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CONTRIBUTIONS BY SOVIET AUTHORS TO THE EURASIA SEPTENTRIONALIS ANTIQUA BETWEEN 1927 AND 1934: VIEWPOINTS ON EAST EUROPEAN PREHISTORY

Abstract

Professors A. M. Tallgren and U. T. Sirelius founded the journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* to disseminate information on the archaeology of Northern Eurasia to Western Europe. This article discusses the question of how and why the theoretical and methodological approaches that were distinctive to Soviet archaeology can be seen in the articles of the *ESA*, or if these approaches cannot be identified in the *ESA*, what might have been the reason for it. As a whole, the articles in the *ESA* reflect the development of archaeology in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, but the journal contained no examples of actual Soviet archaeology in the sense in which it was established and dogmatized in the next decade. The *ESA* had an established readership in the West, but further analysis is required to determine the actual significance of the journal.

Keywords: history of archaeology, 1920s, 1930s, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, Soviet archaeology

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INTRODUCTION

In 1926, the first volume (No. II) of the new journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (Fig. 1) was launched, edited by Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) and Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929), professors of archaeology and ethnology at the University of Helsinki. Volume No. I was published the following year. After Sirelius's death, the series was co-edited by Tallgren and Ilmari Manninen (1894–1935), Docent of Ethnology at the University of Helsinki, and in its final years by Tallgren alone. The *ESA* was to become the only and thus the most important journal on Northern Eurasian, i.e. mainly Russian and Siberian, prehistory published in Western European languages. Its original programme also included ethnology, but this field actually played only a minor part in the contents.

After losing contact with his Soviet colleagues in the mid-1930s, Tallgren had to discontinue the publication after the 12th volume in 1938. His health was also deteriorating around the same time, which made it more difficult for him to continue publishing the journal. In the subsequent years, he received several proposals to continue the publication under different editors, but he rejected them all. As late as in 1940, Oswald Menghin expressed his interest in continuing the *ESA*. Tallgren was already planning a supplementary volume containing an index to the twelve volumes, but it was not published until 1954 by Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990), his pupil and successor as Professor of Archaeology in Helsinki. The volume also contains a biography of Tallgren and his bibliography.¹

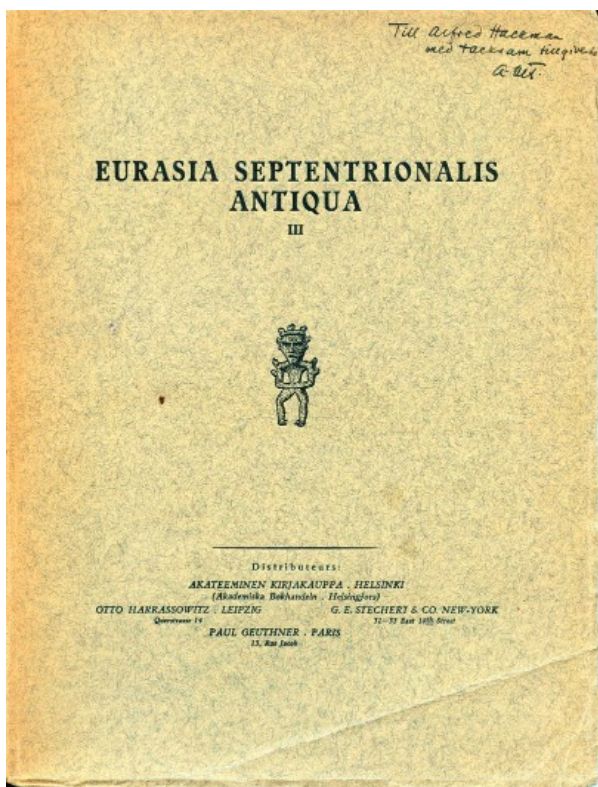


Figure 1. Front cover of the third volume of *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (1928). A copy with A. M. Tallgren's dedication to his colleague Alfred Hackman (1864–1942). (Photo: Timo Salminen.)

Initially, the authors of the journal really came mostly from the Soviet Union, Finland, and the Baltic countries. The overall image remained such until the sixth issue in 1931, naturally with some contributions from other countries. The participation of Soviet scholars waned in the early 1930s, and the change was very clear from the eighth volume (1934) on. Problems had already been encountered in editing the *Spitsyn Festschrift* in 1929 because of Tallgren's open letter to the Glavnauka about the case of Academician Sergey Aleksandrovich Zhebelev (1867–1941) and also because the general ideological restrictions against Soviet researchers publishing abroad were tightening (Salminen 2014: 118–9, 232–3).

