

1 Castrén's travel descriptions and letters are cited in the comments to his travels in this series. Therefore, they are not listed or referred to with detailed references in this introduction.

Das Ausland published among many other travel descriptions a lengthy relation of Middendorff's journey in April 1844. *Das Ausland* 94–100/1844. It printed a brief account of the first months of Castrén's journey on 19 Oct. 1845 according to the journal of the Ministry of Public Education, three of Castrén's travel reports, and to conclude, a summary of his results on 14 Dec. 1849. *Das Ausland* 292/1845; 299/1849. (TS)

2 Castrén 1852a; 1852b; 1852c; 1855.

3 Castrén 1853b; 1856.

4 Castrén 1953; 1967.

5 Castrén 1857b, see esp. p. V–VI; in German, Castrén 1857a.

Matthias Alexander Castrén as a Travelling Researcher

Timo Salminen

M.A. Castrén's travels in literature

M.A. Castrén's travels have been addressed in scholarly, semi-scholarly and popular literature since his lifetime. Already during his journeys Castrén sent letters and descriptions to be published in the press in both St Petersburg and Helsinki. Three of these items printed in German in the *Bulletin* of the Academy of Sciences also appeared in the German newspaper *Das Ausland*.¹ Castrén himself published his travelogues of 1838–1844 as a book in 1852, and travel reports and letters of years 1845–1849 were edited posthumously in 1855.² German editions of them appeared in 1853 and 1856³. An abridged popular book in Finnish was published in 1953, appearing in a second edition in 1967⁴. All of Castrén's journeys are also more or less directly reflected in all his scholarly publications, most directly perhaps in the ethnological lectures that he gave at the University of Helsinki within a period of a little over three weeks in May 1851.⁵ In addition to them there have been several shorter descriptions and analyses of Castrén's journeys in different contexts in both scholarly and popular literature since then.

Castrén himself contextualized his expeditions primarily in a Finnish-national framework, i.e. the rise of the national movement and the scholarly disciplines related to it. Both his newspaper articles and the book were meant for the so-called general public, and in this context it was appropriate to highlight only the aspects of the journeys that had the closest connection to the readership. The international scholarly background was regarded as distant, nor was there any identification with Russian aims. Perhaps he preferred the Finnish-national point of view also in other respects, although he must also have been aware of the international roots and significance of his journeys and work. This can be seen in the references that he makes throughout his reports and diaries.

It is to be expected that Finnish scholars have described and analysed Castrén's travels primarily in a Finnish-national context, and it remained so until the 1980s. This perspective however, is not exclusive, and especially the academic context of St Petersburg is

often explained. The very earliest biography of Castrén, written by Anders Johan Sjögren (1794–1855) and published in Russian in 1853 and in Swedish in 1855, is a special case in several respects.⁶ For Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), Castrén’s journeys were practically exclusively a part of the national movement in Finland. The significance of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg lay only in the economic support it provided to Sjögren and Castrén. Snellman even acknowledged the whole idea of a Siberian expedition to Sjögren, without mentioning the initiatives of other members of the academy at all.⁷ Aarne Michaël Tallgren followed almost completely Snellman in his whole description of Castrén, although with more emphasis on personal factors.⁸ Also Aulis J. Joki’s brief account of Castrén stands in a similar relation of dependence to Snellman.⁹ Emil Nestor Setälä connected Castrén’s work to national development in Finland, mentioning, however, its international connections but not saying anything about earlier travellers in Russia and Siberia.¹⁰ For Carl Axel Nordman, the framework within which he defined the significance of Castrén’s journeys, was the development of Finnish archaeology. The background provided by earlier archaeological studies of Siberia by scholars sent from St Petersburg was not mentioned.¹¹

The international scholarly background from which Castrén’s fieldwork arose was given more prominence in analyses from the 1970s onwards.¹² In his history of Oriental studies in Finland, Pentti Aalto connected Castrén’s travels almost exclusively to the aims of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.¹³ In this respect, his approach differs from that of all other Finnish authors, but it is, of course, determined by his scope, which is international in character. Mikko Korhonen’s emphasis is on the Academy and its interests combined with a Finnish background from the viewpoint of the history of linguistics¹⁴, and Günter Johannes Stipa presented a little later also the relevant international roots within linguistics¹⁵. Neither of them showed much interest in the general roots of Castrén’s journeys in intellectual history. The author of this introduction has earlier attempted to combine the Finnish and Russian factors behind Castrén’s journeys from an archaeological perspective.¹⁶

Castrén’s travels were briefly described also in connection with the general history of Finnish expeditions. Their context in those descriptions and especially the one published in 1989 lies mainly in the Finnish-national disciplines, but it is also mentioned that he extended his fieldwork beyond narrow national borders. The significance of the Imperial Academy of Sciences for his journeys is also presented.¹⁷ In the history of Finnish learning and science, published in 2000, Castrén’s travels are mentioned in several contexts but not analysed or explained in any way.¹⁸

- 6 Шерренъ 1853; Teckning 1855.
- 7 Snellman 1870: esp. p. XXXIV–XXXVII, XLIV–XLVIII.
- 8 Tallgren 1913: 25–27, 54–55 75–82.
- 9 Joki 1953: 7–9.
- 10 Setälä 1915: 4–7.
- 11 Nordman 1968: 15–17.
- 12 Most recently, see Lehtinen, I., 2017: 99–104; Castrén 2017b in general.
- 13 Aalto 1971: 32, 83–85.
- 14 Korhonen, M., 1986: 46–53.
- 15 Stipa 1990: 292–308.
- 16 Salminen, Timo, 2003: 36–40.
- 17 Janhunen 1989: 142–144; Halén 1989: 177–180, 196; Korhonen, M., 1989: 225, 227–236; Tiitta 2009: 45–47.
- 18 Tommila 2000: 126; Herlin 2000: 42, 152, 154, 163, 169; Karlsson – Enkvist 2000: 227, 233, 245, 247, 275, 277.

- 19 Louheranta 2006: esp. p. 84–86, 119–121, 235, 251–253, 263; 2019.
- 20 Vermeulen 2015: 44–81, 108–202 etc.; Ahola – Lukin 2016: 35–36, 55–59; Dahlmann 2009: 115; Lehtinen, I., 2017: 99–104.
- 21 Teckning 1855: 238–245; Шергенъ 1853.
- 22 Karl Fridrixovič/Fedorovič Tiander (1873–1938) was a researcher in St Petersburg/Leningrad, whose grandfather had been a goldsmith in Loviisa, Finland. Tiander published works on different topics of history, literature, theatre and linguistics in the first decades of the 20th century. WorldCat Identities, <http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-nr88-5725>; Kansallismuseo, Kuukauden esine, Syyskuu 2005, http://www.kansallismuseo.fi/fi/kansallismuseo/kokoelmat/kuukauden_esine_2005/kaulakoru.
- 23 Тиандеръ 1904: 14–15, 18–44 (on Hegel on p. 19).

Olavi Louheranta discussed Castrén's travels and fieldwork in connection with his analysis of Kai Donner in the development of cultural anthropology, in particular from a psychological viewpoint.¹⁹ Joonas Ahola and Karina Lukin have recently analysed also Castrén's travels in their introductory article to the new Finnish-language edition of his mythology lectures. They base their view on Han F. Vermeulen's ideas of the emergence of ethnology and ethnography in Siberia during the 18th-century expeditions of the German-born scholars educated in the spirit of the Enlightenment. A similar view has also been proposed by Dittmar Dahlmann, but neither Dahlmann nor Vermeulen has dealt with Castrén because of the chronological limits of their works. Castrén's ethnographic work has, however, been recently analysed by Ildikó Lehtinen.²⁰

It could be expected that works published in Russia and Soviet Union would connect Castrén's expeditions above all to the tradition launched by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Actually, this is not always the case. The first extensive biographical account of Castrén was written by A.J. Sjögren and published in the *Вѣстникъ* of the Imperial Geographical Society. Castrén had been elected corresponding member (*членъ сотрудника*) of the society in 1850. Sjögren's biography of Castrén was published in Swedish in 1855, without the author's name. The Swedish version is cited here. For Sjögren, Castrén was above all the continuator of his own work, and this is also the main context for his journeys. Neither discussion in the Academy of Sciences nor other earlier expeditions are explained. It was indeed Sjögren's efforts that Castrén could thank for the opportunity to travel to the east, but apparently Sjögren wanted to play down the role of other Academy members in achieving the expeditions. This point of view also explains why Snellman gave this honour so exclusively to Sjögren (see above).²¹

The second Russian account, published by K.F. Tiander²² in 1904, gives a lengthy account of Castrén's travels, but because Tiander was dealing with Castrén's work in the context of research in the Finnish language, he presented his journeys mainly in the Finnish context, of course providing them with a relation of the ideas of the day in academic circles and society and noting Sjögren's role in the process, but omitting other connections, also the Russian ones, almost completely. Interestingly, Tiander emphasized the significance of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's (1770–1831) philosophy for Castrén during his formative years.²³

The whole question of whether it was Finnish, Russian or international factors that determined Castrén's work was relatively marginal in the multi-disciplinary collection published in Leningrad for the 75th anniversary of Castrén's death. V.G. Bogoraz mentioned

both Finnish and Russian backgrounds, but he did not go deeper into them and their mutual relationship.²⁴ The Soviet view of the 1920s noted Castrén's criticism towards circumstances prevalent in Russian society in the 1830s and 1840s.²⁵ Jurij Belokobyl'skij's survey of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age archaeology in Siberia presented his journeys in the context of archaeological expeditions to Siberia with emphasis on Russian topics.²⁶

Most works dealing with Castrén's travels have not traced the roots of the interests of the Academy of Sciences further back into history or explained their emergence. Most explicitly this is done in Jurij Belokobyl'skij's book. Literature published in Western Europe is mostly completely unaware of Castrén.

It is typical of all descriptions and analyses of Castrén's journeys at least until the middle of the 20th century that they construct a hero myth²⁷ of a researcher and national actor defying difficult circumstances, endangering his health and returning home half-dead. In itself, this picture is not false, but both conscious and sub-conscious selections have been made to strengthen the hero image.

Castrén himself already began to construct the hero myth. An especially interesting and even striking comparison with the published travelogue is provided by his preserved diary notes from the summer of 1842. The unlucky sailing voyage from Arxangel'sk towards the Ter shore is described quite differently in the diary and in the published travel book, and the difference lies precisely in the fact that in the published version Castrén exaggerated the difficulties he suffered especially in the fishermen's village of Kozly and made them last longer than they actually did.²⁸ Elsewhere in his published description, Castrén often omitted or marginalized his social contacts with the Russian elites of the villages and towns that he visited, possibly to make his travels appear to be more of a solitary effort, independent of Russians. Another and often quite different image is provided by his travelling companion Johan Reinhold Bergstadi's (1820–1850) diary of 1845–1846, published by J. Oskar I. Rancken²⁹, where we see Castrén also bargaining in markets, singing quartets with other Finns in St Petersburg and enjoying good food and wine in both the Russian capital and other towns and cities.³⁰

Other forms of resoluteness also belong to the Castrénian self-portrait. He is terrifying to his adversaries such as a Russian robber trying to take his reindeer and money in 1843 but at the same time generous to the indigenous inhabitants of the tundra and taiga. Several examples of the latter attitude are given.

A specific way of presenting a mythologized Castrén can be found in cases where his significance as a model and forerunner of the later generations of scholars is discussed.³¹

- 24 Богораз 1927: esp. 4, 10, 16, 24–26, and other articles in the collection *Памяти М.А. Кастрена*.
- 25 Богораз 1927: 10–11, 17–19, 34.
- 26 Белокобыльский 1986: 54–56.
- 27 On myth as signified speech, Barthes 1994: 173–179; on applications of hero myths in early Finnish archaeology also involving Castrén, see Salminen, Timo, 2003: 176–178.
- 28 Cf. Blunt – Stearn 1971: 68–69, an account of Carl Linnaeus's (von Linné's) conscious exaggerations of the obstacles he had met and even visits to non-existent places.
- 29 Rancken 1884.
- 30 Quoted in the commentary notes to the 1845–1849 journey in this volume.
- 31 See, e. g. Lehtisalo 1959: 6, 112, 115; Donner, K., 1933: 5, 71, on archaeologists, Salminen, Timo, 2003: 73, 78.

- 32 All the maps of Castrén's journeys published until now contain errors. In some cases, they can be explained by the fact that no detailed description of Castrén's travel routes has been published until now, but for some others there is no reasonable explanation. The most correct map before this edition is Tallgren 1913: appendix and the most erroneous mistakes can be found in Tiitta 2009: 45.
- 33 Castrén's letter to A.J. Sjögren on 27 Sept. 1838, see the volume of letters in this series. When citing letters by Castrén in this article, I refer the reader to the volume of Castrén's letters in this series. The references to the original sources in archives can be found there.
- 34 Korhonen, M., 1986: 40–41; Stipa 1990: 292–298; Setälä 1915: 6.
- 35 Branch 1973: 93–100; Sjögren 1955: 119–121.

