# Ville Hakamäki & Jari-Matti Kuusela EXAMINING THE TOPOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF METAL AGE ARTEFACT FINDS IN NORTHERN FINLAND

#### Abstract

Metal Age find locations, especially contextless stray finds, in northern Finland have long remained a strange curiosity into which only few researchers have ventured. This is surprising, as starting from around AD 800 they form the largest archaeological group of an otherwise rather poorly known period. This paper approaches the subject through landscape archaeology and economic anthropology by seeking connections between find locations, other archaeological sites and topographical elements. Our study shows that Metal Age find locations are situated not only in a rich assemblage of sites stretching from the Stone Age to Historical times but also in a landscape with easily distinguishable landmarks such as islands and confluences. This suggests that artefact deposition in these areas is intentional and should thus be regarded as evidence of more specific human activity than has been previously assumed.

Keywords: Iron Age, northern Finland, stray find, landscape archaeology, economic anthropology

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# INTRODUCTION

The old conception stating that northern Finland was not permanently inhabited during the Iron Age (e.g. Kivikoski 1961: 290) has been increasingly questioned since the 1980s (Julku 1985: 83-4; Koivunen 1985; 1992; Paavola 2002: 15; Okkonen 2002: 64-6; Kuusela & Tolonen 2011). The main reason why archaeologists of the earlyand mid-20th century came to the conclusion of Iron Age depopulation was that no archaeological sites were known from the area – for instance, the first burial sites were identified only several decades later during the excavations of the cairn sites of the Northern Ostrobothnian coast (Mäkivuoti 1985: 1988: 1996: Forss & Jarva 1992: Ylimaunu 1994; Kuusela 2012a). However, what the earlier studies also overlooked are the seemingly random artefact finds, usually called stray finds, which have been typically passed off with vague explanations like accidental misplacement (Koivunen 1975: 19-22; Huurre 1983: 391-93; Taskinen 1998: 157), ritualistic sacrifice (Huurre 1983: 276–8) or hoarding (Björkman 1957; Huurre 1983: 276–8; Ojanlatva 2003). These notions should perhaps be regarded with a degree of reservation as, apart from the long-standing research interest of the archaeologists of the University of Oulu (Koivunen 1975; Närhi 1978; Okkonen 2002; Kuusela & Tolonen 2011; Kuusela et al. 2011: 195–8; Kuusela 2012b; Hakamäki et al. 2013), no appreciable scientific work concerning Metal Age artefact finds in northern Finland has been done.

The purpose of this paper is to re-evaluate these seemingly contextless archaeological objects and their respective locations from a topographical and economic anthropological perspective. This is achieved by examining the distribution of find locations as well as the archaeological milieu and topographic landscape. The hypothesis of the study is that these objects do not derive from an 'empty' environment but in a diverse melange of topographic landmarks and archaeological sites. The economic anthropological viewpoint is applied when discussing the social context of the Fig. 1. Distribution of examined finds; 1 – Northern Ostrobothnia, 2 – Kainuu, 3 – Lapland.

find locations. The reader should keep in mind that our aim is not to create a new model for prehistoric settlement of northern Finland during the Metal Ages, but rather to present new ideas on how find locations and their contexts should, perhaps, be viewed in future research.

# CLASSIFYING THE DATA

Working with the majority of Bronze- and Iron Age finds of northern Finland presents two fundamental problems, both of which are the result of insufficient research status: dating and location. The latter especially concerns stray finds, as a great number of artefacts were found during times when proper documentation methods were still in a premature state. The initial discovery was often made by laymen, and in some cases officials were informed only after several years had passed and the exact find location, context and other conditions already partially forgotten. As we know, stray finds do not leave much evidence, i.e. there are no visible structures or other phenomenon to be seen, and thus some of the objects found during the 19th and early 20th century can be traced back only to the accuracy of a village or municipality. In order to avoid difficulties caused by imperfect geographic information, we narrow our data to consist of only artefact finds with known location.