The last three volumes had to be published altogether without Soviet contributions. After Tallgren's criticism against the oppression of scholars in the Soviet Union in 1936 (Tallgren 1936: 149), his contacts were cut off almost completely. However, articles by Soviet authors

were absent already from the tenth volume, published in 1936. Thus, Tallgren had to write more himself and also to find contributors from the West.²

The development reflects the increasing distancing of the Soviet Union from the West, including its attempts to construct a new Soviet archaeology (Miller 1956: 71–84; Trigger 2006: 327–41; Sveshnikova 2009: 43–9, 58–73).

The background, emergence, death, and general significance of the *ESA* journal have already been analysed in several published studies (Kokkonen 1985; 1994; Salminen 2014: 110–2, 116–25, 203–5, 210–2, 241–4, 248–53; Kuz'minykh et al. 2015a: 29–33; 2015b: 22–6; Kuz'minykh & Salminen 2016). Tallgren's protests against the persecution of archaeologists and totalitarian ways of using prehistory, published in the *ESA* in the 1930s, have received special attention in both Finnish and international contexts (Salminen 2011; 2014: 210–20; see also Trigger 2006: 330).

This article discusses the question of how and why the theoretical and methodological approaches that were distinctive to Soviet archaeology can be seen in the articles of the *ESA*, or if these approaches cannot be identified in the *ESA*, what might have been the reason for it. Some further research questions are also presented. Methodologically, certain distinctive features of Soviet archaeology have been traced in the articles of the *ESA* by close reading of the analytical accounts published by Soviet researchers in the journal. These articles are contextualized in the framework of the development of Soviet archaeology in the 1920s and 1930s.

SOVIET AUTHORS' ARTICLES IN THE *ESA*

There are 40 different authors from the Soviet Union and four Russian emigrants from the West among the contributors of the *ESA* between 1927 and 1934. The following table 1 contains an overview of contributions by Soviet authors to the *ESA*.

The Soviet contributors came mostly from Moscow and Leningrad, but also from other archaeological centres of the Soviet Union like Kazan' and Kyiv, as well as even more provincial towns like Helenendorf. They also represented different generations of Soviet archaeologists.

Table 1. Soviet authors contributing to the ESA.

Author	I (1927)	III (1928)	IV (1929)	V (1930)	VI (1931)	VII (1932)	VIII (1933)	IX (1934)
Aleksandrov, B. V.				x				
Alikhova, A. E.			x					
Arendt, Vsevolod Viktorovich (1887–1937)								x
Bahder, Otto Nikolaevich (1903–1979)			x					
Bortvin, Nikolay Nikolaevich (1892–1943)		x						
Bukinich, Dmitriy Dem'janovich (1882–1939)				x				
Debets, Georgiy Frantsevich (1905–1969)					x			
Dmitriev, P.					x			
Egorov, Nikolay Mikhaylovich (1876–1965)			x	x				
Fabritius, Irene (Fabritsius, Irina Vasil'evna) (1882–1966)								
Gorjunova, Ekaterina Ivanovna (1902–1995)			x					
Grakov, Boris Nikolaevich (1899–1970)		x	x					
Gromov, Valerian Innokent'evich (1896–1978)				x				
Khudyakov, Mikhail Georgievich (1894–1936)	x							
Hummel, Jakob' (1893–1946)							x	
Ivashchenko, Mikhail Mikhaylovič (1881–1946)						x		
Yakunina-Ivanova, L.	x							
Krivtsova-Grakova, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna (1895–1970)								
Kuznetsova, A.				x				
Latynin, Boris Aleksandrovich (1899–1967)			x					
Makarenko, Nikolay Emeljanovich (1877–1938)				x				x
Maslovskiy, V. V.			x					
Minaeva, Tat'jana Maksimovna (1896–1973)			x					
Nioradze, Georgiy Kaplanovich (1886–1951)						x		
Passek, Tat'jana Sergeevna (1903–1968)			x					
Pchelina, Evgeniya Georgievna (1895–1972)			x					
Potapov, A. A.			x					
Preobrazhenskiy, S.			x					