In addition to the works cited here, Castrén's travels have been mentioned in a large number of articles and other short works since his death, and practically all the different ways of considering their context have been applied previously in the literature. Therefore, this introduction concentrates on the one hand on the practical side of the journeys and on the other hand on the way Castrén saw the different phenomena that he encountered. What is new in whole of this publication of his travels is the possibility to make Castrén's field research process visible by commenting on his diaries and notebooks, published here for the first time.

*Castrén's travels: where and why?*³²

Lapland 1838 and Karelia 1839

Matthias Alexander Castrén made his first, still quite tentative, journey to Lapland in the summer of 1838. His main aim during this short journey was to become acquainted with the Saami language and folklore, because he had decided to devote himself to studies of the *Kalevala* and Finno-Ugric languages instead of the Oriental (Semitic) languages which he had originally considered to be his main interest.³³ The inspiration for this came from both the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1835 and by the language and folklore studies by foreign scholars such as Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) in the first decades of the 19th century.³⁴

Castrén travelled at the cost of his friend Carl Robert Ehrström (1803–1881), district physician of Tornio, who could follow his companions only to Peltovuoma village in Kittilä before returning to his duties. His other companions were the naturalist Jakob Fredrik Blank (1808–1860) and Pastor Josef Vilhelm Durchman (1806–1891) on his way to become the chaplain in Inari. They visited Aavasaksa Fell on Midsummer Eve, continued to Peltovuoma village and crossed the fells from there to Inari and further on to Utsjoki. A Saami catechumen called Isaksson from Norway was Muonio at the same time to learn Finnish, and he and Castrén could teach each other their respective languages. On the way from Tornio to Peltovuoma, the friends made short visits also to the Swedish side of the border, for example the Kengis ironworks. After Blank took another way back, Castrén and Durchman, who did not remain in Inari yet, wandered with their local guides through Sodankylä and Kemijärvi to Kemi in August. Castrén used the material he had collected in his works on both the Saami languages and Finno-Ugric mythology. Also A.J. Sjögren had visited the area between Utsjoki and Sodankylä in 1826.³⁵

Two published descriptions and a field notebook survive from this journey. The first report was printed in *Helsingfors Morgonblad* in 1839 (No. 2 in this volume) and the second, more extensive, one in *Nordiska resor och forskningar* in 1852 (No. 1 in this volume). The notebook, in extremely worn condition and therefore partly illegible (No. 4), complements the published reports especially concerning the route that was travelled and some descriptive details. Also the article *Ett Postscriptum* (No. 3) can be connected to this journey, despite the date given to it by Carl Gustaf Borg in NRF.³⁶ Also the text known as *Utdrag ur ett bref dateradt Kuolajärvi den 3 December 1841* was written in its original form in Muonio in 1838 (see p. 584).

While Castrén was travelling in Lapland, an expedition to Siberia was being prepared at the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The general plan was accepted on 18 May 1838. The idea for the expedition had been launched by the academician Karl Ernst von Baer (1792–1876) in 1837 and its main emphasis was scientific, but also a linguist-ethnographer was sought for it. A.J. Sjögren was proposed for the task, but he declined because of problems of health and he began to search for another scholar in Finland. Sjögren came to Helsinki at the beginning of August and asked Ivar Ulrik Wallenius (1793–1874) and Johan Gabriel Geitlin (1804–1871), but neither of them was willing to participate. Sjögren met at least Wallenius personally; there is no mention in his diary that he would have met Geitlin. Sjögren tells in his biography of Castrén that Wallenius and Geitlin suggested Georg August Wallin (1811–1852), later well-known as a scholar of the Arabic language, and Matthias Alexander Castrén to him. It was Sjögren's choice to prefer Castrén, because he thought that a person born in northern Finland would endure the difficulties of travelling better.³⁷ However, no final decision was made yet at the Academy. Sjögren explained the delay to Castrén with reference to the economic difficulties caused by the Russian military campaign in Bukhara and Khiva, but the actual reason was that K.E. von Baer had sent a programme of scientific questions to the Governor General of Western Siberia, Prince Pëtr Dmitrievič Gorčakov (1789–1868), and the answers did not arrive until early 1841. Sjögren informed Castrén about the delay, writing that he could organize his studies as he wanted in the meantime.³⁸

Therefore, Castrén's second journey, to Finnish and Russian Karelia in 1839, was a kind of substitute for the Siberian expedition. The Finnish Literature Society awarded him a grant for collecting folklore in Finnish and Russian Karelia, which he did in the summer of 1839. His aim was to collect additional material for his Swedish translation of *Kalevala* epic. The Finnish version had been published by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) in 1835. According to Irma

36 For references and other notes, see the commentary to the texts in this volume.

37 Sjögren met Wallin in 1840 when the latter applied to study at the Oriental Institute in St Petersburg in order to begin a career in diplomacy but was not accepted. He went on to attend lectures at the University of St Petersburg in 1840–1842. Öhrnberg 2010: 28–35.

38 Sjögren 1855: 241–242; Branch 1968: 337–340; Korhonen, M., 1986: 47, 50–51. See also KK Coll. 209.75: Eph. 8 Aug. 1838; Sjögren 1955: 208, 210–212.

- 39 Sulkunen 2004: 62–63; Karkama 2001: 273; Laaksonen 2008: 284; Siikala 2008.
- 40 Sulkunen 2004: 77–81, 83. Castrén was paid 500 [silver?] roubles for his translation. SKSA B1611–1612, minutes of the Finnish Literature Society, 3 March 1841, 16 March 1842.
- 41 Anttila 1931: appendix map.
- 42 Branch 1973: 62–71, 93–100.
- 43 Haavio 1952: 36.
- 44 Teckning 1855: 243 claims erroneously that Castrén would also have been in Lapland in 1839.

Sulkunen, of all of Lönnrot's contemporaries Castrén was the one most excited by the *Kalevala*, but on the other hand he did not accept the idea of it as describing real history. Instead, he represented the mythological tradition of interpretation. He also believed it to be an original folk epic as a whole, only being compiled by Lönnrot.³⁹ Sulkunen has connected Castrén's Karelian journey to a hegemony project within the Finnish Literature Society, where Lönnrot and Castrén together aimed at pushing aside the literary heritage of the late Carl Niclas Keckman (1793–1838). Keckman had bequeathed to the society, among other things, an unfinished Swedish translation of the *Kalevala*, but Lönnrot and Castrén exploited the material for their personal career purposes and deliberately assigned Keckman to oblivion. Sulkunen suggests that this was precisely the reason why the society supported Castrén's journey to Karelia, and Castrén, in turn, was inclined to construct the myth of Lönnrot as national hero who had discovered the Finnish national epic and reassembled it.⁴⁰

Castrén and his two young companions, Johan Martin Jakob af Tengström (1821–1890) and Johan Robert Tengström (1823–1847), began their journey in northern Savonia and Finnish Karelia, visiting places where also Elias Lönnrot and A.J. Sjögren had been in the previous years. Lönnrot had crisscrossed in the region in 1828, 1832, 1834 and 1837, most probably also in 1838, and would return there in 1842.⁴¹ Several points of the whole southern part of Castrén's route south of Kajaani coincided with the route taken by Sjögren in 1824–1825 and the northern part as far Kuusamo with Sjögren's journey in late 1825.⁴² Having left Finnish Karelia, Castrén with his companions visited Lönnrot in Kajaani to get his accord to his plans and continued from there to the Russian side of the border. Folk poetry was collected in several villages, most importantly in Vuokkiniemi. Castrén was quite selective, leaving aside material that he considered too similar to what had already been published in the *Kalevala* in 1835, or being too lyrical in character. Martti Haavio has noted how Castrén's report displays his lack of experience as poetry collector at that time.⁴³ Castrén's Swedish translation of the *Kalevala* was indeed completed in 1841. The travellers returned via Kuusamo, Oulu, Ostrobothnia and Tavastia to Helsinki.

Two different versions of the travel report survive, the one Castrén delivered to the Finnish Literature Society in the autumn of 1839 (No. 6), and the one he published in NRF in 1852 (No. 5). There is also a fragmentary notebook, consisting mainly of word lists and short folklore notes (No. 7). The folklore (folk poetry) material that Castrén collected will be dealt with in another volume of this series by another editor.⁴⁴

Castrén seems to have made a journey to Northern Ostrobothnia in summer 1840, but nothing is known about it except a sole mention of a trip of this kind in his report to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1852, also published in this volume.

Lapland, Russia and Siberia 1841–1844

Still without any information on whether the Imperial Academy could arrange the Siberian journey, Castrén travelled to Lapland together with Elias Lönnrot in late 1841, partly at Lönnrot's cost but also with a small grant from the Finnish Literature Society.⁴⁵ They had originally planned to travel via Muonioiska to Alta to meet Pastor Niels Joachim Christian Vibe Stockfleth (1787–1866), famous for his work on the Saami languages, but because they were not sure whether Stockfleth really was to be found in Alta at the moment, they changed their plans.⁴⁶ The actual trip began at the church of Kemi, reaching Kuolajärvi in November, from where they planned to proceed to A'kkel. The Saami living there were famous for their shamanistic skills, and Castrén wanted to collect their folklore. Because of the high price asked by the local people for providing transport, they travelled to Inari instead, where they heard that Stockfleth was in Kárášjohka, much closer to Inari than Alta would have been, and they continued there. After the return to Inari, Castrén alone visited a village further away in the fells between 3 and 10 February. Lönnrot did not accompany him, probably because of a dispute that had arisen between them on the way to Inari before Christmas.⁴⁷

The Siberian expedition was discussed at the Academy of Sciences in the autumn of 1841, and three important decisions were made. Firstly, it was decided in its historical-philological section on 10/22 September upon Sjögren's proposal that the linguistic-ethnographic expedition would be independent of the scientific one. Then it was decided on 24 September/6 October that the scientific expedition would be carried out under the direction of Alexander Theodor von Middendorff (1815–1894), a Baltic-German scholar. The costs would be 10,000 silver roubles. A linguistic-ethnographic expedition was also wished, which would cause 3,000 roubles additional costs.⁴⁸

On 26 November/8 December 1841, the actual decision was made to carry out the humanistic expedition led by Sjögren.⁴⁹ Relatively little, however, was clear at the practical level by now. Sjögren himself had decided that at least Castrén would travel, but if they travelled together, the 3,000 roubles would not be enough, and he started to seek additional funding at the Academy. On 17/29 December, he could note in his diary a discussion in which it was stated that

45 The grant of the society is mentioned in Teckning 1855: 244, but it cannot be verified from the minutes of the society. The society, however, was expecting to get reports from the travellers. Lönnrot wrote both from Kemi(nmaa) and Arxangel'sk and also Castrén from the latter town. SKSA B1611–1612, esp. minutes 1 Dec. 1841, 16 March, 8 June 1842.

Castrén had applied for a larger travel grant from the Alexander University but it was given to G.A. Wallin. Öhrnberg 2010: 32–33 citing the minutes of the University Senate on 4 Dec. 1841.

46 Castrén's letters to C.R. Ehrström, 14 June 1841, Felix von Willebrand, 11 Nov. 1841, as well as to Lönnrot 14 Sept. and 12. Oct. 1841, see the volume of letters in this series.

47 See, e.g., Castrén's letters to Willebrand, 3 Feb., Alexander Blomqvist, 12 Feb. and F.J. Rabbe 13 Feb. 1842. Lönnrot's diary note on 23 Dec. 1841, quoted in Anttila 1931: 366.

48 KK Coll. 209: Eph. 22 Sept. 1841; Baer 1842; Branch 1968: 340–341; Sjögren 1955: 217–219.

49 KK Coll. 209: Eph. 8 Dec. 1841; Branch 1968: 341. Sjögren noted in his diary that he is going to write to Castrén immediately, but no such letter has been preserved. Possibly he still postponed writing it, waiting for more detailed decisions.

