O.A. Forsström (Hällström 1932: 134–5; Sihvo 1973: 227–8). Of course, the Russian collections definitely grew after 1920, as several large scale excavations took place during the 1920s and 1930s (see Zemljakov 1935; 1936; Brjusov 1940; Ravdonikas 1940; also Tallgren 1936: 152–62; 1938a: 10–3).

THE STONE AGE ARTEFACT COLLECTIONS FROM EAST KARELIA IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF FINLAND PRIOR TO 1920

The material

The results of the collecting and research activities by 1920 resulted in ca. 2200 artefacts, of which ca. 2000 are Stone Age finds and ca. 200 artefacts mainly from the Late Iron Age (Appendix 2). The Iron Age artefacts derive primarily from the barrow excavations of D.E.D. Europaeus. The majority of the Stone Age artefacts are polished stone tools, but the collection also includes ca. 600 potsherds, mostly from the Alasalmi dwelling site. In addition, the collectors (Pääkkönen in particular) delivered to the National Museum over 200 artefacts later discarded from the collections by professional archaeologists. These were either found to be, for example, recent whetstones, natural, or in some cases too badly mutilated by later activities. Some artefacts acquired during the expeditions were

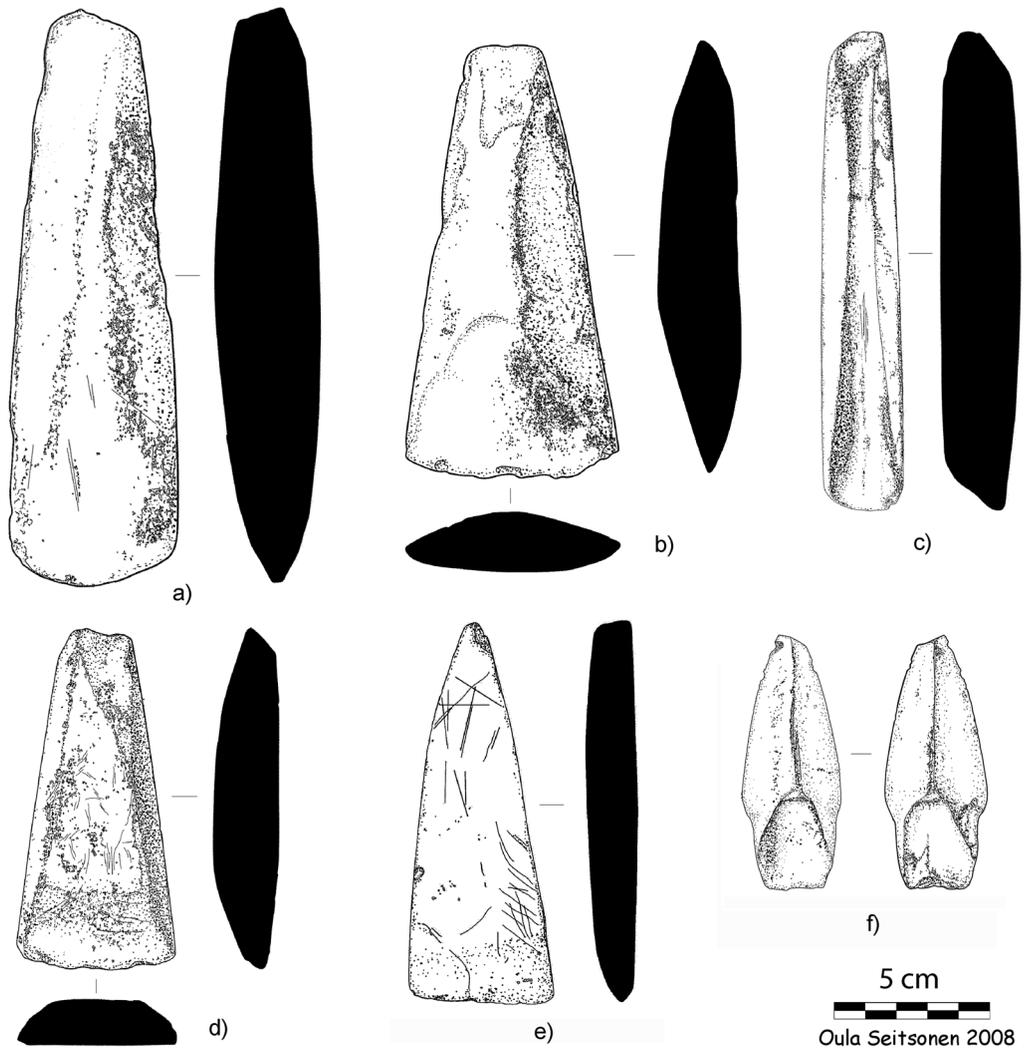


Fig. 3. Stone artefacts from the study area: a) NM 3309:106 (Suoju Ala-Viitana); b) NM 3309:183 (Vielijärvi Lampila); c) NM 3309:384 (Suoju); d) NM 3309:247 (Vielijärvi Plekka); e) NM 2916:11 (Impilahti Syskyä); f) NM 2849:59 (Laazari). Artefacts a–d and f from Pääkkönen’s 1892 and 1896 expeditions, e from Pääkkönen’s 1893 expedition in adjacent Salmi jurisdictional district. Illustration: O. Seitsonen.

also indexed to the Ethnological department.

The collections acquired by Pääkkönen in 1892 and 1896 (NM 2849:1–89 and 3309:1–535) were inspected for this study. In relation to the stone artefacts, the material consists predominately of large and clearly artefact-like specimens. In these assemblages the mean artefact length, width and thickness are 119.7 mm, 47.0 mm and 27.0 mm respectively – the

figures for rest of the collections, calculated from the National Museum’s find registry, do not deviate much: 115.8 mm, 45.3 mm and 27.4 mm.

The dominant artefact types are large adzes and axes, as well as cradle runner shaped artefacts or hoes – these types account for 65–75 % of all the artefacts depending on the collection (Fig. 3). Smaller artefacts, as well as chipped lithics

and ceramics, are not numerous. This pattern is largely similar to artefact collections pertaining to the Karelian Isthmus, where the earliest phase of collecting coincides with the East Karelian studies. The abundant ceramic and lithic assemblages from the Isthmus were collected later, mostly in the 1910s, by a few enthusiastic locals, partly instructed by the archaeologists (Nordqvist 2005: 51–6, Appendix VII; Nordqvist & Seitsonen in press; also Tallgren 1918: 11).

The two collections examined include mainly whole or slightly damaged artefacts—fragmentary material accounts for about one third of the collections. The material did not present great surprises, if, for example, a polished tanged arrowhead of slate (NM 2849:59; see Fig. 3, f) is not taken as such. On the contrary, it gives quite good glimpse of the polished slate tools made and utilized during the Stone Age in Karelia, and would furthermore provide fine source material for a serious typological or technological study (A.Ju. Tarasov, pers. comm.; see e.g., Tarasov 2005). Previous studies based on this material, such as Pälsi's (1913 in MV/AOA; see below) intuitive classification, cannot be regarded as thorough scientific studies.

The lack of systematic studies and the time passed since collecting have also resulted in discrepancy in the nomenclature of artifact types – the classifications given in the National Museum's find catalogue cannot be much relied on. The collections include several artefact types, both sawed and struck, for which there are meagre counterparts from the present-day Finland, and which do not fit into Finnish artefact typologies, but are common in Karelian Stone Age assemblages (see e.g., Pankrušev 1978a; 1978b; Kosmenko & Kočkurkina 1996; Žul'nikov 2005). A large part of the artefacts belong to the group of so-called East-Karelian or Russian Karelian artefacts (see e.g., Äyräpää 1944: 69–71; Pälsi 1915: 115), which form one fifth, or slightly more, of the material examined for this study. By far the most numerous stone tool types are different adzes and axes that account for roughly two-thirds of the assortment. Other, relatively common, types include cradle runner shaped artefacts and gouges (ca. 9 % and 6 % respectively).

Considering the way the finds were collected,

it is hardly a surprise that the material is somewhat biased and one-sided: most artefacts are very clearly 'artefact looking' and easily understood to be tools by laymen. However, it should be noted that in the late 19th century even the professional archaeologists often collected only the large specimens and principally ignored ceramics, lithics and bones. Large numbers of artefacts (ca. 1/3) were found during agricultural works, while almost a half of finds were made on the shores of lakes and rivers and from the lakes and rivers themselves, sometimes during the extraction of lake ore for iron production. In this sense, the material differs from the material collected, for example, from the Karelian Isthmus, where most of the artefacts derive from fields (Uino 2003: 135; Nordqvist 2005: 56–8).

Relatively many artefacts were recorded as being used as magic charms and amulets by the locals. This was especially common in Karelia (e.g., Juvelius 1889: 29; Pääkkönen 1898: 141; also Killinen 1882; Pääkkönen 1893 in MV/AOA), but also elsewhere in Finland (e.g., Muhonen 2006: 7–10). The proportion of artefacts labelled as magic charms varies greatly between the assemblages from none in Pääkkönen's 1892 collection and ca. 4.5 % in Juvelius' 1886 collection to ca. 9 and 17 % in Pääkkönen's 1896 and 1897 collections. However, it seems that this information was not always marked down, and inferring from the numerous references to artefacts having been badly mutilated, the proportion of artefacts used as lucky charms could be much higher. On the other hand, of the ca. 50 artefacts labelled as magic charms in Pääkkönen's 1896 assemblage, ca. 20 showed no external marks of such use when examined – the rest had diverse scratches, polishing and/or carving marks on their surfaces, and some also had pieces intentionally knapped off of their edges. Furthermore, the same collection includes a couple of dozen of artefacts not referred to as magic charms, but exhibiting similar use-wear, scratches and other marks, that could well derive from such activities.

All the factors discussed above also affect the reliability of the spatial data, as these artefacts, apart from being badly mutilated in magical activities, were often transported and traded away from their original locations. Also,

the information regarding the provenance of inherited artefacts, thought to have possessed some special qualities, is more than dubious. The importance of such amulets was yet another problem faced by the collectors, since these precious charms were not easily sold or even talked about (Juvelius 1889: 29; Pääkkönen 1898: 141).

