

D.E.D Europaeus and archaeology

The varied life and career of D.E.D. Europaeus included archaeology, among other pursuits. His name is mentioned in several accounts of the early stages of prehistoric research in Finland, mostly in passing. In most cases, Europaeus is not described in especially flattering terms.

To quote C.A. Nordman: "Although the work of D.E.D. Europaeus largely coincided with a period when archaeology as a scientific subject can be said to have existed, he must to a certain extent be associated with the older amateur archaeology because of his attitude to collecting and his remarkable disposition." (Nordman 1968, 17—18). Similar views are also presented in Ella Kivikoski's article on the prehistoric finds of Eastern Karelia, which was part of a collection of articles (*Muinaista ja vanhaa Itä-Karjalaa* — Ancient and Historic Eastern Karelia) issued in a limited version of only 200 galley-proof versions. Kivikoski states that "his work was that of an amateur and did not conform to scientific requirements" (Kivikoski 1944a, 46). On the other hand, A.M. Tallgren appears to have been less critical of Europaeus and his work — "This *fennologist* and gifted and inspired researcher without methodological training was mainly a linguist and collector of folk poetry who had moved on from these areas to the study of prehistory" (Tallgren 1928, 146; see also Tallgren 1936). Also in other connec-



Fig. 1. D.E.D. Europaeus in Liperi 1862. Photo: National Board of Antiquities. Neg. 21081.

tions, Tallgren presented Europaeus's studies enthusiastically and used artefacts found by the latter in constructing his theories, without taking a standpoint regarding the latter's "remarkable disposition" or the scientific quality of his field work (e.g. Tallgren 1916). This may perhaps reflect Tallgren's own views of the relationship of broad perspectives and individual details in archaeological research.

Also Helmer Salmo, who studied Europaeus's excavation finds more thoroughly than any other Finnish archaeologist and who upon Tallgren's urging (?) published most of them in detail, took a less critical view of Europaeus's lack of archaeological training:

"Der Sammler der finnischen Volkspoesie und Ortsnamen, der Anthropologe, Sprachforscher und Archäologe, zugleich Vertreter der Friedensidee David Emanuel Daniel Europaeus († 1884) war einer der eigentümlichsten Vertreter der fennomanische Bewegung. Er hatte keine wissenschaftliche Schulung erhalten, aber seinen ruhlosen Geist entsprangen immer neue Gedanken und wissenschaftliche Pläne. Sein Hauptziel war die Aufklärung der ursprünglichen Verhältnisse der finnisch-ugrischen Völker. Mit Hilfe von Ortsnamen, Altertümern und sprachlichen Materials versuchte er die Frage zu beleuchten, wo und in was für welchen Verhältnissen diese Völker in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit gelebt hatten. Auf seinen weiten Sammlungsreisen kam er scho früh zur Überzeugung, dass die Sprach-, Ortsnamen- und Altertumnsforschung nahe zusammengehören, aber erst im J. 1872 gelang es ihm sich mit dem letztgenannten Gebiet zu befassen." (Salonen 1919, 229).

Salmo also had to concede that the material collected by Europaeus included very little information on the finds or excavation observations. This is not a very serious accusation as it applies to most archaeological excavations of the 1870s. In comparison, it can be observed that the Russian archaeologist E.V. Barsov, who worked in the same areas of Olonets Karelia partly at the same time as Europaeus and his later colleagues A.J. Kolgomarov and N.I. Repnikov left to posterity equally lacking notes or none at all. On the other hand, N.E. Brandenburg, who had been trained as an officer, was a skilled field archaeologist, whose documentary work was of a high level. (Ravdonikas 1930, 29).

However, both Kivikoski and Nordman have pointed out that Europaeus succeeded in acquiring "for the National Museum of Finland a good collection of artefacts of the culture in question, i.e. the Iron Age of the southeast coastal regions of Lake Ladoga" (Kivikoski 1944a, 46) and that "the excavations were anything but professionally carried out, but the finds themselves have been preserved and it has been possible to re-study them later. His own papers on questions of archaeology and ethnology have been ignored by posterity. One should remember, however, that he did try to approach his material scientifically; but his grasp was that of the amateur." (Nordman 1968, 18).

A linguist as archaeologist: background and stages of the work

It may be impossible to say when Europaeus was first inspired by archaeology. Already in 1847 he published in the journal *Suometar* a short article entitled "Studies concerning the fore-fathers of the Finns and their places of habitation" which despite its promising rubric discusses completely different matters. In 1847 he also undertook a collection expedition to the shores of Lake Ladoga together with H.A. Reinholm with a grant from the Society for Finnish Literature. The purpose of this expedition was to collect folk poetry as well as to acquire archaeological and ethnographic materials. Europaeus and Reinholm most probably did not carry out archaeological excavations at this stage. During his extensive collection expeditions Europaeus had naturally seen kurgan cemeter-

ies both in Olonets Karelia and in Ingermanland — these are mentioned several times in his letters — but he did not appear to have carried out excavations, although at a certain kurgan near Tikhvin human skulls and bones could be seen when he passed by the site (Niemi 1903, 74). He did excavate, however, during a language study tour to the Kola regions of Lapland. In a letter dated October 10, 1856 from Kouda he writes:

”Four weeks ago I had the opportunity of opening a couple of Tchud graves at Kantalahti and I also had the opportunity and freedom of sending the skull fragments from these graves to the Imperial Geographic Society. I say ”freedom”, for the superstitious local peasants had risen against me together as one man...”