- 50 KK Coll. 209: Eph. 29 Dec. 1841; Branch 1968: 341–342.
- 51 Castrén's letter to Sjögren, 14 Feb. 1842.
- 52 Branch 1973: 95–98.
- 53 Lönnrot's letter to Rabbe, 2 May 1842, published in *Elias Lönnrotin kirjeet*, <http://lonnrot.finlit.fi/omeka/items/show/658>.
- 54 Anttila 1931: 367–368.
- 55 HYKA KoA University Senate minutes 15 June 1842 § 4. Snellman 1870: XLVI, XLVIII; Branch 1968: 342–343.
- 56 Branch 1973: 124–129, 141–148.

an additional 5,000 silver roubles could be found, but on the other hand, the overall opinion was that an official application for funding should be made. This did not suit Baer who replied immediately that if more funding was applied for Sjögren, also Middendorff would be entitled to an additional application. In this state of affairs, Sjögren wrote to Castrén on 28 December 1841/9 January 1842 and explained his plans. He proposed that they would start the journey together, but Castrén alone would continue to the eastern- and northernmost regions after getting used to the circumstances and learning Russian. However, editing his Ossetian grammar for publication made it impossible for Sjögren to travel before 1844. Therefore, the issue was neither discussed at the Academy before late 1843.⁵⁰

Following Sjögren's advice, Castrén and Lönnrot continued from Inari to the Kola Peninsula and via Kem' and Soloveck to Arxangel'sk. Castrén actually had the idea of going from Kola to Varanger and of travelling from there to Arxangel'sk not before August 1842, but this was not realized.⁵¹ They followed Sjögren's footsteps of winter 1826 again from Kola to Soloveck.⁵² Both in Inari and on the Kola Peninsula Castrén acquainted himself with the local Saami languages, folklore and material culture, although, according to Lönnrot, his health was quite poor.⁵³ From Arxangel'sk he also attempted to make a trip to the Ter Shore, but because of unfavourable winds and poor health he had to turn back. Lönnrot had left Arxangel'sk for Karelia just before Castrén's departure, because he had stated that he would have no use for Samoyedic studies for Finnish, as he had originally thought.⁵⁴ After returning from his unlucky adventure on the sea Castrén continued his work in the surroundings of the town. He was financed by the Alexander University of Helsinki with 1,000 silver roubles for the second half of the year 1842 and first half of 1843. In his application, Castrén explained as his goal the collection material on the dialects of the Finnish tribes in Russia in order to write a complete Finnish dictionary.⁵⁵ During the autumn Castrén travelled via Pinega, Mezen' and Sëmža to Nes,' arriving there at the end of the year mainly to collect material on the Tundra Nenets language. He reached Pustozërsk in February 1843. May and June 1843 were spent in Ižma to study the Komi language and culture. Castrén was travelling in the same regions that Sjögren had visited some 15 years earlier. Sjögren had been in the Arxangel'sk region in 1827 – and even planned a trip to the Ter shore – and continued further to Ust'-Sysol'sk (present-day Syktyvkar). From there he had turned south.⁵⁶

From July until the middle of September 1843 Castrén was in Kolva, from where he travelled along the River Usa to the Urals and crossed the mountains in late October to get to Obdorsk (present-day

Salexard) at the beginning of November. In the meantime, funding from the Academy of Sciences for his further journey became unsure. Academicians K.E. von Baer and Peter von Köppen (1793–1864) namely preferred the Hungarian researcher Antal Reguly (1819–1858) for the scholarship, because Reguly was in St Petersburg doing research on Finno-Ugric themes in 1841–1843 and had become acquainted with several members of the Academy. He travelled in Siberia in 1843–1846. Sjögren expected Castrén to send a short dissertation to the Academy to show his competence and asked him to do so several times, but finally decided to make the official proposal without it. Prior to this, on 17/29 December, he went to the Minister of Public Instruction, Count Sergej Semënovič Uvarov (1786–1855), who was also President of the Academy of Sciences, and attempted to get his support in advance. The Minister, however, replied to Sjögren that he did not know the issue sufficiently and wanted to wait for the official decision of the Academy. He also hoped that Sjögren himself could travel. Sjögren, however, had decided to travel only if it was explicitly required by the Academy. On the next day Sjögren wrote to Professor Alexander Blomqvist (1796–1848) in Helsinki asking him to tell Frans Johan Rabbe (1801–1879) to submit Castrén's inquiry to apply for a salary for him from Finland until his appointment was decided in the Academy. On 20 December 1843/1 January 1844, Sjögren stated in his diary that he had written an encouraging letter to Castrén, although he did not feel optimistic himself.⁵⁷

On 5/17 January 1844, Sjögren discussed with Peter von Köppen who should be sent by the Academy to the east, Castrén or Reguly. Köppen still supported Reguly, because he knew him personally. Two days later, Köppen told Sjögren that Reguly had obtained funding from the Austrian government, but not enough to carry out his ongoing studies. Baer, therefore, attempted to get Sjögren's support for obtaining financing for Reguly from the Academy. In this stage, Sjögren decided to make the official proposition to appoint Castrén in the historical-philological section on 12/24 January. A completely new counter-proposal was made by the members of the physical-mathematical section who were at present at the meeting. They asked for an additional 500 silver roubles to Middendorff and suggested that it could be temporarily taken from the 3,000 roubles assigned to the linguistic-ethnographical expedition. Baer even demanded that the whole sum of 3,000 roubles be given to Middendorff instead of Castrén, because the latter was funded by the Alexander University. Sjögren now said that he would travel himself only if circumstances permitted and this seemed impossible for the time being. Eventually, his proposal was accepted in the meeting and Castrén was given funding for three years, 1,000 silver roubles

57 KK Coll. 209: Eph. 29, 30 Dec. 1843, 1 Jan. 1844; Branch 1968: 342–345.

- 58 Bulletin des séances de la classe 1843: 335–336; Летопись Российской Академии Наук II: 308, 325; Branch 1968: 346–347; Сухова – Таммиксаар 2005: 28–29, 36–50, 244; Tammiksaar 2009: 145; Teckning 1855: 251–252; KK Coll. 209: Eph. 24 Jan., 15 Feb. 1844; Sjögren 1955: 226–234. See also Hf. Mbl 17/1844 where the news about Castrén's appointment was published.
- 59 Baer 1845.
Baer still continued with his efforts for Reguly. Castrén had taught Reguly Finnish in Helsinki in 1841 and had given a very negative assessment of his skills and knowledge back then. He had written about it to Sjögren on 27 August/8 September 1843 and 22 July/3 Aug. 1844 (see the volume of letters in this series), and Sjögren related this assessment in the meeting of 12/24 January. Consequently, Baer left an official protest against Sjögren's assessment and wrote also to the Lecturer in Finnish, Carl Axel Gottlund (1796–1875) in Helsinki asking for an honest estimate about Reguly and, at least according to Sjögren, for Gottlund's support. KK Coll. 209: Eph. 28, 29 Feb., 13, 22 March 1844; Branch 1968: 344–345.
- 60 Sjögren 1844.
- 61 Koeppen 1844.
- 62 Kappeler 2009: 68–69.
- 63 KK Coll. 209: Eph. 17, 18, 24 April 1844.
- 64 Castrén shared the prize with Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (1805–1887). According to Летопись РАН II: 326, the

per year, but on the condition that Sjögren would travel with him. It was also decided to use the required 500 roubles for Middendorff's expedition until Baer could possibly get compensation for it through a new grant from the state. After receiving formal confirmation for it from Minister Uvarov, Castrén was finally appointed on 16/28 February 1844.⁵⁸ After the appointment, Baer published additional instructions for Castrén wishing above all to obtain the skulls and skeletons of Siberian peoples via him as well as ethnographic collections of them. He read them at a meeting of the physical-mathematical section of the Academy on 8 March 1844.⁵⁹

Castrén received detailed special instructions for the Siberian journey from A.J. Sjögren in January 1844. They were written to convince the Academy to appoint him. Castrén's region of research was restricted between the Ob' and Enisej rivers, and it was set his special task to carry out research among the Samoyeds and the Khanty but also to collect information about the languages and cultures of other peoples such as the Kets and to investigate the situation of the Assans, Kots, Arins, Mators and Kamassian Samoyeds. It was explicitly stated that he should not divide his attention to include the Tungus and other Turkic peoples. While Sjögren considered languages to be Castrén's primary area of research, he also required him to collect folklore, geographic and topographic information, copy inscriptions and describe Chud graves both internally and externally in relation to their surroundings. If Castrén were able to find artefacts, he should send them to the Academy.⁶⁰ Peter von Köppen wrote a supplementary instruction in March 1844, in which he added some tasks to the ones listed by Sjögren, but his questions did not bring any really new fields of research within Castrén's scope.⁶¹ As a statistician, Köppen had classified all the peoples living in Russia⁶² and it was in his interest to make Castrén collect additional data for him.

After a stay of two months for collecting material on the northern dialects of the Khanty language, culture and society Castrén had to give up plans to travel to Turuxansk because of his deteriorating health and turned southwards instead. After being diagnosed with tuberculosis by a Polish doctor, he eventually left for Finland in March 1844, i.e. just after the Academy of Sciences had made the decision to appoint him for an expedition to the east. Sjögren got to know about this on 5/17 April and after some hesitation he presented it at the Academy. Academician C.F. Graefe (1780–1851) suggested there that they would wait until the next autumn to see whether Castrén's health had been restored, and the issue was left at that.⁶³ Castrén arrived in Helsinki on 15 May 1844 after travelling for two and a half years in the north. Here he learned that he had been

awarded half of the Demidov Prize by the Academy of Sciences for his Komi grammar as well as money for printing costs, a total of 1,000 silver roubles.⁶⁴ The Alexander University gave him the Alexander grant, a special stipend for travel, in Castrén's case most probably 900 silver roubles.⁶⁵

There is varying contemporary information on whether it was only his poor health or also his desire to arrange the material collected during the past years that brought Castrén back to Finland, but it seems that both reasons contributed to these developments. The issue is explained in more detail and with source references in the commentary notes on p. 544–546 to the travels in 1841–1844. The reader is also referred to Castrén's letters, published in a later volume of this series.

Castrén also published a description of this journey in 1852 (No. 8 in this volume). In addition to it, two unpublished notebooks with miscellaneous notes (Nos. 9 and 12), a fragmentary travel diary from the summer of 1842 (No. 11) and a letter extract published previously as *Utdrag ur ett bref, dateradt Kuolajärvi den 3 December 1841* (No. 10) are preserved. Actually Castrén has did not originally write the *Utdrag* at all in Kuolajärvi in 1841 but in Muonio in 1838, which can be seen in the modifications that he made to the text. Because this publication aims at the last versions by Castrén, the text has been kept in its traditional connection with the 1841–1844 journey. The linguistic materials are analysed in separate volumes of this series by different editors.

Castrén was considered to be an expert of the questions about Samoyed languages and cultures now. His expert position can be seen from the fact that the Academy of Sciences asked him for a review of Alexander Gustav von Schrenk's (1816–1876) travel book *Reise durch den Tundren der Samojuden* for a possible Demidov Prize. It is probably Sjögren's influence that can be recognized in this request. Also, Castrén himself swiftly took an expert position presenting a detailed criticism of Schrenk's linguistic and ethnographic observations.⁶⁶ His assessment as well as his account of the hydrography of the Mezen' district are also published here (Nos. 14 and 15).

Siberia 1845–1849

After recovering for a while, Castrén left Helsinki for Russia again on 27 February 1845. He and his companion Johan Reinhold Bergstadi arrived in St Petersburg for the first time in their lives eight days later, remaining there until 12/24 March.⁶⁷ Above all, he had to meet the members of the Academy of Sciences personally, which he also did, and, of course, he has also discussed the details of the instructions especially with Sjögren and Köppen.

Academy made its decision on 12/24 April, but according to Sjögren's diary, only Köppen's recommendation to Castrén was presented on that day with support from some other members, and the prize-winners were decided on 17/29 April; KK Coll. 209; Eph. 24, 29 April 1844; Sjögren 1955: 233 where the sum is expressed as 2,500 + 1,000 paper roubles (Banco Assignations) the rate being 1 silver rouble = 3.50 paper roubles. On the rate, see also p. 246.

65 The sum is not given in the minutes. According to Snellman 1870: XLVI; cf., it was 900 Rub. Sr, but in Teckning 1855: 259, Sjögren writes that Castrén was awarded 6700 roubles in assignations by the university. Sjögren seems to have based this on the letter from Castrén, 3 Aug. 1844 where Castrén wrote that 'according to what is told' [*enligt berättelsen*] he was awarded 6700 roubles in assign. (= 1,900 silver roubles). However, it can be read in his later letters that he withdrew the whole sum in three instalments in 1845 (Castrén to Sjögren, 26 Apr./8 May and 12/24 Aug. 1845), which makes it most probable that the Alexander grant was less than 1,900 silver roubles. The sum 6,700 seemingly contains both the 1,000-rouble grant of 1842 and the 900-rouble Alexander grant of 1844, given in paper roubles.

The grant decision in favour of Castrén was made in the University Senate on 12 June 1844, and the affirmation

of it by the Chancellor (Carevič Aleksandr Nikolaevič) was taken into the minutes on 17 August. There were three applicants, with Castrén receiving five votes out of 12. The most detailed *vota* for him were delivered by professors Alexander Blomqvist and Gabriel Rein (1800–1867). On the other hand, Professor Jakov Grot (1812–1893) and three others associating themselves with his *votum*, were of the opinion that the university had already supported Castrén enough, although they did not want to deny the significance of his work as such. HYKA KoA University Senate minutes 12 June § 18, 17 August 1844 § 5.

