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Based on the name of the village, it was safe to assume that a large traveller's cross, as they are called, once stood in the peninsula. However, I was unable to find any reference to this.

CONCLUSIONS

Kivijärvi and its neighbouring villages have long formed a peripheral region inhabited by Sámi people and Old Believers. It is the location of age-old routes between the Gulf of Bothnia, the White Sea and Lake Ladoga. Based on old photographs, the building stock of local villages was impressive but short on decorations compared to the famous residential buildings of Luvajärvi and Miinoa and the decorative roofed pillars in the village graveyards. The city of Kostomuksha was built in the immediate vicinity of Kontokki. I was only privy to a few observations of Kontokki's grave, in addition to the information provided by T. N. Klimova, the curator of the Museum of Kostomuksha. The tombstones of the graves in the village graveyard, which is located on a peninsula, may bear a hint of the area's original Sámi population (H. Rytkölä, unpublished notes and picture materials 1992; Kuzmin, 2013).

The Finnish villages, which were part of the Russian cultural heritage and are located in

the municipalities of Kuhmo and Suomussalmi, i.e. Kuivajärvi, Hietajärvi and Rimpä, were heavily influenced by Akonlahti and Vuokinsalmi. Traditionally, the village graveyards were unembellished. The impact of the fading away of the burial hut (gropnitsa) culture, and its lack of influence after the border was closed around 1922, is clear. The dimensions of the pillar-shaped, roofed crosses have changed and there are strong signs of the impact of Finnish influences in general (Rytkölä, 2005, 2009).

My observations cannot form a basis for very firm conclusions. These observations include many general features of northern Russian Karelian village graveyards, but a simplistic, wild and sparse style is characteristic of the Kivijärvi region. Village graveyards have one dominant element: water. Even the village graveyard at the highest location in Tetriniemi has a sight line to the lake. The only place from where the lake cannot be seen is the dusky Ristiniemi graveyard. On the other hand, its mighty spruce can be seen far across the open lake. There, on the northern shore of the lake, a fisherman carved into a pine tree stares at the sun.

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THE LEGENDARY KIITEHENJÄRVI – AS EXPERIENCED BY FINNISH ARTISTS AND SCHOLARS

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Situated within the Kostomuksha Nature Reserve, Lake Kiitehenjärvi has never been part of Finland. Nevertheless, its significance to the Finnish people's culture and understanding of itself is beyond dispute. The villages around Kiitehenjärvi are often mentioned in connection with the origin and contents of the Finnish epic poem, the Kalevala, as well as Kalevala-based art and Karelianism. To educated Finns in the 19th century, Kiitehenjärvi came to represent the Kalevala and the Karelian environment as the landscape of ancient runes, songs and the origin of ancestors. This article examines the construction and the layered structure of the Kiitehenjärvi region's cultural environment, as a travel and research destination for Finnish artists and scholars. The article is based on the notion of the cultural environment organised by interaction between cultural, institutional and individual processes.

Keywords: Kalevala, Karelianism, Kiitehenjärvi, layered structure of cultural environment, construction of a cultural environment.

Х. Лонкила. ЛЕГЕНДАРНОЕ ОЗЕРО КАМЕННОЕ В ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИИ ФИНСКИХ ХУДОЖНИКОВ И УЧЕНЫХ

Расположенное в заповеднике «Костомукшский», озеро Каменное никогда не было частью Финляндии. Тем не менее его значение для культуры и самосознания финского народа бесспорно. В статье рассматриваются состав и многоуровневая структура культурной среды в регионе оз. Каменного как предмета творческого и научного интереса финских художников и исследователей. В основу статьи положены представления о культурной среде, сложившейся в регионе при взаимодействии различных культурных, общественных и личностных отношений.

Ключевые слова: Kalevala, карелизм, озеро Каменное, многоуровневая структура культурной среды, состав культурной среды.