A total of 115 Metal Age find locations are currently known from the study area (see Appendix 1). Most of the finds studied in this paper are situated in inland areas in Kainuu (51 locations) and Lapland (33 locations), with only 31 finds in the region of Northern Ostrobothnia. When observing the distribution of finds (Fig. 1), we see that most of them are concentrated near the inland lakes of Kainuu. On the other hand, find locations are also seen on the shores of other large lakes.

Another problem concerns the age of the finds. Although Metal Age sites in general have been studied to some degree (Koivunen 1981; Forss



& Jarva 1992; Mäkivuoti 1985; 1996; Eskola & Ylimaunu 1993; Kuusela & Tolonen 2011; Kuusela 2012a&b), the dating is often vague and based only on relative methods such as artefact typologies and post-glacial shore displacement dating. Thus most archaeological sites can be placed only in a nebulous timeframe with expressions such as Early Metal Age or Late Iron Age or, at the worst, simply Prehistoric or Historical. As this often results in significant inaccuracies, especially when dealing with a large number of sites, we adapt the following division. However artificial this classification may be, it enables a comparison of periods as entities of roughly equal length. **Phase I** (1900–501 BC) includes Bronze Age. **Phase II** (500 BC–AD 599) includes Pre-Roman Iron Age, Roman Iron Age and Migration Period. **Phase III** (AD 600–1300) includes Merovingian Period, Viking Age and Crusade Period.

With this categorization, we see a steady increase in the quantities of Metal Age finds towards the end of the Iron Age, as phase I holds eight find locations, phase II and phase III having 46 and 106 finds, respectively. Regionally, the development is not as simple, for the rising trend does not apply to Northern Ostrobothnia, where the increase starts to slow down towards the end of phase III (Fig. 2). This correlates with previous studies suggesting that the intensity of human activity in Ostrobothnia decreased towards the end of the Iron Age (Baudou et al. 1991; Edgren 1993: 229–33; Huurre 1995: 168; Viklund & Gullberg 2002; Kuusela et al. 2011: 184–93, 199–202).

This division is, however, suitable only for the stray find data as other sites, such as cairns and dwelling places, often completely lack research or datable artefacts and thus their age is even more uncertain. In this paper, other archaeological sites are divided roughly into Stone Age, Early Metal Age/Bronze Age, Iron Age and Historical sites based on the information provided by the National Board of Antiquities' Register of sites and antiquities (2013). This is, of course, arbitrary but due to lack of research remains the most trustworthy approach for now.

As the purpose of this paper is not to fixate on individual artefacts, find locations are also divided into three categories according to the objects they contain: weapons, ornaments and accessories. The first group includes swords, spears, scramaseax and axes. Ornaments include brooches, pendants, chain holders, rings, etc., while accessories include strike-a-light steels, firestones, arrowheads, knives, skis, fishing spears, etc. We are aware of the conflict in labelling axes and spears as weapons as they can also be used in day-to-day activities, such as wood cutting and hunting, but we assert that the categorization is justified as, for example, some of the axe blades were clearly manufactured as battle axes (Huurre 1983: 381; 1986: 145; Leppäaho 1964). In addition, many of the axes and spears are found together with other weapons, such as scramaseaxes and swords, which leads to the presumption that spearheads and axe blades can be regarded as weapons.



Fig. 2. The amount of find locations through periods I to III.

By dividing the data in the above-mentioned way, we see that 54 find locations include weapons, 44 had ornaments and only 30 had accessory items. Generally, artefact finds tend to include objects solely from one of the groups and 'overlapping' occurs only in 11 locations, of which only two contain all three artefact groups. Of single items, axes are the most common, with 34 known locations, followed by brooches (28), spearheads (13), pendants (11) and oval fire striking stones (8).