The grant had been instituted in 1842, and the Chancellor had decided its amount to be 1,285 silver roubles per year. HYKA KoA University Senate minutes, 19 Nov. 1842 § 1, 21 Dec. 1842 § 3.

66 See also Бэръ & al. 1850 with Castrén as co-author.

67 The University Senate had awarded Bergstadi a Hedman grant for the journey and applied to the Chancellor to permit Bergstadi to travel three years with Castrén in Siberia. HYKA KoA University Senate 12 Feb., 12 Apr. 1845. On the Hedman grant, see Tietosana-kirja III: 203 [Hedman, Claudius].

68 Rancken 1884: 3. There was a large Finnish community in St Petersburg in the middle of the 19th century. Its number has been counted ca. 11 000 in 1840

Castrén described in his diary notes the feelings evoked by the capital city. At first, he disliked its monotony, but over the following days he also found much that was beautiful there. On 16 March, he addressed sharp criticism about the atmosphere in the city where free expression of opinions was not possible and, to keep safe, it was best not to express any opinion at all of anything and to be completely uninterested in the issues of the day. In Castrén's opinion, most people in academic and literature circles were either pedants or dilettantes. Castrén assumed that if he were not travelling to Siberia of his own will, he would be sent there as a prisoner.

What was not described by Castrén but what can be read in Bergstadi's diary, is that during their days in St Petersburg they engaged in active social life with other Finns of the city, eating, drinking wine and singing Carl Michael Bellman's (1740–1795) quartets.⁶⁸ Activities of this kind were almost completely left unmentioned by Castrén in his descriptions.

Castrén and Bergstadi arrived via Moscow and Vladimir to Kazan' on 29 March/9 April. Kazan' was their headquarters for little over a month. During that time, Castrén concentrated on the Volga-Finnic languages and met scholars at the university as far as his health permitted. After short stops in Perm', Ekaterinburg and Tjumen' they stayed in Tobol'sk for ten days to prepare for their journey. In Glazov and Perm', Castrén's route coincided with Sjögren's journey of 1827.⁶⁹

Middendorff was travelling in Northern Siberia in 1842–1844. Because of the delay in Castrén's departure they never met.

From June until September 1845 Castrén studied Southern Khanty and some Samoyedic dialects in the regions of Samarovo (present-day Xanty-Mansijsk) and Surgut. After considering different possible routes to the Samoyeds, he and Bergstadi remained for the rest of 1845 in Narym. They spent the following months until March 1846 in Togur and Molčanova to collect material mainly on the Tomsk region Samoyeds or Selkups but also on the Tatars. They went on to travel via Tomsk and Ačinsk to Krasnojarsk where they arrived on 11/23 March 1846 and continued downstream on the River Enisej five days later.

Along the Enisej, Castrén collected material of a wide array of languages and cultures, Tungus, Kets, Selkups, Nganasans, Enets and Nenets. In Turuxansk (present-day Staroturuxansk) he stayed for one and a half month in June and July 1846. Another long-term stay was in Dudinka where Castrén spent almost three months from August to November 1846, travelling thereafter still further north to Tolstij Nos. Bergstadi remained in Dudinka, leaving Castrén and returning via Krasnojarsk and Kazan' to Finland in 1847. Castrén

attempted get a new travel companion from Finland but was unsuccessful and he continued his journey alone. During the winter and spring of 1847 he travelled back to the south, spending three weeks in Xantajka and some time in Turuxansk on the way.

Castrén took on a new task on the steppes around the upper course of the Enisej in spring and summer. He collected linguistic and ethnographic material on the Tatars (Khakasses) and carried out archaeological excavations of kurgans and documented inscriptions on rocks and grave stelae (see the volume of archaeological and historical writings and the last part of this volume in this series). His main base was at Ust'-Abakanskoe (present-day Abakan) and Minusinsk. On 20 June/1 July, Castrén travelled without a passport to the Chinese side of the border to meet Soyots (present-day Tuvans), returning from there in August to continue his work on the steppes. He left Minusinsk for the last time on 5/17 September and arrived in Krasnojarsk 16 days later.

The months until the end of 1847 were spent studying the languages and cultures of the Kots and Kamassian Samoyeds on the smaller rivers east of Krasnojarsk. Despite the restrictions in his written programme, Castrén continued via Irkutsk to Verxneudinsk (present-day Ulan-Udè) and stayed in the region southeast of Lake Bajkal until March 1848 to collect material on the Tungus, Buryats and Buddhist religion. All these had been explicitly excluded from his duties by the Academy, at least as far as the written instructions are concerned.⁷⁰ He then turned towards Kĵaxta and visited China for the second time before continuing via Čita and the town of Nerčinsk to the Nerčinsk mines on the Chinese border near the River Amur. He spent May and June 1848 there and returned to Čita on 26 June/8 July, staying there for three weeks before continuing to Irkutsk, where he had to stay to cure his poor health for a whole month in July–August 1848. The next long stay required by health took place in Krasnojarsk in November. It was not until then that Castrén was able to make the effort to continue to the west.

Castrén had changed his route plans several times on the way, either because of practical difficulties in travelling or because he noticed that it was unnecessary to visit regions which he originally had in mind. He had to give up a planned visit to the annual market of Selijarovo in 1845 because of flooding rivers. His planned route from the Ob' via the Vax and the Taz to the lower course of the Enisej was considered impossible to travel, and he turned towards Narym and Tomsk instead.⁷¹ After finding the desired languages and dialects on the lower Enisej, Castrén could completely give up his plan to travel to the Taz.⁷² He did not decide to travel to the Soyots until the summer of 1847; neither was this one of the tasks assigned to him

belonging to all classes of society. Engman 2003: 165, 308.

- 69 Branch 1973: 143.
70 Sjoegren 1844: 326; Koeppen 1844: 373.
71 Castrén's letters to Sjögren, 28 Aug./9 Sept. and 1/13 Dec. 1845.
72 Castrén's letter to Lönnrot, 28 June/10 July 1846 and Sjögren, 5/17 July 1846.

- 73 Castrén's letter to Sjögren, 5/17 July 1847.
- 74 Castrén's letters to F.J. Rabbe, 5/17 Nov. 1847, 6/18 Jan. 1848, to Sjögren, 1/13 Dec. 1847.
- 75 Castrén's letter to Sjögren, 1/13 March 1848.
- 76 Castrén's letter to Fabian Colan 22 March/3 April 1847.
- 77 Castrén's letter to Sjögren, 1/13 March 1848.
- 78 Castrén's letters to Sjögren, 3/15 July, 12/24 Aug., 3/15 Nov. 1848, to Rabbe, 12/24 Aug., 3/15 Nov., 2/14 Dec. 1848.
- 79 Castrén's letter to Sjögren, 1/13 March 1848.
- 80 KK Coll. 209: Eph. 27, 29, 30 Jan., 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13–15, 17, 20, 21 Feb. 1849 (esp. the two last dates).
- 81 On the importance of the material collected by Castrén, see Korhonen, M., 1986: 64–66; Janhunen 2009.
- 82 Middendorff 1875.

by the Academy.⁷³ No document is preserved in which explains his decision. After leaving to Minusinsk valley in autumn 1847, Castrén planned to travel to Irkutsk as soon as possible, but having found Kot speakers east of Krasnojarsk, he stayed there longer than he had thought.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Castrén had to leave some places in the Lake Bajkal region unvisited contrary to his earlier plans.⁷⁵

Castrén's period in offices with the Academy was originally meant to end on 10 March 1848, when he should have been in St Petersburg, but he decided already in spring 1847 to apply for a short prolongation.⁷⁶ The unexpected tasks between Krasnojarsk and Irkutsk introduced a new reason to stay even longer in the east. Still in March 1848, he planned to arrive in Omsk in July⁷⁷, but actually he was not there until December, largely because of lengthy stops caused by deteriorating health.⁷⁸

For his journey back to the west, Castrén had plans for excavations of kurgans in the Governorates of Tomsk and Omsk, but because health problems had postponed his journey until winter, he had to leave them undone. They would have also involved considerable costs.⁷⁹

Castrén arrived in St Petersburg on 13/25 January 1849 and left the Imperial capital for Helsinki on 10/22 February. The most crucial task for him now was to inform the Academy of Sciences about his results. The only source we have about his programme in St Petersburg is A.J. Sjögren's diary, and even this does not give very detailed information about his encounters. Sjögren, however, read Castrén's report at the Academy describing the journey and its fieldwork. It was decided to award Castrén an annual grant of 700 silver roubles for three years to edit the collected materials.⁸⁰

The last journey resulted indeed in a large numbers of travel reports, descriptions, diaries and notes, most of which Castrén could not publish or utilize in any way himself before his death. However, the vast material was important for future research, and therefore the most important materials were edited by Franz Anton von Schiefner (1817–1879) in St Petersburg in 1853–1862.⁸¹ They were also used by A.T. von Middendorff in his large publication of his own journey. The latter combined them with his own observations about the Siberian peoples, cultures and languages.⁸²

Castrén's travel plan (No. 15), nine descriptions or reports (Nos. 16–21, 23, 24, 26), the hydrography of the Enisej (No. 22) and an account of the Finnish prisoners and deported persons in Siberia (No. 25) are published here. Moreover, there are four previously unpublished travel diaries, covering the whole journey except for the period from October 1845 to May 1846 (Nos. 27–30), and calendars for 1846 and 1847 containing some brief notes (Nos. 31, 32). Again,

the extensive linguistic, ethnographic and other scholarly materials are published in separate volumes by different editors in this series, except for the field notes that Castrén wrote in his diaries.

Castrén and the tradition of expeditions

Two of Castrén's four journeys can be considered as real scholarly expeditions, the one to northern Russia and western Siberia in 1841–1844 and the one to Siberia in 1845–1849. The journey to Lapland in 1838 was a rehearsal to obtain experience of travelling in field conditions, and the one to Karelia in 1839 was for the purpose of collecting folk poetry in the sense of Elias Lönnrot, Zacharias Topelius Sr. (1781–1831) and other Finnish national-romantics. Lapland east of the Tornionjoki and Muonionjoki rivers had been annexed to the newly established Grand Duchy of Finland of Russian Empire in the Peace Treaty of Hamina in 1809, and scholarly expeditions there were just about to begin in the 1830s. Some naturalists such as the French researcher Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759) and Swedish scientists such as Carl von Linné (1707–1778) and Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) had travelled in Lapland since the first half of the 18th century, but there was no established tradition in the field of the humanities until the late 19th century.⁸³

Karelia on both sides of the border between the autonomous Finland and Russia proper had been quickly established as an area for collecting folk poetry in the 1820s and 1830s. Publishing the first version of the *Kalevala* epic in 1835 had linked Russian Karelia to the image of Finnishness being created by the cultural elites of the time. Despite cultural differences Karelia and Karelians were suddenly presented as a part of Us; also the boundary between the Finnish and Dvina Karelian languages was not distinct. Castrén's journey in Finnish and Russian Karelia was an integral part of the continuum that lasted from the previous decade until the 1940s.⁸⁴

With his journeys in Russia and Siberia Castrén was connected with both Russian and European traditions of research expeditions, while linking Finnish national(ist) interests to them. Castrén's travels were carried out in a period when the approach emphasizing the ethnic diversity of Russia was challenged by rising Russian nationalism underlining ethnically Russian points of view and attempts to find out 'what specifically makes Russia Russia'. Of course, the more universalistic approach did not appear overnight, but research on non-Russian peoples of the empire could not find as much support at the Academy as it had found previously.⁸⁵ All three sets of instructions, written by non-Russian members of the Academy for

- 83 Linné (Linnaeus) travelled in Lycksele and Tornio Lapland as a young scholar in 1732. Kallinen s.a. [2003]: 229, 232–233; Blunt – Stearn 1971: 40–68.
- 84 Sihvo, H., 2003: 66–76, 100–143.
- 85 Knight 2009: 118–128; Tammiksaar 2009: 145; Clay 1995; Ahola – Lukin 2016: 59; Sjögren 1955: 220–224.

- 86 Sarnowsky 2015 *passim*.
 87 Vermeulen 2015: 26, 92–95; Sarnowsky 2015: 207–208.
 88 Dahlmann 1999; Dahlmann 2009: 105–142.
 89 Vermeulen 2015: 202–203; Ahola – Lukin 2016: 55; for a synthesizing overview of explorations of Russia, see Stagl 2009.
 90 Vermeulen 2015: 29, 44–81, 113–122.
 91 Dahlmann 1999: 9–25; Dahlmann 2009: 39, 66–73, 82–87, 96, 105–115; Vermeulen 2015: 87–99.
 92 Dahlmann 1999: 23–25; Dahlmann 2009: 112–136; Winter – Figurovskij 1962; Vermeulen 2015: 108–122. Strahlenberg published his observations, despite the promise not to publish them he had given to the Academy of Sciences. Strahlenberg 1730.
 93 Bucher 2009: 47.