In addition, the abuses and apparently high prices paid by other – reportedly Russian – collectors often resulted in the local people not wanting to tell if they knew something about prehistoric artefacts or asking unreasonable prices (e.g., Pääkkönen 1896a in MV/AOA; Pääkkönen 1898: 142). Consequently, the collectors were often unable to buy the artefacts from the locals. Pääkkönen reports on many occasions (e.g., 1898: 141; also 1896a; 1899b in MV/AOA) of large amounts of artefacts that he could not purchase, for a reason or another. Accordingly, the material collected represents only a fraction of the material actually discovered. For example, Pääkkönen (1898) enlists artefacts that he had seen and measured, but not bought, in addition to information concerning artefacts sold elsewhere or lost. According to his estimation he managed to buy only about half of the artefacts found by the locals.

Geographical distribution of the find locations

Despite the fact that in many cases the artefacts do seem to derive from dwelling sites (see below), most of them ought to be regarded as stray or loose finds. The problem plaguing the material as a whole is the low quality of information concerning the original provenance of the finds. This is by no means surprising, since the artefacts were collected and bought from the locals, and in some cases the items had been found even decades earlier or acquired second-hand. The accompanying data was usually scant, superficial or totally lacking, and consequently the find places are difficult to locate. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that much of Pääkkönen's general location information seems to be inaccurate or in some cases totally false.

In 1911 Sakari Pälsi went through all the data with Pääkkönen and tried to correct the

errors – often giving the impression of being quite frustrated with the task. Pälsi's notes in the catalogue concerning the find locations (MV/AOA) speak for themselves: 'Considering the erroneous nature of Pääkkönen's map, this does not seem impossible at all', 'In Pääkkönen's map the locations by Lake Ladoga shore are "so-called" falsely marked' and 'One can believe if one wants to!' (Fin. 'Pääkkösen kartan virheellisyyteen nähden ei se tunnu ensinkään mahdottomalta', 'Pääkkösen kartalla Laatokan rannikkoseudun paikat ns. väärin merkittyjä', 'Uskokoon ken tahtoo!'; translation by the authors). Still, even if Pääkkönen often did not provide sufficient written location information, he made some very illustrative map-like drawings from a birds-eye view showing even the individual find locations. These may be useful in locating the find spots even nowadays, especially in areas where the general topography has not changed much.

The locating of find spots is further complicated by the deliberate attempts to Russianize the Karelian population during the Soviet Union regime. As a consequence of expulsions and executions during the Great Purge in the 1930s, as well as of changing the language by force into the new Karelian written language based on the Cyrillic alphabet, many of the old place names have been lost or changed (Anttikoski 1996; 1998). For this paper the location of the finds was researched with appropriate map material (both old and new published maps), as well as the later cartographic material produced by Aarne Europaeus (later Äyräpää) and the corrected information of find places given by Pälsi.

By far, the majority of finds derive from the southern and middle parts of Olonec, from the area between the south-east coast of Lake Ladoga and the northern part of Lake Onega (Fig. 4). The finds are especially rich in the area of the Lakes Vieljärvi, Nuosjärvi, Pyhäjärvi, and Säämäjärvi, as well as near the mouth regions and along the Rivers Suoju and Suunu on the west coast of the Lake Onega and around the Lakes Munjärvi, Kenjärvi and Lindjärvi. As several finds apparently pertain to a single location in these areas, one can speak of the existence of find concentrations.

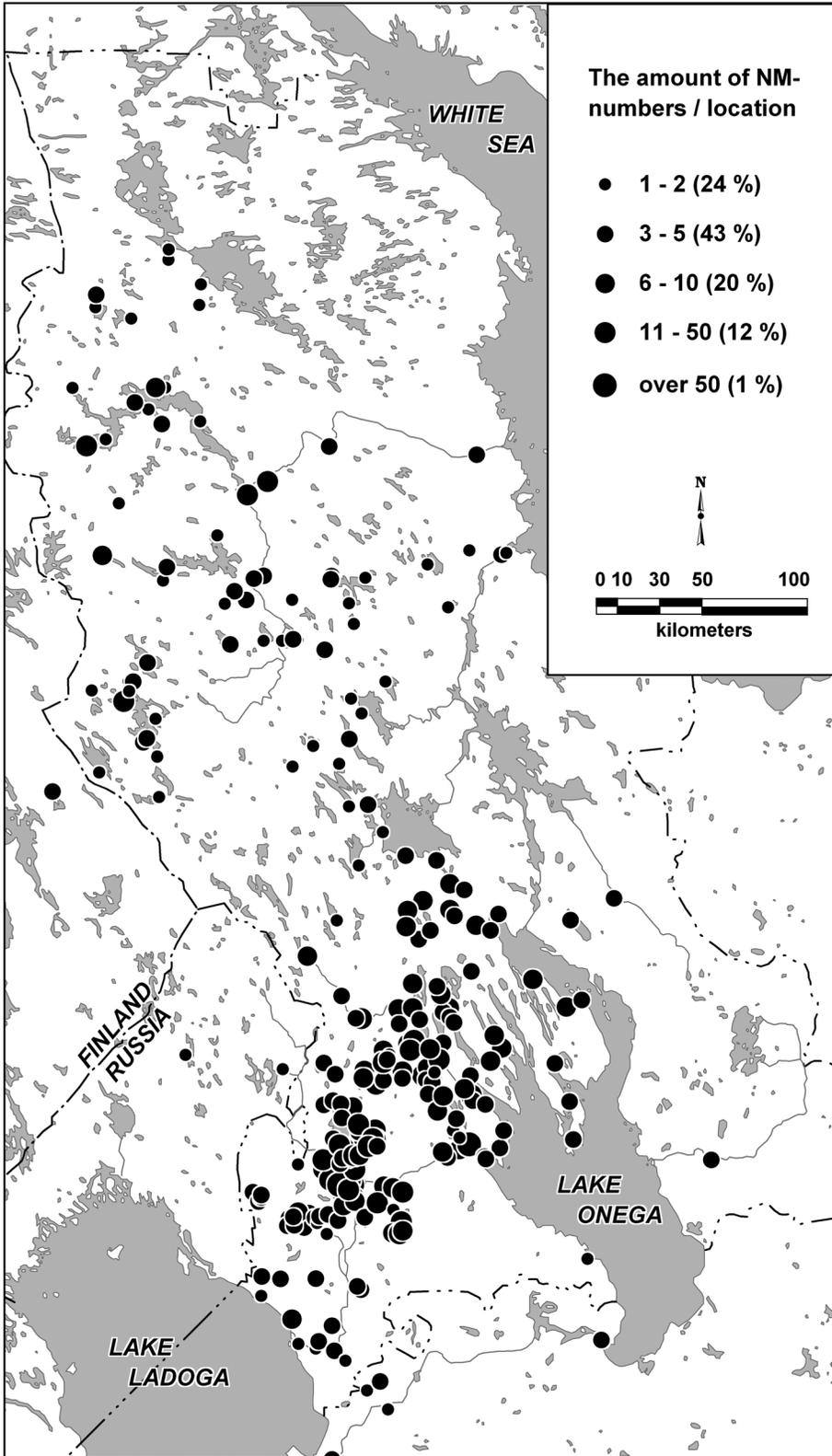


Fig. 4. The distribution of Stone Age finds collected by 1920 in the National Museum of Finland. Map: K. Nordqvist.

Further north the finds are more sporadic and include often just one or a couple of artefacts per location. Some finds were collected around the Lakes Seesjärvi and Ondajärvi, in the Repola, Rukajärvi and Sorokka areas, as well as along the River Kem', and from the villages by Lakes Jyskyjärvi, Paanajärvi and Kuittijärvet. The northernmost finds originate from the shores of Lakes Tuoppajärvi and Pääjärvi. However, the location information in these regions is rarely more accurate than the village name, although Juvelius' publication (1889) includes a map of the find locations.

The richest find place that can also be easily located is the dwelling site of Alasalmi, with almost 400 stone artefacts and 600 ceramic sherds. Nevertheless, there are other large concentrations of finds, although their borders are often blurred as locating by the nearest village is generally the rule. The region at the mouth of River Suoju is almost comparable with Alasalmi in the number of stone artefacts (ca. 250 specimens) recovered. Other areas of obviously very intensive human activity in prehistory include the shores of the above-mentioned lakes in the central Olonec. Still, the less numerous finds in the north are also a clear indication of human activity, especially considering the radically smaller amount of collection expeditions conducted there.

The find locations of Finnish collectors correlate relatively well with the Stone Age dwelling sites found later by Russian researchers. The dense find clusters in the previously mentioned regions are also presented in the dwelling site data in general (see Pankrušev 1978a; 1978b; Kosmenko & Kočkurkina 1996; Žul'nikov 2005; Kosmenko 2007; Kočkurkina 2007). Lake Säämäjärvi, where Russian archaeologists have located a multitude of Stone Age sites since the 1920s and 1930s, is a good example of this mutual spatial distribution (Fig. 5). The Alasalmi dwelling site was also studied already in 1934 by the Russian archaeologist A. Fokin (Brjusov 1940: 227). Of course, due to roughness of the data concerning the provenance of the old finds, it is not clear if the finds actually derive from the dwelling sites or their immediate vicinity, but the areas are generally speaking the same. In every case, the finds bring unquestionably further evidence

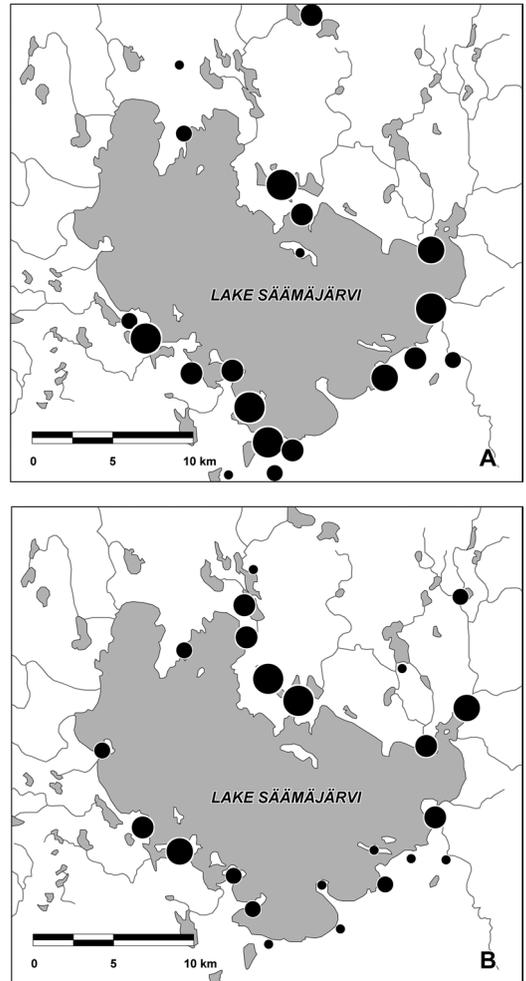


Fig. 5. Archaeological finds in Lake Säämäjärvi area. Map A shows the find locations (i.e. villages) of artefacts bought by the Finnish collectors in the late 19th century. Map B shows the currently known dwelling sites in the same area. Size of the dot indicates the relative amount of finds and sites – the amount of finds per location varies between 2 and 35, and sites between 1 and ca. 25. Maps: K. Nordqvist, map B based on Kosmenko & Kočkurkina 1996, Kočkurkina 2007 and Kosmenko pers. comm.

on the intensity of human activities by providing additional 'background noise' to dwelling site data, pointing out some of the areas exploited by prehistoric people.