My first contact with Lake Kiitehenjärvi and the surrounding Kostomuksha Nature Reserve took place during a ride in the nature reserve's car on a day in August 2006, first to the village of Akonlahti and, from there, to the north-east shore of the lake to a house that once belonged to the Border Guard Service of Russia. Professor Annika Waernerberg and I had applied for a research permit and collegial help from Director Sergei Tarkhov of the Kostomuksha Nature Reserve, to trace the routes followed by artists during the cultural-historical phase known as the period of Karelianism (1890–1896). Our aim was to follow in the artists' footsteps whenever possible, making observations on the environment where Karelians had collected real-life motifs for their works and artistic endeavours.

For educated Finns, Kiitehenjärvi served as a gateway to Viena Karelia. Here, pedlars from Akonlahti sang to district physician Sakari Topelius in the 1820s. Topelius paved the way for his colleague Elias Lönnrot, who travelled

to Akonlahti in 1832 to experience this rune singers' village first hand. Lönnrot and his contemporaries were followed by Fellows in receipt of scholarships from the Finnish Literature Society and Finnish Antiquarian Society who, inspired by the Kalevala, came to Kiitehenjärvi in search of real-life materials and historical origins of the epic (Kaukonen, 1968: 107, 121 and 1984: 77–122; Siikala, 2002: 78). Expeditions to Kiitehenjärvi also formed a typical component of artists' travels in the 1890s. Yrjö Blomstedt has written:

Soon a most wonderful inland lake landscape, as mysterious as we so many times before had witnessed on the other side of the border, opened up before us. The conscious notion that we were floating on the legendary fishing waters of Kalevala, in an inlet of the clear-watered Lake Kivijärvi, served strongly to intensify our feeling (Blomstedt, Sucksdorff, 1901: 2)

The far-reaching legacy of Lönnrot's travels went beyond the landscape, the Kalevala epic and the Karelian people. His prolific and

suggestive approach provided a model for others on how to conduct expeditions and the various ways of reporting on them. According to Anna-Leena Siikala (2002: 79–81), Lönnrot's first travelogue, *Elias Lönnrothin matkat* I (1902; *Elias Lönnroth's travels I*) already demonstrated his tendency to combine international and Finnish research traditions. Written as diary, his notes include general ethnographic descriptions, personal feelings, snapshots of the progress of his travel, information on people encountered, and observations of natural conditions.

My own travel to Kiitehenjärvi also began in the spirit of Lönnrot. I had previously made several expeditions to Russian Karelia, during which, within the scope of the research interest in question, I observed the lives of local residents and the ways they experienced their living environment. This would now be my first visit to the Kostomuksha Nature Reserve. The importance of this visit was emphasised by the fact that the nature reserve is not open to the public and researchers can only enter the reserve and border zone by special arrangement. This means that researchers need to consider carefully why they are going to explore the terrain. My mind buzzed with questions: what kind of Kalevala world opened up before the eyes of artists at Kiitehenjärvi and what was left of it today? In particular, what would a holistic approach bring to practical field work in an uninhabited region, and to what type of observations would it lead?

KARELIANISM

Yrjö Hirn gave a presentation in Norrköping in 1938 on the Kalevala-themed work of Akseli Gallen-Kallela¹ (1865–1931) and the underlying cultural trend he referred to as the "Karelian Renaissance". This presentation was published under the title *Kalevala-romantiikka ja Akseli Gallen-Kallela sekä muutamat mietteitä karelianismista Suomen sivistyselämässä* (*Kalevala romanticism and Akseli Gallen-Kallela, with a few reflections on Karelianism within Finnish civilisation*) in Hirn's work *Matkamiehiä ja tietäjiä. Tutkielma suomalaisesta sivistyksestä ja Kalevala-romantiikasta* (1939; *Travellers and seers. A*

study on Finnish civilisation and Kalevala romanticism). Hirn's idea of narrowing the scope of Karelianism to include only the art of Gallen-Kallela is significant from the point of view of Kiitehenjärvi. Gallen-Kallela made only two short trips to Russian Karelia, during both of which he headed for Lake Kiitehenjärvi and the village of Miino. Nevertheless, the outcome of his visits resulted as history of art, as they transformed Kalevala illustration and created a new national style of art. Another outcome was a new style period, which Hirn termed Karelianism (Waenerberg, 2007: 206–214).