Castrén, still reflect the notion of cultural diversity of the Russian Empire and necessity to collect information about it.

The earliest expeditions worldwide had been made either to search for unknown continents or routes to previously known places. Their peak period was in the 15th and 16th centuries. Increasing knowledge of the earth made it possible to concentrate on more detailed questions already from the 17th century onwards, but the era of traditional expeditions of discovery was not over until the end of the 18th century.⁸⁶ Organizing expeditions gradually became a colonial pursuit for several European countries.⁸⁷ Russia was no exception, although its expansive and colonial attention was not turned to the distant countries behind the oceans but to its own immediate neighbouring areas in Asia.⁸⁸ Therefore, the Russians also found the cultural Other increasingly within their own Empire, even in its European parts.⁸⁹

There had been travellers who had described their experiences and observations from Siberia since the 15th century, such as Johannes Schiltberger (1381–1440), Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566), Eberhard Isbrand Ides (1657–1708) and Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717). Also the mapping of Siberia had begun in the 16th century along with the Russian conquest. Russian power had reached the Pacific Ocean in 1639 and become established in the whole Asiatic north by the end of the 17th century. There was obvious demand for research concerning the natural resources and indigenous peoples of the conquered area. The idea of the Enlightenment gave a strong impulse for expeditions to remote areas all over the world.⁹⁰ These ideas were also imported to Russia through German scholars, leading to the founding of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in the 1720s. The 18th century was particularly crucial for collecting information about Siberia.⁹¹

Three expeditions of the first half of the 18th century were especially important. Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735) travelled through most of Siberia in 1720–1727. Two Kamčatka expeditions were for the purpose of seeking a new sailing route from Europe to Asia and mapping the Kamčatka region. The first one was led by Vitus Bering (1681–1741) in 1725–1730 and the second one was carried out by Bering, Johann Georg Gmelin (1709–1755) and Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783) in 1733–1743. Also the Swedish prisoner of war Philipp Johann Tabbert (von Strahlenberg, 1677–1747) travelled in Siberia in 1711–1722, ultimately together with Messerschmidt.⁹² Gudrun Bucher has emphasized the change brought about by Messerschmidt's expedition: it launched the systematic collecting of information about Siberia.⁹³ The Second Kamčatka Expedition, however, was the first one sent to Siberia with explicit instructions and

definite questions to answer. Its results and questions were used a couple of decades later as the most important basis for his own travels by Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811).⁹⁴ The questions the travelers were required to answer were mostly of a scientific character, seeking information about natural resources and sailing routes, but also languages and cultures in the area, even archaeological remains came within their scope from early on.⁹⁵

Han F. Vermeulen has discussed the question of whether the travellers were also involved in the Russian colonialist project in Siberia, but in his opinion this connection was only indirect.⁹⁶ The borderline between direct colonialist activities and others of a more indirect type but of colonial importance because of their applicability remains, however, unclear.

In the second half of the 18th century, Ivan Ivanovič Lepëxin's (1740–1802) journey in 1769–1772, mostly in European Russia but extending also briefly into westernmost Siberia, and Peter Simon Pallas's journey in 1768–1774 to Southern Russia and Siberia were the most prominent expeditions of the period within the Russian empire.⁹⁷ Some of Müller's observations had been published by J.G. Gmelin, the leader of the expedition, and Pallas published a three-volume description of his journey.⁹⁸ Thus, they were more readily accessible for Castrén than Messerschmidt's unpublished notes. Müller had a broad research programme for the history and ethnography of Siberia, which he partly realized himself, and partly delegated to others with extremely detailed instructions.⁹⁹ According to Müller, it was language that showed possible relations between peoples.¹⁰⁰

Castrén was linked to the international continuum of travels, the professionalization of different scholarly disciplines, applied interests of Russian administration and emerging Finnish nationalist ideas alike. He combined with the latter also some interest in Turkic and Mongolic languages, because their relationship to the Finno-Ugric languages was unclear. Turkology had some appeal in Western Europe in the first half of the 19th century. He was also connected to a tradition of Tibetan studies, practised in Europe since in the late 18th century.¹⁰¹

Castrén's routes crossed those of the earlier travellers at several points, above all in the Minusinsk region, Turuxansk/Mangazeja, Irkutsk and Kjaxta and the region east of it as far as the River Argun'. These regions were visited by Messerschmidt and Gmelin with Müller and Pallas. Castrén's route crossed Lepëxin's route especially in the White Sea region.¹⁰² Kazan' and its surroundings on the Volga were visited by almost all researchers travelling in Russia. It was stated already in the first chapter of this introduction that Castrén followed Sjögren in many parts of his journeys in European Russia.

- 94 Dahlmann 1999; Vermeulen 2015: 141–194; Bucher 2009: 47–52; Dahlmann 2009: 118–128.
 95 Dahlmann 2009: esp. 120–122.
 96 Vermeulen 2015: 26 etc.
 97 Dahlmann 2009: 136–142.
 98 Gmelin 1999 [1752]; Pallas 1771, 1773, 1776.
 99 Bucher 2009: 54–56; Vermeulen 2015: 131–133, 164–194.
 100 Bucher 2009: 50.
 101 Karttunen 1992: 158–164, 242–250; Aalto 1971: 83–85.
 102 Gmelin 1999 passim, esp. map on the cover inside; Pallas 1771, 1773, 1776 passim; Messerschmidt 1962: map; 1964: map; 1966: map; 1968: map; 1977: map; Русские путешественники и мореплаватели: Лепехин, Иван Иванович, <http://rus-travelers.ru/lepehin-ivan-ivanovich>.

- 103 Миллер 1999: 453–454, 503–511, Gmelin 1999: 286–291; Белокобыльский 1986: 24–30.
- 104 Vermeulen 2015: 167–168; Bucher 2009: 49–50.
- 105 Белокобыльский 1986: 31–37.
- 106 Vermeulen 2015: 104–108 etc.; on otherness in ethnography in general, see Fabian 2014; on some applications also Salmiinen, Timo, 2017b.
- 107 Öhrnberg 2010: esp. 32–55.
- 108 Engman 2007: esp. 16–20.
- 109 Sahlberg 2007; Wallin 2010–2014.

Especially Müller, because of his clearly-cut humanistic research problems to solve, but also Pallas displayed considerable interest in humanistic questions. However, it is Pallas of all Castrén's predecessors in Siberia who is best known for his published and detailed ethnographic and archaeological observations. Also Castrén cited him in several contexts, sometimes also expressing some criticism. On the other hand, Pallas was above all collecting information about natural resources and did not have any detailed instructions for cultural observations. G.F. Müller, travelling in Siberia four decades before Pallas, remained less known, because most of his observations remained unpublished. It was explicitly mentioned in his instructions that he should excavate kurgans and send the discovered artefacts to the Academy in St Petersburg, but no tasks of a more analytical nature were given to him. His fieldwork extended from the River Irtyš to the Argun', and, on the basis of them, he and J.G. Gmelin classified the Enisej region grave mounds into five types and he also drew some historical, socio-economic and ethnic conclusions and had a vague idea that graves containing only copper or bronze artefacts might be older than the ones with iron objects. He also documented rock inscriptions during his journey.¹⁰³ Müller himself gave Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697–1771) more detailed instructions for collecting and describing ancient remains in 1740, but they have not been published.¹⁰⁴ Pallas continued Müller's work. He also divided graves into different types and drew conclusions about the wealth and social organization of the people.¹⁰⁵

Eighteenth-century travellers in Siberia developed what came to be known as *Völker-Beschreibung*, the description of peoples. Han F. Vermeulen considers the Siberian expeditions in particular to have been decisive to the whole development of ethnographic interest and a systematic gaze on the Other. Its roots were in the Enlightenment ideas and more specifically in the German universities where the most travellers were taught.¹⁰⁶ Castrén inherited this idea and applied it in his work. As it shown above, his relationship to the Other was not unambiguous, though, as it was determined both by his ethnic assumptions and cultural distance.

Even in the Finnish context, Castrén was not the only explorer of his time. Another linguist, Georg August Wallin, mentioned above as a candidate for the Siberian journey, turned his attention to the Arabic language and culture, travelling in Egypt and on the Arabian Peninsula in 1843–1850.¹⁰⁷ The zoologist Reinhold Ferdinand Sahlberg (1811–1874) travelled around the world in 1839–1843, firstly from Europe around South America to Alaska and continuing via Siberia and Russia back to Finland.¹⁰⁸ Both their travel diaries have been published recently.¹⁰⁹

Peoples, cultures and languages

Together with other figures who developed historical-comparative linguistics, Castrén considered languages to reflect the history of peoples and their relations with each other. Languages were regarded as natural organisms, and therefore linguistics was like comparative anatomy. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) had launched an attempt to classify all peoples into groups on the basis of their languages. August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735–1809) had developed Leibniz’s classification further. The next step was taken by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), who, contrary to Schlözer, considered peoples to be not only taxonomic units but also ‘organic entities, in which humanity expressed itself’, each of them distinguished from the others by its own characteristic spirit. Language was the basis on which communities and emerging national identities were constructed in an industrializing society where the earlier local communities gradually lost their significance.¹¹⁰ On the basis of Herder’s ideas on national spirit or character, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) formulated a plan for comparative anthropology in the 1790s and developed it further in his works of the 1810s–1830s. Humboldt’s plan may also have influenced Castrén, although Humboldt was not appreciated by linguists in his lifetime. The connection between language and national character belonged to the most crucial ones for him.¹¹¹ In Castrén’s words, ‘grammars are not my main goal, but without grammars this goal cannot be reached’.¹¹² In addition to language, the national spirit found its expression in all other aspects of culture such as folklore, customs, traditional artefacts, and ways of life with their roots in prehistory.¹¹³

For Castrén, culture was the result of historical development, the parts of which could not be separated from each other. Therefore, they should also be investigated and analysed jointly and accordingly he had a genuine interest in all spiritual and material culture, customs and history of each people he encountered on the way, and his travel notes reflect how he attempted to combine all these aspects of culture into an integrated whole.¹¹⁴

The roots of Castrén’s universalistic approach go back to the medieval but especially Renaissance ideal of universal knowledge, which was on the verge of being replaced by different, more specific realms of specialization. On the one hand, Castrén specialized in linguistics, while on the other hand he followed Herder’s idea of history as the history of culture and cultural development. In that perspective, language, poetry and other forms of culture formed an inseparable entity. Perhaps the most important mediator of Herder’s

- 110 Hovdhaugen & al. 2000: 156–162; Oesch 2006: 73; Vermeulen 2015: 284–295, 300, 321–322; Ahola – Lukin 2016: 43–52, 55–56.
- 111 Bunzl 1996: 20–33.
- 112 Castrén’s letter to Snellman, 18 Oct. 1844 (‘Grammatikorna utgöra ej mitt hufwudsakliga ändamål, men utan Grammatikor winnes ändamålet icke.’); Kar-kama 2006; Oesch 2006: 76–77, 80–83; Nisbet 2006: 90–95, 106–110; Apo 2006: 262–263; Häkkinen, K., 2006: 296, 306–310; Branch 2006: esp. p. 346–347.
- 113 Salminen, Timo, 2003: 152–156.
- 114 Ahola – Lukin 2016: 43–50.

