

On certain »border markers of the Treaty of Schlüsselburg» — the Oulainen stones

As background for my paper I wish to briefly summarize the main theories concerning the course of the border between Sweden and Russia (Fig. 1), set out in the Treaty of Schlüsselburg (Fi. Pähkinäsaari, Sw. Nöteborg). The historian Jalmari Jaakkola suggested that from Siitti (Varkaus) the border followed an ancient boundary between Tavastians and Karelians via Suonenjoki to the Pattijoki River.

The same basic idea was also presented by Kustaa Viikuna, but he pointed out that the border followed what he regarded as the ancient water route of the Karelians, which he had claimed to have found. This route was assumed to have proceeded from Suonenjoki to Rillakivi and from there along the southern flank of the Pyhäjoki River, maintaining that the course of the river as a whole was controlled by the Karelians.

Both Jaakkola and Viikuna based their views on the above concepts of the route of the border and for this reason they declined to identify the two border sites of Karjalankoski and Kolumakoski in the region.

Both of these authors also regarded the regions to the north of this border as having belonged to Novgorod.

A fundamentally different view was presented by Jarl Gallén in 1968. Gallén suggested that the treaty of 1323 did not involve a linear demarcation of a border. Gallén located the place known as Karjalankoski (Karelian rapids) at Juankoski and also suggested that the rapids connecting Lakes Keitele and Kolumajärvi were the Kolumakoski rapids mentioned in sources. According to Gallén's results, the areas to the north of this border could not have been a territory solely administered by Novgorod and it must have been an area for the taxation of the Lapps that was used by both parties.

In 1985 this author suggested a theory supplementing Gallén's views, viz. that the treaty of 1323 implied a twin course for the border. One of these was along the Maanselkä divide ending in the Gulf of Bothnia (Helsinghaff/Kajano more) demarcating the area where Novgorod was entitled to tax the Lapps. The other course led along the divide to the White Sea and demarcated the area where Sweden could tax the Lapps (nor i haffuit). The latter is referred to in 15th century and later Russian sources as »the border of the Kajaani nemets» (rubezh kayanskikh nemets). This twin border along the Maanselkä divide is expressly mentioned in a letter from 1446 where the border between Häme (Sw. Tavastland) and Savo was laid down.(1)

In presenting this theory I did not address in any further detail the possible character of the so-called Oulainen stones, as they did not apply directly to my theme. This issue will be discussed below. But as it is linked to Viikuna's theory and can be said to support it, assuming that previous interpretations are correct, I have wished to study the problem in more detail.

I

In 1971 four closely situated stones or cairns were discovered at Matkaniva in the commune of Oulainen. In studies they have become known as the Kalliokangas stones, according to the name of the estate where they are located.