Hannes Sihvo's studies on Karelianism, including artists' journeys to Kiitehenjärvi and Miino, are considered classics on the subject. In his book *Karjalan löytäjät* (1969; *The discoverers of Karelia*), Sihvo divides enthusiasm for Karelia into two movements: the approach taken by the Fennomans, who promoted nationalism and the position of the Finnish language, and Karelianism i. e. Kalevala-based Romanticism developed on the basis of national Romanticism, rune collecting and Pan-European Neo-Romanticism (Sihvo, 1969: 78). In his doctoral thesis, *Karjalan kuva – Karelianismin taustaa ja vaiheita autonomian aikana* (1973; *The image of Karelia – the background and phases of Karelianism during the period of autonomy*), Sihvo expanded this approach to cover rune collection and expeditions to Karelia. In this connection the term Karelianism evolved two meanings: the creation of a foundation and programmatic stance. The travels in the years of high Karelianism, 1890–1896, are presented as a subplot of the programmatic Karelianism. Travels to Kiitehenjärvi are discussed in the chapter "Taitelijakareliaanit" (Karelianist artists), in which Sihvo examines the Karelianist art manifesto, the inspirational background of Karelianists, their travel experiences and the writing conventions they employed in their travelogues (Sihvo, 1973: 256).

In his book, *Karjalan laulajat* (1968; *The singers of Karelia*), Väinö Kaukonen writes about the significance of Akonlahti and Kiitehenjärvi to the origin of the Kalevala. Kaukonen discusses local rune singers, the collectors who travelled on the lake and the significance of the outcomes of their expeditions. *Kansanrunon Kauko-Karjalaa ja Kalevalan synty* (1984; *Far Karelia in*

¹ Until 1907, the artist's last name was Gallén.

folk poetry and the birth of the Kalevala) includes descriptions of the rune singing villages around Lake Kiitehenjärvi, their residents and the local way of life, combining materials recorded by Kaukonen himself during the war with materials recorded by Karelianists. Kaukonen writes about travels on the lake by Karelianist artists, the people they encountered and the variety of information they recorded. He emphasises the scientific and artistic value of the materials collected by artists Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Louis Sparre (1863–1964), Emil Wikström (1866–1952), Yrjö Blomstedt (1871–1912), Victor Sucksdorff (1866–1952) and Into Konrad Inha (1865–1930). "[...] the drawings and coloured works represent a unique and rich collection of picture materials of irreplaceable scholarly and artistic value, another such one does not exist and it can never be repeated, since the *Far Karelia of the 19th century belongs to the past and substantially differs from the present*" (Kaukonen 1984: 100). To these unique collections of picture materials, I would add the wealth of written notes, photographs and objects donated by the Karelianists to Finnish collections.

Annika Waenerberg's article *Karelianismi kuvataiteessa – katoavasta luonnonvarasta ikiliikkujaksi* (2007; *Karelianism in the fine arts – from a vanishing natural resource to perpetual motion*) was written while the memories of our expedition to Kiitehenjärvi were still fresh. The article describes the concept of Karelianism and its development from an art movement into a scholarly approach and mind-set. Referring to Onni Okkonen, Waenerberg seeks to understand the meaning of field expeditions for artists considered to represent Karelianism. Of course, artists had been embarking on expeditions before the emergence of European Realism and Neo-Romantic Karelianism. Waenerberg notes that in the 1890s, such expeditions to Russian Karelia no longer were concerned as mere journeys aiming at collecting material. Instead, they were "expeditions for hunting material reality, vital to the imagination of artists educated in realism" (Okkonen, 1961: 188; Waenerberg, 2007: 206). Both Okkonen and Waenerberg make a clear distinction here. Mere collection of material could focus on foreign countries,

nature or the countryside, as well as literature or art collections, and their outcomes could be exploited in art works of varying styles. In contrast, expeditions focusing on realism were indistinguishable from artistic activity itself; they were "manifestations of realism, its essential prerequisite" (cf. Okkonen, 1961: 188–189; Waenerberg, 2007: 206). Parisian realism was therefore not just a source of inspiration underlying artists' journeys to Kiitehenjärvi; the artists themselves were actually implementing this realism through their expeditions to what is now the Kostomuksha Nature Reserve (cf. Nieminen, 2000: 106; Waenerberg, 2007: 206).