# LANDSCAPE OF FIND LOCATIONS

The landscape analysis is conducted on two levels. Firstly, the archaeological landscape is examined by creating a round area 10 kilometres in diameter around find locations, as this enables an observation of the archaeological environment throughout history. This kind of practise is widely used in landscape archaeological research (Gibbon 1984: 230; Van Leusen 2002: 6; Okkonen 2003: 169–72; Kuusela et al. 2011; Hakamäki 2012) and a 10-kilometre radius is a commonly used delineation in many cases as it represents the daily activity zone of a society living mainly on hunting and gathering (Gibbon 1984: 230; Van Leusen 2002: 6). We acknowledge that there are evidence indicating Iron Age agriculture in northern Finland (e.g. Hicks 1992), but even if agricultural practises may have been known by the peoples of northern Finland relatively early on, in our opinion, it did not become the primary way of living until the 14th century AD or even later (Koivunen 1992: 155–7; Zvelebil 1996: 330; Meriläinen-Hyvärinen 2008; Okkonen 2009: 11; Kuusela et al. 2011).

Secondly, find locations and their surroundings are observed through their topographic landscape. This is done by taking into account their location and nearby landscape features such as prominent landmarks, relief and distance to the nearest water source. This approach has been previously used with the distribution of stray find stone shaft-hole axes in southern Estonia (Johanson 2005). Coordinates, descriptions and dating for archaeological sites are acquired from the Register of Sites and Antiquities, a digital archive maintained by the Finnish National Board of Antiquities (2013). Map-based analyses are executed with ArcGIS 10, but also online map-services such as Karttapaikka (National Land Survey 2013) and Retkikartta (Metsähallitus 2013) are utilized when examining the environs of find locations.

# *Distribution of find locations in connection to other sites*

Following the chronological classification presented above we can now observe the archaeological landscape of find locations. Let us start by applying our attention on the spatial relation between artefact finds and other archaeological sites in Lapland. Out of 33 known find locations, 30 have an archaeological environment including Stone Age sites, 13 occur with sites dating to the Early Metal Age/Bronze Age, nine to Iron Age, and 29 to the Historical Period. In most cases the archaeological environment is diverse, including numerous sites ranging from Stone Age to Historical Period. In fact, there are merely three find locations with an environment containing sites dating to just one period, and only one containing no other archaeological sites at all. The most common combination includes Stone Age and Historical sites, albeit occurrences of combinations of Stone Age, Early Metal Age/Bronze Age and Historical sites are also regular.

The situation is even more diverse in Kainuu, where out of 51 find locations all include Stone Age sites, 26 occur with Bronze Age sites, 38 with Iron Age sites and 47 with Historical sites in their surroundings. These combinations are quite different compared to Lapland, where on 26 occasions the archaeological landscape consists of sites belonging to all prehistoric periods, from the Stone Age to the Historical Era. Different mixes of Stone Age, Iron Age and Historical sites dominate the landscape of the find locations in Kainuu and, in fact, there is only one location with an environment consisting solely of Stone Age sites. Out of 31 find locations known in the Northern Ostrobothnia region, a total of 25 include Stone Age sites, 14 Early Metal Age/Bronze Age sites, 17 Iron Age and 28 Historical sites. Again we see diverse combinations, as most of the find locations have sites dating from the Stone Age to Historical time in their archaeological environment. Although the artefact finds in Northern Ostrobothnia have typically multifaceted archaeological landscapes, there are two locations with surrounding sites belonging only to either the Stone Age or Historical time.

Considering the whole group of 115 find locations and ignoring the region where they are situated, similar apportionment is seen. The composition of the archaeological environment consists mostly of Stone Age and Historical sites but Early Metal Age/Bronze Age and Iron Age sites are also frequent, with 106 find locations including Stone Age sites in their surroundings, 53 with Early Metal Age/Bronze Age sites, 64 with Iron Age sites and 104 with Historical sites (percentages are shown in Fig. 3). This demonstrates that the find locations of Metal Age artefacts are not situated in uninhabited wildernesses. On the contrary, they lay in areas where human activity has taken place throughout the millennia. In fact, looking at the data we see that many of the locations (52) are directly connected to prehistoric sites, i.e. the initial discovery has been made either within or very close to a known archaeological site. It is well known that some indigenous peoples regard old activity areas as 'not empty' and keep returning to those places even after multiple generations have passed (Nelson 2000: 57). This supports recent studies suggesting that no large-scale Iron Age abandonment took place,



Fig. 3. The dating of adjacent archaeological sites within the 10-km buffer zone in Lapland, Kainuu and Northern Ostrobothnia.

but instead that human activity remained more or less in the same areas throughout the Metal Age. The same process may perhaps be seen also in the Stone Age sites, although it must be taken into consideration that the nomadic lifestyle of Stone Age people probably affected the number of campsites created.