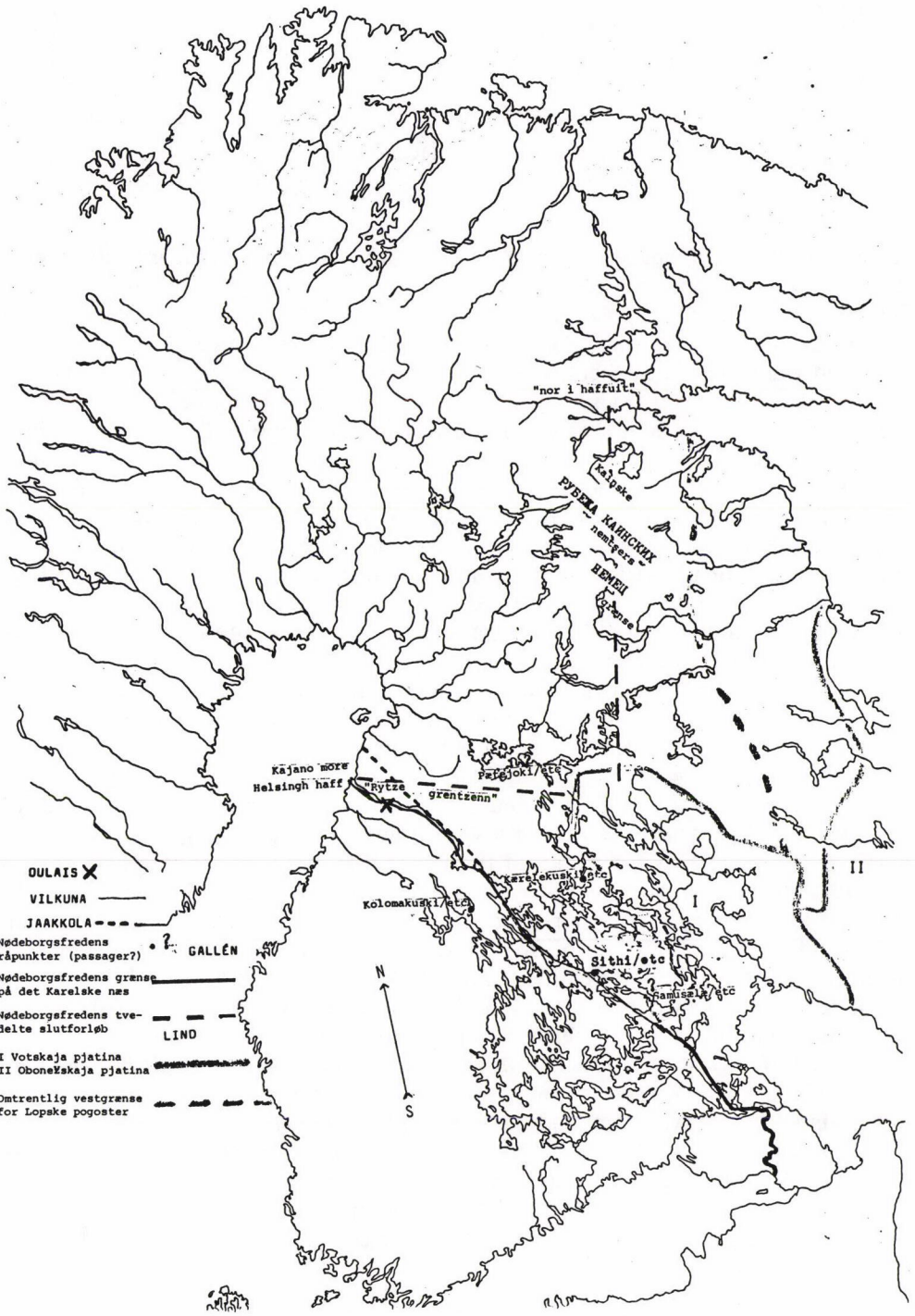


Fig. 1. Present theories concerning the border.



Fig. 2. Photographs of the stone markers.

Of interest in this connection were inscriptions of crowns and the letter M on the stones (Fig. 2)

Soon after the discovery of the four stone markers a fifth one was also found with an inscribed crown marking. The antiquarian authorities were duly notified and the archaeologist Anja Sarvas made a study of the site in 1972. Sarvas's report, in the ar-

