Kolari marketplace in a multicultural landscape between Sámi, Swedes and Finns

Tiina Äikäs, Oula Seitsonen & Anna-Kaisa Salmi

The marketplace in Kolari, Northern Finland was used until the 1880s. Located on Kolarinsaari island on the Muonionjoki river in close proximity to the Kolari church, it was a winter meeting place for local farmers and Sámi, as well as for tradesmen from the areas that are now Sweden, Finland, and Karelia. Archaeological excavations were carried out in summer 2018 and in connection to these, soil geochemical values were analysed. This paper focuses on the Kolari marketplace as a part of a landscape shared by Swedes, Finns, and Sámi. Furthermore, through the soil analyses we examine the intercultural interactions that took place during the winter market and scrutinize how different activities, people, and animals were located in the marketplace as well as in the wider landscape surrounding the marketplace. The latter is approached using GIS analysis and Tim Ingold's concept of taskscape. This case study shows how the historical archaeology of landscapes and taskscapes can contribute to our understanding of contacts and multicultural encounters between the Sámi and other groups.

Introduction

When visiting a town centre at the time of the International Grand Markets, a yearly event organized by TMK, Tori- ja markkinakaupan palvelukeskus Oy (the service centre for market trade), one comes across traders from tens of different countries and various familiar and strange products, sounds, colours, smells, and activities. The market offer an opportunity to make a food journey to different countries and have multicultural encounters.

Similarly, medieval and historical marketplaces were not only venues for commercial activities but multicultural meeting places for various social interactions including commodity production, administrative activities, merriment, and religious practices (Bergling 1964, pp. 359–369; Satokangas 1997, p. 207; Ylimaunu 2007, pp. 27–28; Ylimaunu et al. 2017). Marketplaces can be described

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as multicultural centres that attracted traders from all over the Nordic region and connected the North with European economic networks (Ylimaunu et al. 2017; Nordin 2020, p. 117). By focusing on both an intra-site analysis of the marketplace as well as the wider landscape surrounding it, we scrutinize the multicultural encounters that took place within and around the marketplace.

The marketplace in Kolari is studied in the context of its landscape, utilized for different daily actions. This "taskscape" using Tim Ingold's (1993) term, consists of interrelated schemes of tasks and their temporalities. In a taskscape, the landscape is created out of everyday activities. The tasks carried out by different actors, both human and non-human, are entangled and create a socially constructed sphere formed of these activities. (Ingold 1993, p. 158; Ingold 1997, pp. 29–30; Magga 2007; Mazzullo & Ingold 2008, p. 3.) The tasks are interrelated and interlocked with one another and with other aspects of life (Logan & Cruz 2014, pp. 205–206). According to Julian Thomas (2017, p. 269) "tasks should be seen as meaningful interventions that have a decisive role in the formation of a world composed not merely of material entities but also of significance. These tasks are not carried out in isolation: people (and other beings) are mutually attentive, and monitor each other's doings". Taskscapes draw our attention to who is performing a task and how are the different tasks of different actors intertwined (e.g. Logan & Cruz 2014). Hence historical archaeology of taskscapes can contribute to our understanding of contacts and multicultural encounters in a lived landscape.

We approach the site on two different spatial levels, from an intra-site and inter-site perspective. The intercultural interactions that took place at the marketplace are examined using soil geochemical analyses. Soils and their materialities can act as archives of past human activity and offer one proxy to assess the taskscapes and their spatialities (e.g. Äikäs 2015; Jerand et al. 2016). The differing geochemical properties of soils at sites can be used, for instance, to infer areas used for corralling animals or depositing waste (e.g. Jerand & Linderholm 2019; Karlsson 2006). While soil analyses reveal the use of space within a marketplace, spatial analyses of archaeological sites in the wider landscape contribute to our understanding on how the tasks at the marketplace were tied to activities performed in its surroundings. People did not only participate in tasks at marketplaces but the marketplaces themselves were tied into a landscape-wide meshwork (Ingold 2017) of sites for different tasks. We scrutinize the interconnectedness of the various chores carried out at and related to the Kolari marketplace and the interactions of the agent's performing those tasks.

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History of Kolari marketplace

Kolari market was one of the last seasonal Lapland markets to exist (Paulaharju 1923, p. 84). The history of marketplaces in Lapland extends to the Medieval period when these functioned as meeting points for trade. In the 17th century, the Swedish crown started to build a more governed environment for trading, establishing towns and marketplaces where all trade activities were supposed to happen (Hansen 1984; Lundholm 1991, pp. 337–344; Halinen 1992, p. 46; Wallerström 2017, pp. 184–208). In Lapland, official crown-controlled marketplaces were established, for instance, in Lycksele, Jokkmokk, Arvidsjaur, Jukkasjärvi, Markkina, and Sodankylä (Virrankoski 1973, pp. 448–449; Lundholm 1991, pp. 300–301; Rydström 2009, pp. 4–5). In addition to trade, the marketplaces served various other social functions, and there was usually a church in connection with the marketplace (Bergling 1964, pp. 359–369; Ylimaunu et al. 2017).

The marketplace in Kolari was founded at the latest at the beginning of the 19th century when Finland became a part of the Russian Empire in 1809 and the previous local marketplace in Kengis (SáN. Geavŋŋis; Fi. Köngänen), situated about 20 kilometres southwest, was left on the Swedish side of the new border (Paulaharju 1932, p. 84; Jaako 1994, pp. 11–15). In 1819, a chapel was erected and a burial ground established at the Kolari site (Jaako 1994, pp. 11–15). According to local tradition, the church was established at the place of an old Sámi gieddi (seasonal habitation site) at Porokodan Mella on the Kolarinsaari island, situated in the middle of the Muonionjoki river next to Kolari Village (Fig. 1A), and there had been market-like activities at the site "since time immemorial" (Jaako 1994, pp. 11–15; Paulaharju 1923, p. 84). Similarly, other marketplaces in northern Scandinavia are said to have been established at Sámi seasonal gathering places (Hansen 1984, p. 64).