Author	I (1927)	III (1928)	IV (1929)	V (1930)	VI (1931)	VII (1932)	VIII (1933)	IX (1934)
Rau, Paul Davidovich (1897–1930)			x					
Ravdonikas, Vladislav Iosifovich (1894–1976)			x					
Rykov, Pavel Sergeevich (1884–1942)	x		x					
Schmidt (Shmidt), Aleksey Viktorovich (1894–1935)	x		x					
Sergeev, Sergey Mikhailovich (1879–1947)				x				
Sidorov, A.						x		
Smolin, Viktor Fedorovich (1890–1932)	x							
Tolstov, Sergey Pavlovich (1907–1976)						x		
Voevodskiy, Mikhail Vatslavovich (1903–1948)			x					
Zakharov, Aleksey Alekseevich (1884–1937)		x		x	x	x		x
Zbrueva, Anna Vasil'evna (1894–1965)			x					
Zhukov, Boris Sergeevich (1892–1934)			x					
Pages by Soviet authors/	90/202	57/201	210/340	115/220	43/224	54/212	24/252	35/410
Total number of pages	(44.6 %)	(28.4 %)	(61.8 %)	(52.,3 %)	(19.2 %)	(25.5 %)	(9.5 %)	(8.5 %)

¹ The names of Russian-German scholars are presented in the German form, which the scholars used in the international context.

The oldest was N. M. Egorov, born in 1876, and the youngest S. P. Tolstov, born in 1907. The median year of birth (of the 31 scholars whose years of birth I have been able to find) was 1894. It is clear that Tallgren favoured contributions by younger archaeologists: 25 of these 31 authors were younger than Tallgren himself. However, this is partly due to the age structure of the Soviet archaeological community.

Several authors contributed more than two articles to the *ESA* during its years of publication. Among them was only one Soviet archaeologist, A. A. Zakharov, who published repeatedly in the journal, five articles altogether. A.V. Schmidt, P. S. Rykov, B. N. Grakov, N. M. Egorov, and N. E. Makarenko published twice. It can also be seen that the percentage of articles by Soviet authors declined rapidly in the 1930s.

The scope of the Soviet articles varies from descriptive publications of new finds to analyses of certain 'archaeological cultures' or even overviews of larger areas over a longer period

of time. There are also some contributions to the theoretical or methodological development of archaeology or ethnology. The borders between these fields are somewhat fuzzy.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE ANALYTICAL ARTICLES BY SOVIET AUTHORS IN THE *ESA*

Analytical articles and material publications

Twenty-eight of the forty Soviet contributions can be considered as analytical articles: Chudjakov 1927, Iakounina-Ivanova 1927, Rykov 1927 and 1929, Schmidt 1927 and 1929, Bortvin 1928, Grakov 1928 and 1929, Alikhova and Préobraženski 1929, Bahder 1929, Joukov 1929, Krivtsov-Grakov 1929, Minajeva 1929, Passek and Latynine 1929, Potapov 1929, Voévodski 1929, Zbrujev 1929, Bukinič 1930,

Jegorov 1930, Kuznecova 1930, Makarenko 1930 and 1934, Dmitriev 1931, Tolstov 1931, Ivaščenko 1932, Nioradze 1932, and Zakharov 1934.³ Their main contents are briefly summarized here to give an overview of their topics.

In addition to those articles, the *ESA* also contained several material publications by Soviet scholars with practically no interpretative aims. These articles are only mentioned here: Smoline 1927 (Chuvashia), Zakharov 1928 (Berel Steppe, Siberia), 1930 (Daghestan), 1931 (Daghestan) and 1932 (Kharkiv area), Fabritius 1929 (Crimea), Goriounova 1929 (Oka region), Jegorov 1929 (Stavropol area), Pčelina 1929 (Northern Ossetia), Rau 1929 (Volga Germans' area), Ravdonikas 1929 (Ladoga region), Alexandrov and Tallgren 1930 (Novgorod area), Sidorov 1931 (Komi), and Hummel 1933 (Azerbaijan).

For the sake of comparison, it may be mentioned that among the contributions by Western authors, the Iron Age dominates, but in some volumes, the Bronze Age is also represented quite well. The Stone Age remained marginal.

Stone Age

Only four analytical articles were dedicated to the Stone Age, three of them in the Spitsyn Festschrift volume.