The largest difference, when the data on old finds is compared with the spatial distribution

of currently known sites, is that previously the densely inhabited east and south-western coasts of Lake Onega were devoid of finds. The explanation is self-evident: these areas were hardly visited by the Finnish collectors. The same argument applies, for example, to the River Uikujoki and Lake Uikujärvi area, north of the Lake Onega. On the other hand, there are relatively many finds from the River Alavoisenjoki area on the Lake Ladoga coast, as well as from the Lake Seesjärvi and Repola regions, where only few dwelling sites are known at the moment (cf. Fig. 4 and e.g., the distribution maps in Kosmenko & Kočkurkina 1996, Žul'nikov 2005, Kosmenko 2007; Kočkurkina 2007). A common feature for both data sets is that the northern areas are much scarcer in finds than the southern ones. The difference may reflect the research history, at least as much or perhaps more than actual differences in ancient habitation.

Regarding the prehistory postdating the Stone Age, the finds from the Early Metal Period in the collection are very few, in fact almost non-existent. Late Iron Age finds are confined to the southern part of the area, near the Lake Ladoga, while only a few solitary finds are derived from the northern reach of the area (see Tallgren 1928: 149; 1931: 109–17; 1938a: 16–9; Kivikoski 1944a: 3).

FINNISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN EAST KARELIA 1918–44

The newly independent Republic of Finland

The independence of Finland in 1917 did not push East Karelia into the background although the internal border turned into an international one, thus completely preventing Finnish expeditions to the area. The border could not, however, stop the interest, which materialized soon after the Finnish Civil War as military campaigns launched in 1918–22. These campaigns were destined to conquer or 'liberate' East Karelia, but they failed (see e.g., Pälsi 1922). Soon after these expeditions the raised pre-World War II interests on the 'Karelian question' materialized in other ways. One of the most influential and visible actors was the nationalistic student

organization Academic Karelia Foundation (Fin. Akateeminen Karjala-Seura), while many other organizations also actively promoted the 'tribal ideology' (Manninen 1980: 47; Laine 1993: 104; Fewster 2006: 314, 317–9).

During the 1920s and 1930s East Karelia was a constant subject of writing for archaeologists. However, their views were mainly based on the old, late 19th and early 20th century information (Laine 1993: 104). While new expeditions were not possible due to the closed border, the politics applied in Soviet Russia in the 1920s allowed the Russian scholars to maintain some personal contacts with the outside world (e.g., T. Salminen 2003a: 146–8, 205; 2003b: 111). This is well exhibited in A.M Tallgren's magnum opus, the journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, which includes several articles on Karelian and Russian archaeology (e.g., Ravdonikas 1929; Salonen 1929).⁴ In addition, Tallgren also discussed subjects related to East Karelia in many of his other articles (e.g., Tallgren 1932; 1938a) as he had already done a decade before (e.g., Tallgren 1914; 1916a; 1916b). Tallgren also visited the Soviet Union in four occasions during the 1920s and 1930s (Tallgren 1936: 129–30). However, the critical views he expressed in public after his last longer visit (Tallgren 1936) soon ended his contacts in Russia, which were finally doused by the Great Purge (T. Salminen 2003a: 146–9; 2003b: 109–11).

In 1932 the second and updated edition of the *Karjalan kirja* (Härkönen 1932a) was published. Here the subjects relating to Karelia were presented in a more scientific way than in the previous edition, and some presentations of the Soviet Karelia were even included – although with an apparently biased attitude (see e.g., Castren 1932; Härkönen 1932b). Also this edition includes the presentation of archaeology in Karelia based on Hackman's 1910 article, but with necessary updates by Aarne Äyräpää (Hackman (Äyräpää) 1932). However, these updates are mostly concerned with finds made outside of East Karelia, such as the 'Antrea Net Find' and 'Pitkäjärvi hut' in the Karelian Isthmus) – no archaeological work had been done in East Karelia by the Finns after the publication of previous edition. Still, some results of the recent Soviet studies are

mentioned (Hackman (Äyräpää) 1932: 161–4). J.R. Aspelin's 1910 article about Bjarmia is also partly reproduced and A.M. Tallgren (1932: 186, 191–2; see also Tallgren 1931) added his views on the subject, rejecting the cherished view of Bjarmia as the long lost time of greatness of the Finns (Fewster 2006: 101–2; Sihvo 1973: 328; 1999: 186). However, the rise of 'Greater Finland' (Fin. Suur-Suomi) ideology in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s led to a new attitude towards the prehistory, which Derek Fewster has summarized as the medievalization and banalization of national antiquity. Alongside scientific motivations, clearly patriotic and nationalistic ones were now also at play (Fewster 2006: 309ff).

World War II

After the brief Winter War in 1939–40, political and military events and decisions led Finland into another war. Starting the attack in late June 1941, Finnish troops had rapidly conquered East Karelia by the end of the year. Military administration was founded in the occupied territories (Itä-Karjalan sotilashallintoesikunta/ the Headquarters of Military Administration of East Karelia, hence ItäKar.SE) to establish control over the area as well as to prepare the affiliation of the area to Finland (Manninen 1980: 189–91).

The state authorities felt necessary to get scientific justification for the occupation as well as to assert to the German military command that Karelia was and should be part of Finland (Laine 1993: 97, 106; Manninen 1980: 49). For this purpose a couple of books were prepared from the state's initiative. These include a volume entitled 'Finnlands Lebensraum' (literally 'Finland's living space') by Professor of Geography Väinö Auer and historian Eino Jutikkala (1941) and a book called 'Die Ostfrage Finnlands' ('Eastern question of Finland') by Professor of History Jalmari Jaakkola (1941). The idea in both of these works was to assert to the domestic and international, mainly German, audience that East Karelia and the Kola peninsula belonged to Finland on the grounds of geography and other natural sciences, history and demography (Auer & Jutikkala 1941; Jaakkola 1941; see

also Manninen 1980: 49, 59, 109–11, 229–34, 241). Books creating a national sentiment on similar lines but with different nuances were also published for the home audience (e.g., V. Salminen 1941). While archaeology and prehistory had no part in the first two publications, the central argument in the third one is that the historical name of the area had been used from the Iron Age: On the other hand, Stone Age and Bronze Age antiquities were deemed useless because no conclusions could be drawn on the nationality of their makers (V. Salminen 1941: 90).

The Finnish scientific studies in the occupied areas have been much researched during the last few years (see e.g., Laine 1993; Kaukonen 2004; Hietala 2006; Lehtinen 2008). In a recent study Tenho Pimiä (2007) has discussed the role of ethnography and other humanistic studies in this framework. However, archaeology is largely excluded from this study.

War and the newly occupied areas awoke the interest of numerous scholars also in many other ways, some of which were connected to the old research tradition pre-dating the independence of Finland. Antti Laine, who has studied the Finnish scientific research in East Karelia during World War II, sees a definite and strong connection between the pre-1918 and World War II studies in East Karelia, especially when it comes to the research interests of the 'national disciplines' (Laine 1993: 98, 179). Naturally all the disciplines with research potential for these areas, including archaeology, were harnessed to the use of propaganda (Fewster 2006: 313). In the journal of the Geographical Society of Finland, *Fennia* (Auer 1942), the Finnish input and contribution in the research of Kola Peninsula and East Karelia was presented, mostly focusing on natural sciences, but also including discussion on some humanistic disciplines. In the short and fairly neutral section concerning archaeology Tallgren (1942a) lists the previous studies, and states that fieldwork in the area is utterly necessary for the understanding of Finnish prehistory, since these recently occupied areas have been important sources of cultural influence. The same themes are also present in another relatively neutral article by Tallgren (1942b), which he wrote to otherwise side-taking

and openly nationalistic publication *Kampen om Östkarelen* (Battle of East Karelia).

In order to achieve scientific and other aims, the State East-Karelian Scientific Committee (Fin. Valtion tieteellinen Itä-Karjalan toimikunta, hence VTIT or the Committee) was founded in December 1941. Apart from providing scientific justification for the possession of East Karelia, it was aiming to conduct studies in the economically beneficial fields of sciences, first of all in agriculture and forestry. The committee was composed of highly appreciated scientists, including the Professor of Archaeology A.M. Tallgren (Laine 1993: 105–6, 113).

By the end of 1941, the Committee sent an inquiry to the scientific organizations and societies about their present and upcoming research interests in the occupied areas. Both, the Archaeological Commission (Fin. Muinaistieteellinen Toimikunta, henceforth MT) and the Finnish Antiquarian Society (henceforth SMY), received this inquiry (VTIT->MT 3.1.1942 in the Literary Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, hence SKSA). These institutes negotiated with one another concerning their plans and answered to the Committee in February, presenting a joint research plan for the summer 1942 (MT->VTIT 3.2.1942; SMY->VTIT 23.2.1942 in SKSA). The plans included, apart from archaeology, studies on ethnography, textiles, architecture, and ecclesiastical monuments (MT->VTIT 3.2.1942; SMY->VTIT 23.2.1942 in SKSA; Kronqvist 1943: 81). However, these plans were not realized, because in 1942 only a small number of scientists, mainly representing natural sciences, were allowed to work in the area (Kronqvist 1944a: 144; Laine 1993: 121, 125).