Kolari Village (Kålare kÿlas) is first found on a map in 1643, in the wonderfully detailed atlas of Tornio Lapland (Torne Lappmark) drawn by Swedish cartographer Olof Tresk (?–1645) (Fig. 1B: G). Mapping work had been commissioned by King Carl IX of Sweden in 1603, as part of the Swedish State's attempts to get the North and its newly discovered natural resources, such as precious mineral deposits, under its control (e.g. Ojala & Nordin 2015; Nordin & Ojala 2017). Owing to this, the map was kept secret for a long time by the Swedish Crown, and it was over a century later that Kolari appeared on a publicly available map prepared in 1781 by Danish soldier and cartographer Christian Jochum Pontoppidan (1739–1807). Tresk's maps were based on his extensive personal expeditions to Lapland in the period 1635–1643 (Tresk 1928), and re-

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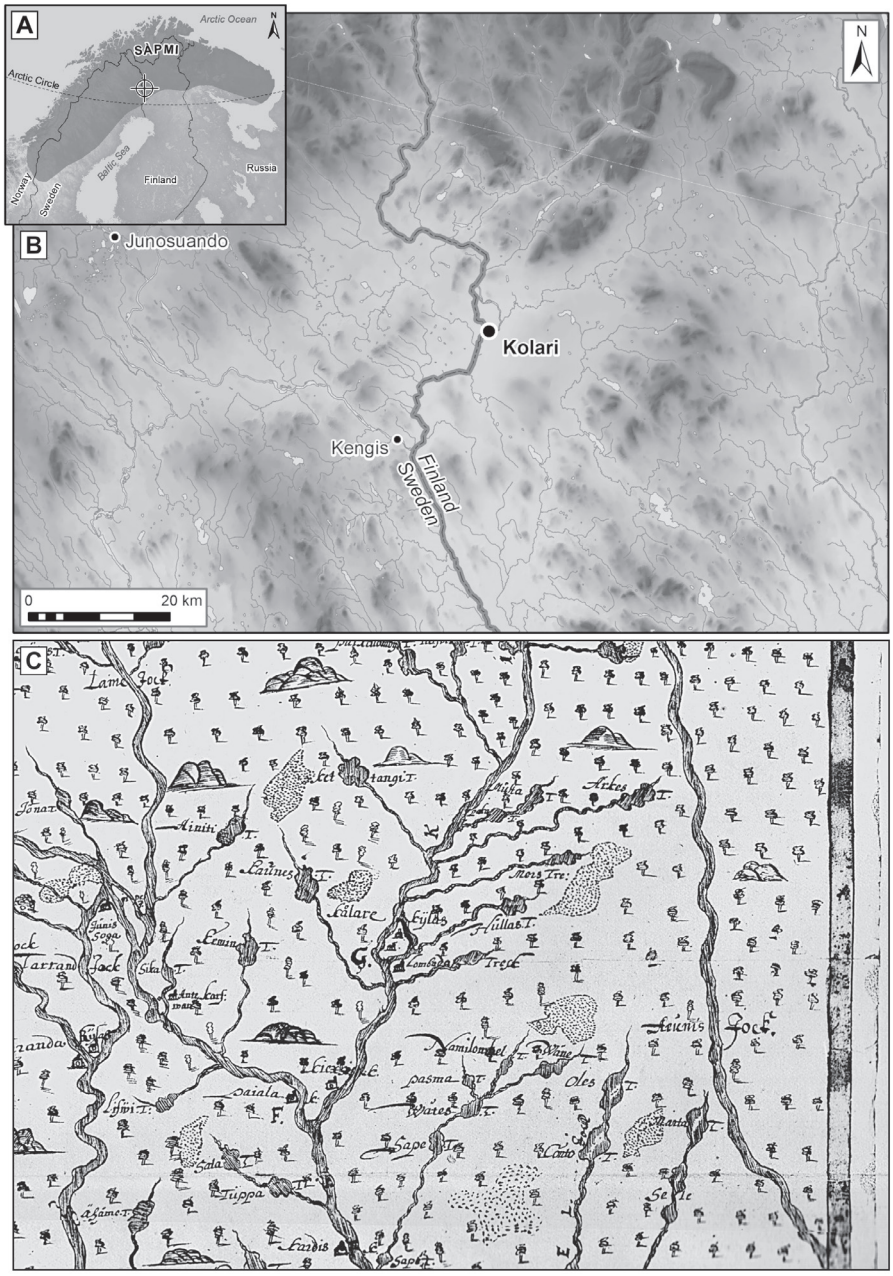


Figure 1. A–B. Location of the Kolari marketplace, Kengis marketplace, and Junosuando mines in Sápmi (background DAT-193-en, Copernicus Land Monitoring Service - EU-DEM). C. An excerpt of Olof Tresk's map of Tornio Lapland, Kolarinsaari island marked in the middle with G (Kålare kylas), notice the houses drawn on the island, Kengis marked with F (Paiala), and Junosuando as Júnis Soga (after Tresk 1928).