- 115 Oittinen 2006: 44; Häkkinen, K., 2006; Branch 2006: *passim*, esp. 315–316, 344–347.
- 116 Trigger 2006: 121–133; Jensen 2009.
- 117 Middendorff 1875: 1412–1414.
- 118 On different aspects of language and ethnicity, see Fought 2006: 6–7, 20–21, 77–78, 93.
- 119 ‘Die Frage über die Stammgenossenschaft der Völker muss allendlich durch die Ethnographie entschieden werden und nur wo diese die Resultate der linguistischen Forschungen bestätigt, dürfen sie für gewiss und unzweifelhaft gelten.’ Middendorff 1875: 1403.
- 120 Castrén 1857b: 11–13. See also Louheranta 2006: 60.

ideas to Castrén was A.J. Sjögren, but also Elias Lönnrot was well aware of them.¹¹⁵

Also prehistory was just emerging as an element in the image of different cultures in Castrén’s time. It made researchers acquaint themselves with the remains of an assumed national antiquity and suggest the first scholarly interpretations of them. Castrén’s expeditions were carried out at a time when the ethnological interpretation of archaeological finds had been established but there was no actual methodology for comparing and dating them yet. The professionalization process made archaeology a tool for rising nationalism.¹¹⁶

Middendorff commented on Castrén’s interpretations in his publication, rejecting some of them such as the assumption of a polar race. He cited Castrén’s statements about the relation between the Samoyedic and Finnic languages, wanting to confirm it but, on the other hand, rejecting the possibility to see linguistic relations as definite evidence of ethnic affinity. Middendorff quoted Castrén’s observation that a European Finn had Caucasian features and an Asian Finn Mongolic ones, and that a Turk resembled Europeans in Europe and Asians in Asia. On the basis of this, Castrén had assumed that there could not be any definite difference between the Caucasian and Mongolic races. Middendorff stated that Castrén himself had related several cases where different peoples have merged with each other, and even more common examples of language change. Therefore, an affinity between languages was independent of an ethnic relationship.¹¹⁷ This kind of conclusion became common in sociolinguistics only gradually during the 20th century¹¹⁸, but it was possible for Middendorff, because he based his interpretation on evidence from physical anthropology. He wrote that ‘the question of the relationship between peoples must eventually be solved by ethnography [= anthropology] and only where ethnographic studies confirm linguistic results, the latter ones can be considered certain and doubtless’.¹¹⁹ This is not only a statement on a general level but also a direct answer to the criticism Castrén had addressed towards physical anthropology in general and especially towards Middendorff and Baer in his ethnological lectures. Castrén stated there that physiology is floating on a wide open sea as long as philology does not lead it, and it is impossible to build anything on its results so far.¹²⁰

Castrén and the experiences of travel

Both in Lapland in 1838 and in Karelia in 1839 Castrén travelled mostly by foot or boat, in Karelia also by horse-drawn carriage. Because the first journey to Russia began in winter, reindeer with different sleighs were used. In times of open water Castrén travelled also along the rivers, mostly in a *kajuk*, a fairly large covered boat. The same means of transportation as well as horse-drawn sleighs and dog sledges were used also in 1845–1849. The only possibility to utilize new technology came in 1848 when Castrén crossed Lake Bajkal on a steamer.

Still inexperienced in Lapland in 1838, Castrén was somewhat surprised by the difficulties of the journey. The journey there had begun in a positive mood, but Castrén's spirits sank to some extent when difficulties arose on the way through the wilderness from Muonio to Inari and they often had to spend the night with no shelter. The most strenuous part of the whole journey was journeying by foot across the bogs from Inari to Sodankylä. Something similar can be noted also during his first long journey in Russia. In 1845–1849, Castrén already knew better what to expect. He admitted both in Lapland 1841 and in the Saján Mountains in 1847 his unfamiliarity with some circumstances that he encountered, such as reindeer sledges or riding horseback, which he never had done before.

The Karelian journey in 1839 as an experience of travelling on the practical level was most probably easier than the previous one. Most of the difficulties were due to cultural differences between the travellers and the local Old-Believer population, but also some local officials made travelling complicated with their arbitrary measures. At Miinoá, Castrén and his companions were almost arrested for vagrancy because they were travelling without passports, until a higher official came to their defence.

Travelling on the White Sea and in the tundra introduced Castrén to both new means of transportation and circumstances even more difficult than in Lapland. He viewed himself even with some kind of humour when he drove with a stubborn reindeer towards Kola. He described the journey with Komi merchants to Obdorsk in autumn 1843 as the most arduous of his whole life. Another severed experience was the trip to Indiga in a snowstorm in the winter of 1843, and he even returned to this experience in autumn 1845 when a snowstorm on the Ob' evoked unpleasant and frightening memories from two and a half years ago.

Another practical question that must be considered in this context is that of Castrén's language skills. He said very little about them himself. There are mentions about his studies in Saami in



Khanty men in reindeer-drawn
nart sleighs at Larjak on the River
Vax in 1898. Photograph by U.T. Sirelius.
The Finnish Heritage Agency, Finno-Ugric
Picture Collection.

INTRODUCTION



A *kajuk* boat on the River Ob' in 1899/1900. Photograph by U.T. Sirelius. The Finnish Heritage Agency, Finno-Ugric Picture Collection.

- 121 Castrén's letter to Sjögren 28 Feb./11 March 1844 and to the Academy of Sciences 23 May/4 June 1845.
 122 *Борораз* 1927: 8.
 123 *Varpio* 2005: 36–37.

Muonio in 1838, the Russian lessons he took from a local teacher in Kola in 1842 and his attempts to learn Nenets in the same region in 1842–1843, but this is almost all we get to know. In his letter to Sjögren in early 1844 he stated that the only language in which he is able to communicate with the Academy of Sciences is Latin. In 1845 he still wrote to the Academy of Sciences that his German is not very fluent.¹²¹ It is also known that Bergstadi translated Castrén's grammars into Latin and reports to the Academy into Russian in 1845–1846. V.G. Bogoraz has quoted Jakov Grot's (1812–1893) letter to Pëtr Aleksandrovič Pletnev (1792–1865), where Grot stated that before travelling to Siberia Castrén was able to read Russian quite fluently but neither spoke nor wrote it. He spoke German 'to some extent' [*кое-как*].¹²² It was only during his years in Russia and Siberia that Castrén acquired considerable practical skills in Russian. It can be read in his travelogues that he hired interpreters in different local languages, which gives the impression that he most probably communicated in Russian.

It was a common pattern in travel descriptions that a journey was described as a series of difficulties that a hero coming from the centre to a periphery must overcome to reach a prize that is awaiting him. This kind of concept of a heroic journey had been known at least since the Middle Ages.¹²³ The prize may have been of material type, but often it was more abstract. For Castrén, it was the Finnish past that he was seeking. By enduring difficult circumstances, he wanted to find a connection with the mythical Finnish tribe with its historical strata. The physical difficulties of travelling were apparently something that he considered to be a reasonable price for the historical connection, despite the fact that he appreciated all kinds of comfort and deplored severe circumstances and their injurious effects on his health. He stated in several connections that the journey had been or would be burdensome, but actually only once did he express that he was getting fed up with uncomfortable travelling. This happened in Ščeljajur on the River Pečora in 1843 and can be read in his field notes. The traveller's life is 'motley' (*brokig*) to the extreme, Castrén said at the Enisej in 1847 quoting a Finnish proverb about the variety of human life.

Castrén saw himself also in the context of world literature and culture. Arriving in Turuxansk in 1846 he compared his arrival to Don Quijote's return to his old family estate in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's (1547–1616) novel. There are also references to Ancient Greek and Roman literature and the Bible in his travel notes. References of this kind are not very numerous, but their existence reflects Castrén's view of the world around him.

Castrén's prolonged farewell rituals when leaving Finland in the winter of 1845, which are described in his travel diary, were a real rite of passage or transition to another world, necessary for leaving the world of the home behind and to prepare him to encounter everything that was to be expected during the long journey, just as with funeral rites where mourning connects the deceased and the living as a special group and prepares the deceased for the journey to the afterworld. The transition is also comparable to a reverse image of rites by which a new member is welcomed to a group. Castrén was in a liminal state before leaving the domestic community behind him.¹²⁴ Contrary to the abrupt departure of 1841, it was now possible for him to say goodbye to his friends and home. It took him five days to bid farewell to friends and Finland and another three days of solitary meditation and self-examination expressed in diary notes before the Russian border. Another farewell ceremony took place with Finns and other acquaintances in St Petersburg; there had been analogous cases during Castrén's earlier travels as in Inari and Kola in 1842. Once more it would take place on a smaller scale with three other Finns in Kazan' before the departure for Perm' in May 1845.

Castrén himself was stared at especially because of his spectacles, of which he mentioned several examples, e.g. in Karelia in 1842 and in Perm' in 1845. Both for Russians and the indigenous peoples, he represented otherness. Socially, he was seen as a representative of St Petersburg, the reigning power and the urban upper classes. Ethnically, he was considered a foreigner, a *немец*. In both respects and for almost everyone he was something extremely remote from the point of view of their world. He was, however, gradually able to adapt to the primitive circumstances in which he was working. Olavi Louheranta has, therefore, characterized him as a 'Dionysian' field anthropologist, as opposed to the 'Apollonian' tradition, whose representatives were more inclined to keep to a European way of life on their field expeditions.¹²⁵

In Lapland in 1838, the local Finns looked at the travellers with some benevolent arrogance, based both on their local knowledge and practical skills, which the travellers lacked. Sometimes Castrén also asked them questions, e.g. about their religious beliefs or local traditions that they were chary to answer, as when he asked about guardian spirits in different places. Sometimes his questions and evoked some amusement, or he was seen as a dreamer, contrary to the working peasant people. A clear socially-based feeling of otherness can be noticed. There were several expressions of the cultural barrier between the travellers and the local inhabitants during the Karelian journey of 1839. For instance, an old woman threatened to drive Castrén out of her house with a broom.

- 124 Van Gennepe 1960: 29–33, 146–148; Turner 1977.
125 Louheranta 2006: 84–86.

- 126 Sjoegren 1844: 331–332.
 127 See also Salminen, Timo, 2016;
 2017a.

Castrén presented critical comments on several phenomena of his day such as poverty in Finnish Lapland (1838 and 1841) or among the Buryats (1848), politics and academic relations in St Petersburg (1845), the domination of Russians over the indigenous peoples and the Russification of the latter (especially 1845), the debt relations between merchants on the one hand and Arctic hunters and nomads on the other (1844 and 1846), arbitrary measures of Russian administrative officials and priests (1845), and the subordination of women within the indigenous communities, especially the Komi (1843), Nenets (1845) and Khanty (1844, 1845). However, in many cases, Castrén merely stated the situation and did not propose any measures for changing it. His possible suggestions aimed above all either at improvements of economy or a stricter or more accurate following of existing laws and regulations (e.g., 1843). The key concepts for understanding his attitude are morals and diligence. Lack of either of them explains the merchants' or officials' exploitation of indigenous people as well as the economic backwardness of the latter. His thought follows the lines of Biblically based philosophy of society.

Castrén's archaeological fieldwork

Some words need to be devoted to Castrén's archaeological fieldwork especially in Siberia. The instructions given by the Academy of Sciences obliged him to carry out archaeological excavations in the Minusinsk Valley at the upper course of the Enisej. Sjögren considered it especially important to collect new data, because there were some conflicting interpretations about the graves.¹²⁶ Castrén was personally interested in attempting to either confirm or disprove the assumed connection between the Finno-Ugric peoples and the grave mounds.

It is especially significant that specific research questions had been defined for Castrén to answer. For earlier travellers, archaeological research had rather been part of obtaining general information about the country.¹²⁷ Castrén was not especially eager to carry out the task, because he considered it likely that the ancient graves did not have any connection with the Finns. He continued excavations later in the regions of Aginsk and Konduj in Eastern Siberia, probably on his own initiative, although even fewer Finnic connections could be found there. This seems to show that his interest in archaeological fieldwork and confidence in its possibilities gradually grew along with experience. Because G.F. Müller had excavated east of Lake Bajkal, Castrén may have wanted to check these older

results, but there is no information about this. Furthermore, the documentation of Castrén's excavations has mostly been lost.

Castrén had made archaeological observations already during his journey to Lapland in 1838. Both there in 1838 and in Karelia in 1839 he mentioned remains that he called Lapp graves and Lapp cairns. On his way to the north in 1838 he also visited some Bronze Age cairns in Ostrobothnia. No documentation of this is preserved except for notes. They are commented in more detail with references to literature in the endnotes of this volume and in the volume of Castrén's archaeological and historical writings.