# Topography of find locations

Using the threefold artefact grouping presented earlier, we shall now move our focus to the topographic landscape of the find locations in contrast to the archaeological objects they contain through phases I to III. This is done by taking into account the following features: distance between find locations and nearest water bodies; the presence of prominent landmarks such as islands, bays, peninsulas, river confluences (or other amalgamations of two waters), rock formations, and boulder fields; whether the find is located on significantly higher ground or not. Apart from the distance to the nearest water source, these elements are observed within a range of approximately 500 metres.

Out of 54 finds containing weapons, a total of 46 are connected to either a lake and/or a river, with the average distance of c. 300 m. Most sites

are located near river confluences, while other features such as peninsulas, bays and rock formations are in a clear minority. Only three find locations are found on islands. Ornaments are also found near water. Out of 44 known locations. a total of 41 are in clear connection to a lake and/or a river. with average distance being c. 210 m. Nearly half of the find locations containing ornaments are found around the confluences of rivers areas but islands are also clearly represented. In fact, when added together, confluences and islands form almost 70% of the landscapes of ornament finds, leaving other topographical elements far behind. Accessory items are also generally found near water bodies although the trend is not as clear. Out of 30 finds, 22 are found in the vicinity of a lake and/or a river, with average distance being c. 700 m. Once more, confluences and islands are the most common landscape element, although boulder fields and rock formations are also wellrepresented (Fig. 4).

Of the observed topographic features, two stand out amongst the others. The most common feature seems to be the occurrence of river confluences in the vicinity of find locations. This phenomenon is seen in approximately 30% of the finds, through phases I to III, and is fairly common both inland and in coastal areas. The second distinguishable landscape feature is islands. Their connection to find locations is most often seen in Kainuu during phase III, where the majority of finds have been discovered on the islands of the Lake Vuokkijärvi and Kiantajärvi. Both of these landscape elements are usually seen with finds containing weapons and ornaments, while finds with accessory items are often found further away from bodies of water. This can be, at least partially, explained through the presence of easyto-lose objects. For example, arrowheads, which are usually found in desolate wilderness far from lakes and rivers, might have ended up in their context as a result of botched hunting attempts where the arrows were lost either by a bad shot or by absconding of wounded prey.

# INTERPRETING THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE FINDS

If we accept that Metal Age finds in the study area are not randomly lost objects or isolated cases of individual burials, but interpret them as the result of systematic human action and treat them accordingly as archaeological sites, the question that must be posed is how to interpret them? It must be acknowledged that these sites are problematic not only from the perspective of methodological issues, but also from the perspective of interpretation, as it is oftentime quite difficult to conclude which social context they should be placed in. When attempting to decipher the social code of the archaeological record used in the present



*Fig. 4. The division of topographic features situated in the vicinity of find locations through periods I to III (left) and according to artefact categories (right).* 

study, a relatively simple approach should perhaps be adopted with the full understanding that such an approach will necessarily ignore details pertaining to specific cases. However, following the axiom 'when uncertain, simplify' will likely yield results, as it is not the specific details of single cases but the patterns that indicate the social context of the find locations under study.

The process of interpretation should perhaps start from the youngest chronological end of the study, i.e. from the Late Iron Age or phase III following the chronological division used in the current paper. To illustrate this point, a specific group of finds, silver hoards, is of interest here. Depending on how one interprets the word 'hoard', nine such sites are currently known in the study area, of which six are included in the dataset of the present study. The silver hoards are of interest for two reasons. Firstly, they date to a period evidencing increased activity in the Baltic area in general (e.g. Vahtola 1980: 505; 1991: 144; Hodges 1989: 177-84; Lindkvist 2003: 163; Enbuske 2006: 41-2; Sindbæk 2008; 2011; Skre 2008: 84-5; Tvauri 2012: 247-8). Secondly, they mostly consist of complete artefacts and not, for example, hack-silver or coins, albeit this is not a completely uniform characteristic as two of the known silver hoards in the study area consist of the latter (Huurre 1993: 26-9; Sarvas 1986: 227-38).