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lated to the Kolarinsaari island he writes only that red ochre deposits are found along its eastern shore but mentions nothing of a marketplace. Then again, Tresk (1928, p. 36) describes that in the early-1600s the Markkina Church (Tenotäckes Kyrkia, on his map) further north in Enontekiö served as a marketplace (see Halinen 2007; Harlin et al. 2019) where Sámi from different directions met the "Birkarl" traders from Tornio (Bärgkarlarne ifrånn Tårnö), and that earlier the market site had been situated by Rounala Church (Ronela Kyrkia) even further north (e.g. Seitsonen & Viljanmaa 2021). Thus, Tresk's documentation suggests the mid-1600s as a terminus post quem for the establishment of a marketplace on Kolarinsaari island, and it was in use at the latest by the early 19th century. The marketplace fell out of use in the 1880s when the seasonal central market in Rovaniemi was founded to replace all the local Lapland markets (Paulaharju 1923, p. 84).

Kolari market was held yearly in mid-December and was a meeting point for the tradesmen of Tornio from the south, Karelian traders from the east, the indigenous Sámi from the surrounding areas, and the local, mostly Finnish, agricultural population (Paulaharju 1923, p. 73). In addition to trade, the market had other important social functions such as going to church, maintaining and establishing social contacts, and generally having a good time (Paulaharju 1923). Today, the Kolari old church is a nationally recognised important cultural heritage site, and people still visit it and the cemetery next to it.

Archaeological excavations at the Kolari marketplace

Archaeological excavations were conducted at the marketplace in August 2018. The description of the excavations and the archaeological results here follows Salmi et al. (2019). The purpose of the excavations was to estimate the exact location of the marketplace and the degree of survival of the cultural layers related to it as well as to shed light on the encounters and contacts people had at the market. In the local opinion, the marketplace was located quite close to the church and the shore of the Muonionjoki river, but an old map superimposed on the modern Kolarinsaari map and our excavations confirmed that the marketplace was located north of the church and that is was partially destroyed by the enlargement of the cemetery there in the 1930s (Fig. 2B). Nowadays there are only some shallow pits and mounds visible in the otherwise empty and flat pine forest (Fig. 3).

The results of the excavation reflected the seasonal use of the place and the demolishing and reusing of the building materials after the marketplace fell out of use. There were relatively few finds and the clearest indications of buildings were tim-

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Figure 2. A. Kolari marketplace highlighted with a red outline on a historical map from 1845, superimposed on the modern topographic map (National Archives of Finland, National Land Survey Historical Map Archives, Kolari 2713 08+11 Ia, Topographic map, National Land Survey). B. Excavated trenches and test pits (Mapping: Ville Hakamäki & Emilia Jääskeläinen).



Figure 3. Archaeologists mapping the excavation area, from left Ville Hakamäki and Anna-Kaisa Salmi. Kolari Church in the background (Photo: Tiina Äikäs 2018).

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ber remains and piles of stone and mortar that were probably the remains of demolished fireplaces. At least three of the demolished fireplaces seemed to form a row (Fig. 2A: trenches 1–2, test pit 8). There were also fragments of window glass. The observations suggest that small market cottages stood in a north-south running row along the eastern edge of the site. Based on the excavations, these likely resembled a renovated market cottage preserved at the neighbouring Kengis marketplace in Sweden (Salmi et al. 2019). The cottage has glass windows, two small rooms, and an open fireplace.

The find material was scarce and supports dating of the site mostly to the 19th century (Table 1). There were items related to the sale and consumption of drinks, for instance, a piece of glass from a bottle and the bottom of a creamware teacup. In addition, there were clothing- and accessory-related items, such as pins, glass beads, and some brass buttons. One of the buttons was gilded and two others were typical folk dress buttons used from the 17th to 19th centuries in men's trousers and vests, for instance. The other finds included clay pipe fragments, lead fragments, and an axe blade that was possibly intentionally left as a foundation deposit below one of the fireplaces. The only datable clay pipe bowl is Swedish-made and dates to the latter half of the 18th century (Åkerhagen 2004), although it might have stayed in use for decades, if not longer (Huggert 2008; Nurmi 2011, pp. 98–108).

Animal bone finds were the largest find group (Table 2). Most mammal bones belonged to reindeer (Rangifer tarandus). It is impossible to morphologically determine whether the reindeer bones belong to wild or domesticated reindeer. The age profile was dominated by adult individuals suggests that the bones originate from herded reindeer (Salmi et al. 2019).

Bird species identified in the assemblage were red-throated loon *(Gavia stellata)*, wood grouse *(Tetrao urogallus)*, black grouse *(Lyrurys tetrix)*, and willow ptarmigan *(Lagopus lagopus)*. The fish bone as-

	Trench 1	Trench 2	Test pit 2	Test pit 4	Test pit 7	Total
Buttons, beads, and needles	1	4			1	6
Coin		1				1
Axe blade		1				1
Fire striker			1			1
Metal object fragments	7	1				8
Porcelain	15	4			10	29
Clay pipe	2	3				5
Glass	44	24	3	33	10	114
Flint	6	9			4	19
Slag			1			1

Table 1. Finds from the different excavation areas at Kolari marketplace. Animal bone finds are presented in Table 2.