The villagers were afraid that Europaeus would thus spread cholera. They took away the bones from him by force and Europaeus had to retrieve them with the help of local officials. In a later letter (February 24, 1858) he wrote that he had sent both a written report as well as skulls to the Geographic Society of Russia. This material has subsequently been lost.

Europaeus was primarily a linguist and scholar of place-names to whom the opportunities provided by archaeology to complement his studies opened up only in the 1860s. A good example of this basic attitude can be seen in his article on the ”ancient settlers of Finland” in the journal *Mehiläinen* where he observed that the study of place-names required the support of archaeology. ”It would also be good to have information on the old graves and dwelling sites of the ancient people and what has been found in them ... There is no need even to assume that such information and studies would be worthless” (Europaeus 1862b).

In 1863 Europaeus decreed in a manifesto-like statement that ”these three areas of research, comparative linguistics, toponymology and the study of ancient artefacts in fact belong closely together ” (Salminen 1905, 143). This was in keeping with the spirit

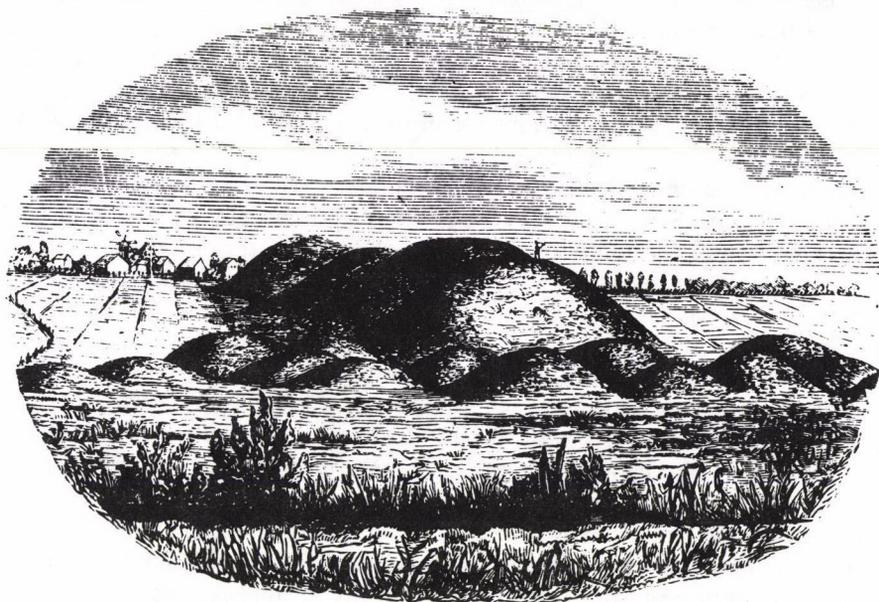


Fig. 2. Barrows outside the village of Bezehtsk in Tver where Europaeus in July 1872 for the first time took part in archaeological excavations conducted by J.R. Aspelin. Woodcut by an unknown artist in Aspelin 1878 (III).

of the times and it mainly reflects the concepts of an orientation of research created by M.A. Castrén, which in fact guided Finnish archeology until the turn of the century (Nordman 1968; Kokkonen 1984). Although Castrén's strivings to find the original home of the Finns mainly employed a linguistic starting point, they also aimed at creating a national identity. A basis for reinforcing nationality had to be found for the Finnish and Finnishness and Castrén was convinced already at an early stage that the original home area would be best found through the co-operation of these three disciplines.

Europaeus had most probably been influenced also by his participation in the meetings of the Historical Section of the Society for Finnish Literature which was founded in 1864. Archaeology was coming to the fore in all quarters. In 1870 the Finnish Antiquarian Society was established which signified the raising of archaeology to the status of an independent nationally-oriented discipline and a sharp increase in research activity. Europaeus's decision to devote himself also to archaeology must be seen in relation to this background. In his archaeological work he was however an individualist, perhaps conscious of his lack of training and faithful to his own ways.

In the following decade Europaeus went from words to deeds in his archaeological endeavours. In the period from 1872 to 1879 he undertook a total of seven archaeological expeditions: 1) in 1872 to Bezhetsk in the province of Tver; 2—3) to Paksujoki in the province of Olonets, to Byelye Kresty in the province of Novgorod and again to Bezehtsk and Staraya in Tver; 4—5) in 1877 and 1878 to the Ojatti River in Olonets; 6) in 1879 to the Säässy, Voronega and Syväri (Svir) Rivers of Olonets — according to the catalogues of the National Museum of Finland this journey extended as far as Mäenkylä in Alavoinen, 7) in 1879 again to the Säässynjoki River. There are mentions of an archaeological expedition by Europaeus to Northern Finland in 1873 (e.g. a letter to A. Armfelt, dated October 12, 1873), but little is known of this as no artefacts or reports have been preserved.

