



Eeva Raike, Hanna Henttinen & Sanna Saunaluoma

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE REPOSAARI TAKARANTA HISTORIC ROCK CARVING SITE, WEST COAST FINLAND

Abstract

We present the results and evaluate the impact of our community archaeology project carried out at the Pori Reposaari Takaranta rock carving site in 2019. Takaranta is a popular leisure destination featuring hundreds of carvings on the shoreline rock cliffs, the oldest dating from the 1850s and the latest just recently inscribed. The project activities included documenting the rock carvings with local primary school students using the frottage technique and interviewing the children after the fieldwork. Our project also recorded four senior citizens' personal memories, experiences, and stories related to Takaranta. Local oral histories have often been ignored in archaeological research, although they can significantly deepen the understanding of the phenomena under investigation. Moreover, the project aimed to influence long-term cultural relationship of the Reposaari residents: positive cultural experiences reinforce people's local identities and the sense of belonging to the place, which in turn can contribute to the preservation of archaeological heritage.

Keywords: community archaeology, oral history, memory, rock carvings, cultural heritage

Eeva Raike, Degree Programme in Cultural Production and Landscape, University of Turku, P.O. Box 124, FI-28101 Pori, Finland: eeva.raike@utu.fi; Hanna Henttinen, Degree Programme in Cultural Production and Landscape, University of Turku, P.O. Box 124, FI-28101 Pori, Finland: hanna.henttinen@gmail.com; Sanna Saunaluoma, Degree Programme in Cultural Production and Landscape, University of Turku, P.O. Box 124, FI-28101 Pori, Finland: sanna.saunaluoma@gmail.com.

Received: 27 April 2020; Revised: 15 August 2020; Accepted: 17 August 2020.

INTRODUCTION

During recent decades, community archaeology, regardless of being a relatively new development, has become one of the fastest expanding and vibrant sub-disciplines in scholarly and public sector archaeologies (Tully 2007), boosted by people's increasing desire to learn more about and interact with the past¹. Community archaeology projects are often involved in the public excavations of archaeological sites (e.g. Moshenska 2007; Muraki 2011; Ichikawa 2018) or research projects with formal local indigenous community involvement (e.g. Atalay 2012; Angelbeck & Grier 2014; Gonzalez 2016), but we chose contextually and methodologically a

slightly different approach. Our study area, the Reposaari Takaranta site features hundreds of historic and contemporary carvings embedded in the smooth shoreline rock cliffs. However, according to the Finnish Heritage Agency, the main governmental authority responsible for the protection and management of national cultural heritage, the site is not considered a stationary archaeological relic, since it also includes modern traces of human behaviour. The tradition of making rock carvings at Takaranta is still ongoing. Nevertheless, due to its historical importance and cultural heritage values, we believe that the Takaranta site should be taken into account as a significant element of regional archaeological heritage.

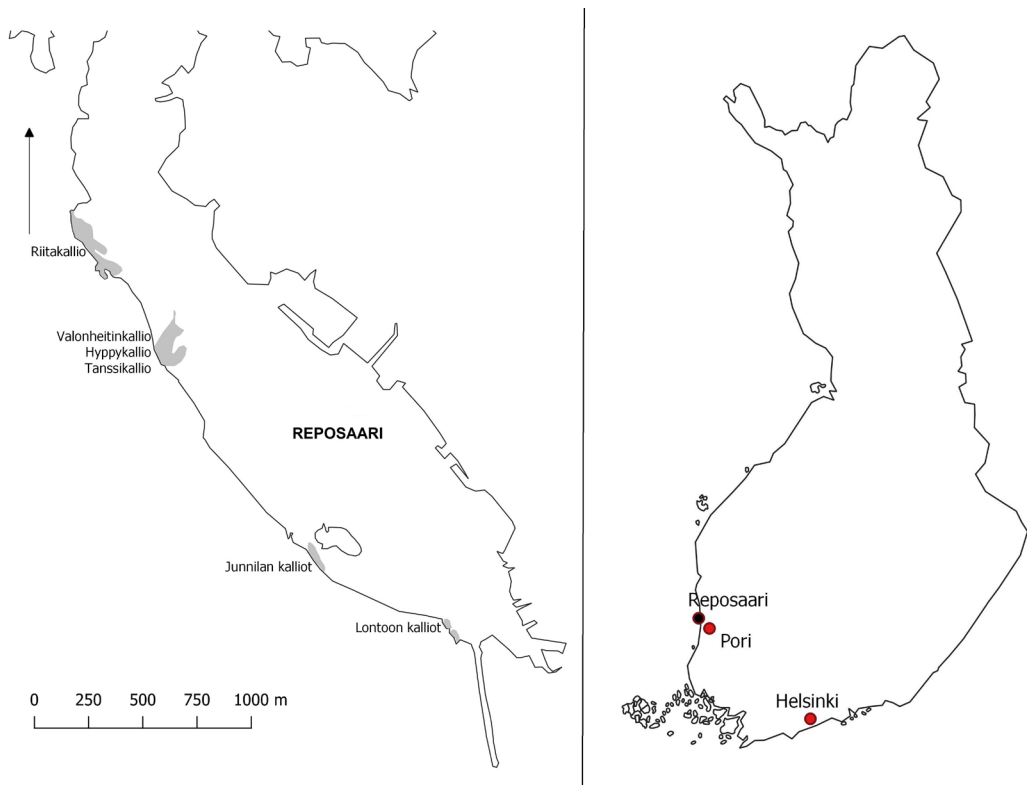


Figure 1. Location of Reposaari Island and the four cliff areas mentioned in the text.