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Common name	Scientific name	NISP	MNI	% NISP	% MNI
Reindeer	*Rangifer tarandus*	23	2	3,2	8,3
Sheep	*Ovis aries*	2	1	0,3	4,2
Sheep/goat	*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*	6	1	0,8	4,2
Ungulate	*Ungulata*	40		5,6	
Mammal	*Mammalia*	82		11,4	
Wood grouse	*Tetrao urogallus*	1	1	0,1	4,2
Black grouse	*Lyrurus tetrix*	1	1	0,1	4,2
Willow ptarmigan	*Lagopus lagopus*	7	1	1	4,2
Red-throated loon	*Gavia stellata*	1	1	0,1	4,2
Bird	*Aves*	2		0,3	
Fish	*Pisces*	60		8,4	
Bony fish	*Telostei*	196		27,3	
Codfish	*Gadidae*	75		10,5	
Salmonid fish	*Salmonidae*	5		0,7	
Whitefish	*Coregonus lavaretus complex*	98	4	13,7	16,7
Salmon	*Salmo salar*	4	2	0,6	8,3
Perch	*Perca fluviatilis*	16	1	2,2	4,2
Pike	*Esox lucius*	32	2	4,5	8,3
Saithe	*Pollachius virens*	38	3	5,3	12,5
Cod	*Gadus morhua*	23	2	3,2	8,3
Haddock	*Melanogrammus aeglefinus*	4	1	0,6	4,2
Cusk	*Brosme brosme*	1	1	0,1	4,2
Total		**717**	**24**	**100**	**100**

Table 2. Bone finds from Kolari marketplace by Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) and Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI).

semblage included both freshwater and marine species. The freshwater fish, whitefish *(Coregonus lavaretus)*, perch *(Perca fluviatilis)*, pike *(Esox lucius)*, and salmon *(Salmo salar)* may have been caught locally from nearby lakes and the Muonionjoki river, where the salmon spawn. Both cranial and postcranial bones of freshwater fish and salmon were present in the assemblage. The bones of the marine fishes, cod *(Gadus morhua)*, saithe *(Pollachius virens)*, haddock *(Melanogrammus aeglefinus)*, and cusk *(Brosme brosme)* were probably brought to the site dried, in the form of stockfish. This seems evident as all the bones of these species were postcranial bones, and it is usual to remove the heads in the preparation of stockfish (Orton et al. 2014).

Intrasite spatiality of the marketplace

Excavations suggest that those market cottages that were not left under the graveyard extension might have stood along the eastern edge of the studied area, based on the distribution of the remains of dismantled log frames, fireplaces, and window glass fragments. Besides the excavations, the intrasite organisation was approached with geochemical

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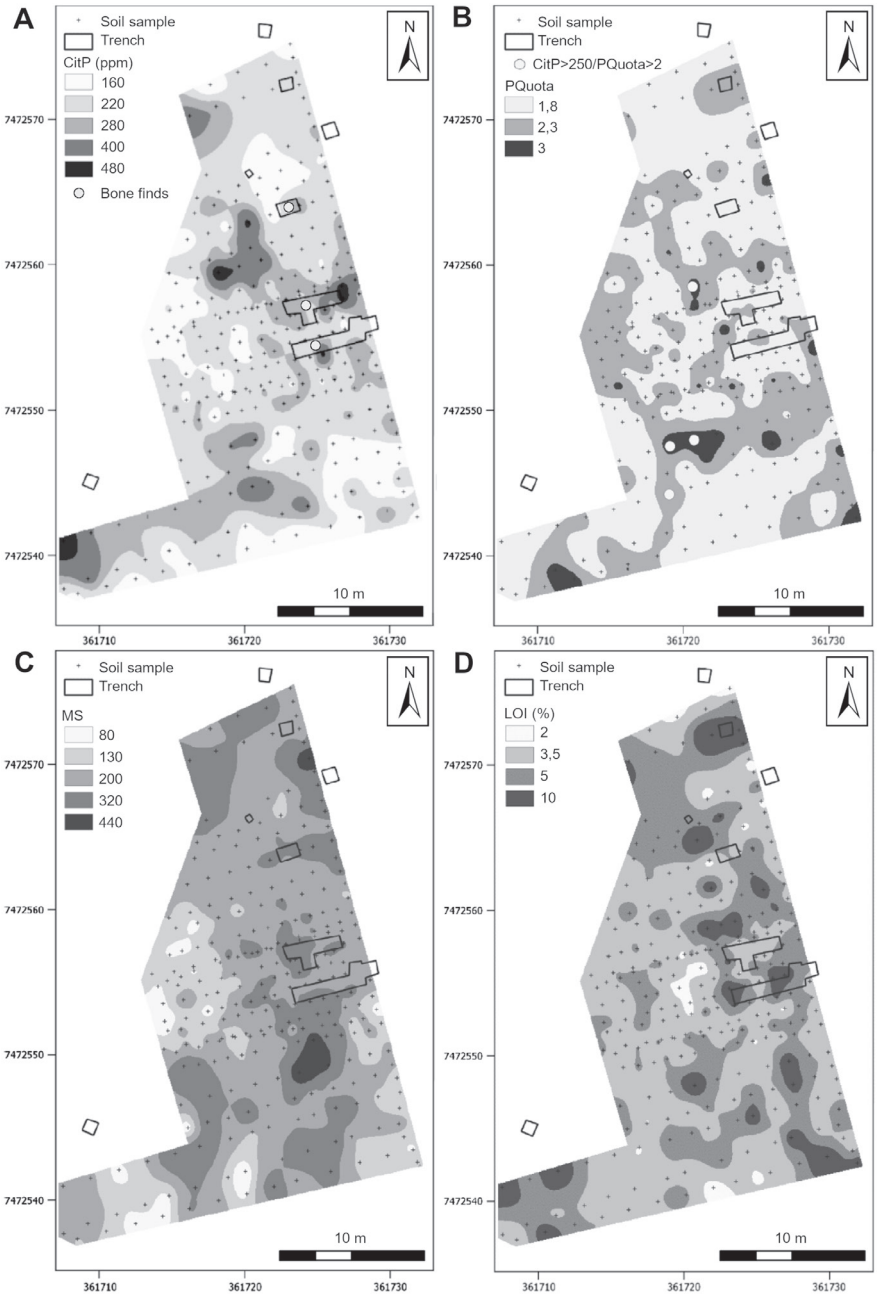