Most of the expeditions were thus to the southeastern shores of Lake Ladoga where Europaeus excavated at least 27 kurgans (Salonen 1929, 229). At two localities on the Ojatti River he is known to have investigated "several mounds" raising the figure to perhaps 35. The main sources on Europaeus's activities are the catalogues of the National Museum of Finland with their information on the finds as well as the appended verificatory notes relating to the acquisition of the material. There are no detailed excavation reports and only a few travel reports.

Without doubt, Europaeus's most significant studies were carried out along the Alavoinen (Olonka), Syväri (Svir), Ojatti, Paksu (Pasha), Voronega and Säässy (Sjas) rivers. Europaeus was the first and last Finnish archaeologist to carry out excavations in this area of the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga. Only Ella Kivikoski's significant research work in 1943 at Pirdoila in Vitele to the north of this area can be compared to the former (Kivikoski 1944b, 8). On the other hand, of the Soviet archaeologists, V.I. Ravdonikas has excavated numerous burial mounds on the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga, often in the same cemeteries as Europaeus (Ravdonikas 1929, 1930). As a result, the archaeological material from this area has increased many-fold. However, these materials have not significantly changed the overall view of the varied material culture of the Late Iron Age of the region that was already indicated by Europaeus's finds. After the Second World War Soviet researchers in the area have mainly concentrated on the study of Staraya Ladoga, the Aldeigjuborg of the Nordic sagas (Uino 1986). On the southeast shore of Lake Ladoga, burial mounds and sites have been excavated on the Paksujoki River and to the south on the Volkhov River (e.g. Lebedev & Nazarenko 1970). V. A. Nazarenko has also published a brief article on all of the hitherto excavated burial mounds of the southeast shore of Lake Ladoga (Nazarenko 1980).

Salyushik, Yarovshchina and the ethnogenesis of the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga

As both A.M. Tallgren and Helmer Salmo have described in detail the material forwarded by Europaeus to the collections of the National Museum of Finland (Tallgren 1916; Salonen 1929), a brief presentation of two burial finds will suffice in this connection as an example of Europaeus's work in Olonets.

Europaeus's perhaps most famous excavation, of which even a published report exists (Europaeus 1874), was carried out in 1874 at Salyushik on the Paksujoki (Pasha) River. These finds were first described in J.R. Aspelin's dissertation *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (Elements of Finno-Ugrian archaeology; Aspelin 1875, 240) and over the years they have been the subject of study by many experts on the Viking Period who have visited the National Museum of Finland. The Salyushkin finds were last presented to the international public in a joint Nordic Viking exhibition held in London, New York and Minneapolis in 1980—1981 (e.g. Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980, 196; Graham-Campbell 1980, 30).

At Salyushik Europaeus excavated two kurgans, which date to the mid-10th century and are among the oldest excavated burial mounds of the southeastern shore region of Lake Ladoga (Figs. 3 & 4). One of the graves contained the remains of the inhumated corpses of one man and three women. The man had been outfitted with an silver-ornamented sword, two spearheads, two arrowheads, an axe, four knives, a strike-a-light, horse bits, belt fittings etc. The woman's grave B1 contained two oval tortoise brooches of Scandinavian type, a Scandinavian round brooch, a silver bracelet, carnelian beads burnt white by fire, a large number of other beads, a silver bracelet, webbed-foot pendants, an ear-spoon, a couple of Arabian coins etc. The Salyushik finds combine in a manner typical of the kurgans of the southeast shore area of Lake Ladoga objects of Scandinavian import, such as oval tortoise brooches and bracelets — the weapons are the same as in Scandinavia, but not necessarily of Scandinavian manufacture — with "eastern" Central Russian ornaments such as the "Permian webbed-foot pendants" typical of the Kama region as well as Slav ceramics.

Also to be mentioned in this connection are Europaeus's excavations in the summer of 1877 at Yarovshchina on the south bank of the Ojatti River, where three partly destroyed kurgans were investigated. In the same village, but apparently in another cemetery, Ravdonikas later excavated ten kurgans with excellent results (Ravdonikas 1930, 60). The Yarovshchina finds are not known in their entirety, for Europaeus — apparently due to his perennial lack of funds — sold part of the excavated artefacts to the French archaeologist Charles de Ujfalvy. The artefacts are at present in the Musée Trocadéro in Paris (Tallgren 1916, 33). In a draft of a letter from 1877 Europaeus urged de Ujfalvy in strong terms to return the finds, which he claimed were only on loan. In the same connection, however, Europaeus stated that he was prepared to reimburse the sum of money given to him in connection with the "loan"!