Bahder 1929 analyses Neolithic settlements at the Oka River, forming groups according to their location and pottery and aiming to explain how a change in natural circumstances caused changes in economy and culture. Joukov 1929 searches for local and chronological groups in Neolithic ceramics found at the Volga and Oka Rivers, but at the very end of his article he also discusses the more extensive cultural and economic changes in Eastern Europe during a long period of time, especially in relation to the invention of iron metallurgy. Zbrujev 1929 analyses finds from one Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age (Textile Ceramics) settlement in the Governorate of Vladimir, placing them into their cultural context.

Makarenko 1934 publishes new Neolithic finds from the Azov Sea region, discusses them against the prevailing natural conditions, searches for equivalents, makes an ethnic interpretation of the finds, and hypothesizes about the society.

Chalcolithic and Bronze Age

Twelve articles concentrated on Chalcolithic and Bronze Age archaeology, making these periods the primary centre of focus in content by Soviet authors of the journal.

Chudjakov 1927 provides an overview of certain grave types in the Volga Bronze Age and places them into their cultural context. Rykov 1927 publishes and analyses new finds of the Bronze Age Khvalynsk Culture at the Volga River.

Bortvin 1928 dates one Bronze Age find from the Urals, showing its analogies and placing it into the framework of known archaeological cultures. Grakov 1928 analyses new finds from one site dated to the Bronze and Iron Ages and located in the Volga German Autonomous Area, showing their cultural equivalents elsewhere and searching for the centre of the culture.

Krivtsov-Grakov 1929 publishes and dates one Bronze Age find from the Tobol' River, placing it into the previously known cultural groups. Schmidt 1929 places one find from the Kuban area into its cultural context and aims to draw up a chronology of the Early Metal Age of the area. Grakov 1929 aims to complement Grakov 1928 with new finds from the Orenburg area and to outline a Scythian culture in an extensive area based on typological comparisons and analogies. Potapov 1929 analyses the directions of cultural diffusion in Pre-Scythian Ukraine by searching for analogies.

Bukinič 1930 publishes new excavation results from Anau and Namazga-Tepe. He analyses the culture against its natural background, looks at artefacts from the technological point of view, and outlines an image of the economy of the people.

Dmitriev 1931 is a technological analysis of bronze casting in the Anan'ino period on one hillfort in the Ural Mountains.

Ivaščenko 1932 publishes new Bronze Age finds from Abkhasia, dates them, and sets them into their cultural context according to grave types. Nioradze 1932 publishes a new Bronze Age find near Tbilisi in Georgia, presents equivalents to the artefact types elsewhere, and hypothesizes about the function of the unclear artefacts.

Iron Age and later periods, ethnography

Iron Age and historical archaeology and ethnography were the subject of ten analytical accounts by Soviet authors in the *ESA*.

Schmidt 1927 publishes and analyses new excavation finds from the 3rd–5th-century cemetery of Kačka at the Kama River near Perm'. He dates the finds by typology, shows their cultural contacts, and analyses the more general contacts from the Perm' region to the south, as well as the economy of the region. Iakounina-Ivanova 1927 provides a typological analysis of finds from one La Tène period cemetery from Kherson Governorate and shows their cultural connections to Italy.

Alikhova and Préobraženski 1929 publish excavated Moksha Mordvinian graves from the 16th to 18th centuries and refer to cultural evolution as their background. They explicitly call their method *paléo-ethnologie* (Alikhova & Préobraženski 1929: 333), meaning the ethnic and cultural research of the past. Minajeva 1929 publishes 4th–5th-century finds from the Derkul River, a tributary of the Ural, and searches for analogies to the finds but also analyses their ornaments from a technological point of view. Passek and Latynine 1929 compare a group of antiquities, *kamennye baby*, with ethnographic material, connect these artefacts to an *a priori* assumed cultural sphere, and explain their religious meanings. Rykov 1929 publishes earlier excavation finds from Late Iron Age cemeteries in the Pskov region and attempts to place the settlement in its natural background and date the finds by comparing them to analogies from elsewhere. He also makes ethnic conclusions from the finds.

Jegorov 1930 analyses the function of ceramic vessels or tubes found in Pjatigorsk. Makarenko 1930 attempts to show cultural connections between the Scythic civilizations of the Ukraine and Hallstatt by comparing analogies, mainly in form but also in technology. He uses the concept of type but does not construct a typological analysis of his material.