MOODS OF NATURE AND LIVING PEOPLE

An article published in *Päivälehti* newspaper on 1 October 1890 and titled *Karjala ja sen taiteellinen merkitys* (*Karelia and its artistic significance*) is regarded as the art manifesto of Karelianism (Sihvo, 1969: 82). Extensively quoted in Finnish discussions of the topic, it was in fact published after the first set of journeys to Kiitehenjärvi made by Axel Gallén and Louis Sparre. In a way, it publicly announced a wish that had already been fulfilled. The article also illuminates what these realism-based expeditions meant in public discussion of the issue.

What a triumph a work of art would be if based on a subject originating there where Kalevala was sung, in the homeland of a people that has preserved the Karelian character lost or corrupted elsewhere, and how the numerous subtle nuances of our ancient runes cleared up for us, with the keen eye of an artist presenting the environment in which rune singers have lived and from which they have surely drawn great inspiration! [...] We would need flesh and bones, light and shadows, we long to see the so-called moods of nature and living people. In short: the artistic side of Karelia is that which we crave to know. (Anonymous, 1890).

During their honeymoon in the summer of 1890, Axel Gallén and Mary Siöör (1868–1947) did some work in the cottage of Lapinsalmi in Kuhmoniemi. Louis Sparre's interest for Finland and Karelia had been aroused in the art circles of Paris and through

his friendship with Gallén. He too travelled to Lapinsalmi, from where the two artist friends made two trips across the border to Kiitehenjärvi. During the first expedition, they visited at least Sappovaara and Miinoa, south of Lake Kiitehenjärvi, while the second journey, for which they were joined by Mary Siöör, included visits to Akonlahti and Miinoa (Sparre, 1930: 15; Mannerheim-Sparre, 1951: 69–74; cf. Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, 2002: 127–135).

In the summer of 1892, Sparre returned to Russian Karelia with another fellow artist from Paris, sculptor Emil Wikström. Their journey began from Akonlahti, the home village of Karelians encountered earlier by Sparre. Other travel destinations included Munankilahti, Härköniemi, Sappovaara and Miinoa. Sparre's travel book *Kalevalan kansaa katsomassa* (1930; *Visiting people of Kalevala*) is an account of this journey. His third travel companion was his wife, the artist and arts and crafts teacher Eva Mannerheim-Sparre (1870–1957). The couple's honeymoon in the summer of 1893 and a "winter camp" from February 1894 onwards were spent on expeditions to Kajaani, Sotkamo, Kiitehenjärvi and Miinoa. These journeys are described in the memoirs of Eva Mannerheim-Sparre, *Taitelijaelämä* (1951; *An artist's life*).

The Gallén and Sparre couples, as well as Sparre together with Wikström, travelled around Karelia doing investigations and collecting real-life materials. They made drawings, paintings and notes and collected objects and textiles in preparation for their future artistic endeavours. The drawings, sketches and works of art created on the basis of these travels now form part of various public and private collections. For example, objects collected by Gallén are on display at the Gallen-Kallela Museum in Espoo and the Kalela, Gallen-Kallela's home and studio in Ruovesi. Inspired by the 100th anniversary of the Kalevala (1935), Sparre donated the manuscript of his travel book to the Kalevala Society in Helsinki and his collection of Karelian objects to Kainuu Museum in Kajaani². The materials collected in Karelia by

Emil Wikström were destroyed in a fire at his art studio in Visavuori in 1896.