In 1943 the military administration gave more licences for scholars to work in the occupied areas (ItäKar.SE->VTIT 19.2.1943 in SKSA). This meant that the plans made for the summer 1942 could be executed according to their main points. The studies were funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation (Fin. Suomen Kulttuurirahasto) and VTIT (Kronqvist 1944a: 144; 1944b: 97–8).

The first archaeological expedition to materialize was the series of excavations

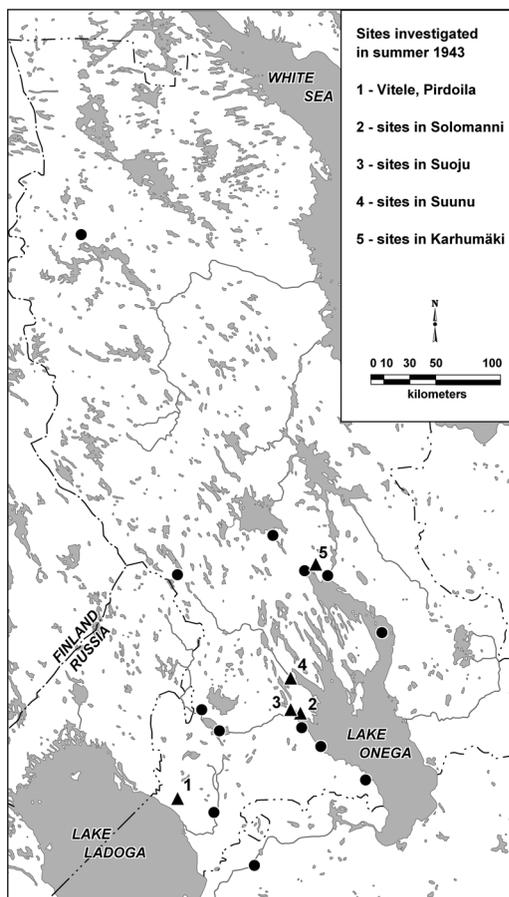


Fig. 6. The sites investigated (triangles) and stray finds made (dots) during World War II by Finnish researchers and soldiers. Map: K. Nordqvist.

lead by Ella Kivikoski in June 1943. Her aim was to conduct Iron Age studies in the area of Vitele and Tuulos on the eastern side of Lake Ladoga and to excavate barrows possibly left unobserved by V.I. Ravdonikas (see Ravdonikas 1929). Although this plan was not realized as such, Kivikoski was able to find and excavate two barrows in Vitele Pirdoila village (Fig. 6) with her assistant researcher Annikki Nisula and with the aid of Finnish soldiers and lottas.⁵ The studied barrows date to the Viking Age and contained altogether nine burials within timber frames (Kivikoski 1943 in MV/AOA; Kivikoski 1944a: 8–25).

Stone Age studies were also included already

in the 1942 plans that were altered to some extent in 1943, and finally comprised archaeological research at the sites in Solomanni, Suoju, Suunu and Karhumäki areas (Fig. 6). One of the main reasons to study Stone Age antiquities in East Karelia was that, in spite of substantial artefact collection in the National Museum of Finland, no Finnish archaeologist had ever conducted actual fieldwork in the area (MT->VTIT 3.2.1942 in SKSA). The aim of these studies was to get a cross-section of the Stone Age and Bronze Age developments in the area, to study the shore displacement and tilting of the Lake Onega basin, and to study the slate industry and trade. Also clarifying of various aspects related to artefact typology and dating, as well as gaining a general understanding of the Russian research tradition, were included in the plans (Äyräpää 1943a; 1943b in MV/AOA).

Aarne Äyräpää was the archaeologist responsible for the fieldwork at Stone Age sites that took place in July 1943. Archaeologist Ville Luho, exempted from military service for the time of the studies, acted as an assistant researcher. They were aided by a couple of soldiers both in the Museum of Petrozavodsk and in the field. In addition, the geodetic company of the Finnish Army gave executive assistance in conducting levellings at the sites (Äyräpää 1943a and 1943b in MV/AOA).

Since these studies were never properly published and the only information in public is limited to some later allusions (e.g., Äyräpää 1944: 62, endnote 8; 1956: 31, footnote 70; Meinander 1954: 188, footnote 2; Uino 2003: 138), the only evidence on them is preserved in archives. The following discussion, up to the presentation of the results, is based on Äyräpää's report of the studies (1943a) and his notebook (1943b), both stored in MV/AOA, in addition to the main catalogue of the National Museum. Unless otherwise noted, the last source is not referred to separately.

Äyräpää started the fieldwork by studying the Solomanni sites located a few kilometres north from Petrozavodsk (Figs. 6–7). His main aim was the Bronze Age dwelling site Tomica (Tomitsa) described by A.Ja. Brjusov (1940: 238–43) (Fig. 7, number 3). Due to scarcity of surface finds, only small scale excavations were

carried out in this area. Additional finds were collected from the numerous trenches, fox-holes and road-cuts (Fig. 8). Also the surroundings of the Zelenaja Doroga ('Green Road'), as the area was called, were explored. In connection to this expedition two more Stone Age dwelling sites, Zelenaja Doroga South and Zelenaja Doroga North (Fig. 7, numbers 1–2; Fig. 8) were located. Both sites date to the Neolithic Period. Äyräpää also visited the Peski site, which he called 'Solomannin hiekat (Peski)' (Fig. 7, number 4), studied by A.Ja. Brjusov and E. Kuznecova in 1930 (Brjusov 1940: 230, no 137).

Fieldwork continued at the Suoju sites, north-west from Petrozavodsk, some 5 km upstream from the River Suoju's mouth (Figs. 6–7). There Äyräpää was able to locate and study several previously unknown Stone Age sites (Fig. 7, locations a–e) with find material pointing to intensive Neolithic habitation. At and around the dwelling sites of Suoju, Äyräpää made observations regarding the geology of the area, namely of the occurrence of the 'Onega green slate'. He concluded that pebbles and stones, not the bedrock, had been the main source of raw material for the tools. He further assumed that in this area stone tools were produced for trade. Pääkkönen had collected a multitude of such finds from the sites, which were also known to be the source for plenty of material in Russian collections (Brjusov 1940: 245, no 211).

The Suunu sites, which Äyräpää studied next, are located near the mouth of River Suunu, west of the former Suunu railway station – the population centre in the area is at present called Janšipole (Fig. 6). There Äyräpää studied two dwelling sites, Suunu I and II, described by Brjusov (1940: 237, no 181; 285–98) and collected Neolithic material from them. Äyräpää ended his fieldwork in Karhumäki, on the northern shore of Lake Onega, in the north-west end of Poventsanlahti Bay (Fig. 6). There he studied several sites described by B.F. Zemljakov (1935: 12–5); surveyed Zemljakov's sites 1–3, 4–6, 8 and 10, and collected a rich quartz assemblage, as well as some ceramics.

Apart from fieldwork, Äyräpää spent several days studying the collections in the Museum of Petrozavodsk. There he inspected Brjusov's finds from Tomica and also examined, at least

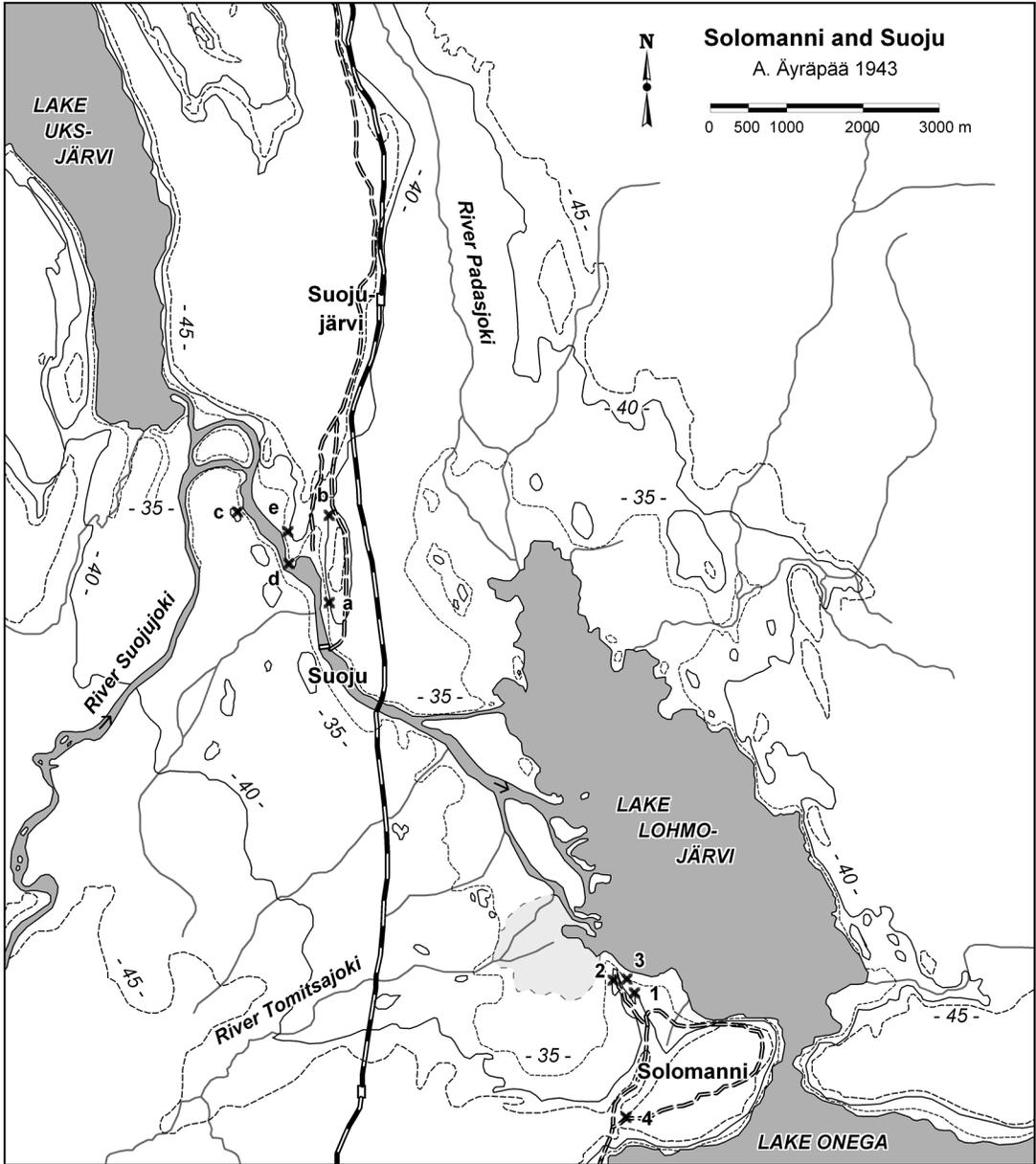


Fig. 7. A map showing the sites in Solomanni and Suoju investigated by A. Äyräpää in July 1943. Map: K. Nordqvist after Äyräpää 1943a in MV/AOA.

in brief, the finds from Besov Nos, Erpinpudas and Kladovec Nos (see Zemljakov 1936; Brjusov 1940). He noted that the museum hosted extremely few Iron Age finds, and marked down in his notes that a thorough inventory of the Stone Age finds stored in the museum was a task to be done.