Our project, entitled “History Carved in Rocks” (Fi. Kallioon hakattu historia), was funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation’s Dig It! archaeology initiative, designed for school children’s involvement in archaeological activities and promoting their awareness of archaeological heritage and history in general. Therefore, one of our project’s key objectives was children’s cultural heritage education: to increase knowledge and appreciation about the history of their district of residence, and to instruct them to take actions in the preservation of local cultural heritage. Besides working with Reposaari primary school pupils, we also interviewed a group of elderly citizens who have lived, or still live, near the Takaranta site and have a close relationship with the rock carving site through their own experiences and memories, or through the involvement of the people they are descended from, or individuals they have known in the past. In this article, we present the results and evaluate the impact of our community archaeology project

carried out at Reposaari Takaranta rock carving site in 2019.

THE STUDY AREA

Reposaari Island is located on the west coast of Finland, near the mouth of the river Kokemäenjoki, 30 kilometers northwest of Pori city center (Fig. 1). Since the 1950s, the island, hosting a community united by a vivid maritime industrial history, has been connected to the mainland by a highway and railroad bridges. Today, the population of Reposaari is around 1,000 (Porin kaupungin tilastollinen vuosikirja 2017:15). In central Reposaari, the village buildings are mainly wooden houses from the late 19th or early 20th century. It is defined as a ‘Nationally Important Built Cultural Environment’ by the Finnish Heritage Agency and is one of the most popular tourist attractions in the Pori area.

The Takaranta site and its rocky shoreline, situated on the western side of Reposaari Island



Figure 2. Examples of historic and contemporary rock carvings found at Reposaari Takaranta. (Photos: Eeva Raike and Hanna Henttinen.)

(Fig. 1), has been a popular holiday destination for centuries. The smooth cliffs are covered in rock carvings, inscribed by people who spent time there and wanted to make their presence seen and recognized. Four periods are clearly marked by the carvings: the late 19th century, early 20th century, the 1950s, and the present time (Raike 2014: 33–6). The most common types of carvings in Takaranta are names, initials, and dates in addition to various images and symbols, such as hearts, anchors, crosses, beacons, and ships (Fig. 2). One of the specialties of the site are political rock carvings, such as stars and political slogans. Even though the rock carving sites uniquely reflect the local history of maritime and coastal Finland, only a few of them have been acknowledged and properly documented by the authorities responsible for national cultural heritage².

Probably the most recognized rock carving site in Finland is Hauensuoli (SE. Gaddtarmen). It is situated in Hanko port town in the southernmost coastal area and features more than 600 rock carvings that date from the 16th–18th centuries. Hauensuoli is included in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List (UNESCO World Heritage Center 2020) and is thus considered one of the most important archeological sites nationally. This is not the case with Takaranta: so far, it is not registered in the Ancient Relics Register maintained by the Finnish Heritage Agency.

Besides our research interest in the historic rock carvings, the reason we selected Reposaari Takaranta as the study location for our community archaeology project was that the Turku University Degree Program in Cultural Production and Landscape studies has been

working among the small, easy-going community of Reposaari since 2011, when the university held the first landscape studies and cultural heritage fieldwork course on the island. Since that time we have returned to Reposaari for several research (Haanpää & Raike 2017) and teaching related occasions, such as field courses in oral history and landscape studies. As a result, a feeling of mutual understanding and trust has been created between us, the researchers, and the local people. The sense of community identity and pride is very prominent among the Reposaari residents and they are happy to collaborate in activities concerning the unique environment in which they live.

The history of the Takaranta rock carvings does not go very far back in time, but that does not diminish it as a research topic. The smooth cliff surfaces and the adjoining picturesque seascape make the place memorable for a casual visitor. For the Reposaari residents, the cliffs of Takaranta have been a popular location, not only for leisure, but also for livelihood ever since the permanent settling of the island in the mid-19th century. For example, during the sailing ship season that normally lasted from April to November, people waited at the Takaranta cliffs

for the arrival of the first merchant ships that brought indispensable seasonal jobs for the locals (Riihiahho 2011: 39–40). We assume that the oldest Takaranta carvings were made by these islanders.

The Takaranta shoreline, extending approximately three kilometers to the west and southwest of Reposaari Island, has four distinct rock cliff areas (Fig. 1). Each of these areas has its specific name coming from remarkable buildings, prominent natural features, or different activities that have taken place in Takaranta. Some of these place names have been recorded in maps from different periods, and some remain active in the local collective memory. Some rock cliffs have several names, reflecting the temporality and the layers of history in the Takaranta area. The southernmost cliff area is known as Lontoo cliff, named after the Villa London, a mansion still standing on the southern tip of the island. The owner of a wealthy ship-loading company, Axel Gottschalk Gustafsson, built the three-story Villa London in 1892 (Lähteenoja et al. 1942: 217–8). Lontoo cliff is a small rocky shoreline area with a few dozen rock carvings. The next cliff area to the southwest is called Junnila cliff. Originally built in 1884 by pharmacist Robert



Figure 3. Aerial view of our study location, Hyppykallio/Valonheitinkallio cliff area on the western shoreline of Reposaari Island. (Photo: Sanna Saunaluoma, 2019.)

Junnelius as a summer house for his family (Lähteenoja et al. 1942: 214), the Junnila mansion became the property of the Pori Lutheran congregation in 1947. The name of the building remained Junnila, and in 1991 after the old Junnila house was destroyed in a fire, the new Junnila camp center was built, and the name of its rocky shoreline remained in use (Holm, personal communication 2019). There are dozens of minor rock carvings on Junnila cliff.

Our community archaeology fieldwork with Reposaari school children took place in a nearly 2-hectare area (Fig. 3) that has hundreds of versatile rock carvings, the oldest of which date back to the 1850s. According to the Finnish National Land Survey's map service, the name of the place is Hyppykallio (*Jump cliff*), which probably derives its name from the name Tanssikallio (*Dance cliff*), found in the 1970 topographic map 1:20 000 (National Land Survey of Finland 2020). Furthermore, the locals say that social dances were regularly held there in the summertime during the 1920s and 1930s. However, the Reposaari residents do not call the cliff area by these names, since, according to them, the actual (local) name is Valonheitinkallio. The name Valonheitinkallio comes from the fact that during the Second World War a searchlight (Fi. valonheitin) was built on the elevated shoreline to identify possible enemy aircraft and impending ship attacks. Today, only a pile of rocks and soil remain at the highest point of the cliff where the searchlight structure once stood.