Figure 4. Interpolation of the measured geochemical values: A. Inorganic phosphate (CitP), the excavation areas with bone finds highlighted. B. Relation between organic and inorganic fractions of phosphate (PQuota), with the locations with CitP>250 and PQuota>2 highlighted. C. Magnetic susceptibility (MS). D. Soil organic matter (LOI) (based on Eriksson 2019).

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analyses of soil samples collected across the site. Samples were collected at about 2.5 metre intervals in the central part of the sites and about 5 m apart on the edges (Fig. 4). The inorganic phosphate (CitP), the relation between the organic and inorganic fractions of phosphate (PQuota), the magnetic susceptibility (MS), and the organic matter content determined by loss on ignition (LOI) were studied from the samples (Eriksson 2019). The spatial distributions of the differing geochemical values are presented in Figure 4.

The combined distributions of the analysed soil phosphates (CitP and PQuota) indicate two potential areas at the marketplace that could have been used for handling animals, likely draft reindeer or horses (Fig. 4A–B; Eriksson 2019; see Jerand & Linderholm 2019; Jerand et al. 2016). These are situated about 10 metres apart in the southern and central portions of the site immediately west of the studied market cottage foundations, with CitP exceeding 250 ppm and PQuota values over 2 (Fig. 4B). The spatial distribution of high soil MS values is almost mutually exclusive with the high phosphate and LOI readings. The higher MS values likely relate to heat impact on soils and might indicate fireplaces situated east and south of the peak phosphate readings (Fig. 4C). The higher amounts of organic matter are found in patches mostly along the eastern edge of the mapped area, where the dismantled market cottages originally stood (Fig. 4D).

The marketplace in its wider landscape

Kolari marketplace is located on the flat, boggy, pine-forested Kolarinsaari island on the Finnish-Swedish border (Finno-Russian border 1809–1917). The island is in the middle of the Muonionjoki river that runs from the high fell region of Enontekiö in the north, down to the Baltic Sea passing the historically important trading town of Tornio about 180 km south. This river is known in the local vernacular simply as "the Way" (Fi. Väylä) which emphasizes its former importance as the main north–south running transport artery through Sápmi, connecting the Baltic Sea to the Arctic Ocean in the north. The immediate surroundings of Kolarinsaari island are relatively low lying and boggy. However, Kolari is situated at a major geographical boundary, where the lower lying terrain of the Torne River Valley starts to rise towards a high fell chain running northwards (Figs. 1, 5).

Until the late-19th century border closures, the cross-cultural socio-economic networks and relations in the North were largely transnational across Sápmi. Since Kolari is right on the national border, we have included both Finnish and Swedish archaeological material into a landscape-wide analysis of the connections of the marketplace

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		Distance (km)						
Context	Site type	0-1	1-5	5-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	Total
Sámi	Hearth (árran)			2	1	4	6	13
	Goahti				1	3	2	6
	Gieddi			1	2	1	2	6
	Reindeer fence			2			1	3
	Antler deposit						1	1
	Sieidi					1	1	2
Industry	Kengis metal works					1		1
	Quarry				4		2	6
	Tar kiln	4	18	16	42	84	109	273
	Charcoal kiln				3	7	1	11
	Lime kiln				2			2
	Brick kiln					1	1	2
	Mill					1	1	2
	Stone pile					1	1	2
	Pit feature		1	2		3	4	1
Other	Kengis market place					1		1
	Church (Kengis, Pajala)					2		2
	Building remains	1	2	6	14	43	30	96
	Fossil field					2	1	3
	Gravesite					1	3	4
	Hunting feature				1		1	2
	Passageway				1	1		2
	Border mark		1		1	1	1	4
	Tree carving					1	2	3
	Rock carving				1	5	6	12
Total		5	22	29	73	164	176	469

Table 3. Historical archaeological sites within the different catchment areas around Kolari marketplace.

to the archaeological landscape surrounding it (based on the open access heritage data of Swedish National Heritage Board's Fornsök register [https://app.raa.se/open/fornsok/] and Finnish National Heritage Agency's Ancient Monuments Register [https://www.kyppi.fi/palveluikkuna/mjreki/]). For this purpose, we assessed the various kinds of sites within different catchment areas around the marketplace up to a distance of forty kilometres, roughly a day's maximum travel distance in favourable conditions with a reindeer sledge or horse (using circular catchment areas based on the Euclidean distances from Kolari marketplace).