Tolstov 1931 is an ethnographically-based multidisciplinary article about the *terioukhane* Mordvine civilization, combining ethnology, palethnology, anthropology, and linguistics. The author also explicitly formulates his method of

research to investigate the development of clothing. He analyses every feature separately to gain information about its place in the cultural whole, maps the occurrence of the observed types, and analyses the area by combining the archaeological, historical, linguistic, and other information he has at his disposal to determine how the culture has developed from prehistory to the present.

Zakharov 1934 analyses one artefact from the Zbrucz River in present-day Poland by comparing iconographic elements and poses the question of which people it has belonged to.

Anthropological analyses and a methodological article

There are four osteological analyses of anthropological materials: Maslovski 1929, Gromov 1930, Zakharov and Sergejev 1930, and Debetz 1931. Debetz 1931 contains racial analysis, but the three others make no such suggestions.

Voévodski 1929 aims to develop analysis methods for ceramics in the areas of form, technology, and ornaments. His article is based on studies by the Institute of Palethnology in Moscow.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES IN SOVIET ARCHAEOLOGY BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

Archaeology in Soviet Russia and in the early Soviet Union was characterized by three approaches that it had adopted from abroad as such and a fourth approach developed by Soviet scholars on the basis of foreign models. The first of the three was comparative typological research as established by Oscar Montelius and Joseph Déchelette. It had been introduced in Russia in the 1890s and 1900s mainly by Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Gorodtsov (1860–1945) but also by Aleksandr Andreevich Spitsyn (1858–1931). All archaeology, ethnology, and folklore studies both in the West and in Imperial Russia and early Soviet Russia based their views of development on diffusion, dispersing innovations from one cultural centre to peripheries. It was largely this kind of view that enabled constructing typological series on which relative chronologies were based. Pure diffusionism was abandoned in the

1920s and 1930s, but diffusion was still a crucial explanation used in research (Trigger 2006: 231–6; Platonova 2010: 100–4, 107–10, 198–214, 301, 308; Kleyn 2014a: 573–6, 594–7).

Another common approach was the idea of cultural circles (*Kulturkreise*), which was adopted to Russia and the Soviet Union from the work of the German linguist-archaeologist Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931). The idea of change was closely connected with the ideas of both cultural spheres and cultural phases (*Kulturstadien*). Cultural spheres consisting of certain phenomena of material culture were established in the international consciousness by Gustaf Kossinna in the early 20th century and in a modified form by Vere Gordon Childe (1892–1957) a couple of decades later, but they were applied to explanations of prehistory already before this, using, for example, the term civilizations instead of archaeological cultures. They were often, but not necessarily, of an ethnic character, and they were necessary for using archaeology as a tool to construct national prehistories and later to support nationalist ambitions with prehistory. In their earlier form, archaeological cultures were seen as entities consisting of finds of a more or less uniform character, but as cultural spheres they were not defined in detail before Childe and his contemporaries. The concept of ethnicity was connected with archaeological cultures or civilizations from the beginning (in general, Trigger 2006: 232–248, 339–341; in more detail, Meinander 1981; for the Soviet context, Miller 1956: 107–13).

Palethnology was imported from France to Russia by Fedor Kondrat'evich Volkov/Khvedor Vovk (1847–1918) before the revolution and developed significantly further in Russia and the early Soviet Union. In France, this field was based on the idea of primitive cultures rather than natural phenomena. Russian and Soviet palethnology analysed cultural development especially in relationship to the natural environment. Its primary centre was the Institute of Palethnology in Moscow, and its heyday was in the late 1920s. With a strong orientation towards natural-scientific explanations, Soviet palethnology also continued the tradition of geology-based Russian Stone Age research. It was the first orientation of archaeology that showed significant signs of independent Russian and Soviet

development, and it could thus have become the first internationally renowned orientation of archaeology with a Soviet background. Because the interpretations of the palethnological school can be seen as relying on nature determinism, the field came into conflict with the emerging Soviet archaeology where economy determined everything, and consequently the institute was closed and most of its members imprisoned or even executed (Platonova 2010: 125–88, 303–7; Kleyn 2014b: 18, 24–5, 43–4).