The artefacts from Yarovshchina presently in the National Museum of Finland include a so-called "Hanseatic bowl" — a bronze vessel of low profile with geometric engravings on the inside (Fig. 5). This misleading term was coined by A. Kisa, who in agreement with many other scholars believed that the Hanseatic League had traded these vessels in various parts of Europe. The vessel found by Europaeus is at present the most eastern find in Northern Europe of a "Hanseatic bowl". J.R. Aspelin published an illustration of the artefact (Aspelin 1878, 1124) and T. Poklewski has later published isolated information concerning it (Poklewski 1961, 79), but otherwise this find has not been studied and is lacking, for example, in J. Weitzmann-Fiedler's detailed monograph on the subject (Weitzmann-Fiedler 1981). There are few parallels to the Yarovshchina



Fig. 3. A sword, spearheads, an axe and bits from male grave B of kurgan no. 1 at Salyushik. NM 1675:1—3, 7, 17. Photograph: National Board of Antiquities/Timo Syrjänen 1979.

bowl, four vessels from London and one from Samland (Edgren 1987; 1988). With reference to the vessel, Salmo dates the burial to the 13th century (Salonen 1929, 249), which in comparison with the other artefacts of the cemetery appears to be somewhat late (Ravdonikas 1929, 60). Unfortunately, the other artefacts found by Europaeus at Yarovshchina do not provide any further information in this respect. It is also possible that Europaeus and Ravdonikas excavated in two different burial grounds in the same village.

The Salyushik and Yarovshchina finds belong to the sphere of settlement of the south-



Fig. 4. Scandinavian brooches, chains, carnelian and other beads and an Arabian coin from woman's grave B1 of kurgan no. 1 at Salyushik. NM 1675: 21—23, 30,32. Photograph: National Board of Antiquities/Timo Syrjänen 1979.

east shore of Lake Ladoga. This area extends from the Volkhov River in the south to the north at least to the Svir River. A separate cultural area consists of the regions of Alavoinen, Tuulos and Vitele to the north, where the dead were buried in frameworks of timber or boards originally built in the surface of the ground and covered over with a kurgan. Ravdonikas has pointed out that up to the end of the 19th century the Karelians buried their dead in timber frameworks, presenting the conclusion that the low burial mounds of Vitele and Tuulos, which he calls the Vitele type, belonged to Karelians. Both of the above cultural spheres differ from the Karelian culture of the west shore of Lake Ladoga both in grave form and find material.

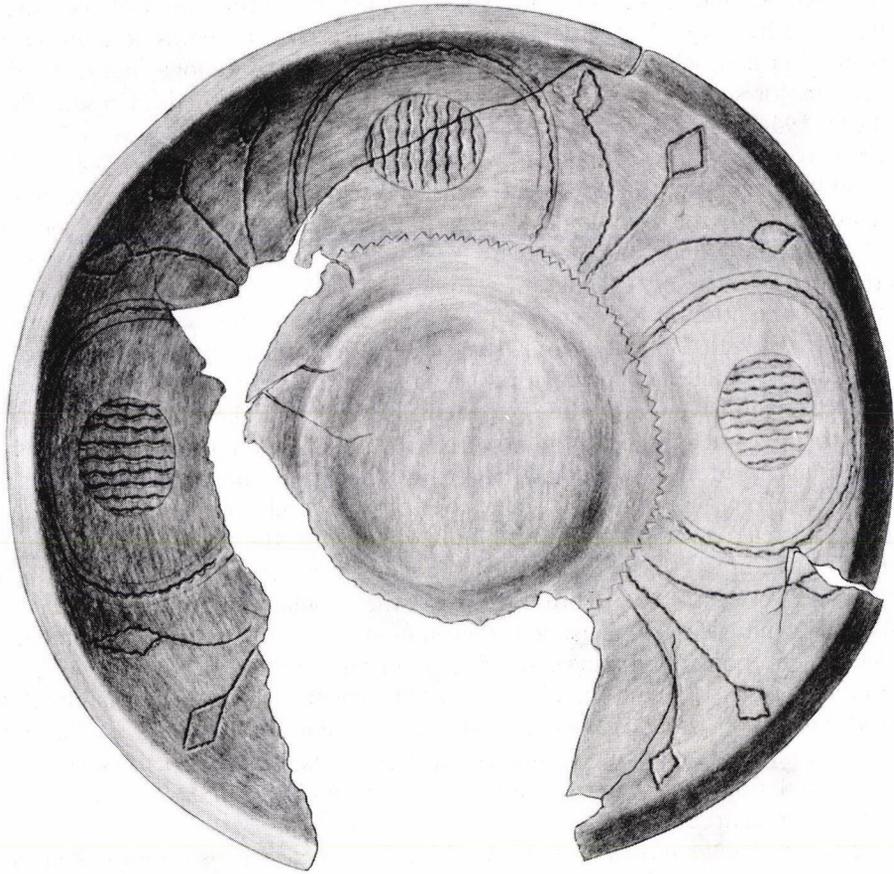


Fig. 5. An engraved bronze vessel from Yarovshchina. NM 1878:12. The vessel measures 19,3 cm in diameter. Drawing: National Board of Antiquities/Tuula Piili 1987.