The presence of complete artefacts in a hoard has been interpreted as a sign that the area in question has not entered into a phase of 'monetarization' and the value of material capital is still 'symbolic' (e.g. Hårdh 1996; Kilger 2011). While acknowledging the vagueness of the term 'symbolic', we consider this interpretation a valid one. The increased activity in the Baltic area during phase III should be taken as an indication that the appearance of silver hoards in the study area during this time, and indeed the contemporary increase in the number of finds in general, is related to this increase in activity. The formation of social networks and the distribution of wealth, such as precious metal artefacts, take place for multiple reasons. Wealth retains economic valuewhich can be used, for example, as insurance in situations where the food production is unstable. Wealth distribution can also be seen as a signal of interaction among an 'elite' entangled in political rivalry, alliance formation and passing of knowledge (Flannery 1968; Helms 1979; Renfrew & Cherry 1986; Earle 2002: 63). Through the distribution of wealth, labour too can be regulated, as it enables social control via marriage, friendship, gift giving and alliance (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978: 73–112). This relates to the elite's dominance over the economy, which, in turn, has been linked to the birth of chiefdoms (Earle 1997: 6–7).

As was already noted, confluences and islands form a significant topographical feature associated with many of the find locations. It should be observed that such features are relatively easily discerned in the landscape. Therefore especially islands have been the setting of many prehistoric and historic activities like burying the dead (Koivunen 1991; Laitinen 2001; Herva 2009: 255-6; Ruohonen 2010; Lehikoinen 2011) and trade (Cleve 1955; Herva 2009; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011). In itself, both burial and trade seem plausible explanations for the island finds and examples of such are found throughout the study area. The Northern Ostrobothnian coast is known for its prehistoric cairn and stone setting burials, which are (or have been) known to be situated on islands (Hakamäki 2012), while in inland the alleged Iron Age cremation burials of Suomussalmi are also located on islands (Huurre 1986: 130-4). Burying the dead in these places can be seen as a result of religious beliefs and ritualistic meanings regarding water and islands. Islands have been regarded as liminal places separated from the rest of the world and thus aptly suited for burials and other religious activities (Herva 2009). It seems certain that at least some of the find locations discussed in this paper are connected with burial sites and, in fact, recent excavations on the island of Illinsaari, Ii, and Viinivaaran Itäpää, Utäjärvi, have shown this assumption to be true (e.g. Kuusela 2013: 145–6, Hakamäki et al. forthcoming).

It should, however, be taken into account that the presence of a burial site does not exclude the possibility of other activities. In many cases also marketplaces are located on islands. This is most evident with the sea-bound trading centres that formed in the delta-areas of Northern Ostrobothnian coast during the dawn of the Historical Era (Cleve 1955; Ylimaunu 2007: 23–30; Modarress-Sadeghi 2011: 69–71). Barter is, of course, only one of many functions carried out during trade. Such activities as feasting, religious ceremonies and law enforcement are known to have been an integral part of marketplaces in the cities around the Baltic Sea during the Early Historical Period (e.g. Ylimaunu 2007: 25–30). Therefore, many of these actions might have intertwined to the point where they are no longer properly distinguishable from each other in an archaeological sense.