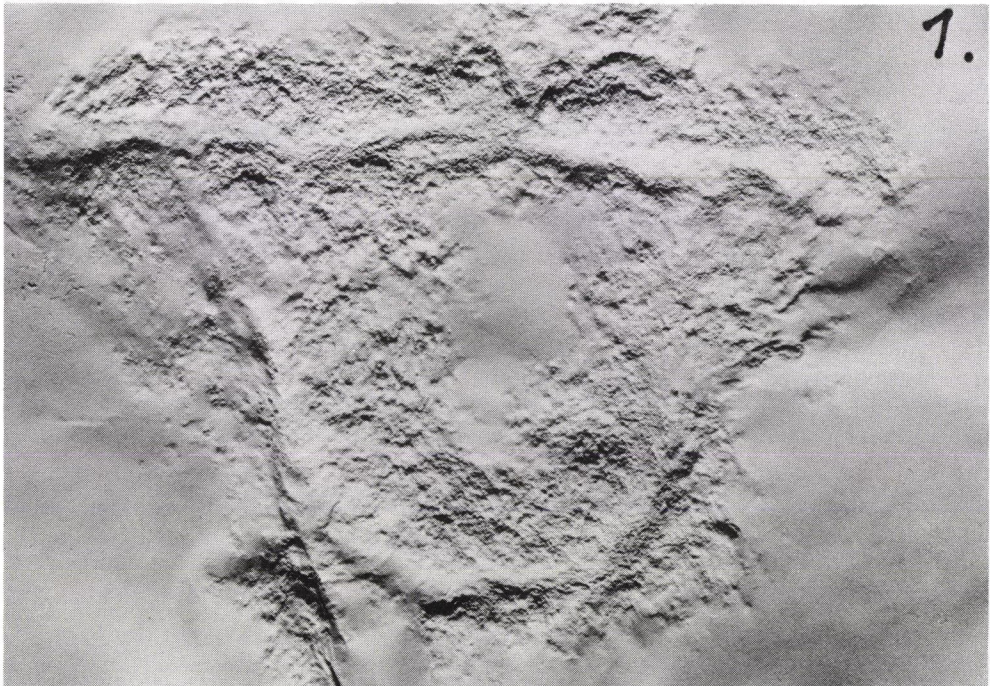


Fig. 3. Impression of a crown symbol.

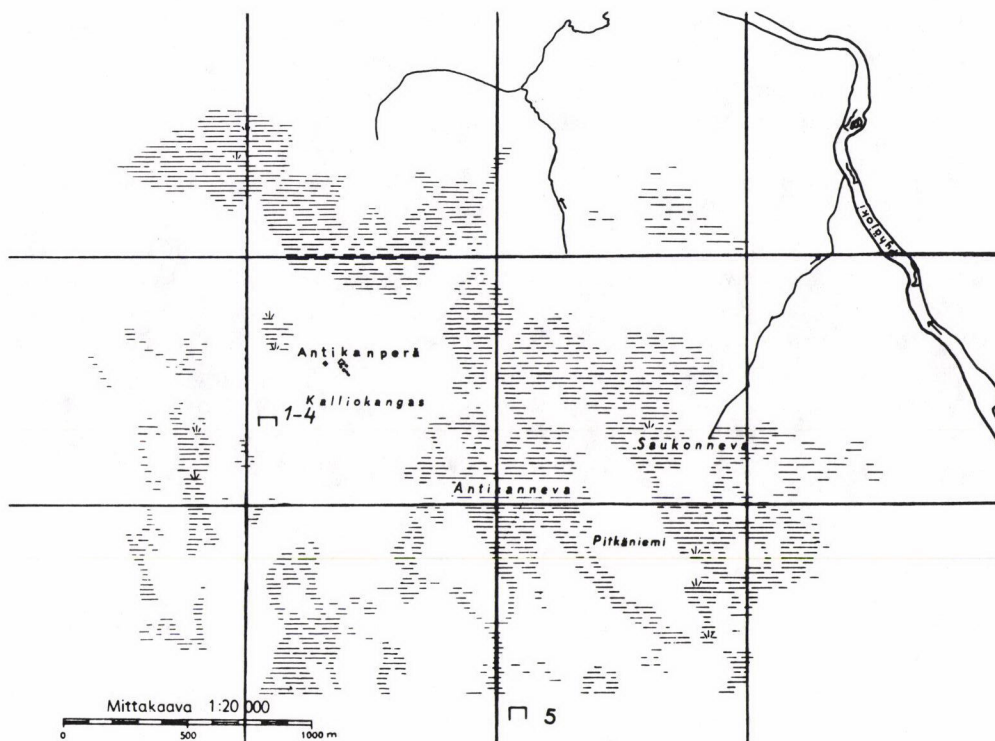


Fig. 4. Map drawn by Anja Sarvas.

chives of the National Board of Antiquities, had the somewhat sensational heading »Marker stones at Kalliokangas — Border stones of the treaty of Schlussemburg ?» (2)

According to Sarvas, the five stones are situated on a line running northwest to southeast at intervals of 13 metres, 36 metres, 12 metres and 1.5 kilometres from stone no. 1 which was at the northwesternmost location. All of the crown inscriptions are with wavy lines with a high crossing part (Fig. 3).