The kurgans of the southeast shore of Lake Ladoga have been regarded as having belonged to the Vepsians. This was assumed by Tallgren as well as Aspelin, whose extensive work on Finno-Ugrian antiquities (Aspelin 1877—1884) describes Europaeus's finds from the area as "Vepsian" (Aspelin 1878). Ravdonikas in turn, who has studied this problem more thoroughly than any other archaeologist, has referred to an old Russian chronicle source, according to which the Vepsians lived specifically on the shore of Lake Beloozero and that the inhabitants of the southeast shore of Lake Ladoga were Karelians (Ravdonikas 1920, 119). Ravdonikas also assumed that certain graves in the Käkisalmi region represented a subsequent stage of development of the culture of the southeast shore and that they had come about as a result of an expansion of settlement from this region. However Kivikoski, with reference to Nordman's studies (Nordman 1924), has pointed out that the Crusade Period material of the Finnish areas of Karelia was to such a degree of West Finnish character that this theory cannot be supported (Kivikoski 1944b, 25). Kivikoski has also pointed out that the original population of the environs of Lake Ladoga was of Finnic origin, but their connection with specific people or tribes is problematic. Influences from the west of Lake Ladoga from Western

Finland and Gotland as well as from Novgorod led to the formation of the Karelian culture of the Iron Age. The settlement of the southeastern shore was possibly Vepsian or became Vepsian, when the Slavs advanced towards Lake Ladoga, but this did not have any major significance for the formation of the culture of the Crusade Period (Kivikoski 1944b, 27).

Scandinavian artefacts, common in finds from the southeast shore of Lake Ladoga, have also been central elements in the extensive discussion of the significance and role of Scandinavians in the founding of Russia. In agreement with T.J. Arne (Arne 1904), also Tallgren maintained that Brandenburg's and Europaeus's finds from the southeastern shore regions were evidence of colonies founded by Swedes among the Finnish and Tchud population of the area (Tallgren 1916, 34). The same conclusions were also presented by Holger Arbman (Arbman 1955, 33). Ravdonikas, in turn, did not accept this explanation, pointing out that conclusions regarding ethnicity cannot be drawn on the basis of Scandinavian artefacts (Ravdonikas 1930, 134). The material also includes local artefacts as well as objects imported from the Kama region. Furthermore, the form of burial is partly different. The material record may thus be more indicative of a social hierarchy where certain families acquired the furs and foodstuffs of the area and were thus able to create a monopoly in trading relations with the Swedes. The impressive Scandinavian artefacts that were received in payment remained the property of the upper class and were passed on to other sectors of the population to only a minor degree. Ravdonikas's model seems plausible and even modern according to present standards. The debate concerning the ethnogenesis of the southeastern shore regions of Lake Ladoga has continued to this day and still divides Soviet archaeologists into "normannists" and "anti-normannists" (for recent discussion see e.g. Klein 1973; Lebedev & Nazarenko 1973; Petrenko 1984 and cited literature). At present, experts appear to agree that the original population of the southeastern shore was Finnic, while Staraya Ladoga was multi-ethnic in character.

The culture of the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga has also been linked to the Biarmians. This theory was proposed by Tallgren in 1931 with support from Jalmari Jaakkola and Martti Haavio. Recently, C.F. Meinander has discussed the issue with special reference to the archaeological record with the conclusion that "the traders who roamed the forests and waters of Fennoscandia and even the central areas of Finland", i.e. the Biarmians, were originally from Central Russia and the Kama region and not from the southeastern shores of Lake Ladoga (Meinander 1973, 149; 1979, 35).

"Excavation studies", craniology and fantasy

As early as 1863 Europaeus published an article entitled "Instructions for the donators of antiquities and researchers proper" (Europaeus 1863b) and in 1867 similar instructions under the heading "Instructions of a learned society concerning the study of ancient graves and grave mounds" (Europaeus 1867). However, both articles were of a summary nature and did not contain many serious instructions.

Not much is known of Europaeus's excavation methods. On his first expedition in 1872 to Byezhetsk in Tver, Europaeus was Aspelin's "indefatigable assistant" (Aspelin 1874, 26). During this journey six kurgans were excavated. Aspelin published the results of the expedition a couple of years later, describing the excavation of the first kurgan as follows: "It was dug from the top to the base evenly throughout its whole area". As this method required a great deal of labour and time, another kurgan was "split" and in Aspelin's terms, "... the shovels began to strike bones. When bones were found,

the workers were told to stop shovelling and I began to excavate the skeletons myself with a small wooden spade, revealing them complete with attire proceeding from the point where the first bones came to light" (Aspelin 1874, 15). Europaeus's mentor was Aspelin himself and it can be assumed that Europaeus, who went on to excavate 12 kurgans after Aspelin returned to St. Petersburg, carried on in the manner pointed out by the master.