There have been very few excavations of contemporary sites in the vicinity, and therefore all the surveyed sites tentatively dated to the historical period in the heritage registers were included in the assessment (Figure 5, Table 3; as is visible from Figure 5, research intensity has varied across the area). Even if some of these sites might not be contemporary with the use-life of the marketplace, they still give an idea of the local archaeological landscape surrounding Kolari market. Sites were further classified into three major categories based on their functional context: 1) Sámi, 2) industrial, and 3) other sites (Fig. 5, Table 3). The

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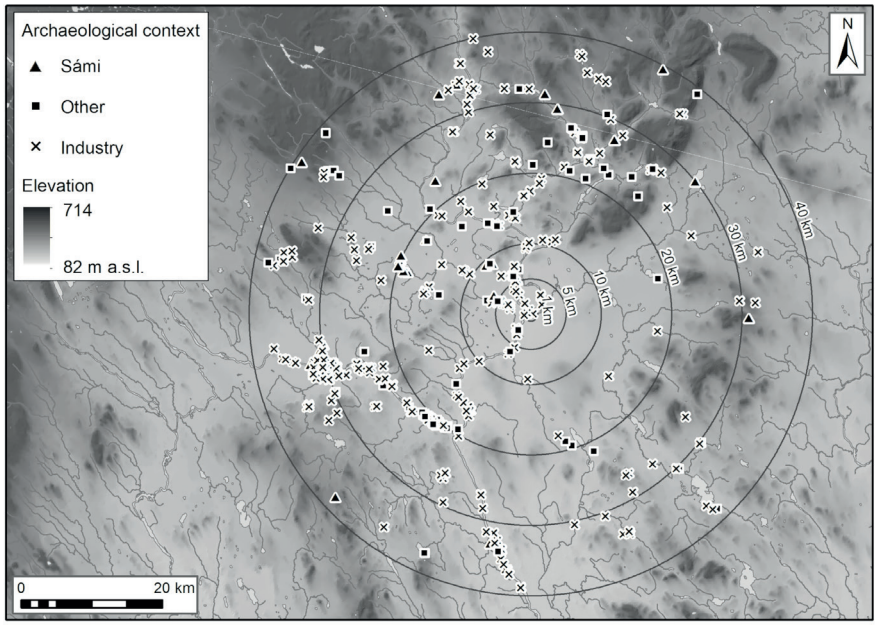


Figure 5. Archaeological sites surrounding the Kolari marketplace and the used catchment areas based on the Euclidean distances. The site distribution highlights the importance of waterways and valleys for mobility and transportation (Map: Oula Seitsonen).

Sámi category includes seasonal habitation and reindeer herding sites, such as Sámi hearths (SáN: *árran*), *goahti* turf hut remains, *gieddi* sites that typically stand out of their surroundings based on the enriched vegetation, reindeer fences, and sacred *sieidi* sites (offering places, most often stones). The industrial category includes, for instance, tar, charcoal, and lime kilns, and quarries. The other category includes sites related to the more settled agrarian life, such as house foundations and fossil fields, and various other locations, including gravesites, border markers, historical rock carvings, tree carvings, and long-used passageways through the landscape. However, it must be remembered that these categories are used here simply as exploratory tools that cannot be straightforwardly attached to various ethnicities, since the cultural identities in the North were often fluid and non-exclusive.

Over half of the archaeological sites in the surrounding landscape are tar production kilns, as is typical in northern Finland and Sweden. This underlines the high importance of tar in the past in both countries (e.g. Starlander 2020). Industrial heritage forms well over sixty percent of all the sites within the examined 40-kilometre radius. This relates to both the local household production of different substances such as tar and charcoal and, possibly to a larger extent, to the major Swedish-run industrial activities in the Tornio River Valley since the

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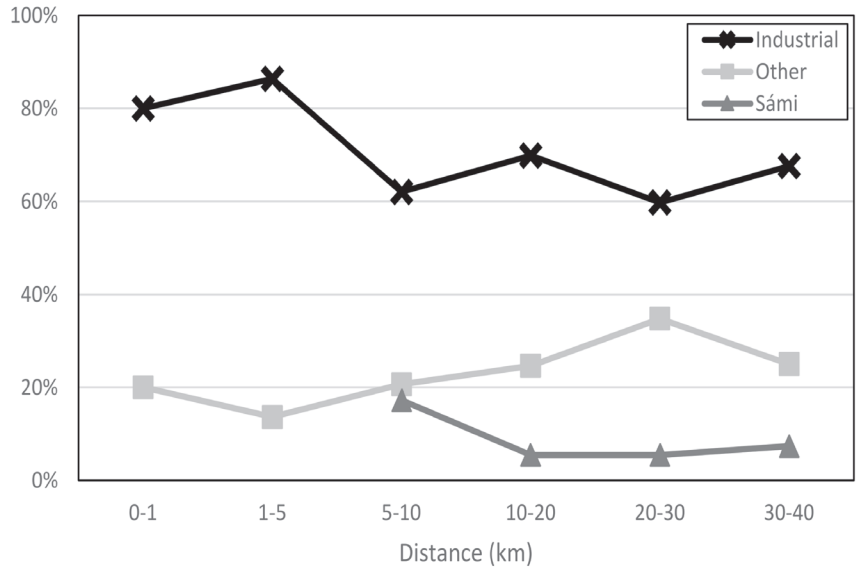


Figure 6. Percentages of the archaeological site categories within the different catchment areas surrounding Kolari marketplace.

17th century, including the metalworks at Kengis, and the mines at Svappavaara (SáN. Veaikevárri; Fi. Vaskivuori) and Junosuando (SáN. Čunusavvon; Fi. Junosuanto) (Fig. 1; e.g. Nordin & Ojala 2017). Tar was an important export item from Sweden and especially Finland in the 17th–18th centuries and its trade was regulated by the Norrland Tar Company (Sw. Norrländska Tjärkompaniet) from Stockholm (Starlander 2020). In Finland, very few tar pits have been archaeologically studied (Taivainen 2016), but in Sweden the oldest ones have been shown to date from the Iron Age onwards (Hennius 2018).