Although local tradition claimed that the stones marked a village boundary, Sarvas did not appear to have investigated this possibility. Instead, she pointed out that a number of scholars have maintained that the border of the Treaty of Schlussemburg followed the Pyhäjoki River and that Kustaa Vilkuna especially claimed that the whole of the river was controlled by the Novgorod Karelians so that the border followed the southwest side of the river.

Anja Sarvas suggested that the investigated stones, despite their location as far as two kilometres south of the Pyhäjoki River, may well have been border markers along the course of the border as suggested by Kustaa Vilkuna. Sarvas also pointed out that 600 years ago the Pyhäjoki River was much wider than at present and that it was naturally desired to place the border markers on dry land. The map of the stones (Fig. 4) shows their location on a ridge running from northwest to southeast through low-lying terrain.

On the basis of the above, Sarvas presented the conclusion that the Oulainen stones with their inscribed markings, »the crowns of Sweden» and the letter M could well have been border stones of the Treaty of Schlussemburg. Their location on the southwest side

of the Pyhäjoki River supported Kustaa Vilkuna's theory of the course of the border south of the river.

The above is an example of how theories without direct factual basis can be brought to support each other through circular reasoning.

Unfortunately, Anja Sarvas's views have come to be supported by eminent historians, both in Finland and in the Soviet Union. In 1987 both Kyösti Julku and Igor Shasolsky stated that these stones must be linked to the border of the Treaty of Schlußsburg, as no other borders are known in the region in question. (3) As these historians both expressed their views in these terms, it could be assumed that they actually studied the possibility of another border. Shasolsky naturally had few opportunities for this, but Julku as Professor of History at the University of Oulu would have been in a better position to carry out studies. If he nevertheless has studied the stones, his work cannot be said to have been especially thorough. Furthermore, he has supported his views with a statement that the crown inscriptions of the border stones were »with certainty Medieval markers of the border of the realm». However, he does not present any evidence for this view and in actual fact we do not know of any such use of the crown symbol in Medieval times.

In this connection I will refer to the use of the crown symbol only in passing. Of more interest is the question, whether there could have been some other border or marked boundary in this area — other than the hypothetical one of 1323 — that could explain these markers.

Even if we do not know all of the border points and markers of the Treaty of Schlußsburg, they must have been only a small part of the various border and boundary mar-



Fig. 5. Basic survey map no. 243303 (1955 version).

kers created by administrative needs and land ownership from the Middle Ages to the present day. The later partitioning of lands, known as the »general parcelling» (Fi. isojako) led to an enormous increase in the numbers of border and boundary markers. For this reason, the statistical probability that chance finds of stones, as in the case of Oulainen, would be linked to the border of the Treaty of Schlussemburg is insignificant. There is thus reason to approach Anja Sarvas's interpretation of the Oulainen stones with a certain degree of scepticism.

These suspicions are further underlined with reference to the actual field report in the archives of the National Board of Antiquities and the preparatory material to Anja Sarvas's article in *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*.⁽⁴⁾

The archive material includes a drawn map, also published in the article, showing the location of the stones on a ridge in an uninhabited and low-lying area specifically where Anja Sarvas imagined that the 14th-century officials would have wished to raise border markers, assuming that they had been familiar with Kustaa Vilkuna's views of the course of the border (Fig. 4). But the material also includes an official basic survey map (Fig. 5), used as the basis of the drawn version, together with Anja Sarvas's instructions for drawing.