Äyräpää wrote in his report that as a

result of the 1943 studies a good collection of dwelling site finds was obtained. These finds were mainly ceramics, but also chipped lithics and ground stone tools, as well as some bones were collected. He saw that these artefacts well complimented the collections already stored in the National Museum of Finland since no such finds existed previously from Olonec, with the

material from the Alasalmi dwelling site as an exception. In addition, Äyräpää noted that his studies also benefited in understanding the shore displacement history of Lake Onega, as well as the general cultural development and chronology of Stone Age and Early Metal Period of East Karelia.

After the successful field season of 1943 plans for continuation of the research were compiled and a large sum of money was granted by the Finnish Cultural Foundation to be used for archaeological-ethnological research in East Karelia in the summer of 1944. This money was planned to be divided among the scholars who had been working in the area in 1943 (SMY->VTIT 22.3.1944 in SKSA; Vahter 1945: 87). However, only architects Paula Pihkala and Helena Merikanto, studying churches and chapels, and ethnologist Tyyni Vahter, studying textiles, had arrived to the study area (Vahter

1945: 87) just some days before the major offensive of the Red Army. This was launched in the Karelian Isthmus in early June 1944 and rapidly affected the situation in East Karelia, stopping abruptly all research activities.

Although further possibilities for archaeological fieldwork in East Karelia had thus foundered, something had already been done in early 1944. In January and February of 1944, exiled Estonian archaeologist Richard Indreko had spent four weeks in the Museum of Petrozavodsk documenting, cataloguing and drawing the local Stone and Bronze Age collections (Nordman & Äyräpää->VTIT 8.3.1944; VTIT->MT 14.4.1944 in SKSA). This catalogue exists even today as a manuscript and a collection of paper slips in the topographical archive of the National Board of Antiquities, Finland.



Fig. 8. The Combed Ware dwelling site Zelenaja Doroga South in Solomanni seen roughly from south-east. Oiva Helenius and Ville Luho are picking up finds in the sand pit, V. Luho on the right. Photo: A. Äyräpää 1943, National Board of Antiquities, Finland.

Summary of the studies during World War II

The summer of 1943 was the only summer during the war when archaeological fieldwork was conducted in East Karelia. In 1942 no field licences had been granted and in 1944 the turn of military events prevented studies, even if the plans for such were extensive. Antti Laine (1993) sees that the situation with archaeology differed from many other disciplines. First, the connection between SMY (scientific society) and MT (governmental organ) was much tighter than was the case with many other societies and, furthermore, they also had an integrated research plan. It is also exceptional, that the two actors got all the funding they applied for – among the humanistic disciplines, archaeology got most of the grants. In all, between 1942 and 1944 131,000 marks⁶ had been granted for archaeological studies, though merely a fraction of this was eventually used. From the viewpoint of military administration, one important reason to fund archaeological research in East Karelia – especially towards the end of the war when the outcome started to be clear – was to document and to save as much of the cultural heritage of the Finnish-related people as possible before these areas were lost. In this new realm, economically beneficial studies were not necessary anymore (Laine 1993: 149, 153–4; Pimiä 2007: 18).

During World War II altogether four archaeologists were working in the area, excluding the ones in military service. Excavations and inspections were reportedly conducted at ca. 20 sites and find locations. In addition, 16 artefacts and some ceramics from East Karelia were catalogued during the war and the years immediately after it. These artefacts were found and delivered to the museum by the Finnish soldiers fighting in the area (see Fig. 6 and Appendix 2).

Of the studies made during the war, only Kivikoski's excavations have been published and more widely discussed, being the only large-scale excavations conducted. However, already in 1943 a publication concerning East Karelia and its prehistory had been proposed (Kronqvist 1944a: 144). These plans materialized and a book *Muinaista ja vanhaa Itä-Karjalaa: tutkielmia*

Itä-Karjalan esihistorian, kulttuurihistorian ja kansankulttuurin alalta (Ancient and Old East Karelia: Studies on the Prehistory, Cultural history and Folk Culture) was prepared. It would have included accounts on the general geological history of the area by Matti Sauramo (1944), an up-to-date general prehistory by Kivikoski (1944b), a typological study of green slate artefacts and the position of East Karelia in Stone Age trade networks by Äyräpää (1944), a study of East Karelian animal head weapons by Carl Axel Nordman (1944), as well as several articles on various ethnographical topics. However, due to the course military and political events took, the volume was never properly published and only a correction print of it exists.

THE FINNISH STUDIES IN EAST KARELIA – STONE TOOLS, TRIBAL IDEOLOGIES AND WORLD POLITICS

Motivations and importance of the pre-1944 studies

The Finnish collecting activities in East Karelia can be viewed from at least two viewpoints, spatial and temporal. Temporally, Finnish antiquarian activities in East Karelia had two peaks: the 1890s and World War II. The beginning of antiquities collecting in East Karelia is tightly connected with the general development of antiquarian activities in Finland proper, as well as to general ideological and societal developments. Studies with archaeological undertones had already been launched in the early 19th century, but it was not until the 1880s and 1890s that these activities really intensified. The motivations were numerous and many sided: the romanticism of the subject and Kalevala can be seen as one, the rising 'tribal ideology' as another, and the purely scientific aims as a third major stimulus – although it goes without saying that these factors were not necessarily separable.

The first peak in collecting antiquities is connected to the enterprises of the Finnish Antiquarian Society that did not focus merely on antiquities, but also on ethnography, folklore and arts (see e.g., Tallgren 1920: 72–82). In an archaeological sense the apex of these fieldworks were the collecting expeditions of

Lauri V. Pääkkönen in the 1890s. Thereafter the antiquarian studies of Olonec and Viena were halted at the turn of the century—a halt that became more or less permanent. This coincides not only with the end of the first wave of Karelianism, but also with other developments in the Finnish archaeology that might shed light on this event. At the time new ideas on the origin of the Finnic peoples rose to the fore. Aspelin's old linguistics-based Altai-theory was abandoned and the focus of archaeological research concerning origins shifted to the area of River Volga and the western side of the Ural Mountains (e.g., Tallgren 1913: 675). Archaeology in the eastern areas faced a general decrease in activity (T. Salminen 2003a: 100, 117, 119).

At the same time, the general focus and starting point of archaeological research changed. One could claim that Finnish archaeology was coming of age, and became more scientific and was growingly based on phrasing particular research questions (see e.g., Pälsi 1915: 3). As archaeology was professionalized the role of amateur collectors diminished (Tallgren 1918: 10; Fewster 2006: 149–50). This is also clearly visible in the Karelian Isthmus, where the focus of intensified field research shifted in the early 20th century (e.g., Huurre 2003: 152–7; Uino 2003: 119, 129–30; Nordqvist et al. in press). The principal figure during this first phase of serious Stone Age archaeology both in the Karelian Isthmus and elsewhere in Finland was Julius Ailio, who started his fieldwork at the Räisälä Teperinaho site in 1902 (Ailio 1909: 166–70). It was followed by 13 extremely active years of excavations by the subsequent generation of archaeologists, including Arne Michaël Tallgren, Kaarle Soikkeli, Sakari Pälsi and Arne Europaeus (see e.g., A. Europaeus 1923; Pälsi 1915; 1918).

One apparent reason for not conducting fieldwork in East Karelia was the sequence political events, a factor that became even more obvious as the 20th century proceeded. However, the material already acquired was there and available and when the origins and prehistory of Finland and the Finno-Ugric people were studied, it did not seem reasonable to exclude East Karelia from them. It had become quite evident that this area had had an essential role

in Finnish prehistory. In fact, whereas in the 19th century the antiquity of East Karelia might have been seen as a straight extension of the Finnish prehistory, in the 20th century was growingly seen as an important source of influence that had greatly affected the social and economical development in the area of present-day Finland (e.g., Tallgren 1938a: 11, 13–4, 19; 1942a: 123; Äyräpää 1944: 71).

Early collecting activities and museum studies up to World War II

When observing the spatial distribution of the activities, the focus is clearly in central and southern Olonec. Although the collection activities started from Viena, it was subjected to much less attention. This is interesting, because, for example, Hannes Sihvo (1973: 9) sees that Viena, being linguistically closer to Finland and less Russianized was at least in the beginning more familiar and easier area to accept for the Finns. The numerous geological, geographical, botanical and zoological studies conducted during the late 19th and early 20th centuries also focused to a great extent in Olonec and in the Kola Peninsula instead of Viena. An important point for many of these studies was to prove that the natural borders of Finland and Fennoscandia – a term introduced by geologist Wilhelm Ramsay (1898: 3–4) – factually extended further east than the political borders, an idea already presented by Zacharias Topelius (Sihvo 1973: 151–2, 301–2; 1999: 187; Tiitta 1994: 150–63). Archaeological studies did not touch much upon the Kola Peninsula, although some exceptions do exist.⁷ This does not mean that archaeology was not involved in searching for borders or in nationalistic enterprises, at least on individual level, as the researchers are always bound to the society they are operating within.