In 1894, architect student Yrjö Blomstedt and his architect friend Victor Sucksdorff embarked on a journey to Russian Karelia, with the intention of collecting materials for a plate collection, building style motifs and ornamental patterns. The two architects began their expedition from Akonlahti, from where they proceeded first to Sappovaara and then to Miinoa via Härköniemi. Blomstedt and Sucksdorff donated the results – photographs, drawings and objects – to the funder of their expedition, the Finnish Antiquarian Society, while the "runes and incantations" were given to the collections of the Finnish Literature Society. Other materials from the travel are housed at the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä and the Museum of Finnish Architecture³.

This collection expedition was documented by Blomstedt in *Karjalaisia rakennuksia ja koristemuotoja* (1900 and 1901; *Karelian buildings and ornaments*). The first volume of this work, a plate collection, was published in 1900 and comprised plates with various drawings and photographs of Russian Karelia. Texts published in the second volume during the following year included a preface, an introduction and a research section. The preface explained the premises of the expedition. The introduction combined the ideological background to the project, comprising Kalevala-based and Karelia-related Romanticism, and the scholarly and national principles of the research approach. The third section of the publication gave a description of the travel route through Russian Karelia, adapted to a form of a travel journal, as well as an ethnographic analysis based on previous research and the verses of Kalevala and *Kanteletar*.

Blomstedt and Sucksdorff made use of the results of their expedition during their careers as architects and designers, and in their discussion in journalson Finnish architecture. The first and second volume of *Karelian buildings and ornaments*, a classic work on the

² The Collections of the Museum of Kainuu, <http://www.kajaani.fi/kainuunmuseo/>; the collections of the Gallen-Kallela Museum; the private collections of Aivi Gallen-Kallela; Lonkila, 2011: 24–31.

³ The National Museum of Finland; Objects and picture collections by Blomstedt and Sucksdorff; <http://suomenmuseonline.fi/fi/kokoelmat>; the Finnish Literature Society; the Folklore Archives; the Museum of Finnish Architecture.

history of Karelianism and Finnish architecture, serves as a reference work even today. This publication was later characterised as the Kalevala of architecture and a classic in the Finnish art industry.

On their expedition to Karelia in 1894, funded by the Finnish Literature Society, photographer Into Konrad Inha and philologist Kusti Karjalainen briefly visited Miinoa, the Sappovaara canal and Akonlahti. According to Hannes Sihvo and Pekka Laaksonen (1999) this expedition by Inha and Karjalainen is one of the key journeys made during the height of Karelianism. The photographs taken on this five-month expedition were soon disseminated for use as illustrations in literature on Karelia. Objects collected by Inha and Karjalainen are included in the collections of the National Museum of Finland⁴. In 1896, Inha published an article titled *Laukkumiesten kotimaa* (*The Pedlars' homeland*). A comprehensive travelogue and description of Viena Karelian culture, *Kalevalan laulumailla* (*In the song lands of Kalevala*) was published in 1911. Similarly to Blomstedt, Inha wanted to publish more than a picture book and personal travelogue, using research literature and the publications of those who had visited Karelia before him to support his observations.



Fig. 1. Annika Waenerberg on the beach at Neiti-saari. Photo: Helena Lonkila

The travel routes and objects of interest to artist-scholars were linked to Kiitehenjärvi in a number of ways. To a certain extent, their

contemporaries used the same routes. They became enchanted by the lake and scenery, were impressed by the local people, and studied the same themes, some of which had been partly conventionalised during the course of the 19th century. In general, the artists shared an interest in magical and rough areas of wilderness, theaffectation for the lives of inhabitants of the backwoods, and a common concern about the depletion of the material environment⁵. Brief expeditions had long-term impacts. Moods, images and ideas collected from the Kiitehenjärvi region continued to evolve in new works of art long after obvious motifs and identifiable details had been discarded (Okkonen, 1961: 209–210; Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, 2005: 127–135; Waenerberg, 2007: 214–216).