Comparing these maps with each other we can see that from the modern map Sarvas only wished to use data on bodies of water. Other present-day information has been completely excluded and especially all data on borders and boundary markings in the region.

Thus, the reader is given the impression that the Oulainen stones have no connection with present-day borders. But if we take a look at the places where Sarvas marked the stones on the map, such connections are obvious. It is hard to explain how Sarvas could not have observed these features.

The fact remains, however, that on the basic survey map Anja Sarvas marked stone no. 5 almost exactly on the border between lots 1.2 and 36 of the Matkaniva village in the immediate vicinity of the point where lots 1.2 and 28.1 join. The connection of stone no. 5 with this present border is clearly indicated by the location of stones 1—4, marked as a group on the map.

The latter stones are not any present border, but in the middle of lot no. 31.4. Extending the boundary between lots 1.2 and 36 to the northwest it is observed that also stones 1—4 are located exactly on this line, which is a remarkable coincidence.

Studying the history of the lots concerned, we observe that lot no. 36, now part of the Matkaniva village, was partitioned from state-owned forest in accordance with the settlement law passed on May 20, 1920. (5) The boundary on which stone no. 5 is located was previously the border between the lands of the Matkaniva village and the state-owned forest area. The lot on which stones 1—5 are located was formed as late as 1940 through a division of »surplus land» owned by the state and allotted to lot no. 31.4. (6) Until that date, stones 1—4 could have served as boundary markers between the lands of the Matkaniva village and the state-owned area.

What then is this border which appears to be marked by the five stones? Running northwest-southeast it can be followed from a point starting approximately one kilometre southeast of stone no. 5 and continuing to the northwest of stones 1—4. All in all, this border can be followed for a length of 9 kilometres before turning due north and extending 2.4 kilometres to the Pyhäjoki River. Throughout its whole course the border line is in most cases the boundary between lots of the Matkaniva village and land belonging to the state or adjoining villages.