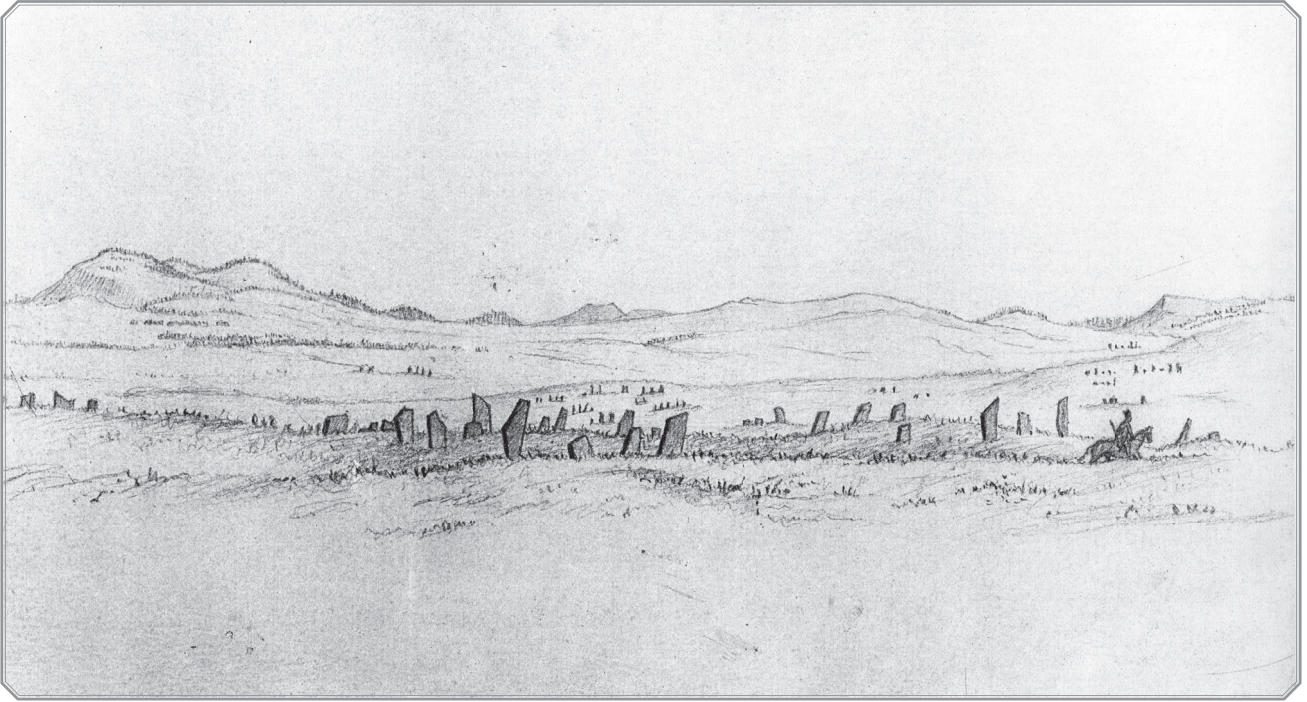
In the Arxangel'sk region in late 1841, Castrén visited the site of Xolmogor. Excavations were impossible because of winter, but he made observations regarding the site and interviewed local people. There are two different descriptions of the visit by Castrén. He wrote in his published account how he travelled to Xolmogor, which had been the Biarmians' famous fortress, but was now only a small and insignificant district town. He would have wanted to excavate at the location of the temple of *Jumala* [Eng. God] temple, but because the soil was frozen, he could only make observations. Instead, he stayed in town for several days to collect the traditions of the Biarmian people. Still in 1843, Castrén wrote to the University Senate in Helsinki and announced that he was willing to send archaeological finds from the northern parts of the Arxangel'sk Governorate to the university, listing different valuable objects that have been found in the region such as gold rings. The University Senate was willing to receive finds but Castrén did not send anything and had actually already left the region for the east.¹²⁸

The unpublished notes contain a more detailed description of the site. In a romantic tone, Castrén described the empty, sorrowful desolation and imagined hearing the sounds of weapons and battle cries. Instead of a town, there was only forest and a cemetery. He mentioned that the Chuds used to have their own king (*Knäs*) in Xolmogor. He also wrote about the etymology of the name Xolmogor and cited chronicle information on the history of the town.

On his way from the north to the Minusinsk area in the spring of 1847 Castrén excavated a couple of kurgans somewhere along the River Ana, but he conducted the majority of all his excavations in the Minusinsk–Ačinsk region, where he opened approximately 20 kurgans. These are his best-known excavations, because he made quite detailed field notes that were preserved and published for the first time by Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) in 1901. Castrén himself wrote an account of his results, which was published in 1870.¹²⁹

Castrén noted the traditions according to which the kurgans were not built by the Kirghiz or Tatars, but instead by a people called

- 128 HYKA KoA University Senate
30 June 1843 §8.
129 Aspelin 1901; Castrén 1870d/
2017a: 89–105.



View of the steppe and Tagar Period kurgans at Oraki. Drawing by Hjalmar Appelgren, 1887. Appelgren-Kivalo 1931: Abb. 64.

the Chuds. He went on to mentioned folk traditions about the Chuds and their disappearance with the arrival of the white forest and the white Tsar. In the same manner as around Arxangel'sk, Castrén collected information on the distribution, appearance, and structure of the kurgans in the Upper Enisej area by interviewing local people and keeping his eyes open when travelling around. He mentioned the Tatar tradition, according to which kurgans were made like Kirghiz tents. It is typical of Castrén's fieldwork that to draw conclusions he searched for analogies both in ethnographic material and folklore.

There were kurgans of Late Bronze Age Stone Slab Culture in Aginsk area, two of which Castrén excavated. He mentioned also the earlier *khirigsuur* graves in the same region, ‘brick-built kurgans’ at the Chinese border, and graves on the Chinese side at the fort of Curuxajtuj and other places. He excavated ruins of the well-known Mongol Period palace near the village of Konduj near Nerčinsk. Most probably also the other brick kurgans observed by him were ruins of buildings, as Castrén already assumed.

Castrén’s letters show that he already had a conscious desire to develop his fieldwork methodology, and he asked Sjögren for instructions in this area. Otherwise we know little about the examples that he followed in his archaeological work. He mentions the Swedish researcher Sven Nilsson (1787–1883) on one occasion and the Baltic-German amateur archaeologist Johann Karl Ulrich Bähr (1801–1869) and his excavations of the graves of the Livs on another occasion, but this is all we get to know from his writings.¹³⁰ Castrén’s excavation notes in general reveal that he had a sense of stratigraphy. Usually he indicated the depths of excavated layers, as well as the type of soil. He made observations regarding constructions of wood and stone, human bones, ceramics, the direction and position of the burial(s) and their number.

Castrén did not have any reliable method for dating the graves that he excavated, although he was aware of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages and their mutual chronological relationship. He did not even propose any absolute chronology. He attempted to date the mounds by observing the thickness of the soil layers, vegetation, and the extent to which the decomposition of human bones and other organic material had proceeded. According to Castrén, the older kurgans were usually larger than the younger ones, more quadrangular and more often with stone stelae erected on top, and were mostly at ground level without any elevation, because their inner construction had collapsed and allowed the mound to sink. Both in his comparisons and field methodology, Castrén still represented the antiquarian tradition rather than the comparative archaeology that was developing in the early 19th century, although more modern ideas had influenced him. Although Jurij Belokobyl’skij has stated that Castrén’s field methods had achieved a higher level than those of several other researchers of Siberia in his time or even in the second half of the 19th century, his documentation can by no means be described as very detailed.¹³¹

130 Castrén 1870b: 147/2017a: 108; about Nilsson, see Trigger 2006: 129–131; Christensson 2005.

131 Белокобыльский 1986: 44; cf. Trigger 2006: 110–114, 121–129; Eberhardt 2012.

- 132 Fabian 2014: 12–21; Vermeulen 2015: 202–203, 284–289.
- 133 Fabian 2014: 22–25, 31, 38–39, 49, 53–69; Louheranta 2006: 104–106 with references.
- 134 See, e.g., Nöth 1996: 11.
- 135 Hinton 2000: 6–8, 14, 17, 150–156.

Travelling among the Other and as the Other

What was Castrén's relationship with the phenomena that he encountered? What kind of meanings did travelling in itself bear for him? What did *he* represent to the people that he met?

The key concept in understanding Castrén's relation to everything he encountered is otherness. According to Johannes Fabian, ethnology and ethnography emerged on the basis of the idea of evolution.¹³² Time was naturalized during this process by severing it from its religious roots, and the *other* was conceived both in time and space. Fabian divides time into four types: physical, mundane, typological, and intersubjective time. The typological concept of time makes it possible to conceive of a people or group of peoples as belonging to another epoch, denying its contemporaneity with us in spite of chronological simultaneity. Different epochs can coexist. So-called primitive peoples or traditional forms of culture are remains of the past and thus offer windows on our own history. Cultural distance is both a temporal and a spatial problem.¹³³

In a new place and environment, a traveller appears as a more or less divergent element with his or her own aims and intentions among the community, or likewise in the natural environment, setting him/herself both consciously and unconsciously to a relationship to the people and surroundings s/he has encountered. When lacking more specific or individual information, people mostly look at each other through established stereotypes or at least with strong impact from established ways of thinking. A narrative of an environment is constructed by providing it with meanings arising from personal life experience and values. This kind of signification may also be formed and applied unconsciously.¹³⁴ Perry R. Hinton has stated that while shaping a stereotype image of a group of people we define them according to a special characteristic and add other features to it. Stereotypes arise from group prejudices and group formation processes. Social groups are distinguished from each other 'by differences in their everyday knowledge'.¹³⁵ All this applies also to encounters with cultures and ethnic groups. Also travelling in itself is a cultural process and experience, as we have seen above.

If we look at Castrén's accounts of the natural environment in which he was travelling there are both descriptions without any further assessments and ones in which Castrén looks at the environment as a natural resource utilizable by man. In the latter case, he pays attention to sources of livelihood. For the most part, he connects the concept of beauty in nature with human culture. A natural landscape can have values of beauty in itself, but it is monotonous until ennobled by the human touch. Evaluations of this kind appear

above all during the two long journeys, but they underlie his descriptions also in Lapland and Karelia in 1838–1839. Another feature typical of Castrén’s description of nature is its personification, seen e.g., on the way from Inari to the Kola Peninsula in 1842 and on the Ob’ in 1845. He wrote in his field notes on the Pečora in 1843 that his way to look at the nature is such that he completely goes deep into it but is not able to develop theories about the beautiful in nature.

The element of sameness or otherness also appears in Castrén’s view of the landscape, with Finnish nature as his main reference in the comparison. This approach is most frequently evident during the 1845–1849 journey, and especially in Western Russia as far as the Vjatka region, but sometimes also in the forested areas of Siberia.

In this concept of nature, Castrén is connected to the Biblical tradition, according to which nature is given to man to cultivate. It had been given a more specific form by Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and it is a crucial element of Enlightenment thinking. Although romanticism replaced this idea partly with the notion of a mythical natural environment, it never really lost its predominant position until the 20th century.¹³⁶ At the practical level, its roots can be traced to the very basics of agricultural society, in which untamed nature is a threat and becomes a source of livelihood only when brought under human control. Therefore, also the natural landscape without human impact could not fulfil requirements of beauty. In Finland at the time, J.V. Snellman had recently expressed his opinion on the superiority of the cultural landscape in several articles in the 1840s, and Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) repeated the same idea both in the same decade and later.¹³⁷

Castrén’s overall relation to the cultures and peoples that he encountered is ambivalent. They represented otherness for him, and he compared them with his own cultural values. This applies not only to the indigenous peoples that he met but also to Russians and different smaller groups among them, such as the *Starover*. Castrén’s first encounter with cultural otherness took place in the Juutua Saami village in Inari in 1838, but it was still otherness that he could look at as an exotic play and leave the theatre when he had had enough. Therefore, his real first collision with the Other was caused precisely by the Old-Believers of Karelia. Castrén and his companions came to notice that the social standards in an Old-Believer village were different and they had to adapt themselves to them in order to be able to continue their work there. By the same token, they had to accept the more or less arbitrary actions of Russian local authorities, especially since they travelled without passports. Castrén described in his report the surprise and even shock that this caused to him.

- 136 Varpio 2005: 28–29, 37.
 137 Lahtinen 2006: 188–193; Tiitta 1994: 282–283, 303–304.

- 138 Ballaster 2005: 364; Koivunen 2015: esp. 9–11.
- 139 Mason 1998: 1–5, 72, see also p. 90 on the conflict between ethnographic accuracy and ‘aesthetic predilections’, actually in figurative art but fully applicable also to literary accounts of cultures.
- 140 See also Koivunen 2015: 112.
- 141 For an overall account of Castrén’s perception of identities of the Finno-Ugric peoples, see Leinonen, M., 2009: 474–476.

In addition to the relationship of otherness, there was one of power and consequent economic exploitation between the travellers and the local people, emerging from Castrén’s dependence on local guides and coachmen, whose decisions he had only limited possibilities to question. Castrén compared the distances and prices he had paid for them (e.g. in the winter of 1842–1843) and accused especially Russians of charging too much.

In some cases, Castrén made observations of other travelling people, especially in the case of the so-called *murmanski* going to the northern coast of the Kola Peninsula for their yearly spring fishing season. Castrén encountered them in the spring of 1842. The *murmanski* were exotic for him; Castrén made observations of them as of a theatre play, although he finally considered them to be more of a nuisance, even ridiculing them.