The fourth rock cliff area in Takaranta is called Riitakallio (*Quarrel cliff*), a place name used by the locals as well as being found in the current topographic maps. The cliff was the place for local fishermen to solve disputes related to fishing sites. Furthermore, in the 1810 topographic map (National Archives of Finland 2020), three fixed fishing tackles are marked on the Riitakallio shore. In the same 1810 map, the Junnila cliff is written in Swedish as Öfre Berget (*Upper Cliff*), Valonheitinkallio as Mellan Berget (*Middle Cliff*) and Riitakallio as Stor Berget (*Great Cliff*). These Swedish place names were given by the topographer, and not reported by local informants, since at the time of the initial mapping, in early the 1800s, Reposaari was still largely uninhabited (Lähteenoja et al. 1942: 67–8, 94–9). Curiously, none of the cliff areas

has been named, officially or colloquially, after the rock carvings. Sometimes the locals refer to Valonheitinkallio and Riitakallio as red rocks or leather rocks, because in oblique sunlight the cliff surface texture is reminiscent of reddish leather. Names obviously distinguish and categorize places. Place names are created spontaneously when the necessity to identify a certain place arises; consequently, traditional place names have emerged locally from the needs of the small communities (Ainiala et al. 2008: 88).

The human-built landscape around Takaranta has changed considerably over time, people and generations come and go, but the shoreline cliffs change so slowly that – from our point of view – they remain almost the same. This timelessness and immutability give the Takaranta area a special sense of place laden with history, and the cliffs, for their part, complement the impressive landscape and add to it a cultural stratum, the human-made rock carvings. The Takaranta rock carvings can be considered a living cultural heritage cherished by the local community that wishes to keep the site alive by contemporary action. Rock carvings belong to tangible and intangible cultural heritage alike: the visible, material carvings contain memories and tell histories of the past and of the present-day. Stories intertwined with the rock carvings can be shared within the community, or stories can be narrated to interested outsiders. Through these stories, the significance of a place as a living cultural heritage site is expanded and strengthened. This can also reinforce the desire to protect the site, since the patterns, symbols, names, initials, and dates engraved on the shoreline cliffs create a materialized local history carved on the rocks.

TAKARANTA COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY IN PRACTICE

Our community archaeology project activities included documenting the rock carvings using the frottage (rubbing) technique, and recording memories, experiences, and stories related to the Takaranta site. Our main collaborators were Reposaari primary school pupils aged between 7 and 12 years. The activities with the children consisted of five different phases: 1) introduction to the subject area in classrooms before going to the site, 2) documentation of the rock carvings at

the Valonheitinkallio cliff area, 3) interviewing pupils in their school after fieldwork, 4) carvings crafted in cardboard by pupils from the first and second grade, and 5) writing imaginary stories related to rock carvings by pupils from the third to sixth grade.

Before the fieldwork period, in March 2019, we introduced the Takaranta site to the pupils telling them about the history of the site, and what rock carvings and local cultural heritage are in general. We asked the pupils to think about the possible reasons for making rock carvings, the histories of the individuals behind the carvings, and what kind of rock carving they would like to do, and why. In May 2019, each class visited Takaranta for a day to document the carvings on their own using the frottage technique. The pupils chose the carvings they wanted to document, and rubbed carbon paper wrapped around a towel roll over large paper sheets laid on the rock carvings, so that even the smallest cracks were copied onto the paper sheets (Fig. 4). Afterwards we sprayed a fixative over the paper sheets to prevent smudging and enhance the preservation of the copied image. The reason we preferred the frottage documentation, which until recently was one of the most traditional and commonly-used techniques in incised rock art documentation (Horn et al. 2018: 83), was because it was rather cost-efficient and easy to implement with children. We also saw the implementation of the frottage technique outdoors as an effective pedagogical method. The hands-on,

experiential, and playful learning in a natural environment is proven to be advantageous for children's learning processes and wellbeing (e.g., O'Brien 2009; Bradshaw 2018; Pindyk 2018).

After the fieldwork, we prepared interviews by selecting loose themes we would like to discuss with the pupils. Differing from the normative research interview, interviewing children is more of a conversation characterized by the researcher's intention to obtain research material in which the children's views on the topic under study are being shared through their own approaches and language (Raittila et al. 2017: 312, 323). The information is produced in collaboration, but in such a way that the researcher, as the initiator, has the pre-planned idea of which themes will be addressed during the conversation. Our aim was to hear about the pupils' previous experiences of Takaranta: did they know the site or the rock carvings beforehand, had they already been there and what kind of activities had they had there, did they have any relatives that had made carvings there, and finally, how had their understanding of the site changed in the course the project. We interviewed 16 pupils: six from the fourth to the sixth grade were interviewed individually, and ten from the first to the third grade came to the interview situation as pairs. Interviews lasted 5 to 15 minutes, and they were recorded with a small portable audio recorder.

In terms of research ethics, a school is a challenging environment. In this project, we worked



Figure 4. Documentation of a rock carving using the frottage (rubbing) technique as a part of the schoolchildren's fieldwork activities. (Photo: Hanna Henttinen, 2019.)

in many different roles: we taught the pupils things about the place under study, gave them assignments, supervised their documentation work, and interviewed them, but at the same time we also did research. The teachers acted as intermediaries in many situations: they informed the parents, supervised and guided the pupils, and we agreed with them, for example, on the anonymous use of the pupils' interviews. Virginia Morrow (2008: 54) has discussed the ethical aspects of research with children, noting that in a school setting the role of a teacher as a gatekeeper, in determining pupils' consent, is a complex issue, since in a school environment children are automatically expected to participate in teaching and other organized activities. For example, in our interview situations, the teachers selected the pupils that were willing to be interviewed by us, whereas we, as interviewers, tried to determine the readiness of the children to take part in the interview, gave them time to respond at their own pace, and answered their questions about the recording of the interviews. Like Morrow (2008: 54), Raittila and colleagues (2017: 316–7) have also described the practice of determining the interviewee's consent as a dynamic and ongoing process rather than a single one-off event.