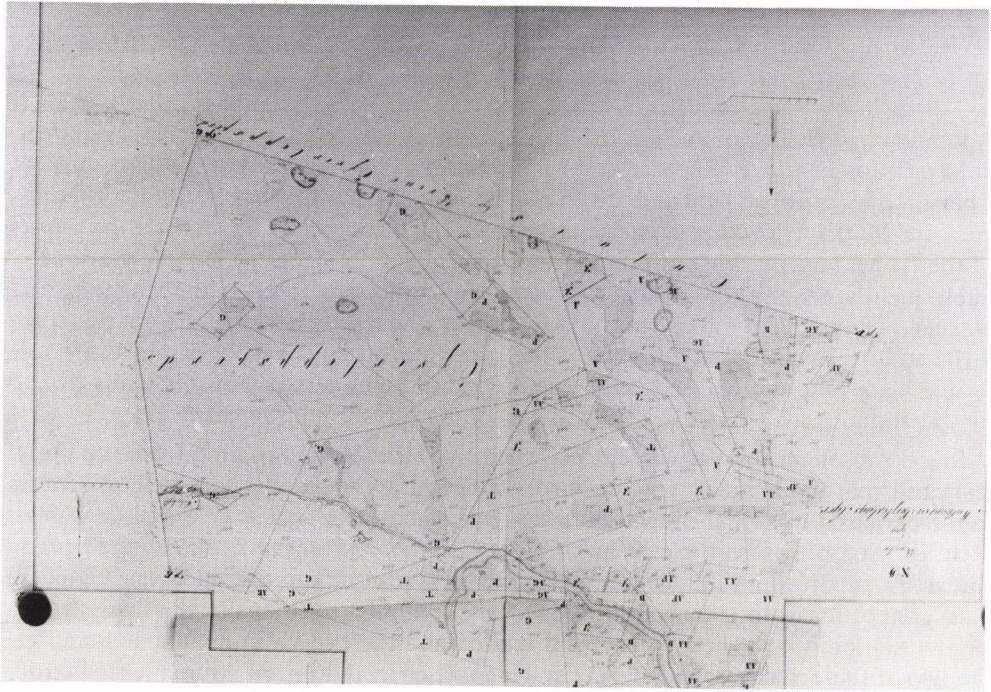
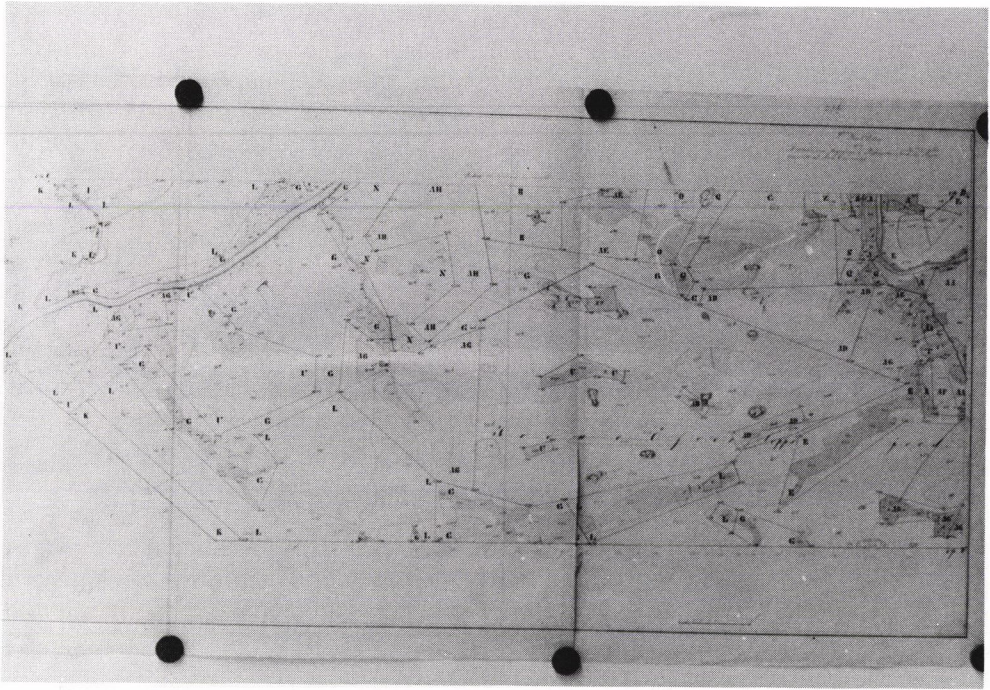


Fig. 6. Map parts 1 (F9:d 2/12) and 4 (F9:d 2/17).