The primus motor of early Finnish Stone Age research, Julius Ailio, regarded studying the material from Olonec as essential (Tallgren 1920: 179; Äyräpää 1944: 57–8). Already in 1900 he had tentatively studied Pääkkönen's materials (Ailio 1900 in MV/AOA). Around 1910 he urged for the revision of the Olonec collections (see Äyräpää 1944: 57–8). Coinciding with the first intensive phase of investigations in the Karelian

Isthmus, the renewed interest was apparently an attempt to get valid reference material. The push resulted in several interrelated but nevertheless individual works. Sakari Pälsi (1913 in MV/AOA) studied the stone artefacts and created an intuitive typology for them. Geologist Eero Mäkinen studied the raw material of these artefacts (Mäkinen 1911 in MV/AOA). Aarne Europaeus prepared a distribution map locating all the finds collected up to 1913 (MV/AOA) (Tallgren 1916a: 24, footnote 1; 1928: 148–9).

However, these studies apparently did not go much further as such. In his dissertation Ailio (1909) uses East Karelian finds as reference material only narrowly. In his later general treatise on the Stone Age in Russia (Ailio 1922) some of the questions discussed also touch briefly upon East Karelia. In his dissertation (1915) Sakari Pälsi uses East Karelian material more widely as a reference for the artefacts from the Karelian Isthmus, especially for large ground stone artefacts (based on his own 1913 catalogue) and ceramics. Although, for example, Mäkinen's petrological study was used in both of these works, Pälsi's and Mäkinen's studies were never published as such, nor much discussed, despite some contrary ideas regarding, for example, Pälsi's catalogue (see Tallgren 1916a: 24).

One reason for the decline of East Karelian studies might have been the generally diminished interest in Stone Age studies towards the end of the 1920s (see Fewster 1999: 18; 2006: 184ff; Uino 2003: 131). In addition, many of the most influential archaeologists moved away from the field of archaeology; Ailio devoted himself to politics, and Pälsi, despite his office as the director of the Department of Prehistory at the National Museum of Finland in 1936–46, concentrated more on travelling and popular journalism. Nevertheless, Pälsi returned to East Karelia some decades later – not as an archaeologist, however, but as a war correspondent (e.g., Pälsi 1941a; 1941b; 1942). Äyräpää took advantage of his knowledge of East Karelia, gained in the pre-war years, during World War II and also later, by including some of the material from the area to his influential studies on ceramic typology and chronology (Äyräpää 1953; 1956).

Of the other archaeologists, A.M. Tallgren often touched upon the matters of East Karelian

prehistory and its state of research. According to him the collections in Finland were adequate and would have enabled the study of the Stone Age in Olonec with wider implications. Tallgren realized that this area, as well as the bordering areas south of it (e.g., Ingria), were important to the study of Stone Age in Northern Europe. Thus, for him further studies on the material were a necessity (Tallgren 1916a: 24, 35; 1936: 162; 1938a: 10, 19; 1938b: 108; 1942a: 123), but this never happened.

The general interest towards East Karelia intensified with the rise and politicization of 'tribal ideology'. As the second edition of *Karjalan kirja* was published, political, social and intellectual developments had brought new aspects into the limelight in the pre-World War II decades, and created the supply and demand for the heroic and military-oriented past of Finland (see Fewster 2006: 309ff).

World War II years

When the studies carried out during World War II are discussed, it is pertinent to consider what were the motivations behind them. Was it pure nationalism or a scientific urge to study the unknown areas suddenly available for research, or something in-between? The question is difficult to answer in the light of the scant evidence concerning the state of archaeology at that time. In all, different and often contradictory views have been presented about the role of nationalism in the history of Finnish archaeology (see Fewster 1999; 2000; 2006; T. Salminen 2000a; 2000b; 2003a; 2003b). Fewster in particular (1999; 2000; 2006) states that nationalism and politics had a large effect in the development and focusing of archaeological research, a view which definitely cannot be ruled out.

However, even if certain nationalistic tones can be detected, nationalism did not encompass and guide Finnish archaeology so strongly or even overwhelmingly, as it did in many other European countries in the 1930s (e.g., Arnold 1990). As a matter of fact, scientific archaeology did to a certain degree resist such nationalism. A.M. Tallgren, in a leading position as the first permanent Professor of Archaeology in the

University of Helsinki, had an important role in this development. He has been seen as an unpolitical, liberal and anti-nationalist character, and as a balancing personality between the archaeologists representing the more extreme right- and left-wing leanings in politics. Julius Ailio almost single-handedly represented the left-wing ideology among the early Finnish archaeologists, as a devoted social democrat and later a Member of the Finnish Parliament. Conversely, for example, Helmer Salmo (earlier Salonen), Aarne Äyräpää, Sakari Pälsi, and Ville Luho have been seen as more openly right-wing and closer to nationalistic views (Fewster 1999: 17; 2000: 49–50; 2006: 24, 286–7 and footnote 187; T. Salminen 2000a: 44–6; 2006: 30).

However, in some contexts also Tallgren, has been seen as a propagandist for the ‘tribal ideology’ and ‘Greater Finland’ policy (Fewster 1999: 17; 2000: 50), not to mention the severe criticism directed towards Finnish archaeology from the side of Soviet Union during and after the war (see T. Salminen 2003a: 148; Uino 2003: 139–40). On the other hand, Ville Luho has later recalled that, at least from his point of view, the archaeological studies in East Karelia did not seem to have been backed up by any particular political aims or motivations (Matiskainen 2004: 74).

Of all the Finnish archaeologists, at least Sakari Pälsi can be said to have presented the right-wing views in the years subsequent to Finland’s independence and during World War II (cf. Fewster 2000: 50; Nordqvist & Seitsonen in press) – even though in the early 1900s he was politically closer to the social democratic movement, apparently influenced by his teacher Julius Ailio (H. Pälsi pers. comm.). Pälsi took part in the Karelian military campaigns already in the early 1920s as a war correspondent (Pälsi 1922), and again as a battle field correspondent (Fin. TK-mies) during World War II despite of his quite elderly age at that time. Consequently, he wrote several popular articles (e.g., Pälsi 1941a; 1941b) and published an extremely racist and politically incorrect book *Voittajien jäljissä: sodanaikaisen Aunuksen oloja ja elämää* (In the Footsteps of the Winners: Of the Conditions and Life in the Wartime Olonec) (Pälsi 1942). However, when judging Pälsi’s varying phases

of life, his personal diaries, and his literary work, particularly the popular articles he produced at an astonishing speed, one also gets a feel of a rather opportunistic and flexible way of thinking. The possibility of political opportunism has been suggested also in the case of Ville Luho (T. Salminen 2000b: 67). In any case, an ability to fuse into the prevailing political and intellectual atmosphere in a personally beneficial way seems to have been one of Pälsi’s fortes.

Apart from his excavations at Vuoksenranta Sintola in the Karelian Isthmus during the major Soviet offensive in June 1944 (Pälsi 1944 in MV/AOA), Pälsi did not do actual field archaeology in the war years. Still he was intrinsically active in recording what he saw, for example, by writing memorandums (dated 26.3.1942 and 31.3.1942 in SKSA). During the autumn of 1941 he also travelled widely in southern Olonec and along the River Svir, collecting ethnographic material (on display at the time of writing in the Museum of Cultures’ exhibition ‘Karelia Across the Border’, Helsinki), and also participating in the collecting of icons with art-historian Lars Pettersson and writer Olavi Paavolainen (Paavolainen 2006 [1946]: 149–50, 160–7; Pimiä 2007: 24; Suominen-Kokkonen 2008).

It is clear that some of the scholars had their own personal agendas in the 1940s and that both the spirit of the time and political situation provided suitable circumstances for them. Still, an important motive behind the studies carried out seems to have been purely scientific interest concerning the newly acquired areas. Even if the Finnish scholars like Juvelius and Pääkkönen had been active in the area before, their work cannot be considered as scientific archaeology, but rather as a random compilation of archaeological material (see Tallgren 1938a: 10; 1942a: 122). In addition, the differing research traditions between Russian and Finnish scholars, as well as the problems related to the maintainance of personal contacts and information exchange – including the incapability to understand publications written in Russian – resulted in the desire of Finnish archaeologists to study these areas in person for the first time (Äyräpää 1943a in MV/AOA).

Regarding the results achieved, as such they tell nothing about nationality and ethnology,

and are open to various interpretations. For example the results of Kivikoski's excavations were interpreted in a relatively moderate way (Kivikoski 1944a: 25ff; Kivikoski 1994b: 47–9). The results of Stone Age studies were even more difficult to apply into the use nationalism, as they merely showed that the connections between Finland and Karelia had existed already then. These connections could be interpreted in several ways, for example as interaction between tribes of possible Finno-Ugric origin (Äyräpää 1944: 57). Therefore, the results of archaeological studies did not have similar practical applications like, for example, the results of ethnographical or linguistic studies; archaeology did not provide direct evidence of the area being essentially part of the Finnish territory (Laine 1993: 190). Nevertheless, archaeology cannot be separated from the general aims of humanistic studies during World War II, namely fulfilling 'tribal ideology', redefining natural and national borders, and binding the occupied areas to the Fatherland, as part of the Finnish or Finnish-related realm (Pimiä 2007: 15, 97).

Finnish archaeological interest in East Karelia since 1944

The archaeological material collected by Finnish scholars from East Karelia has been used relatively little, before, during or after World War II, and its existence has not been that well known. Pimiä (2007: 23) states that after the war the artefact collections pertaining to the occupied areas were actively forgotten. On the other hand, other than archaeological parts of the material have been later utilized and published (e.g., Pettersson 1950; Virtaranta & Koponen 1968–2005).