Most of the children that came to talk with us were quite relaxed and did not seem to be nervous about the recorder. We usually began with asking what they had done during the day at Valonheitinkallio, which seemed to be an easy starting point for the further enquiries. Nevertheless, after the interviews we felt that it would have been important to emphasize that there were no right answers to our queries, and that we were just interested in hearing how the pupils feel and see things. Moreover, Raittila and colleagues (2017: 317) point out that children are commonly accustomed to adults measuring their knowledge with questions and waiting for certain correct responses. Thus, using the school building as a location for the interview may have led some pupils to think that way.

The interviews revealed that Takaranta was a familiar place to most pupils and many had already been there before with their parents or friends. Takaranta was often described as a place for summer activities, such as midsummer festivities. Pupils talked about swimming,

just sitting on the cliffs and jumping on the stones near the shoreline. One pupil mentioned Takaranta when playing Pokémon GO with the family, and another considered Valonheitinkallio as a suitable place for parkour due to a dangerous rift that splits the whole area. One girl noted that her mother did not want her to go there because she was afraid that children could fall into the seawater. One popular activity worth mentioning was walking dogs at Takaranta. Based on the children's interviews, Takaranta was described mainly as a place where children would visit with the people that are closest to them: parents and other relatives, or friends. Our interviews also revealed that for local Reposaaari children Takaranta is a very pleasant place. We believe that this is so because of the warm memories, feelings of togetherness, and the meaningful things there are for children to do there.

While Takaranta was well-known to many Reposaaari pupils, some commented that they had never paid attention to the rock carvings, or did not know what they were. On the other hand, some interviewees said that their parents knew the site and had particularly taken their children there to see the rock carvings. In the interviews, fieldwork with us was seen as an amusing and positive thing. The children told us that fieldwork was nice because the weather was good, and because they could be outside instead of doing tasks in the classroom. The pupils were motivated to do the frottage documentation and most of them worked very effectively, even though the fieldwork took place during the last week of school before the summer holidays.

The responses of the interviewed pupils were quite thought-provoking. For example, when we asked what could be the significance of a rock carving, the answer was: 'Well, if somebody had a snake, and then it died, and they wanted to immortalize it.' What kind of carving you would do? 'My name and my best friend's name, because we have promised to be best friends forever.' How a rock carving differs from a photo (like a selfie or an Instagram photo)? 'It's something different, since if it is just a picture, you can delete it immediately. But a rock carving does not come off just like that, not easily anyways. Somehow it is perhaps more important. It is eternal.' For the children, the carvings are thus strongly associated with the themes of

commemoration and immortalization. When we asked them what kind of carving they would do, their responses that were repeated included their own names, birthdays, or the names of someone important to the children, such as friends or pets.

The rock carvings also continue and revitalize intergenerational memories. One of the children told us that he had been in Takaranta with his great grandfather: 'I've been there with my great grandpa. He made a carving there. What we copied with my classmate was my great grandpa's carving. That anchor. He has carved it when he was a child and he is still living!' Another pupil told us about her mother who had made her own carving in Takaranta cliffs back in the 1980s. Informing the descendants about the carvings appears to be important to those who have made rock carvings. Likewise, the children seemed to tell us about their close relative's rock carvings with very special pride.

When we talked about peoples' reasons for rock carving with the older students, one pupil that had not been in Takaranta before, said: 'It was a nice place. And beautiful. The carvings made me happy, that somebody dares to leave a mark.' Having more knowledge about the site led pupils to think about the people in the past and their motives when making the carvings: 'They [carvings] were quite interesting when you began to think about them. There were a lot of old images and you just wonder what they all mean and who has made them.' In the pupils' interviews the carved images were often thought to be connected to important stages in people's lives. We also asked the older pupils to write

about the Takaranta site after the fieldwork. Most of their stories were imaginary: pupils described the rock carvings they had documented and invented stories behind that particular carving. In these stories, the act of making rock carvings also had some connection with the life situations of the person making the carving, for example to remember some specific and memorable event.

As a part of the project activities, the younger pupils crafted their own rock carvings with cardboard and copied them with crayon, as they had done at the site using the frottage technique. The images that the children produced usually had a close connection to their life, such as their own name, a friend's name or a pet's name (Fig. 5), things that can be considered as cool or somewhat trendy, like snakes, hearts, pineapples, sunsets, or Pikachu characters. These items and other results of the project were presented in a one-day exhibition during the Reposfääri cultural festival held in Reposaari in late summer 2019. The exhibition was a success, with more than 200 visitors interested in the rock carvings, our community archaeology project, and the unique local history of Reposaari. Besides bringing information to a wider public, the main outcome of our project's exhibition was to raise awareness of local history as a part of the Reposaari community's own event.

MEMORIES AND STORIES RELATED TO THE TAKARANTA SITE

Because the Takaranta rock carvings are relatively young, they also involve a rich oral history.