Islands form a somewhat perfect location for these activities as they are remote, easily discernible from the surroundings and their usage can be supervised and controlled quite effortlessly (Herva 2009: 254). River confluences and -mouths can be viewed much in the same way. Starting from the Medieval Era, the rivers of the study area have been natural passageways for goods, people, traditions and beliefs (Okkonen 2002: 64; Ylimaunu 2007: 25) and thus the emergence of trading centres along these routes appears natural. The historical trading ports of Northern Ostrobothnian coast are, yet again, the most obvious example of this phenomenon, but counterparts can be seen in Kainuu (Keränen 1986: 558-60) and northern Lapland, where Sámi winter villages like Juikenttä in Sodankylä were, amongst other things, the local centres of trade (Carpelan 1992). Perhaps the most concrete example is Illinsaari in Ii, Northern Ostrobothnia. Situating on a large island in the estuary of the Iijoki River, the site is linked to intense historical activities including farming, tar burning and trade. The discovery of a Late Iron Age oval bronze brooch, a chain divider and a comb pendant in 2011 (Hakamäki et al. 2013) and a burial site in 2013 (Kuusela 2013: 145-6; Kuusela et al. this volume) can be seen as evidence of human activity stretching to prehistory. With this in mind, we see no reason why the first trading posts could not have appeared around these nodal points already during the Iron Age or even earlier. The increase in known find locations towards phase III (see Fig. 2.) can be seen as reflecting the intensification of inland and coastal connections, especially when taking into account that most of the inland find locations belonging to phase III are located on islands. However, the likely existence of islandbound burial sites should not be overlooked when discussing the Late Iron Age in inland areas in northern Finland.

# CONCLUSIONS

Although the connections between Metal Age find locations and prominent landmarks cannot be denied, the ideas presented above are highly speculative and should be approached with caution. One issue, however, must be accepted: the Metal Age artefact finds of northern Finland are

not located in an archaeologically empty environment. As we have shown, the situation is actually quite the opposite - their surroundings are dotted with sites ranging from Stone Age to the Historical Period. This, in our perspective, shows not only that people have chosen the same areas for their activities throughout the millennia, but also that old notions of Iron Age depopulation need to be revised. When connected with the observations concerning the topographical features and their relation to find locations, we can presume that the deposition of artefacts has often been intentional. The islands and confluences around find locations can be seen as landmarks easily noticed and distinguished from the terrain, which, in turn, can be interpreted as a mark of uniform human activity, especially when discussing the Late Iron Age.

Whether the find locations are places of trade, burials or both, it seems likely that the presence of these objects can be viewed as indicative of a society capable of producing enough surplus goods to acquire wealth.

As speculative as it may be, we hope that this contribution will reinforce the status of Metal Age artefact finds not only as worthy archaeological sites but as valuable source material for future research as well.

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# APPENDIX 1.

Find locations used in the study. Archival id refers to the collection number of the National Museum of Finland if not mentioned otherwise; HKM – Haapajärven kotiseutumuseo, KM/Rahakammio – Kansallismuseo/Rahakammio; LMM – Lapin maakuntamuseo; PPM – Pohjois-Pohjanmaan museo.