Second most common are remains related to more settled habitation and agrarian livelihoods, such as house sites, remains of fireplaces, and fossil fields. These form nearly 30 percent of the sites surrounding Kolari marketplace. The traces of activities related to the more mobile Sámi habitation and reindeer pastoralism, like hearths and *goahti* foundations, are scarcer and form under 10 percent of the known sites. However, these seasonal sites are often relatively inconspicuous and can be difficult to observe in the landscape, contrasting with the more readily visible industrial and agrarian remains, and might thus be underrepresented in the archaeological registers.

There are clear differences in the number of archaeological remains within the different catchments. The majority of the sites are tar kilns at various distances from the marketplace, whereas no Sámi sites are known within five kilometres. Then again, at 5–10 kilometres distance

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there are almost as many Sámi sites as ones related to agrarian activities. At a distance of 20–30 kilometres, there is a peak in the sites included in the other category related especially to the Kengis metalworks and marketplace on the Swedish side of the border.

Interaction at the marketplace

Marketplaces served several other functions than merely the commercial. For instance, social, intercultural, and spiritual aspects of the yearly markets have been emphasized (Paulaharju 1923; Ylimaunu et al. 2017; Nordin 2020, p. 117). The location of the Kolari marketplace by the Muonionjoki river was typical for medieval and historical marketplaces (Ylimaunu et al. 2017) and enabled people to arrive from long distances. On the other hand, locations close to water, and on islands in particular, might also have had symbolic meanings in relation to perceived liminality. The liminality of a place was connected to the liminality of social actions, such as drunken behaviour and intercultural encounters (Herva 2009). More symbolic meanings of the marketplace are not far-fetched since it has been shown that religious and commercial functions were contemporaneous at some marketplaces (Ylimaunu et al. 2017). In Kolari, the church was built in 1819 and consecrated for use in 1822. When the commercial importance of Kolari marketplace ceased, the religious meaning remained (cf. Ylimaunu et al. 2017).

Social aspects of Kolari market are visible, for instance, in the archaeological finds related to consumption or selling drinks. These material remains of alcohol consumption echo the descriptions by Paulaharju (1923) who states that consuming and selling spirits was a major activity at the marketplace. He describes how the Tornio tradesmen made a lot of money by selling spirits, and how the drunken merrymaking continued through the short winter day into the night. The consumption of alcohol was also typical at other marketplaces of the time (Satokangas 1997, p. 207; Ylimaunu et al. 2017). Also clothing and accessories related finds could be interpreted as signs of social interactions since Paulaharju (1923) describes that Karelian and Tornio tradesmen brought fabrics and clothing related decorations to the market.

Paulaharju's (1923) description emphasizes the spatial separation of traders from different cultural backgrounds at the marketplace. He states that both the Karelian and Tornio burghers owned market cottages that were used for seasonal, short-term habitation and storage purposes (Paulaharju 1923, p. 75; Salmi et al. 2019). Based on the historical map of the site, the remains of the demolished fireplaces of market cottages discovered in the excavations might have stood along the western edge of the marketplace,

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but it is not possible to conclude definitely on which side they were situated due to the site preservation issues related to the expansion of the graveyard (Salmi et al. 2019). Paulaharju (1923) also describes that the merchants coming from various directions used to reside in different portions of the marketplace: the traders from Tornio on the southern and western side of the market, and Karelians and Russians along its eastern edge (see Nordin 2020, for marketplaces on the Swedish side). However, the material culture discovered during the excavation did not support this idea of spatial separation at the marketplace, although the lack of evidence of spatial separation may also relate to the resolution of the analyses.

The concentrations of high CitP and PQuota values in soils about 10 metres from each other west of the market cottages could, for instance, signify spots where the locals rested their animals while doing their trading activities. These might be connected to the descriptions that Sámi and local peasants traded at the site straight from their sleighs and sleds (SáN. Gieres; Paulaharju 1923). However, the resolution of the soil phosphate analysis does not allow us to identify the animal species. Future analyses of soil lipid composition may help in identifying if the animals in question were horses or reindeer, which may then relate to the ethnic affiliation of the people accompanying the animals.

The wider area surrounding the marketplace materialises past action 'collapsed' in the landscape. People met at Kolari at a place that was embedded within an intertwined meshwork of sites created by myriad tasks performed by people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The industrial sites dominated, partially because the locations close to water were suitable for producing tar and for the transportation of end products. Also sites related to an agrarian lifestyle were more prominent in the area than Sámi sites. The agrarian characteristics were not, however, strongly represented in the excavation finds. The only livestock species identified in the assemblage were ovicaprids (sheep or goat), and there were no cattle or pig bones, although these species are usually present in agrarian archaeological sites in Northern Finland (Salmi et al. 2014).

In the landscape analysis, all Sámi sites were located over 5 kilometres away from the marketplace. These included sites for dwelling, reindeer herding, and ritual activities. These tasks go hand in hand with the description of trade activities at the marketplaces where the Sámi brought fish, furs, and reindeer products in exchange for agrarian and industrial products (Hansen 1984). Animal bone finds related to reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting are dominant in the faunal assemblage from Kolari market.

While archaeological reindeer bone finds could have been either from a wild or domesticated rein-

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deer, domesticated reindeer and reindeer products are emphasized as trade items in the Kolari market (Paulaharju 1923). Thus, the bones found during the excavations likely originate from domesticated reindeer. Wild reindeer were still, however, hunted in the 19th century (Virrankoski 1973, pp. 271–272; Kortesalmi 2008, pp. 23–24). The reindeer bone assemblage resembles those known from Sámi dwelling sites and other marketplaces frequented by the Sámi in Northern Fennoscandia in terms of age profile, anatomical representation, and bone breakage patterns (Hambleton & Rowley-Conwy 1997; Lahti 2006; Hedman et al. 2015; Harlin et al. 2019). This emphasizes the importance of Sámi reindeer herding activities related to the functioning of and activities at the Kolari marketplace.