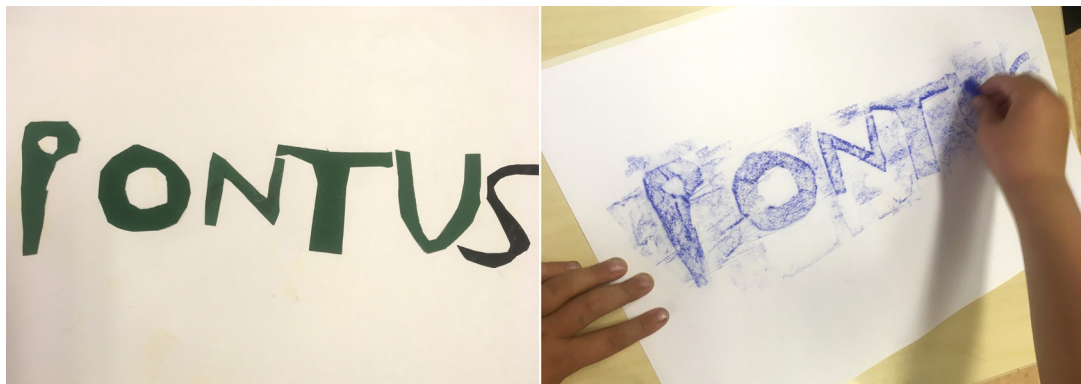


Figure 5. Cardboard carving featuring the name of the student's pet dog. The images that children produced usually had a close connection with their personal life. (Photos: Hanna Henttinen, 2019.)

Oral history is best defined as the verbal memoirs of firsthand observers (Echo-Hawk 2000: 270), including personal experiences, recollections, and reflections. We were interested in oral history as an interdisciplinary and conversational tool (see Beck & Somerville 2005) for a better understanding of the historic and contemporary rock carvings in the context of archaeological heritage. Local memories and stories play an important part in the history of the Takaranta site. Without the oral history the rock carvings are just material remains without any connection to their creators and to their time.

We invited four senior citizens, Haakon Uddfolk, Jorma Holm, Heikki Loimupalo, and Pekka Tuominen³ to meet us at Valonheitinkallio cliff in May 2019 and tell us more about the rock carvings (Fig. 6). All the interviewees had lived in Reposaari during their childhood and youth from the late 1940s to the 1960s. Their studies and work took them elsewhere, but gradually all except one moved back to Reposaari. Two of them had even made their own rock carvings on the Valonheitinkallio cliff when young: Haakon

had carved a ship and his first name, and Pekka his full name and the date of 1959 (Fig. 7). Their reasons for making these carvings were the same as noted in the first author's earlier study (Raika 2014: 41): they just were inspired by the older carvings. The tools they used for rock carving were metal chisels and wooden mallet hammers. The interviewees not only recounted the memories they had of the persons who had made certain rock carvings at Takaranta, but also shared with us their personal experiences related to the site and to the rock carvings, and reminisced about how life in Reposaari was during their youth.

In the same vein as contemporary Reposaari Island children, the senior interviewees described Takaranta as a place to regularly spend time in the summer in their childhood, but unlike many of the interviewed schoolchildren, they had always been aware of the rock carvings. When we asked if they knew about the carvings when they were children, the answer was: 'Yes, we knew, we knew, you see, here at the cliffs we lazed about practically all summer



Figure 6. Meeting with the interviewees at Valonheitinkallio in May 2019. Heikki Loimupalo conversing with Eeva Raika and Hanna Henttinen, Haakon Uddfolk and Pekka Tuominen examining a rock carving, and Jorma Holm reminiscing about the history of the site. (Photo: Sanna Saunaluoma, 2019.)



Figure 7. The rock carvings Haakon Uddfolk and Pekka Tuominen made in their youth. (Photos: Hanna Henttinen, 2020.)

days.’ They had heard stories and studied quite extensively the stages of lives of the people who made the rock carvings at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. When we examined the Takaranta carvings with them, many names carved on the cliffs and the persons behind the carvings were familiar to them, and they routinely remembered some details about the lives of those who had made the carvings. Haakon stated that the carved names and initials are ‘largely [Reposaari] islanders’ names’. Jorma, for his part, considered it remarkable that the carvings were made by the locals, but mentioned that concurrently he has become ‘blind’ to the place, having spent too much time there. Many of the stories narrated by the senior interviewees about those who made the rock carvings somehow linked to the events in 1918 in Reposaari. According to Haakon, only a small number of Reposaari’s 400 Red Guard fighters disappeared or died in battles, and the majority stayed on the island after the Finnish Civil War. Jorma and Haakon described ‘severe mental situations’ among the Reposaari residents during and after the war. Furthermore, they related that in the internal territorial division of the island, active until the 1960s, Valonheitinkallio was considered the sawmill workers’ area. This is still reflected in the local notion of the cliff as a place characterized by ‘sawmill communists’ carvings’.

To demonstrate how the oral history entwined with the rock carvings enhances our understanding of this specific archaeological site, we take as an example the story of probably the most intriguing rock carving at the Takasaari site, a

political rock carving featuring a sickle, a hammer and a star (Fig. 8). This political figure was carved by the late Ade Sipilä, originally from Reposaari, in the early 1930s (Raike 2017). Ade was born in 1906 in the Reposaari sawmill area and became a fatherless orphan during the Finnish Civil War. Based on archival information (Raike 2017: 58), he was a staunch communist, and in the right-wing radical atmosphere of the early 1930s, Ade decided to leave for the Soviet Union in 1932. The carving must have been made on Riitakallio cliff facing the sea in August 1930, when the political situation in Reposaari had escalated. The preservation of the rock carving during that time is a small miracle. According to Pekka Tuominen (personal communication 2019), a few weeks after the carving was made, stones were piled on top of it, but a fisherman Matt Vidlund, who lived nearby, threw the stones into the sea. There is no confirmed information about who constructed the pile of stones, but they were generally thought to be local right-wing sawmill workers.