Municipality	Site	Archival id	Dating	Artefacts
Enontekiö	Pöyrisjärvi länsi	20131	1	flint arrowhead
Enontekiö	Ketomellan lossi	26963	-	bronze brooch
Enontekiö	Meekonyaara	36621	11-111	arrowhead
Haapajärvi	Eskola	21915	11-111	oval fire striking stone
Haanajärvi	Kuusaanioki	HKM 272	11-111	glass head
Haanavesi	Toivola	26218: 34269	11-111	ski fragment
Hynynsalmi	Abopranta	15073: 1: 15391: 1	1_111	bronze arrowhead iron artefact
li	Illineaari 2	38884.1_2	1-111	bronze brooch, bronze chain divider
Inori	Kiolojoki	15400		bronze brooch
Indii	Keidenvuone itä	24740		bronze brooch
Indri	Nanduniono ita	34740		
Inari	Nanguniemi	34004: 1-4		4 Silver neck rings
inari	varankiniemi	5471:11		scramaseax
Inari	Lusmasaari	8724:1-9	I	4 bronze neck rings, 3 bronze armbands, bronze axe, bronze artefact
Kajaani	Paiuniemi	_	11-111	axe blade
Kajaani	Potäisenniska 1	2333.1-2		bronze brooch, bronze armband
Kalaioki	Ftelänkylän kansakoulu	1/258		bronze brooch
Kalajoki	Tilue /Kotipaleta	20202		bronze brooch
Kalajuki	Dibloiomäki	20203		arrowbood
Kalajoki	Piniajamaki	28875	11-111	arrownead
Kemi	Tervanarju	-		sword
Kemijarvi	Jatulinsaari	15492		silver finger ring, axe blade,
Kemijärvi	Kalkonniemi 1	9660: 1-3	III	axe blade, spearhead, scramaseax
Kemijärvi	Tervajänkä 2	KMKT 8317; LMM 544	III	ski, ski fragment
Kempele	Kuusela	15500	III	bronze brooch
Kittilä	Niemelä	15437	111	scramaseax
Kuhmo	Saunaniemi	13094	III	bronze brooch
Kuhmo	Salmi	23258	Ш	bronze brooch
Kuhmo	Halonen	30131	1	bronze brooch
Kuhmo	Hepokannanlahti	32354	11-111	axe blade
Kuhmo	Sylväjänniemi 1	12755.1		bronze chain divider/pendant bronze artefact
Rumno		12100.1		fragments arrowhead fragment
Kuhma	Kanagangaari	01504.1		aval fire striking stope
Kullino	Nöpösensaan	21364.1	11-111	Uval life Striking Stone
Kunno	Nasalansaimi	35688: 1-3	11-111	knile tragment, axe blade/spearnead
Kunmo	неккапет	4838: 2; 20068; 23162		bronze brooch, axe blade, spearnead
Kuusamo	Pyhälahti (Ristikangas)	3307	ш	409 silver coins
Kuusamo	Lämsä Kuurna	13350		silver nendant 4 silver neck rings 2 armhands 3
Rudoumo	Lamou ridama	10000		penannular brooches
Kuusamo	Törinlampi	37340	-	bronze chain divider/pendant
Kuusamo	Somostenperä	?	-	axe blade
Kuusamo	Vänrikinniemi	28:99 8; 5409: 2	III	axe blade, bronze pendant
Kärsämäki	Riihipelto Sarpanen	16642	-	bow fragment
Muhos	Oksa	?	-	ski
Muhos	Tahvolan Heikkilä	3045: 37	1	crucible
Muonio	Särkilahti	31286	ill.	axe blade
Nivala	Korionen	22384		spearhead
Oulainen	Männistö	11953		bronze brooch
Outunealo	Ala-Kaakinen	KM/Rabakammio 60056		98 coins
Doltomo	Koitto	20825, 21562		acromosoov, ava blada
Pallanio	Kollo	20825, 21562		
Posio	Sarkanniemi	9798		axe blade
Pudasjarvi	Parsiaisenmaa	2432: 1-5	111	spearhead, arrownead, axe blade,
Puolanka	Arola	21291	11_111	oval fire striking stone
Puolanka	Luuranniemi	27140	11_111	ave blade, ave blade fragment
Puolonko	Sakari	28072		bronzo brooch
Puolonko	Kauarkangaa	28610		
Puolanka	Rouerkangas	38619		2 Silver neck rings
Puolanka		20374:1	11-111	oval fire striking stone
Puolanka	Haapaniemi	2378:9-17	111	knife, axe blades, fish spear, arrowhead, iron artefact
Pvhäioki	Hirsilamni Mustahaka	2	ш	sleøde runner
Pyhäjärvi	Mäntylä	2	11-10	spearhead
Dyhäntä	Koivula	22521	0 00 U_III	ave blade
Populo		10602-1	11-111 111	and blade
Ndilud		14071		
Reisjarvi		14271	1	stone axe
Rovaniemi	Sattajarvi	8191	11-111	SKI
Rovaniemi	Tammenharju	19807	11	bronze brooch