Paulaharju (1932) mentions that the Sámi brought Arctic Sea fish to the marketplace, and this seems to indeed have been the case based on the archaeological finds. Fish, in addition to reindeer products and furs, is described as the main product sold by the Sámi at the northern marketplaces (Hansen 1984). The bird species identified in the faunal assemblage from the marketplace are also typical to Sámi sites in Northern Fennoscandia (Hambleton & Rowley-Conwy 1997; Harlin et al. 2019). Especially willow ptarmigan is a typical find at Sámi sites, whereas black grouse were also hunted by other ethnic groups in the area (Salmi et al. 2014; Harlin et al. 2019). Paulaharju (1923, pp. 78–79) mentions that game was brought to the marketplace by both the Sámi and the local agrarian population. The forest birds may have been caught at the time of the market, in the winter, but the red-throated loon is a migratory bird, which means that its bones ended up in the marketplace in connection with dried meat or skin.

The landscape analysis, emphasizing the importance of agrarian and industrial tasks, and the faunal analysis, pointing towards Sámi reindeer herding, hunting, and fishing, are somewhat contradictory. This might have to do with the different scales and resolutions of these analyses; Arctic Sea fishing and some of the reindeer herding activities took place further afield in distant locations and only the end products of those activities were brought to the marketplace. Although the faunal assemblage paints a picture of Sámi trading activities, it can partly reflect the tasks of local, non-Sámi inhabitants who had adopted the Sámi's subsistence lifestyle as the basis for their own livelihood. Also, some of the hunting and herding activities may have been carried out locally without leaving marked signs in the landscape surrounding Kolari marketplace, which is congruent with the traditional Sámi ideals of using and approaching land in a mutually respectful way (Magga 2007, p. 15; Tervaniemi & Magga 2019).

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In sum, the material culture and intrasite spatial analysis do not reveal any distinct patterns related to Sámi, Finnish, Swedish, or Karelian ethnicities or patterns of interaction between the ethnic groups. Then again, the faunal analysis emphasizes Sámi subsistence activities such as reindeer herding, hunting, and Arctic Sea fishing, and downplay the role of agrarian activities of the Finnish population. On the other hand, landscape analysis highlights the traces of agrarian and industrial activities. In particular, the former are tentatively associated with Finnish settlers, whereas industrial localities likely relate to both Sámi and Finns. The lack of material evidence of distinctly Sámi, Finnish, or Karelian material cultural practices and the contradictory results of the faunal and landscape analysis may partly relate to the resolution of our data, but they can also be interpreted as evidence of the integration of taskscapes and social worlds of the Sámi and the Finns at the marketplace and beyond, and the fluidity of cultural boundaries and identities. Although the establishment of the northern marketplaces was rooted in the needs of the state and the Church, and not in Sámi landscape use, the sites served multiple, social, economic, and religious functions for the Sámi (Wallerström 2017, pp. 169–183; Ylimaunu et al. 2017). A related argument has been presented for the Early Modern landscape in the Tornio River valley which was an amalgamation of Sámi and Swedish landscapes, enmeshed in colonial relationships, extractive industries and global trade networks, but at the same time imbued with considerable agency and participation of the Sámi in these activities and networks (Nordin 2020, pp. 131–142; Nordin & Ojala 2020).

In the taskscape surrounding Kolari marketplace, the agrarian, industrial, and commercial activities, including reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting, were among the everyday activities that were carried out by both the local Sámi and Finns. In addition to the people, also non-human actors such as reindeer, wild birds, and fish participated in the socially constructed spheres associated with these activities (Ingold 1993, p. 158; Ingold 1997, pp. 29–30; Magga 2007; Mazzullo & Ingold 2008, p. 3). By drawing our attention to who performed the tasks associated with Kolari marketplace and how the tasks of different actors are entwined (see Logan & Cruz 2014), the taskscape approach presented in this paper can contribute to the understanding of Sámi lives and their interconnectedness with others in the context of historical archaeology. Also, the relative scarcity of visible traces of Sámi activity around Kolari marketplace conforms with the long-standing Sámi ethical values and principles of land-use, which aim at leaving few marks of their past activities and dwelling in the landscape (e.g. Tervamäki & Magga 2019).

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Conclusions

Marketplaces have been described as meeting venues for people with different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds and for the local population (Ylimaunu et al. 2017). Results from excavations and spatial analyses of Kolari marketplace confirm the descriptions that emphasized the multicultural nature of the yearly markets at Kolari. Kolari marketplace was tied to a taskscape of activities related to somewhat differing but intertwined livelihoods, old and new religion, and the activities of people with different backgrounds. The marketplace served not only as a meeting point for people exchanging products but also as a space for relaxing and spending time together, as well as maintaining and establishing social contact networks that traversed (fluid) cultural and ethnic boundaries.

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Tiina Äikäs, University researcher & Project director, Archaeology, University of Oulu. E-mail: tiina.aikas@oulu.fi

Oula Seitsonen, Postdoctoral researcher, Archaeology, University of Oulu. E-mail: oula.seitsonen@oulu.fi

Anna-Kaisa Salmi, Associate Professor and Academy of Finland Research Fellow, Archaeology, University of Oulu. E-mail: anna-kaisa.salmi@oulu.fi

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