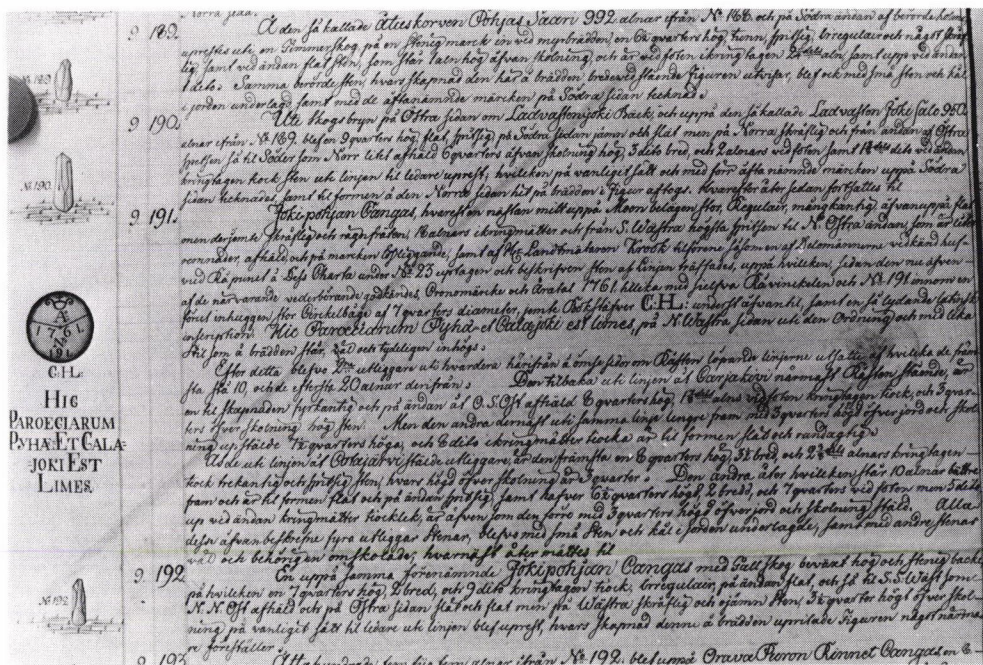


Fig. 7. »Charta Beskrifning och Rågångsprotokoll» (Map description and demarcation minutes), f. 14.

II

A straight border line of such length brings immediately to mind the general reparcelling, mentioned above. Reparcelling was begun in Ostrobothnia in the 1750s through a partitioning of forest land and the assessment of taxation. In the process division units, e.g. the Matkaniva village, were set apart from other corresponding units or the forests of the crown by a marking of boundaries, if such had not been carried out previously. Subsequently, taxes were assessed for the division units concerned. Following this, surplus land belonging to the crown could be further divided. In connection with this stage it was to be taken into account » that where possible this land was to remain as a whole in one place and allotted and demarcated without being mixed with the lands owned by the community.» After this, the actual reparcelling could be carried out.

In Ostrobothnia, as elsewhere, this process often took a long time from the initial stages to its completion. Archive sources concerning the general reparcelling of land in the parish of Pyhäjoki shows that it was begun at Matkaniva in 1753 and the assessment of taxation was completed in 1768. In 1853 the area was re-surveyed and in 1837 the actual reparcelling was begun. The latter stage was completed in 1845–1846. (8)

In connection with surveying in 1831–1847 a number of maps of the lands owned by the Matkaniva division unit were prepared and marked with the new boundaries. On two of these maps, begun in 1832 and completed in 1846–1847 (Fig. 6), the boundary shown in the present basic survey map can be seen (9). Also most of the present boundary markers are also recognizable. E.g. cairn no. 550 is at the boundary of lots 1.2 and 36 at a point where lot 1.2 connects with lot 28.1 and where Anja Sarvas marked stone no. 5.

Stones 1—4 cannot be located in the vicinity of any of the numbered cairns of the general reparcelling measures. However, the distance between stones 1—4 and 5 on the present-day map (1.55 km) corresponds precisely to the distance between cairn no. 550 and fixed point »F» between the parts 1 (F9:d 2/12) and 4 (F9:d 2/17) of the 19th century. According to the scale of the map, this distance is 2,623 Swedish ells (1.55 km). The fixed point appears, thus, to have been chosen in connection with stones 1—4.

On the map (part 4 of the map of the Matkaniva holdings) with the marked boundary stones, the line in question is given as the border between the lands of the Matkaniva village and »the surplus crown lands of the Oulainen village». With reference to this background, the markings observed by Anja Sarvas on the stones, i.e. the letter M and the crown symbols find a natural explanation. The stones mark the boundary between the Matkaniva village and the land owned by the *crown*.

It was mentioned above that the crown symbol is not known to have been used in the Middle Ages. On the national level its earliest use appears to have been in connection with the border of the Treaty of Täsäsinä (Teusina). It was locally used in 1687 in connection with the Kinneskoga crown park adjacent to Lake Vänern, where it marked the boundary of crown-owned land. But was it used in the period when the land division boundary was marked at Matkaniva, i.e. 1753—1846? It was definitely used, in the same area and even in the same form.