Rovaniemi	Marikkovaara	3631: 1-4	Ш	sword
Salla	Kaartinniemi	13687	III	bronze brooch
Salla	Kenttälampi koillinen 2	26387	III	bronze pendant
Salla	Kuukkumaharju	27144	-	spearhead
Salla	Hierikkoselkä	28355	-	arrowhead
Savukoski	Sillankorva	15266	11	2 iron daggers
Savukoski	Lattunakoski	29811	-	axe blade
Savukoski	Salmi	9483: 5	III	axe blade
Siikajoki	Kankaanpää Suopelto	28020	-	oval fire striking stone
Siikajoki	Rutelo	?; 39017: 1-2	III	3 bronze brooches, bronze needleholder, bronze
				pendant, strike-a-light steel
Siikajoki	Kärnä	20063; 20550	III	spearhead, knife
Siikajoki	Savikorpi	PPM 6077	-	oval fire striking stone
Sodankylä	Vajukoski	4740	1	4 bronze swords
Sodankylä	Nuulasenlehto	19441	III	ski fragment
Sodankylä	Juikenttä	5606:319	III	silver brooch fragment
Sotkamo	Iso-Hiukka	23202	-	axe blade
Sotkamo	Anttila	1999: 2	-	oval fire striking stone
Sotkamo	Kiuluniemi	1999: 3	III	bronze pendant
Sotkamo	Kekkolanniemi	1999: 4	III	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Keskimmäinen	5335	III	bronze brooch
Suomussalmi	Jalonniemi	19243	III	spearhead
Suomussalmi	Salonsaari	19899	III	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Komeronniemi 1	20368	-	oval fire striking stone
Suomussalmi	Komeronniemi 2	20369	-	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Salmensivu	20397	III	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Kellolaisten Tuli	20546	III	spearhead
Suomussalmi	Vanha Kirkkosaari	21345	III	fire striking steel
Suomussalmi	Vängänniemi	21375	III	knife fitting
Suomussalmi	Varposaari	21746	III	fire striking steel
Suomussalmi	Pöllänen	21747	-	knife
Suomussalmi	Syvänsaari	27083	-	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Vasonniemi	27881	11-111	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Ukonniemi	27922	11-111	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Niemenkangas S	28433	-	bronze brooch
Suomussalmi	Pitkähiekka	29006	-	arrowhead
Suomussalmi	Oravisaari W	33071	-	knife
Suomussalmi	Märännönlahti	33072	-	knife
Suomussalmi	Kukkosaari	36331	11-111	fish spear fragment
Suomussalmi	Luhtalamminsarkka	36710		axe blade
Suomussalmi	Syvaniemi	10916: 1-2		bronze pendant
Suomussalmi	Kalmosarkka	14504: 272; 14829: 346; 14830: 2, 206, 715, 989;	111	spearhead, axe blade, knife sheath fittings, knife, glass bead
		19881: 8, 10; 20413: 48		
Suomussalmi	Kivisaari	15722; 18057	III	knife, bronze artefact, 2 axe blades, bronze pendant,
				3 silver brooches, 2 bronze brooches, strike-a-light -
				steel, bone comb, bone spoon, bone artefact
Suomussalmi	Mikonsärkkä	19879: 1-2; 20800; 21018: 1; 22065: 1-24;	III	4 bronze pendants, bronze brooch, 7 glass beads, 6 bronze beads
		22438: 1-12		
Suomussalmi	Huutohieta	20364: 1	-	axe blade
Suomussalmi	Kattilakaarre	20545: 1	III	spearhead
Suomussalmi	TB:n ranta	20788: 70; 21344; 31396: 176, 177, 178	111	arrowhead, knife, bronze pendants, knife fitting
Suomussalmi	Vehmassaari	21988; 33070	Ш	bronze brooch, axe blade
Suomussalmi	Tyynelänranta	29611: 1-10; 29704 : 1-	III	2 bronze strap dividers, bronze belt buckle, 7 bronze
		2		fittings, bronze pendant, silver brooch fragments,
				bronze brooch fragment, arrowhead, iron artefacts,
				knife
Tornio	Luotomäki	17067	Ш	bronze brooch
Tornio	Oravaisensaari	?	Ш	bronze brooch
Utajärvi	Sorsasaari	3147: 20	Ш	knife
Utajärvi	Viinivaaran itäpää	39197: 1-12	Ш	2 axe blades, strike-a-light steel, knife, knife sheat, 2
-	•			bronze fittings, 2 iron artefacts, bronze artefacts, lead
				artefact
Utsjoki	Matkailuhotelli pohjoinen	34975	-	fragment of a copper vessel
Ylitornio	Lohijärvi Kenttäkuru	11707: 1-2	III	silver brooch, silver neck ring
Ylivieska	Kettukallio	20432	-	iron bar fragment