Pekka Tuominen (personal communication 2019) told us about conversations he had with his contemporaries back in the 1970s about the sickle, hammer, and star carving, and at their request, he also wrote an account. The Finnish Volunteer Defense Organization was operative in Reposaari in the 1930s, and even though the communism-related carving could easily have been destroyed, it was left untouched. It was not until the early 1960s that the authorities wanted to hide this political remnant. The Reposaari police force was ordered to cover up the carving by

pouring liquid tar over it. Pekka and his friend, the late Valtteri Mäenpää, decided then to clean the carving with lye soap, but without success. Since the tar cover could not be removed, the friends decided to restore the carving by painting a red star and yellow sickle and hammer on it⁴. They did it in absolute secrecy, thinking that their actions could be considered hostile and in opposition to the official authority. The star on Riitakallio cliff was allowed to shine red only for a moment, before it was covered with tar for a second time. Fortunately, over the years, the harsh sea breezes have gradually cleared the rock carving from tar and paint. However, it still evokes strong emotions, because in the early 2000s it was stained with polyurethane. Today, some traces of tar and paint can still be seen on the carving's surface, but for the most part it is clearly visible. We trust that the almost 90-year-old rock carving can now remain unscathed and continue reflecting the exciting local history of Reposaaari.

In our community archaeology project, we considered the meetings and interviews with the four senior Reposaaari residents primarily as a dialogue and a sharing of expertise instead of merely collecting information. We followed Alessandro Portelli's (2018: 241) approach in the oral history interviews: 'We are not in the field to extract data from informants, but to exchange knowledge with citizens of our own world and time, our contemporaries.' At this point we can also mention co-research. The concept of co-research means that knowledge is generated through a negotiated and dialectical process of enquiry by drawing on the complementary perspectives, interests, and knowledge bases of the academics and interviewees alike (Hartley & Benington 2000). The interview is a form of collaboration that lasts throughout the study, and, in Reposaaari, the co-research process with local citizens and researchers has endured for years, and hopefully will continue to thrive also in the future.

DISCUSSION

The question is why would oral history, co-research and the involvement of local people, children in particular, be beneficial for archaeological research? Yvonne Marshall (2002: 218)

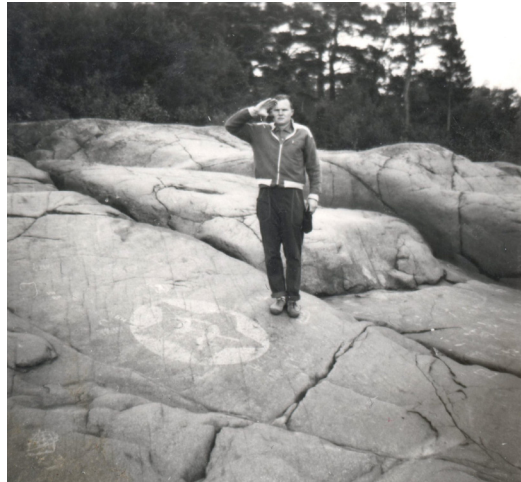


Figure 8. Pekka Tuominen saluting next to the sickle, hammer, and star carving in the late 1960s. (Photo courtesy of Pekka Tuominen.)

perceptively describes how community archaeology 'encourages us to ask questions of the past we would not otherwise consider, to see archaeological remains in a new light and to think in new ways about how the past informs the present'. This is just what happened to us in the course of running our project in Reposaaari. After hearing and sharing local stories, experiences, feelings, and memories related to Takaranta, the site acquired many completely new meanings and we now look at it very differently. It is amazing how many meanings were found for the same place as we began to gather more information about the rock carvings and obtain a wider insight into local histories. The main effect of our project for the schoolchildren was to make them more aware of the history and cultural heritage of the place in which they live in, whereas for the elderly Reposaaari citizens it was important to share their knowledge of the rock carvings with us, as well as revitalize their memories with each other. Eventually, the mutual act of passing on, receiving, and sharing memories and knowledge was the core of our project.

The Reposaaari rock carvings are clearly an important part of the region's cultural heritage, but as they do not have the status of a stationary ancient relic, they are quite vulnerable when pondering their preservation for future generations. Maybe we should give thought to more sensitive archeology and culture heritage

management that would approach contemporary phenomena with the same seriousness as the 'true ancient relics' in order to avoid today's heritage practices distorting future archaeological interpretations of our present (see Graves-Brown & Schofield 2011; Merrill 2011). In Finland, the sites considered to be archaeological stationary relics are protected by the Antiques Act, which secures the existence of ancient relics as reminders of the nation's history. Without permission issued under the Antiques Act, it is forbidden to excavate, cover, alter, damage, or remove ancient relics or disturb them in any other way (Muinaismuistolaki 295/1963, Finlex 2020). As all Reposaari shoreline cliffs are currently actively used as leisure areas and new carvings are still constantly being added to them, their protection with the status of a stationary ancient relic would be rather problematic. It would become illegal to make carvings on the cliffs of Takaranta. However, the Finnish Heritage Agency's Ancient Relics Register has another classification that of 'other cultural heritage site'. Such sites are defined as places and structures left outside the protection of the Antiquities Act, often because of being Modern Era relics, and their preservation is justified by local historical significance and cultural heritage values. These sites can also be taken into account and protected under the Finnish Land Use and Building Act, although statutorily it is not as effective as the Antiques Act. Other cultural heritage sites frequently resemble stationary ancient relics and have vast archaeological and historical interest and potential, such as the Reposaari rock carvings (Raika 2015: 41).

The contemporary rock carving layer of the Takaranta site, and its lack of official recognition for being a 'valid' stationary archaeological site, makes it an even more interesting subject for research. Richard Rogers (2007) discusses the possible significance of contemporary additions (i.e., carvings) to (pre)historic indigenous rock art sites in Death Valley National Park in the California–Nevada border area in the U.S. According to him, the motivation for placing marks where others have been is not a conscious act of blunder or vandalism. Instead, it is about interacting and dialoguing with the past. This is exactly what the case may be with the Takaranta site, too. Modern-day people want to respect

the older rock carvings and connect with people who have made them. For example, they carve the same type of patterns that already exist at the site, but craft them with their own personal style. The heart figures and confessions of love with the names or initials of two lovers have been carved at the Takaranta cliffs from the mid-19th century to the present day. Moreover, the symbols of faith, hope and love/charity, often associated with sailors, are still common in today's rock carvings, even if the persons making them are not involved in a career at sea.