Europaeus has also described this first expedition in a published article. It does not, however, mention the methods used and he comments upon his finds of skulls as follows:

"In both of them one can note the especially protruding teeth. Here, these mounds were made by a people whose forehead and teeth, unlike us or any other known peoples in Europe, were not oriented in the same direction, but pointed forward almost like horses' teeth ... These ancient people were the veritable cynocephali, still remembered in Finnish lore..." (Europaeus 1872, 200).

Europaeus clearly had ideas concerning the archaeological methods of his day, although his views are mentioned only in passing. In a letter of July 29, 1871 he gives "precise" instructions regarding excavation: "It would be of special importance to carry out excavation studies in stone-laid structures and in their vicinity, especially in their foreground, to such a depth that we can observe that the whole of the ancient soil layer is studied to the bottom". He goes on to point out that it should also be recorded whether some structures are at a higher elevation from the surface than others. "For defining such things instruments and skill in their use would be of much significance. But levelling may well be left for a later occasion, for these places can be assumed to remain always at their original level" (Salminen 1905, 223).

While other Finnish archaeologists of the late 19th century, working in the spirit of typology and comparative archaeology, placed stress on the appearance of graves, their structure and above all the recovered artefacts in order to work out the relations and migrations of tribes and peoples, Europaeus did not seem to be especially interested in the actual artefacts. It can be assumed that he was conscious of his limitations in this respect and despite his broad scholarship was not sufficiently familiar with the archaeological materials of Northern Europe to use them for drawing conclusions. On the other hand, Europaeus was interested in the opportunities provided by physical anthropology and especially craniology in the study of the ancient ethnic composition of European Russia and Finland and even the whole of Europe.

Physical anthropology was much in fashion throughout Europe after the 1850s and especially the German ethnographer and archaeologist Rudolf Virchow, who also visited Finland in 1874 in connection with his studies, used the results of this discipline in his work. In Finland paleocraniology was not of much significance due to the poor preservation of unburnt bone in the acid soils. Furthermore, the equipment necessary for determinations and measurements was simply not available.

At first Europaeus set out to collect relatively young craniological material. Writing to his friend H.A. Reinholm in 1847 he mentions, "You will receive on the next trip of the steam boat "Union" four skulls of the inhabitants of Savitaipale to be given to Doctor (Carl) Lundahl" (Niemi 1903, 101) and the following year: "P.S. There is no limit to the number of skulls you will receive" (Niemi 1903, 208). The material, from the churchyard of Savitaipale, was sent to Reinholm who appears to have forwarded it to the Department of Anatomy of the University of Helsinki. The extensive skull collection of the department was published in 1881—1894 (von Bonsdorff 1975, 29). This collection may also have included bones sent by Europaeus from his expeditions. As late as 1935 the Department of Anatomy sent to the National Museum of Finland a number of artefacts from kurgan no. 1, excavated by Europaeus at Salyushik in 1874.

The objects were found among bones in storage boxes at the Department of Anatomy (NM 10157:1—20). To my knowledge, Finnish experts on anatomy have not published any of Europaeus's excavation finds of bones.

Europaeus himself wrote of the subject in a number of newspaper articles and in a booklet from 1873 entitled "An ancient Nordic people of dolichocephalic African skull type, defined with respect to language and nationality, and the assessment of Finno-Ugrian character" (Europaeus 1873). The rubric shows that Europaeus had full confidence in the possibilities of craniology and craniometry in defining the language and nationality of the deceased person. This theory was in keeping with the spirit of the times and we may assume that Europaeus's many contacts with colleagues in St. Petersburg added to his interest in the subject.

In his booklet Europaeus writes of how a certain "Ivanofski", who was a professor of surgery in St. Petersburg made measurements of skulls found by him and Aspelin at Bezhetsk. The professor observed them to be of a dolichocephalic or long-skulled type known only among the Ostyaks and Voguls in the Northern Hemisphere. This observation fed the flames of Europaeus's fantasy, as graves with long-skulled individuals had been found in the provinces of Tver, Moscow, Vladimir and Yaroslav. This skull type, which was also typical of the Hungarians, was the oldest among the Ugrians and thus the original home of these peoples had been in this area. In an apologizing vein Europaeus observes: "No Hungarian should feel slighted by the fact that his fore-fathers have been observed to have a skull form mainly resembling that of African Negroes." (Europaeus 1873, 60). Adding to this the observation that mainly dolichocephalic skulls had been found in Southern Scandinavia, Europaeus was able to close the circle of his theory: Ugrians had lived in ancient times throughout the whole of Southern Scandinavia and the Ostyaks and Voguls had migrated through Scandinavia and Finland to their present abodes — an especially pleasing thought to a Fennoman like Europaeus. He does not seem to have been bothered by his statement of only a year before that "the Finns could never have been long-skulled since the time when the common fore-fathers of the Finns, Mordvians, Lapps and the Tcheremiss parted ways with the fore-fathers of the Hungarians, Ostyaks, Voguls and Sirians, for all of the four above-mentioned close relatives of the Finns as well as the Finns themselves are all short-skulled" (Europaeus 1872, 201).