In the years 1760—1761 the surveyor Karl Holmlund marked the boundary between the greater parishes of Pyhäjoki and Kalajoki. This demarcation was described in detail and the written account mentions that the stones were »crowned». Drawings in the description show the form of these crown markings (Fig. 7). (10). Furthermore, many of these stones are still in their original locations, e.g. no. 122. (11)

The Oulainen stones with these markings are without any doubt from the end of the 18th century or the early 19th century and they have nothing to do with the border of the Treaty of Schlussemburg. It is regrettable that on the basis of these stones many historians have drawn far-reaching conclusions of political history regarding the location of a Medieval border in this area. This is especially unfortunate as the correct, local and almost modern context of these stones is so amply shown in available source material.

References

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- (2) Anja Sarvas, Oulaisten Kalliokankaan merkkikivet — Pähkinäsaaren rauhan rajapyykkejä. Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 1973, p. 25—31.
- (3) Kyösti Julku, Suomen itärajan synty, Studia Historica Septentrionalia 10, Rovaniemi 1987, p. 408; I.P. Shasolsky, Borba Rusi za sokhranenie vykhoda k Baltiiskomu moryu v XIVv, Leningrad 1987, p. 137 n. 191. See also Kyösti Julku (ed.), Faravidin maa. Pohjois-Suomen historia, Studia Historica Septentrionalia 9, Rovaniemi 1985, p. 98; idem, Kvenland — Kainuunmaa, Studia Historica Septentrionalia 11, Rovaniemi 1986, p. 157—160 as well as Seppo Suvanto in Suomen historia 2, Espoo 1985, p. 71.
- (4) Oulainen Matkaniva Kalliokangas 56, Merkkikivien (rajapyykkien) tarkastus 1972 (dated 20/1/1974).
- (5) Archives of the Finnish Board of Survey (here: LSA): Uudistusten Luettelo Oulun Lääni III, f. 1215v.
- (6) LSA: F 159 1/22—26.
- (7) Sakari Kuusi, Isonjaon alkuvaiheet Pohjanmaalla, Helsinki 1914 (also in Historiallinen Arkisto 1924), especially p. 38 et seq., 54 et seq., 75 et seq.; Joh. Ph. Palmén, Juridisk handbok, Helsingfors 1859,

- p. 157 et seq.; quotation from C.W. Gylden, *Samling af Författningar rör. landtmäteriet och Justeringen af mått etc. I*, Helsingfors 1836, p. 420; cf. also *Project til Instruction, hvarefter skogs afvittringar, utbrytningar och ägodelar i de orter, som äro mindre bebodde, hädanefter komma at förrättas* (after 17/12/1756), published as an appendix to Jacob Faggot, *Historiens Försättning om svenska Landtmäteriet*, Stockholm 1760, p. 20—32; *Instruction för samtelige Landtmätare i Finland och Österbotten* 2/1/1765, Gylden I, p. 120—123; *Förordning huru Ägo-Delningar i österbottn hädanefter måge förrättas* 2/12 1766, *Modée VIII*, Stockholm 1774, p. 6422—26 and *Storskiftes förordningen för Finland* 27/6 1775, *Modée X*, Stockholm 1801 p. 459—73.
- (8) National Archives of Finland, *Maanmittaus Hallitus* (Board of Survey). *Kirjanpito isonjaon toimeenpanosta* 1845—46 (Em 17—18).
- (9) In the collection »Storskiftes karta jämte 2 delnings och rösebeskrifning» under Pyhäjoki, Province of Oulu, in the archives of the Finnish National Board of Survey (LSA): F9:d 2/1—41, with the maps F9:d 2/12 for the northwestern part and F9:d 2/17 for the southeastern part. The boundary line is also marked in *Femte kartdelen öfver En del Ägor uti Oulais Kapell ... till storskifte afmätte Åren 1832 och 33 af J.A. Westerstråle*, FSA: F9:d 3/5.
- (10) LSA: F4 18/1—15 (14).
- (11) According to O. Huikari, M. Huurre & E. Matinolli, *Suur-Pyhäjoen historia*, 1969, p. 332.