For the Reposaari residents, Takaranta has always been close to home, but at the same time it is a secluded place separated from everyday life. People have been there occasionally to wait for the arrival ships, to dance, to spend time with friends and family, or just to be out of everyone's sight. The number of rock carvings made by summer visitors increased in the 1960s (Raika 2014). Maybe they wanted to memorialize their own, even if short, visit to Reposaari in the form of a rock carving. Some carvings indicate that the same people have returned to the site and made a new rock carving at the same point to commemorate a latter visit as well. Presumably the local people and tourists have experienced the same place in different ways, but through rock carving all have wanted to experience and create a sense of belonging to the place and to its past. Local people, the youth especially, may have wanted to legitimize the right to the place through the rock carvings, meanwhile the visitors from outside Reposaari have brought their own, tourism-related cultural layer to the site through their own commemorative carvings left on Takaranta cliffs.

Our school pupil interviewees revealed that rock carvings were also considered a different and more solid way to commemorate important social relationships, such as friendship. Rock carving was believed to be a more enduring memory than, for example, a photograph, which is easy to delete or destroy. The carvings were seen as signs from people in the past, but also something made by generations that students are still connected to, or those they are descended from. Certain traditions and routines seem to be passed on from one generation to another. In the same way as the current students, the senior interviewees also mentioned spending carefree

summer days in Takaranta with their relatives and friends, adventures on the cliffs, swimming, or just enjoying the beauty of the place.

The research on historic rock carvings is not just about documenting and locating material remains. The stories related to the Takaranta rock carvings add a totally new dimension to the past of Reposaari: part of its history could be told and understood via the names and symbols carved on the shoreline cliffs. Through co-research with a local community, the relationship to the study area becomes more relevant and intimate to researchers and co-researchers alike. During our project some Reposaari residents found the inscriptions their relatives had left in Takaranta. In addition to his own carving, Haakon Uddfolk also located his grandfather's rock carving, and one student discovered a carving made by her mother on Valonheitinkallio cliff. Henceforth, the rock carvings will have a completely different meaning for these people. Furthermore, the number of visitors in Takaranta interested in the rock carvings has grown after our community archeology project (Loimupalo, personal communication 2020).

Archaeology, and community archaeology in particular, has a value for society. As Don Henson (2011: 121) emphasizes: 'Not only is archaeology able to enhance and promote the quality of life both through its aim to understand people and place over time, but also through its working practices.' We believe that the understanding and appreciation of the local archaeology, and the oral histories related to it, could also contribute to the collective protection of archaeological heritage, such as the rock carvings. In Scotland, drastic measures were taken to protect a rock art site when the Cochno Stone was covered by soil in 1960s to prevent further addition of contemporary graffiti on the prehistoric rock-art panel which included cup and ring marks. However, in 2015–6 the monument was uncovered, cleaned, and recorded archeologically (Brophy 2018). Since then a series of events and activities, such as school visits, workshops, fieldtrips, public talks, gathering oral memories, meetings with stakeholders, and an exhibition have taken place across central Scotland to raise awareness about the history of the site, and gather memories of, and stories about, the Cochno Stone before it was first buried (Brophy

& Sackett 2019). This is a fascinating example of community archaeology as an effective tool for committing local communities in the preservation and protection of cultural heritage. It is up to us, the archeologists, to do our best to reinforce the relationship of people to place and to landscape over time through the social networks we build up among the communities with which we work, interact, and share knowledge. When the community takes a perceptive ownership of the site, the local desire to protect the site is considerably strengthened. Hence, the likelihood of the site being preserved for the future is significantly increased, even though the site would not be protected by strict legal acts. To obtain, and maintain this kind of situation, close collaboration and co-research is needed within communities. Even though we need legislation, in practice the preservation of cultural heritage does not emanate from the authorities, but from the community itself.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the reviewers for their insightful comments on the earlier draft of this paper. We thank Reposaari Primary School students and teachers, especially Tiina Mansikka, the members of Reposaari Rantaparlamentti society, Jorma Holm, Heikki Loimupalo, Pekka Tuominen, and Haakon Uddfolk for sharing information with us, and the whole Reposaari community for welcoming us to their beautiful island. The research was supported by the Finnish Cultural Foundation.

NOTES

¹ In Finland the number of hobbyists interested in archaeological heritage has grown considerably during the last ten years, demonstrated, for example, by the vast number of citizens' notifications sent to the Finnish Heritage Agency. According to Finnish Heritage Agency curator Sami Raninen (personal communication 2020), the number of civic notifications concerning archaeological heritage was around 1,850 during 2019.

² In Finnish Heritage Agency's service portal the number of coastal sites registered in the category 'art, memorial/carvings' is currently only

111 (<https://www.kyppi.fi/palveluikkuna/portti/read/asp/default.aspx>).

³ All four senior interviewees have given their consent to publish their names and memories. All recorded interview materials are stored in the Seafle storage server of the University of Turku, and their descriptions in the university's research data inventory.

⁴ A similar example comes from Wales, where local volunteers, concerned about their cultural heritage, rebuilt and repainted a mural from the 1960s after it was vandalized twice in 2019 (<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-4925644>).

REFERENCES

Personal communication

H. Loimupalo, e-mail to Eeva Raike, 13 April 2020.

J. Holm, interview with the authors, 23 May 2019.

S. Raninen, e-mail to Sanna Saunaluoma, 3 August 2020.

P. Tuominen, interview with the authors, 23 May 2019.

Unpublished sources

Riihiaho, A. 2011. Kotipaikka: Rakkaus, paikallidentiteetti, yhteisöllisyys, ristiriitaiset tunteet. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Turku, Degree Programme in Cultural Production and Landscape.