In Finnish archaeology, artefact studies have been scant and concentrated in the earlier half of the 20th century. Only the ceramic material has been touched upon more often in later times (e.g., Tallgren 1914: 21; Äyräpää 1953: 84–90; 1956: 31–2, 35–8; Meinander 1954: 186–92; Lavento 2001: 40–3, 94–7, 109–12;). More could have been said, although one has to admit that the one-sidedness of the assemblage somewhat limits the possibilities. One obvious

defect is the lack of serious spatial studies. The dwelling site of Alasalmi is referred to in some publications (e.g., Ailio 1913: 54; 1922: 47; Pälsi 1915: 137, 154–63; Tallgren 1928: 148), but the rest of the find locations have remained more or less forgotten in the decades following World War II.

Although the references to find locations and their functions are few, they do exist. Tallgren (1938a: 11–2) regarded many of the finds as stray finds, but also concluded that a lot of them had been derived from semi-sedentary campsites of ancient fishermen without dwelling any further into argument (also Kivikoski 1944b: 31). In fact, he stated that the large amount of fish in the water systems had been one of the reasons behind the wealth of finds in the area (Tallgren 1916b: 276–8; 1942a: 122; 1942b: 7–8). Äyräpää (1944: 60–5) in particular considered the status of the mouth region of River Suoju, a question that Pääkkönen had already contemplated (1897 in MV/AOA). The latter was amazed by the absence of any solid remains, as just a great quantity of stone artefacts was found. Äyräpää, for his behalf, interpreted the location as a major stone tool manufacturing centre and managed to localize during his fieldwork some sites, as well as to ponder the question of raw material. Generally speaking, East Karelia is most often mentioned in later Finnish publications in connection to green slate artefacts, Stone Age trade, animal-head weapons, Pitted Ware, and rock carvings (e.g., Edgren 1992; Kivikoski 1961). Thus the image of East Karelian prehistory has been petrified into a kind of a stereotype.

The results of the Finnish archaeologists and other scholars have not been totally unknown to Russian scholars. Brjusov (1940) included in his work some of the finds collected by Pääkkönen and others. However, it was merely a random selection, mostly based on the meagre information given by Tallgren (1916a), as well as some additional published sources (e.g., Hackman 1910b). Of the later works, the published accounts of Juvelius (1889) and Pääkkönen (1898) are included in A.M. Žul'nikov's work on the Early Metal Period of Karelia (Žul'nikov 2005: 5 and Tables 1–3; see also e.g., Kosmenko 2007: 7). At the moment,

following the presentation of this subject in Russia by the current authors, there is an interest to study more closely the collections stored in Finland by the archaeologists from Petrozavodsk, directed by S.I. Kočkurkina (A.Ju. Tarasov, pers. comm.).

Even though the Finnish collectors did retrieve large amounts of artefacts from East Karelia, systematic research tradition concerning the area was never established in Finland. No Finnish archaeologists devoted themselves to the topic, and no one visited the find locations, apart from the World War II studies. The studies, just like the collected material, remained sporadic. The collecting activities petered out already at the turn of the century. Then again the study of museum collections underwent occasional peaks before and during World War II, with the singular episodes of fieldwork in 1943, but these waned by the end of the war.

It is possible to point out several reasons why no research tradition concerning East Karelia was established in Finland. The severe effect of international borders and contemporary politics is obvious. Other important reasons include the slow movement of information and the language barrier, which exists even today (see Tallgren 1936: 129–30; Uino 1997: 209; 2003: 143–4). The differences in research traditions and personal interests have also had an effect (e.g., Uino 1997: 38–9, 209). Some contacts between Finnish and Russian scholars have occurred since the 1950s and 1960s, and a small number of archaeologists and geologists (including Carl Fredrik Meinander, Christian Carpelan, Ari Siiriäinen, Matti Huurre, Hannu Hyvärinen and Matti Saarnisto) visited the Karelian Republic in the 1960s and 1970s (C. Carpelan, pers. comm.). Of great importance in creating and maintaining Finno-Russian contacts have been the archaeological symposiums arranged since 1976 (see e.g., Purhonen 2004; Mökkönen & Suhonen 2006). The topics of the papers published in symposia proceedings have also touched upon the Karelian Republic (e.g., Kosmenko 2004; Kochkurkina 2004), although the focus has been generally more in south. Also, the rock-art researchers of the Finnish Anthropological Society (Fin. Suomen antropologinen seura),

the Finnish Ancient Art Society (Fin. Suomen Muinaistaideseura), and the University of Joensuu have kept up contacts and worked in the field with Estonians and Russians since the 1980s (Ernits & Poikalainen 2002: 59–63).

In the 1990s co-operation was more active, and fieldwork was carried out at Stone Age sites by several international joint expeditions (Karjalainen 1996: 13; Lavento 2001: 15, footnote 1; C. Carpelan, pers. comm.). Still, contacts and co-operation in the Karelian Republic have not been intensified as rapidly as in the former Finnish territories in the Karelian Isthmus during the last 10 or 15 years (see e.g., Lavento 2008). Some co-operative efforts exist, of course, an example of which is the project that also comprised the seminar mentioned in the introduction (see Lobanova 2007). The most recent Stone Age discoveries in Karelian Republic by Finnish archaeologists were accidentally made by the current authors in the summer of 2006, in the southern Olonec area, subsidiary to the search for Finnish World War II casualties with the Association for Cherishing the Memory of the Dead of the War (Fin. Sotavainajien muistonvaalimisyhdistys). It is hoped that in the future the fresh international connections and new projects will widen the knowledge of Karelian prehistory among the Finnish archaeologists.

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NOTES

¹ Note on the place-names. In the study area most of the population centres and geographical features (lakes, rivers, etc.) have Karelian, Finnish and Russian names. In this study, as a rule, the Finnish place-names are used simply because the material

under discussion is collected and arranged according to these names and these are also used in the reports and literature. The Russian names are listed in Appendix 1, whereas the Karelian names are omitted here due to limited space. However, a few exceptions are made. These include the locations with a Russian or English name widely and generally in use, e.g., Lake Onega, Lake Ladoga, city of Petrozavodsk, area of Olonec. The Russian forms are transliterated according to the scientific system – also the references have been transliterated according to this system. The orthography of the Finnish place-names follows the forms given in Nissilä et al. (1970) when possible.

² Aspelin saw that the Stone Age in Finland – as well as the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age – was connected to a group he calls North-Germanic. He further divided the Stone Age in the Eastern Baltic into three groups: Balto-Lithuanian, West Finnish and East Finnish – the Stone Age of Olonec was included into the West Finnish group (Aspelin 1875: 5–6, 17–36; 1877–84: 4, 7–8, 13–5, 29–30, 41–2, 91–2, 249–50).

³ The amount of money used by Pääkkönen is relatively substantial compared to other granted scholarships issued during the same time period. In 1897 he spent 1637.76 marks and in 1899 2239.50 marks. These sums equal ca. 6900 € and 9400 € respectively (2008 situation) (source: Bank of Finland 2008: http://www.rahamuseo.fi/arvo_laskuri/laskuri_web.html). Herman Frithiof Antell was a patron and a collector who left by will a substantial amount of money for the State. Antell's delegation was founded for administering these funds and made several notable procurements to the collections of the National Museum as well as to the Finnish National Gallery (Ateneum) in the early 20th century (Talvio 1993).

⁴ *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* was a periodical edited by Tallgren. It tried to make some of the results of Soviet archaeology available for western readers, as well as to establish and consolidate the leading role of Finland in the international study of Russian archaeology (the authors wish to thank the referee for pointing out this fact).

⁵ Lotta is a name used for voluntary women working during the war e.g. in medical, air surveillance and maintenance duties. They belonged to the Lotta Svärd organization, which was non-armed female equivalent for male Civil Guards (Fin. suojeluskunta).

⁶ These 131,000 marks equal 20,000–24,000 € counted from 1942–44 situation to 2008 value of money (source: Bank of Finland 2008: http://www.rahamuseo.fi/arvo_laskuri/laskuri_web.html).

⁷ Some solitary artefacts (e.g., NM5710) were delivered to the museum in connection to other expeditions

(Hackman 1911: 56). Finnish geologist Väinö Tanner deserves to be mentioned, since apart from studying the geology of the area, he also recorded a number of antiquities (e.g., Tanner 1929a, 1929b). Also, T.J. Itkonen conducted studies in Kola (Hackman 1916: 71), and Sakari Pälsi, inspired by Tanner's findings, excavated in Petsamo (Ru. Pečenga, En. Pechenga) in 1929 (Pälsi 1929 in MV/AOA; Pälsi 1931; see also Seitsonen 2006).