Writing in the same booklet and with reference to the above, Europaeus mentions having seen large numbers of kurgans during his travels along the Ojatti and Paksu (Pasha) Rivers south of the Svir River. For this reason he felt that it would be necessary for a Finnish archaeologist to carry out excavations in these regions.

"Both prehistoric and linguistic evidence unequivocally support the conclusion that the first definable home region of the actual Finns was in the area mentioned in this presentation. In any case, in this area we may study with the greatest degree of certainty the last forms of their ancient pagan rites of burial." (Europaeus 1873, 8).

Europaeus apparently felt that the craniological material that could possibly be acquired in this area would prove his theory. This may have been the ultimate reason for the fact that his expeditions in 1874, 1877 and 1878 were specifically to the region of the Paksu and Ojatti Rivers. The anthropological results of the material from these expedition has not, however, been published. Was the material perhaps insufficient — part of it was from cremated burials — or did the results disprove Europeaus's theory?

* * *

Although many of Europaeus's ideas may seem amusing today, they were apparently the subject of more serious interest in the 1870s. Europaeus, however, was easily car-

ried away by new ideas and without doubt his more fantastic theories also amused his contemporaries. For example, he mentions in a letter having heard from a worker that in the district of Lohtaja there are constructions of stone known locally as "giants' dwellings with stones piled on a foundation of five stones and rising to a height of one and a half feet above the ground" (Salminen 1905, 223). Europaeus immediately went on to compare these construction of stone with those "known as dysses in Danish, Dolmengräber in German etc. which are to be found not only throughout Europe, Greece, Italy and the peninsula of the Pyrenees, but even in northern and central Africa... I have had the idea that they are from the time when mammoth beasts, rhinoceroses and other ancient beasts lived here in Europe and in order to resist them, people had to build dwellings for themselves of large stones and of such strength that these beasts could not destroy them."

However, already in 1854 J.J. Worsaae (as well as S.E. Nilsson, whose works Europaeus is known to have read) had demonstrated that the "dysses" were graves (Worsaae 1854). In its flights of fantasy Europaeus's explanation finds its closest comparisons in the ideas presented by Ole Worm in 1643, according to which these construction had been sacrificial altars and the burial chamber had been the space into which the blood of the sacrifice had been led (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 22).

After the year 1879 Europaeus did not undertake a single expedition or collection trip for archaeological or any other purposes. It appears from all accounts that the reason for this was his weakened health (Salminen 1905, 146). Also his activities — or lack of activities — of his late years seem to have met an impasse of some kind. He did continue with his craniological theories, which had been doomed beforehand, but he met with no recognition. He does not appear to have understood that a skull from some kurgan could not by itself tell of the language of the deceased, nor did he pay sufficient attention to the structure of the graves he had excavated or their finds. He used archaeological materials with the approach of a linguist and in many quarters he was mocked, as shown by names given to him such as "Indo-Europaeus-Africanus" (Salminen 1905, 142) or "Europaeus Africanus" (Kalima 1927, 607). It must be pointed out, however, that Europaeus was criticized by linguists and not archaeologists, possibly because the latter regarded him as an amateur and not an archaeologist. He apparently held this view himself and for this reason did not enter into open debate with archaeologists, as he had done in other connections.

As discussed above, the finds forwarded by Europaeus to the National Museum of Finland have been preserved for posterity and in their own way they have enriched discussion for over a century as they will even into the future regarding the ethnogenesis of the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga. They will remain an example of the industrious labour of an open-minded firebrand and in this perspective the distinction of amateur and non-amateur is not of great importance.

Bibliography

- Arbman, Holger, 1955. *Svear i österviking*. Falun.
Arne, T.J., 1904. *La Suède et l'Orient*. — Archives d'études orientales VIII.
Aspelin, J.R., 1874. Muinaistieteellisiä tutkimuksia Suomen asutusaloilta. I. Hautakummut Bjeshetin kirkon luona Tverin läänissä; II. Kumpukalmisto Timerevon kylän luona Jaroslavin läänissä. — Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja I.
— 1875. *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita*. Helsinki. SKST 51.