Developing Soviet archaeology was launched in the late 1920s as a response to earlier archaeologies, which were condemned as formalistic. It led to the theory of stadial development with roots in Friedrich Engels's (1820–1895) scheme of the historical development of human communities, formulated in the Soviet Union by Nikolay Yakovlevich Marr (1865–1934) and declared as an official dogma in the 1930s. Archaeology was developed as a social science. The change was connected to the establishment of power of the so-called centrist approach within the Communist Party. Eliminating the competing forces enabled Iosif Stalin (1878–1953) and his allies to pay more attention to scholarly research and start directing it towards a new, ideologically determined approach (Trigger 2006: 332–9; Sveshnikova 2009: 58–90). Also in Western archaeology, even in Sweden, typology was questioned at the same time (Nordman 1915; 1921: esp. 130; Meinander 1991: 31–5; Baudou 2004: 209–19, 227–8; Trigger 2006: 314–5; Salminen 2014: 57–9).

ESA was meant to disseminate the results of northern Eurasian archaeology to the western scholarly community. How were the theoretical changes in Soviet archaeology and its general circumstances represented in the articles?

TRADITION VERSUS INNOVATION

Tradition: typology, archaeological cultures, cultural spheres, and diffusion

How is the Montelian tradition represented in the articles of the *ESA*? What kinds of phenomena were explained with the idea of cultural spheres in the articles written by Soviet archaeologists or ethnologists for the *ESA*?

As described above, archaeology in the Soviet Union was in a period of transition, and many traditional approaches were thus still present in research. Typology actually plays a role in most of the articles by both Soviet and Western archaeologists in the *ESA*, but some of them should be especially noted. For these authors, typology was above all a means to obtain a chronology for dating Bronze and Iron Age finds from Russia (Iakounina-Ivanova 1927; Schmidt 1927: 29–30). Rykov (1927: esp. 53–61) combines typology and diffusionism with archaeological cultures as established cultural units, thus bringing together two traditions from the 19th century. He also deals with artefacts as types or groups. In his article on the culture of the Mordvinians in the Nizhniy Novgorod region (*terioukhanes*), Tolstov (1931) had developed a more far-reaching multidisciplinary approach for ethnological conclusions on the basis of palethnology, ethnology, and linguistics, using typology within this network of different methods. However, as the editor, Tallgren has deemed it necessary to add a critical note to the end of the article (Tolstov 1931: 68) denying the possibility, proposed by the author, of seeing a connection between seemingly similar ornaments from the Andronovo culture and historical times.

Even if not explicitly using typological series, no archaeologist could avoid referring to analogies of the analysed material. Analogies were also utilized by several Soviet scholars to date the material they presented, often combined with more general stylistic history (Bortvin 1928; Grakov 1928: 50–61; 1929; Minajeva 1929: esp. 206–7; Potapov 1929; Kuznecova 1930; Makarenko 1930; Nioradze 1932). A detailed typology could also be used together with analogies both to obtain dates and to form an image of a cultural area, such as the Orenburg region in the Scythic period (Grakov 1929: 176–81), or typology was used as a conscious or sub-conscious platform for descriptive presentations, such as those of Mari cemeteries (Goriounova 1929). Iconographical elements were also compared in accordance with the typological tradition but without typology itself (Grakov 1928: 34–45; Potapov 1929; Zakharov 1934: 341–5). Tallgren used this kind of comparison as a systematic method consisting of both the external

form and the gradually growing understanding of the internal function of the objects within a culture (e.g. in Tallgren 1926: 167–213; 1928; 1930), but it would require an extensive analysis of the work of the Soviet scholars mentioned here to answer the question of whether they were equally systematic in their approaches.

The concept of an archaeological culture was conceived as such a self-evident tool in archaeology that in the articles discussed here, it was not considered necessary to explain its meaning or present any arguments for using archaeological cultures to analyse prehistory or ethnological phenomena. Cultural spheres with a more defined character were also seen as self-evident. The idea of archaeological cultures as established cultural units is brought forth in several articles (Chudjakov 1927: 97; Rykov 1927: 51; Bortvin 1928: 131; Grakov 1928: 53, 61; 1929: 121; Krivtsov-Grakov 1929: 121–5; Passek & Latynine 1929: 291, 298–300; Schmidt 1929: 14–7; Makarenko 1930; Tolstov 1931: 62–4). When cultural spheres are referred to, their meaning is mostly not ethnic, but the idea is applied to smaller units of some other character. This departs from the idea of the cultural coherence of certain phenomena that, taken together, form an assumed archaeological culture or cultural sphere. The concept of cultural affiliation is explicitly used by Schmidt (1927: 27–8), but the idea is applied to the whole approach implicitly (Makarenko 1930). The concepts used can also be somewhat vague in this respect, as in B. A. Grakov's use of the term "Scythic cultural sphere" (Grakov 1928: 61), or their character may have been left completely undefined (Bortvin 1928: 128–31). Ethnic cultural spheres or ethnic conclusions in general appear mostly in late prehistoric contexts, most probably because of the retrospective reading of medieval sources (Passek & Latynine 1929: 291, 298–300; Rykov 1929: 287–8). Sometimes the idea of cultural spheres can be noticed even though the term itself is not used, for example, in the way in which some finds are affiliated to an already defined culture. This kind of grouping in space can appear in combination with a grouping in time, namely cultural phases (Schmidt 1927: 27–8). It often remains unclear whether the author has actually meant an archaeological culture or a cultural sphere in the sense of Kossinna and Childe.