EDITED FRAGMENTS FROM THE DIARIES OF SUMMER 2006

Acquaintance with the real-life materials described here formed the prelude to Annika Waenerberg's and my departure for Kiitehenjärvi and Miinoa. We took research literature and travelogues with us, as well as copies of photographs, paintings and drawings stored in museum collections. Intentionally imitating the approach taken by Lönnrot and the artists, we did exactly as the Karelians had done around a hundred years earlier. If only in their minds, they brought along the Kalevala compiled by Lönnrot. In practice, we sought out a relevant location in the landscape of each village. Once in position, we read aloud the travelogues and notes and examined the pictures and surrounding landscape. We also took photographs and engaged in some writing. Annika completed some watercolour paintings.

When roaming the wilderness, the artists of the 1890s were often assisted by local guides. Renne Haverinen, from Lentua in Kuhmoniemi, was the guide used by Gallén, Sparre, Wikström, Blomstedt and Sucksdorff during their travels on and around Lake Kiitehenjärvi (see Lonkila, 2010: 68–77).

⁵ Waenerberg, A. 2006. Presentation: Louis Sparren tie Suomeen: sadunomaista erämaista kulttuuriperinnön suojeluun. Kuusamo. 25 August 2006.

⁴ The National Museum of Finland; I.K. Inha's picture and object collections; <http://suomenmuseonline.fi/en>.

Our expedition was guided by Boris, Nikolai and Sergei. Like Renne with the Karelians, Nikolai took very good care of us over a period of several days. He seldom stayed more than 2 m from us. This was even true at night, when we could hear his steady breathing through the board walls from the apartment next door. Nikolai's local knowledge was invaluable to us: after a brief search, we found the villages and foundations we were looking for. We made carefully planned day trips, travelling in all directions, and returned safely to our accommodation in the evening.



Fig. 2. *Parnassia palustris*, Marsh Grass-of-Parnassus. Photo: Annika Waenerberg

One morning, a surprise awaited us at Lake Kiitehenjärvi. Planning to spend a long day engaged in field research in Munankilahti, Ristiniemi and Härköniemi, we had set out early. As soon as we headed out onto the lake, a dense and dark fog enveloped us. The fog was so dense that the features of Nikolai, who was sitting at the rear of the boat, kept disappearing from sight, even though our vessel, an aluminium boat that reminded me of Sputnik, could not be considered long. After we had continued our journey through the fog for a while, Nikolai announced that we were going around in circles and that it was pointless to carry on. He suggested that we go to Neitisaari Island to eat our packed lunches, since the fog would take hours to clear. As we sat on the island, I remembered the stories of the marauding robbers, called *ruotsit* (in Finnish, referring to "the Swedes"), who were trapped in a thick fog on the

island. Resembling the conditions of the 1890s, the view over the lake was filled with mythic beauty, with rapid changes from moment to moment. The fog veiled details and enhanced colours, sharpening my eyesight and focusing my mind on the mesmeric effect of the air and water and how people react to them.

Our expedition led us to the locations of villages visited by the Karelians, and to views from villages and hilltops where we allowed our eyes to wander over waters, trees and moist fields on descending slopes. Although covered with a thick and high layer of raspberry bushes, these features of the landscape were clearly recognisable as fields. We visited the village graveyard in Munankilahti, where some *gropnitsas* (Rytkölä's article in this publication; also Rytkölä, 2009: 196) remained intact. While at the graveyard, we hung some winding-cloths. In Miinoa, where to Sergei Tarkhov drove us, we discovered the presumable location of an archaic church. This church, which had remained unchanged for hundreds of years, was now lost. On its steps, a rune singer once posed for Gallén (Okkonen, 1961: 207). This was a scene recorded by Sparre in more than one of his classic works. This church was extensively photographed by Blomstedt, who recorded its ground plan in detail. The entire group of Karelians, including Gallén, Sparre, Wikström, Blomstedt, Sucksdorff and Inha, visited this church during their travels.