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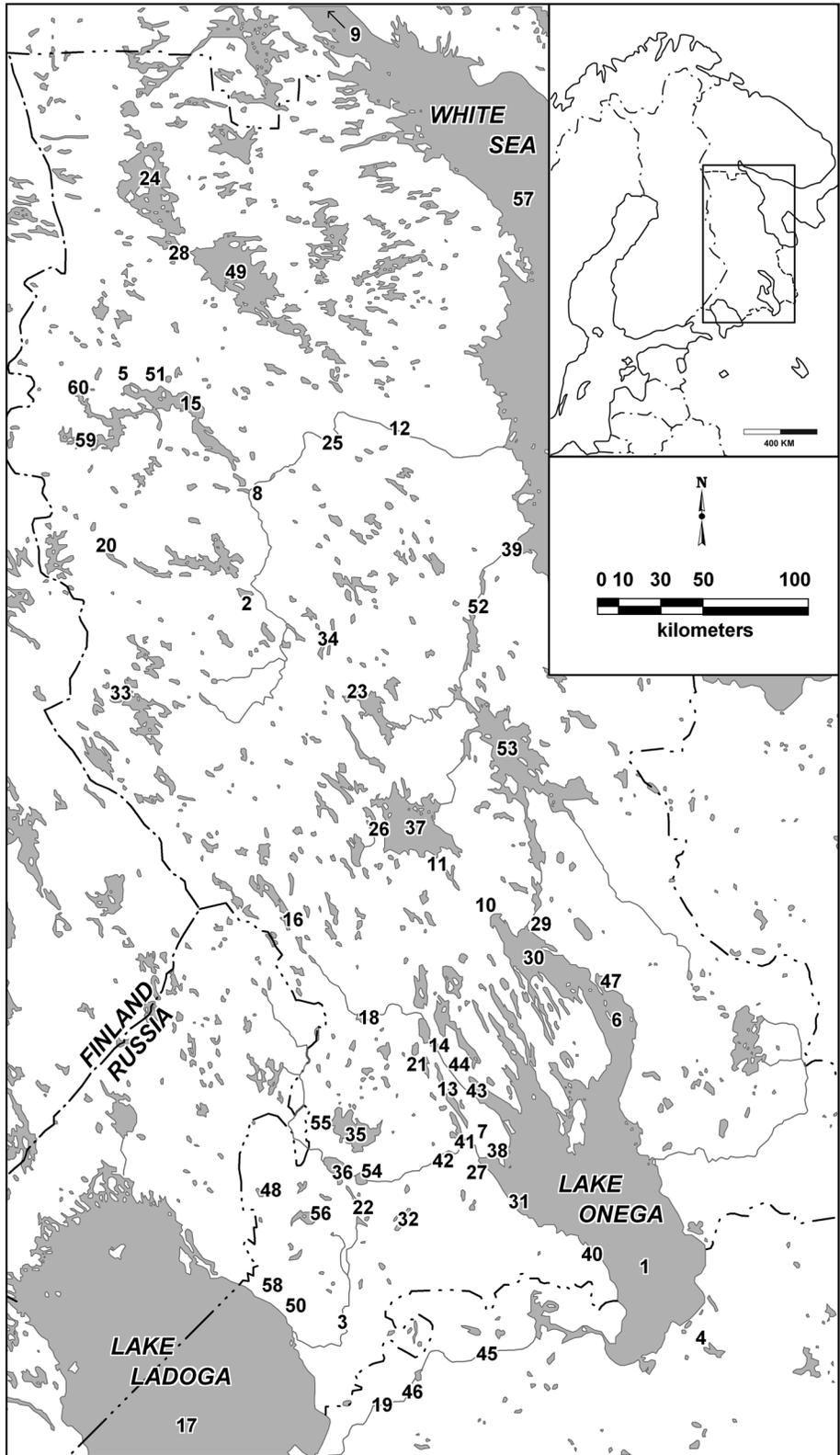
APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Index of the names of population centres and geographical features mentioned in the text and Appendix 2.

No.	Finnish	Russian	No.	Finnish	Russian
1	Ääninen	Onežskoe ozero	31	Puujoki	Derevjannoe
2	Akonlahti	Bab'ja Guba	32	Pyhäjärvi	ozero Svjatozero
3	Alavoisenjoki	reka Olonka	33	Repola	Reboly
4	Beloručejskoe ¹	Beloručejskoe	34	Rukajärvi	Rugozero
5	Eldankajärvi	ozero Eldanka	35	Säämäjärvi	ozero Sjamozero
6	Heposaari	Hedostrov	36	Salmenniska	Nižnjaja Salma
7	Jänispelto	Janšipole	37	Seesjärvi	ozero Segozero
8	Jyskyjärvi	Juškozero	38	Solomanni	Solommenoe
9	Kantalahti ¹	Kandalakša	39	Sorokka	Belomorsk
10	Karhumäki	Medvež'egorsk	40	Soutjärvi	Šeltozero
11	Karjalan Maaselkä	Karel'skaja Masel'ga	41	Suoja	Šuja
12	Kemijoki	reka Kem'	42	Suojujoki	reka Šuja
13	Kenjärvi	ozero Končezero	43	Suunu	Suna
14	Kivatšu	Kivac	44	Suunjoki	reka Suna
15	Kuittijärvet	ozero Kujto	45	Syväri ¹	reka Svir
16	Kuutamalahti	Kudamguba	46	Syvärin voimala ¹	Svir'stroj
17	Laatokka	Ladožskoe ozero	47	Tsolmuinen	Čelmuži
18	Lindjärvi	ozero Lindozero	48	Tulomajärvi	Tulomozero
19	Lotinapelto ¹	Lodejnoe Pole	49	Tuoppajärvi	ozero Topozero
20	Luvajärvi	Luvozero	50	Tuulos	Tuloksa
21	Munjärvi	ozero Munozero	51	Uhtua	Kalevala
22	Nuosjärvi	ozero Krošnozero	52	Uikujoki	reka Vyg
23	Ondajärvi	ozero Ondozero	53	Uikujärvi	ozero Vygozero
24	Pääjärvi	ozero Pjaozero	54	Vähätjärvi	ozero Vagatozero
25	Paanajärvi	Panozero	55	Veskelys	Veškelica
26	Paatene	Padany	56	Vieljärvi	ozero Vedlozero
27	Petroskoi ²	Petrozavodsk	57	Vienanmeri	Beloe more
28	Pontšele(nsuu)	Ponči	58	Vitele	Vidlica
29	Poventsa	Povenec	59	Vuokkiniemi	Voknavolok
30	Poventsanlahti	Poveneckij zaliv	60	Vuoninen	Vojnica

¹) outside the present borders of Karelian Republic

²) called Äänislinna during the Finnish occupation of East Karelia 1941—1944.



Appendix 2. Artefacts from East Karelia in the collections of the National Museum of Finland.

Year	Find place	Collector/From	Type of find(s)	NM-number	References	Date
1874	Soutjärvi	A. Borenius	stone artefact	1658	--	SA
1877	Olonec, Syväri etc.	D.E.D. Europaeus	excavation finds from barrows	1878:1–70	Tallgren 1916a; Salonen 1929	IA
1879	Olonec, Lotinapelto etc.	D.E.D. Europaeus	excavation finds from barrows	2002:1–59, 62, 64	Tallgren 1916a; Salonen 1929	IA
1883	S Viena	G.A. Gottlund	8 stone artefacts	2218:62, 147–153	--	SA
1882	S and C Olonec	A.O. Forsström	92 stone artefacts	2409:1–93	Pääkkönen 1898	SA
1886	S and C Viena	J.V. Juvelius	66 stone artefacts and a few historical artefacts	2512:1–70	Juvelius 1889	SA; IA–HP
1885	S Viena	O. Roering	22 stone artefacts	2513:1–22	--	SA
1892	N Olonec, S Viena	L.V. Pääkkönen	66 stone artefacts and some historical artefacts	2849:1–89	Pääkkönen 1898	SA; IA–HP
1893	Paatene	L.V. Pääkkönen	stone artefact	2879	--	SA
1893	Olonec	L.V. Pääkkönen	stone artefact	2916:56	--	SA
1894	Luvajärvi	Y. Blomstedt & V. Sucksdorf	3 stone artefacts, the rest historical artefacts	3164:1-78	--	SA
1895	Tulomajärvi	J. Ax (Ailio)	2 stone artefacts	3171:8–9	--	SA
1896	S and C Olonec	L. V. Pääkkönen	542 stone artefacts, a few sherds of ceramics and some historical artefacts	3309:1–535	--	SA; IA–HP
1897	Repola	U. Karttunen	3 stone artefacts	3466:1–3	--	SA
1897	C Olonec	L. V. Pääkkönen	572 stone artefacts and some historical artefacts	3627:1–572	--	SA
1899	S Olonec	L. V. Pääkkönen	613 stone artefacts, some ceramics and lithics and some historical artefacts	3824:1–635	--	SA; IA–HP
1901	Repola	A. Niemi	stone artefact	4011	--	SA
1902	Karpozero (?)	J. Lindroth	stone artefact	4056	--	SA
1901	C Olonec	J. Kekkonen, A. Tavaststjerna & U. Ullberg	11 stone artefacts	4220:1–11	--	SA
1903	Kivatsu	G. Standertskjöld	stone artefact	4259	--	SA
1909	Akonlahti	R. Engelberg	2 stone artefacts	5368:1–2	--	SA
1917	Pontsele(nsuu)	J. Lukkarinen	stone artefact	7331	--	SA
1918	Vuokkiniemi	M. Remsujeff	stone artefact	7360	--	SA
1920	Olonec	I. Manninen	2 stone artefacts	7667:1–2	--	SA
1921	Vuokkiniemi	NM/Ethnogr. Dept.	stone artefact	7906	--	SA
1941	Kuutamalahti	J. Lukkarinen	2 stone artefacts	11306:1–2	--	SA
1942	Soutjärvi	E. Virrantuomi	stone artefact	11315	--	SA
1942	Derevjannoe	H. Hyvärinen	stone artefact	11322	--	SA
1942	Karhumäki	E. Partanen	stone artefact	11331	--	SA
1942	Heposaari	K. Kuusela	ceramics	11333	--	SA
1942	Olonec	E. Oksanen	stone artefact	11342	--	SA
1943	Svirstroj	V. Grundström	stone artefact	11360	--	SA
1943	Vitele	E. Kivikoski	excavation finds from barrows	11367:1–102	Kivikoski 1944a; 1944b	IA
1943	Solomanni	A. Äyräpää	survey & excavation finds from dwelling sites	11369:1–90	--	SA–EMP
1943	Suoju	A. Äyräpää	survey finds from dwelling sites	11370:1–67	--	SA
1943	Suunu	A. Äyräpää	survey finds from dwelling sites	11371:1–49	--	SA
1943	Karhumäki	A. Äyräpää	survey finds from dwelling sites	11372:1–90	--	SA
1943	Poventsa	R. Rinne	ceramics	11400:1–2	--	SA
1944	Karhumäki	E. Vilus	stone artefact	11407	--	SA
1944	Eldankajärvi	J. Vuorinen	stone artefact	11411	--	SA
1945	Karjalan Maaselkä	A. Suutonen	stone artefact	11438	--	SA
1945	East Karelia	?	2 stone artefacts	11557:1–2	--	SA
1947	East Karelia	E. Karunki	bronze bracelet	11682	--	IA
1947	Petrozavodsk	E. Kuivinen	stone artefact	11701	--	SA
1951	Poventsa	R. Honkavaara	ceramics	12914	--	SA
1961	Veskelys	M. Huurre	stone artefact	15103	--	SA
1969	Čelmuži	C. F. Meinander	flake	17850	--	SA
1985	Beloručeskoe (Vytegra)	M. Huurre & C. Carpelan	flakes	22928	--	SA
1989	Alasalmi	V. Matilainen	stone artefact	24970	--	SA

Key: C = central; N = north; S = south; SA - Stone Age; EMP - Early Metal Period; IA - Iron Age; HP - Historical Period. Sources: Tallgren 1928: 142–145; the main catalogue of finds / National Museum of Finland).