Internet sources

National Archives of Finland. Digital Archives. Maanmittaushallituksen uudistusarkisto. Porin kaupunki; Kartta ja selitys Reposaaressa ynnä muista saarista 1810-1810 (A84:8/15-17). <<http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=26379087>> Read 9 August 2020.

National Land Survey of Finland. Old printed maps. 114207_114204_1970.jpg. <<http://vanhatpaineitutkartat.maanmittauslaitos.fi/?lang=en>> Read 9 August 2020.

Muinaisuustolaki. Finlex. <<https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1963/19630295>> Read 24 April 2020.

Porin kaupungin tilastollinen vuosikirja 2017. <https://www.pori.fi/sites/default/files/atoms/files/tilastollinen_vuosikirja_2017_web.pdf>
UNESCO World Heritage Center: The island of Gaddtarmen (Hauensuoli) off Hango (Hanko). <<https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/215/>> Read 9 August 2020.

Literature

Ainiala, T., Saarelma, M. & Sjöblom, P. 2008. *Nimistötutkimuksen perusteet*. Tietolipas 221. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Angelbeck, B. & Grier, C. 2014. From paradigms to practices: pursuing horizontal and long-term relationships with indigenous peoples for archaeological heritage management. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38 (2): 519–40.

Atalay, S. 2012. *Community-Based Archaeology. Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beck, W. & Somerville, M. 2005. Conversations between disciplines: Historical archaeology and oral history at Yarrowarra. *World Archaeology* 37 (3): 468–83.

Bradshaw, M. 2018. Natural connections: Forest schools, art education, and playful practices. *Art Education* 71 (4): 30–5.

Brophy, K. 2018. 'The finest set of cup and ring marks in existence': The story of the Cochno Stone, West Dunbartonshire. *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 40:1–23.

Brophy, K. & Sackett, H. 2019. Visualising heritage complexity: Comic books, prehistoric rock-art and Cochno Stone. In H. Williams, C. Pudney & A. Ezzeldin (eds.) *Public Archaeology. Arts of Engagement*: 228–52. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd.

Echo-Hawk, R. 2000. Ancient history in the New World: Integrating oral traditions and the archaeological record in deep time. *American Antiquity* 65 (2): 267–90.

Gonzalez, S. 2016. Indigenous values and methods in archaeological practice: Low-impact archaeology through the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project. *American Antiquity* 81 (3): 533–49.

- Graves-Brown, P. & Schofield, J. 2011. The filth and the fury: 6 Denmark Street (London) and the Sex Pistols. *Antiquity* 85: 1385–401.
- Haanpää, R. & Raike, E. 2017. (eds.) *Kertomusten Reposaari*. Harjavalta: Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura.
- Hartley, J. & Benington, J. 2000. Co-research: A new methodology for new times. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 9(4): 463–76.
- Henson, Don. 2011. Does archaeology matter? In G. Moshenska & S. Dhanjal (eds.) *Community Archaeology. Themes, Methods and Practices*: 120–7. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Horn, C., Ling, J., Bertilsson, U. & Potter, R. 2018. By all means necessary: 2.5D and 3D recording of surfaces in the study of southern Scandinavian rock art. *Open Archaeology* 4(1): 81–96.
- Ichikawa, A. 2018. Strengthening social relationships through community archaeology at Nueva Esperanza, El Salvador: Challenges and lessons. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 5 (4): 222–36.
- Lähteenoja, A., Pulkkinen O. & Hacklin, W. 1942. *Reposaaren historia*. Helsinki: Franckellin Kirjapaino Oy.
- Marshall, Y. 2002. What is community archaeology? *World Archaeology* 34 (2): 211–9.
- Merrill, S. 2011. Graffiti at heritage places: Vandalism as cultural significance or conservation sacrilege? *Time and Mind* 4 (1): 59–75.
- Moshenska, G. 2007. Oral history in historical archaeology: Excavating sites of memory. *Oral History* 35: 91–7.
- Morrow, V. 2008. Ethical dilemmas in research with children and young people about their social environments. *Children's Geographies* 6 (1): 4961.
- Muraki M. 2011. Sharing the pleasure of excavation: The public archaeology program at the Miharashidai Site, Japan. In K. Okamura & A. Matsuda (eds.) *New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology*: 263–73. New York: Springer.
- O'Brien, L. 2009. Learning outdoors: The Forest School approach. *Education 3–13*, 37 (1): 45–60.
- Pindyck, M. 2018. Frottage as inquiry. *International Journal of Education Through Art* 14(1): 13–25.
- Portelli, A. 2018. Living voices: The oral history interview as dialogue and experience. *The Oral History Review* 45 (2): 239–48.
- Raike, E. 2014. Reposaaren taidekalliot: Elävä kulttuuriperintökohde Selkämeren sylissä. *Nautica Fennica* 2013–2014: 27–46. Helsinki: Museovirasto.
- Raike, E. 2015. Yhteisöllistä arkeologiaa kalliohakkausten äärellä. Eettiset kysymykset arkeologiassa ja yhteisöarkeologia. *Arkeologipäivät* 2014: 41–7. Helsinki: Suomen arkeologinen seura ry.
- Raike, E. 2017. Mies tähtien takaa. In R. Haanpää & E. Raike (eds.) *Kertomusten Reposaari*: 57–75. Harjavalta: Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura.
- Raittila, R., Vuorisalo, M. & Rutanen, N. 2017. Lasten haastattelu. In M. Hyvärinen, P. Nikander & J. Ruusuvoori (eds.) *Tutkimushaastattelun käsikirja*: 312–35. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Rogers, R. 2007. Overcoming the preservation paradigm: Toward a dialogic approach to rock art and culture. In D. Christensen & P. Whitehead (eds.) *American Indian Rock Art* 33: 53–66. San Diego: American Rock Art Research Association.
- Tully, G. 2007. Community archaeology: General methods and standards of practice. *Public Archaeology* 6 (3): 155–87.