For a researcher in search of a field work method as well as the foundation and justification for arguments, the key issue consisted of becoming sensitive to a range of observations: perceiving Kiitehenjärvi, as it was seen and experienced through the combined impression of works of art and the landscape. One of the striking experiences was our observation of how the bay near Akonlahti is curved in a very similar way to the cove in Akseli Gallén-Kallela's painting *Purren valitus* (1907; *The boat's lament*). We were also confused by the order and colour of the rocks on the beach and by Annika's discovery: a small white *Parnassia palustris*, Marsh Grass-of-Parnassus. These tiny plants reminded us of the shoreline rocks and flowers that feature in Gallén-Kallela's painting

Lemmikäisen äiti (1897; *The mother of Lemminkäinen*).

I no longer recall which "painting" I was referring to when we stood on the other side of the headland, admiring the 'well-ordered' shoreline rocks. There, the rocks are similar in size and neatly side by side, unlike other beaches where they are varied in colour and shape and overlap each other to a greater degree.

We begin by talking about Jämefelt, then Gallén-Kallela, and possibly realism and symbolism until, all of a sudden, Helena realises that the rocks resemble those in "The mother of Lemminkäinen". That's right!!! There it is: the regularity of the rocks, the thickness and the darkness of the outlines, even though the rocks are light in colour. This makes us startle; this really is the pattern. Next moment I continue, after realising that the white flower I saw on the bank in Tulliniemi was the same as in "The mother of Lemminkäinen" (Notes by Annika Waenerberg, Kiitehenjärvi, 2006).

THE CROSSING POINT BETWEEN THE TEXTUAL AND THE REAL

Antti Tenetz has studied the Paanajärvi National Park (from 2012 onwards) by taking photographs and locating his routes and digital coordinates on a digital map. His idea is to locate on the map the photographer's and artist's reflections on his own self and his observations of different places. Tenetz refers to his method as moving on the surface and constructing of life lines and routes. He also refers to the way in which these GPS-recorded routes form a picture of his personal network and knowledge⁶. After familiarising myself with the reflections of Tenetz during our mutual expeditions to Paanajärvi National Park, and during writing this article, I have come to understand how accurately this method, and the comprehension it enables, describes the way in which we viewed Kiitehenjärvi in practice.

During my travels in Kiitehenjärvi, and based on studying the maps and routes of the travellers who preceded me, the linearity of movement, moving on the surface, seemed to

be essential. Through this method, the artists' travels became textualised in the terrain, forming an imaginary and real net in the surroundings of Lake Kiitehenjärvi. This net was supplemented by threads of texts and pictures brought along for the expedition. In these nets, common subjects, themes and moods shared by various travellers can be identified.

Our field work at Kiitehenjärvi prompted considerations of the relationship between the textual and the experiential, by which I mean the social construction as well as experiential and individual interpretation of a cultural environment. On Lake Kiitehenjärvi, the relationship between humans and nature or, in this case, the personal experience of humans as part of nature and its cycle, evoked a strong sense of self-identification with the place and the people.

The artefacts we had brought with us, the written texts and the visual materials of artists and photographers, clearly promoted and advanced this process of identification. On this occasion, however – otherwise than I had anticipated – our mimetic approach did not function as a means of distancing and absence. On the contrary, it created a feeling of presence induced by the intimate connection with nature.

During the expedition, pondering upon what it was I was identifying with, I felt in contact with the same environment as the artists of the 1890s and their subjects. Based on my awareness of the status of nature and the environment and my knowledge of history, I engaged in a more in-depth analysis of the situation. In the 1890s, the villages were inhabited. With the desertion of the villages in the Kiitehenjärvi region in the 1950s, and the recent reduction of physical surveillance and other activities in the area by the frontier guard detachment, a certain "integrity" and sense of wilderness had emerged within the region's natural setting over a period of seven decades. The interesting aspect of this is that, due to my closeness to nature, I realised this was all a product of my imagination. I felt a connection with the wild natural environment which the artists of the 1890s imagined to be a setting for the way of life of the Kalevala and Karelia and for people living in harmony with nature.

⁶ Tenetz, Antti. Presentation: Pitkin maisemaa, metsänpeltiossa Paanajärvellä. Kuusamo, 12 November 2013; Pääjärvi, 8 February 2014.

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