For Castrén, travelling often meant a romantic encounter with the exotic. There was growing interest in what was conceived and constructed as exotic in Europe in the early 19th century. According to Ros Ballaster, increasing knowledge about Oriental cultures in the 18th century made Europeans first search for analogies to their own culture, but changed soon to creating visions of alterity.¹³⁸ Peter Mason has stated that exotic artefacts were used ‘to evoke an exotic culture by virtue of the principle of *pars pro toto*’ and similarly also accounts of cultural features were used. It was also crucial that the exotic was always somewhere else, not at home.¹³⁹ In Castrén’s case it became visible, e.g. in his description of the Tatar riders and mosques in the Kazan’ area in spring 1845, his encounter with a Tungus knight at the Enisej in 1846 and in his ride over the Saján Mountains to the Soyots in 1847. There are also other contexts in which he viewed the clothes, buildings and customs of the peoples he met in the east as romantically exoticizing. Castrén did not use the word *exotic*, but it lies in his attitude. I understand *exotic* here as *different* with a *romantic* tone and a hint of admiration. All that is different is thus not exotic. Therefore, the Finno-Ugric peoples were not exotic in Castrén’s view, although also they often manifested an explicit cultural otherness besides their assumed ethnic sameness to him.¹⁴⁰

An experience of sameness caused by the assumed ethnic affinity made Castrén also neglect obvious elements of cultural difference, as with the Udmurts in 1845. This was due to the notion of a primordial and inherent national character. Despite ethnic sameness, social otherness could sometimes become dominant as in the relationship with the Komi hunters and merchants, with whom Castrén travelled in 1843.¹⁴¹ In the case of the Finnic peoples in Siberia, the feeling of ethnic affinity was competing with exotic otherness. In most cases, cultural otherness predominated and brought forth

even expressions of aversion, but when Castrén was simultaneously encountering peoples such as the Kets (Enisej Ostyaks) and Tungus at the Enisej in 1846, the otherness was suddenly represented by the more remote people (Tungus), and the other, in itself exotic, group (Kets) was transformed to the realm of sameness. There is also a good deal of stereotypes that Castrén connected to the Siberian peoples, especially the Khanty and the Kets, like the traditional image of innocent and simple ‘children of nature’. This idea leads back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and forward to Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) and their notions of human cultural evolution from savagery to civilization.¹⁴² ‘Cultural progress’ belonged even as such to Castrén’s vocabulary as well as terms such as ‘primitive [rå/raw] peoples’ or ‘savages’ [*vildar*].¹⁴³

Castrén assumed that every people will sooner or later proceed from nomadism or a hunting-gatherer economy at least to cattle breeding or, where climate and soil allowed it, to agriculture. Therefore, he also described this kind of change as desirable, for instance in Lapland and along the large Russian and Siberian rivers. The most illustrative examples of this can be found from Inari in 1842 (also 1838) and the rivers Pečora in 1843 and Ob’ in 1845.

Especially adopting the Christian religion was a sign of progress for Castrén. Among every people he visited he stated whether they were Christians or something else, and if Christians, the level of their knowledge of religion and what kind of practical opportunities they had for religious life. The most illustrative examples can be shown among the Inari Saami in 1838 and the Khanty in 1845. On the other hand, while regarding Christian conversion as a positive development, Castrén deplored the disappearance of traditional forms of culture and expected that more appreciation of their own culture should be implanted among the Siberian peoples instead of stigmatizing it as inferior to Russian culture. The best example of this is again his encounter with the Khanty on the Ob’ in the autumn of 1845.

The belittling attitude towards the indigenous cultures has been dominant in Russian way of thinking for most of the time that non-Russian peoples have been subordinated to Russian rule. However, in terms of practical adaptation to the circumstances, also Russians followed the example of indigenous peoples in many respects when migrating to Siberia. Despite the fact that the Russian conquest of Siberia and its economic exploitation from the 16th century onwards led a large part of its indigenous peoples to extinction, it was only gradually and not really before the 20th century that Russian cultural domination become prevalent in the annexed lands. Above all practical reasons such as long distances and poorly

- 142 Broome 1963: 48–49; Burke Leacock 1967: lxv.
143 See Ahola – Lukin 2016: 53; cf. also Salminen, Timo, 2017b.

- 144 Dahlmann 2009: 22–24, 41, 44, 47, 80–83, 99–100, 149–154, 262–266.
- 145 Ahola – Lukin 2016: 47.
- 146 See also Ahola – Lukin 2016: 50, 53.
- 147 Varpio 2005: 37.
- 148 Castrén 1857b: 14, 22.
- Johann Friedrich Blumenbach was a German physician, naturalist and anthropologist, famous for his division of mankind into five races published in his work *De generis humani varietate nativa* in 1776 and 1798. Hartmann 2005; Kemiläinen 1993: 56–110.
- 149 When meeting a Saami fisherman at the River Ivalojoiki in 1838, Castrén explicitly described him as a victim of oppression, because he had lived since his childhood with Finns, which had made him forget his own nationality and consequently all kind of self-esteem (*all känsla af sitt mennisko-wärde*). In his newspaper article from the same journey *Några dagar i Lappland* Castrén in clear words opposed the view of the Saami as a cowardly people.

developed traffic as well as the small number of Russians in Siberia had made it impossible before that.¹⁴⁴

Castrén's somewhat problematic attitude to the idea of adopting Christianity as a positive development on one hand and willingness to preserve indigenous cultural values on the other reflects both his own personal background as a vicar's son and, even more, a gradual change in models of thought in society. It was still self-evident that the Christian faith was considered superior and correct in comparison with other belief systems, but Castrén, while accepting this idea, also arrived at considering its problematic cultural consequences. His most important model in this respect seems to have been Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), for whom the same dichotomy was also meaningful.¹⁴⁵

Because Castrén was committed to the evolutionist idea of progress in all of his thinking¹⁴⁶, he saw the peoples with a more 'primitive' culture as reflecting earlier phases of development towards the high level of the Europeans. When considered as relatives, they represented at the same time ethnic sameness and cultural otherness. The evolutionist view drew parallels between the so-called primitive peoples and either natural phenomena or children, also children of nature.¹⁴⁷ Also Castrén made comparisons of this kind, especially in Lapland in 1838, but they seldom predominated in his view of the peoples he described during his later travels, probably because of his increasing experience and the ethnic affinity he assumed to exist between many Siberian peoples and the Finns.

Castrén thus evaluated the cultures he was looking at, but was he a racist? What did racism mean in early 19th-century context?

Firstly, we must ask what Castrén's relationship was to the so-called scientific racism of his day. When writing about the inhabitants of the Kazan' Governorate in his diary on 10 April 1845, Castrén discussed the possible relation between Finns and Mongols as well as Finns and Turks. Here, he made reference to Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's (1752–1840) division of mankind into main races, rejecting Blumenbach's assumption that Turks and Mongols belonged to different races. Either they both should belong to the Mongolic race, or there would be no definite difference between the two races. He returned to this also in his ethnological lectures. This shows that Castrén has considered the racial division made by Blumenbach and the scientific racist paradigm in general as a relevant means to consider mankind. In the discussion of the day about the system of mankind slightly different racial divisions were proposed and Finns both were an object of the international discussion and took part in it themselves. The main question in their case was whether they were Mongols or not, and the answer to this question also lay behind Castrén's view.¹⁴⁸

It is more complicated to answer whether Castrén also evaluated different human races in relation to each other. Throughout his travel notes and reports, he characterized peoples with stereotypical national features. Sometimes he also commented on their cultures in evaluative tones, and clearly regarded the Saami to inferior to the Finns when listing the characteristics of both peoples in his travelogue of 1841–1844. On the other hand, he opposed the established view of them as a cowardly people and considered them rather be victims of oppression.¹⁴⁹ Despite this, he did not, for the most part, base his evaluations on racial arguments but rather on a concept of cultural evolution. There may be one exception to this principle, though. Castrén wrote in St Petersburg on 20 March 1845: ‘I also looked at a nice collection of apes in a museum one day. When I had successively seen all of them and herewith noticed the small difference, which distinguishes this animal in its highest potency from a human being, I considered it possible that the best ape also in the spiritual sense would be even with the worst human, e.g. among the Samoyeds.’ This kind of account could be interpreted as a sign of a racist attitude towards at least some other peoples. But Castrén continued with a note of self-irony: ‘But this brother of the ape, how does he consider himself to be a high and distinguished lord on the earth. As far as it regards me, I am a fool like all the others.’¹⁵⁰

Actually, Castrén gave one more reply to the question about racism in his thoughts in his ethnological lectures. According to him, because the Finnic tribe had been able to rise to almost an equal level of culture with Indo-Europeans despite different racial origins, ‘it seems to show that civilization and humanity are not the monopoly of one race. I will not accredit it to their superior capacity of culture that the Finnic peoples have gained a higher level of culture than their relatives [i.e., e.g. Samoyeds], but only to the fact that they have been in contact with civilized nations for a longer time, contrary to related peoples living in the strictest secession from the cultured nations of the world.’¹⁵¹ This kind of statement seems to show that Castrén regarded human races more or less equal and the racial question was not his first priority. He agreed with Herder here, who denied the significance of human races and emphasized brotherhood between peoples.¹⁵²

Despite these notions of equality, the anti-Semitism common in the 19th-century society was not unfamiliar to Castrén.¹⁵³ Namely, he stated in Tobol'sk in May 1845 that man needs a fatherland in order not to decay into a Jew, Gypsy or something similar.¹⁵⁴ But even this does not mean that we would be able to answer unambiguously, whether Castrén was a racist or not. Although he was committed to the idea of a national spirit and thus inherited attributes, he actually

150 ‘Jag betraktade äfven härom dagen en artig samling af apor i ett museum. När jag successivt hade genomgått dem alla och härwid anmärkt den ringa olikhet som i yttre motto skiljer detta djur i dess högsta potens ifrån människan, höll jag det för möjligt, att den bästa apa äfven i andelig mon kunde vara nästan jemgod med den sämsta menniska, t. ex. bland de Samojejer. Men denne apans broder, hvad tycker han sig icke vara för en hög och förnäm herre på jorden. Hvad mig sjelf beträffar, är jag en narr, liksom alla de andra.’

151 ‘[...] men att den icke dess mindre förmått höja sig nära nog till samma kulturgrad, som de indogermaniska folken, synes utvisa, att bildning och humanitet icke utgöra ett monopolum för någon viss mennisko-ras. Att de finska folken uppnått en högre kulturgrad, än de öfriga stamförvandter, detta vill jag icke heller tillskrifva deras större kapacitet af bildning, utan endast den omständighet, at de redan länge stått i beröring med bildade nationer, då deremot de befryndade folken lefvat i den strängaste afsöndring ifrån verldens kulturfolk.’ Castrén 1857b: 94–95.

152 Jokisalo 2006: 162–163.

153 On anti-Semitism in the 19th century, see Forsgård 1998.

154 ‘Allmänneligen behöfwer menniskan, för att ej förfalla till Jude, Zigenare eller något dylikt, ett fosterland, som hon kan älska, och hvori hon sjelf åtnjuter människors aktning.’ Tobol'sk 16/28 May 1845. See Castrén's travel diaries.

155 Cf. the inspiration given by Sjögren to some Komi intellectuals. Jääts 2009: 41. About the interaction between scholarly, ideological and even political goals in Finnish research on the Finno-Ugric peoples and languages, see, e.g., Salminen, Timo, 2009.

considered here the negative features of Jews and Romani as a result of a historical process of development rather than something belonging to their very essence.

Concluding remarks: travelling and constructing national identities

Matthias Alexander Castrén belonged simultaneously to at least three different traditions of expeditions: the international scientific (here including the humanities) tradition seeking information about unknown regions, the Russian tradition aiming at the economic exploitation of annexed areas, and the Finnish tradition based on nationalist ideology and a quest for national roots. The way his model was later followed combined the first and third ones as a synthesis. Also institutionally, Castrén stood between and was able to benefit from the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg and new emerging Finnish organizations such as the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki.

Also in his way of seeing the peoples and cultural phenomena that he encountered Castrén represented a transitional phase. He had not been able to free himself completely from the Enlightenment ideas of progress and a Biblical set of values as the basis of his assessments of cultures, but he was nevertheless already able to see them valuable in themselves.

Castrén's overall approach differs at least in three respects from that of his predecessors. Firstly, his programme was aimed to form a consistent image of certain peoples' languages and cultures, both past and present by combining the results of history, ethnography, folklore and archaeology. Secondly, the new comparative methodology gave him better tools for this than previously. Thirdly, he was the first one who could promote Russian goals alongside those of a minority people of the Russian Empire, the Finns, to develop the latter further into political ones in the following decades.¹⁵⁵

There is no point in a detailed comparison between Castrén and his predecessors such as Pallas, Gmelin, Müller or Messerschmidt as travellers. Castrén was a representative of a different era and had a different education. He had become acquainted with the earlier travellers' work as much as it had been possible for him and had absorbed all the information that could be gained from them. In a practical sense, Castrén felt he was their follower, but by carrying out research on the assumed ancestors of one's own people and by constructing a new national identity he, as a humanist scholar of the Romantic era, provided the expeditions with a collectively subjective dimension of a new type.