- 1878. Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumus-aloilta. *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien III*. Helsinki. von Bonsdorff, Bertel, 1975. *The History of Medicine in Finland*. Helsinki. *The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828—1918*. Vol 3.
- Edgren, Torsten, 1987. Kring ett graverat bronsfat från Vilusenharju i Tavastland. — *Tutkimustyö ja museotoimi. Museerna och forskningen. Juhlakirja Knut Draken täyttäessä 60 vuotta* 6. 3. 1987. Turku.
- 1988. An engraved bronze bowl from Jarovčina on the Oyat river in south-east coastal region of Lake Ladoga. — *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, series altera* in 8:°.
- Europaeus, D.E.D., 1862b. Suomenmaan muinois-asukkaat. — *Mehiläinen* ro 6.
- 1863b. Ohje muinaisjäännösten luovuttajille ja varsinaisille tutkijoille. *Kansakunnan Lehti* nro 2.
- 1867. Ett lärdt sällskaps instruktion om undersökning af forngravar och grafhögar. — *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* nr 186—188.
- 1872. Suomensukuisten hautakumpuin tutkinnoita Tverin läänissä Venäjällä. — *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti*.
- 1873. Ett fornfolk med långskellig afrikansk hufvudsålstyp i Norden, bestämdt till språk och nationalitet jemte Finsk-ungerska omdömen. Helsingfors.
- 1874. Om forskningar i äkta finska grafhögar i de finska Tshudernas land nära Paksujoki i Tichvinska kretsen. — *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* nr 213.
- Graham-Campbell, James, 1980. *Viking Artefacts. A Select Catalogue*. Scarborough.
- Graham-Campbell, James & Kidd, Dafydd, 1980. *The Vikings*. Norwich.
- Kalima, Jalo, 1927. *Europaeus, David Emanuel Daniel*. — *Kansallinen elämäkerrasto I*. Porvoo.
- Kivikoski, Ella, 1944a. Itä-Karjalan esihistorialliset muistot. — *Muinaista ja vanhaa Itä-Karjalaa. Tutkielmia Itä-Karjalan esihistorian, kulttuurihistorian ja kansankulttuurin alalta. Korrehtuurivedos*.
- 1944b. *Zur Herkunft der Karelier und ihrer Kultur*. — *Acta Archaeologica XV*.
- Klejn, Leo S., 1973. *Soviet Archaeology and the Role of the Vikings in the Early History of the Slavs*. — *Norwegian Archaeological Review Vol. 6 No. 1*.
- Klindt-Jensen, Ole, 1975. *A History of Scandinavian Archaeology*. London.
- Kokkonen, Jyri, 1984. *The Concept of the Finnish Peoples and the early Stages of Archaeology in Finland*. Iskos 4.
- Lebedev, G.S. & Nazarenko, V.A., 1970. *Arheologičeskoe obsledovanie niznego tetšenija r. Paši. Arheologičeskije otkrytija 1969 g.*
- 1973. *The Connections between Russians and Scandinavians in the 9th—11th Centuries*. — *Norwegian Archaeological Review. Vol 6. No. 1*.
- Meinander, C.F., 1973. *Brobackan pyöreä solki*. — *Honos Ella Kivikoski. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja 75*.
- 1979. *Biarmi*. — *Finno-Ugri i Slavjane*. Leningrad.
- Nazarenko, V.A. 1980. *Ob urovne sotsialno-ekonomičeskogo razvitija naselenija jugo-vostočnogo Priladozja IX—X vv.* — *Fenno-Ugri et Slavi 1978*. Helsingin yliopiston arkeologian laitos, moniste n:o 22. Helsinki.
- Niemi, A.R., 1903—1905. *D.E.D. Europaeuksen kirjeitä ja matkakertomuksia*. Julkaisut A.R. Niemi. Helsinki 1903. Sama: — *Suomi IV:3*. 1905.
- Nordman, C.A. 1924. *Karelska järnåldersstudier*. Helsinki. *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja XXXIV:3*.
- 1968. *Archaeology in Finland before 1920*. Helsinki. *The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828—1818*. Vol. 14a.
- Petrenko, V.P. 1984. *Finno-ugorskije elementy v kulture srednevekovoi Ladogi*. — *Novoe v arheologii SSSR i Finljandii*. Leningrad.
- Poklewski, Tadeusz 1961. *Misy brazowe z XI, XII i XIII wieku*. Łódź. *Acta Arhaeologica Universitatis Lodziensis Nr 9*.
- Raudonikas, V.I. 1930. *Die Norrmannen der Wikingerzeit und das Ladogagebiet*. Stockholm. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens handlingar, Del 40:3*.
- Ravdonikas, V.I. 1929. *Die Grabsitten in den "finnischen" Kurganen im südöstlichen Ladogagebiet*. — *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua IV*.
- Salminen, Väinö, 1905—1906. *D.E.D. Europaeus*. Helsinki 1905. Sama: *Suomi IV:4*. 1906.
- Salonen, Helmer, 1929. *Gräberfunde aus dem Ladogagebiet*. — *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua IV*.
- Tallgren A.M., 1916. *Fornsaker från Olonets på Historiska Museet i Helsingfors*. — *Finskt museum*.
- 1928. *Die russischen und asiatischen archäologischen Sammlungen in Nationalmuseum Finnlands*. — *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua III*.
- 1936. *Geschichte der antiquarischen Forschung in Finnland*. — *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua X*.
- Uino, Pirjo, 1986. *Laatokankaupungin vaiheita*. — *Studia praehistorica Fennica C F Meinander septuagenario dedicata*. Iskos 6.
- Weitzman-Fiedler, Josepha 1981. *Romanische gravierte Bronzeschalen*. Würzburg.
- Worsaae, J.J.A., 1854. *Afbildningar fra Det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager i Kjöbenhavn*. Kjöbenhavn.