How are changes explained, or are they explained at all? Attention must be paid especially to the significance of diffusion and migrations as explanatory factors in the interpretations of the Soviet archaeologists. Does the use of these explanations change in the articles during the few years when Soviet archaeologists were able to publish in the *ESA*?

Diffusion is rarely an exclusive explanation of change, but in some cases, it is the main explanatory factor and is even expressed as such (Rykov 1927: 61–2; Schmidt 1927: 30–3; Grakov 1928: 53–61; Tolstov 1931: 62–4, 67–8). Sometimes the diffusionist approach is not explicitly expressed but must be read between the lines (Fabritius 1929: 133; Minajeva 1929; Passek & Latynine 1929: 291, 298–300; Potapov 1929; Schmidt 1929: 16–7; Makarenko 1930; Zakharov 1934: 341–5). A diffusionist explanation is mostly presented together with an idea of established archaeological cultures, but established archaeological cultures could also be used without the idea of diffusion or any other expressed explanation of change (Chudjakov 1927: 97; Bortvin 1928: 128–31; Grakov 1929: 181; Krivtsov-Grakov 1929: 121–5).

Innovation: palethnology, functionalism and technology

Formation processes in society and their background in natural conditions were a special area of interest of the palethnological school of Soviet archaeology in the late 1920s and early 1930s until the approach was condemned and prohibited. Soviet palethnology was represented by several articles also in the *ESA*, especially in the Spitsyn Volume (Bahder 1929; Joukov 1929; Minajeva 1929; Voévodski 1929; Zbrujev 1929; see also Bukinič 1929; Rykov 1929). Palethnology also influenced researchers who did not actually belong to the inner circles of the palethnologists even in the 1930s (Tolstov 1931; Makarenko 1934). Although the approach had its roots in Stone Age research, it was no longer restricted to a single prehistoric phase but used to analyse all periods from the Stone to Iron Ages.

Palethnological archaeology paid attention to the functions of artefacts, and this could also be seen here (Bahder 1929; Joukov 1929; Jegorov 1930; cf. Tallgren 1930: 167–8). Technology

plays some role in the articles, both palethnological and others, although it is mostly not used as a factor explaining cultural change in a broad sense. Rather, function is used to explain artefact forms (Minajeva 1929: 205; Zbrujev 1929: 108–14; Bukinič 1930: 18–20; Jegorov 1930; Dmitriev 1931; Nioradze 1932).

The representatives of the palethnological school sometimes combined local, internal development with external influences (Joukov 1929: 76). Some scholars were able to combine internal economy-based change with traces of diffusion, such as influences carried by trade, and even some migrations (Schmidt 1927: 46–9; Bahder 1929: 96; Joukov 1929: 78–9).

Cultural evolution is also used as an explanatory factor but without reflecting on what could have caused the cultural evolution itself (Alikhova & Préobraženski 1929: 338–9). Sometimes cultural phenomena were also explained by mental factors, but this is quite rare (Passek & Latynine 1929: 300–11).

In the Marxist approach, it was preconditioned that changes in culture were based on changes in economy. It was not always easy to apply the theoretical pattern on the practical level, but Schmidt (1927: 27–8) uses concepts like *Kulturtypus* and *Kulturstadien*, although they do not yet contain the idea of a fixed scheme of cultural development.

THE SOVIET ARTICLES IN THE *ESA*

By bringing together these observations of the kinds of explanations that the authors of the *ESA* used, i.e. whether they used typology or a more general comparison of analogies, whether they grouped cultures horizontally into cultural spheres or vertically into cultural phases, and what level of significance they assigned to natural conditions (the significance of palethnology), we can gain an overall image of how the development outlined above is reflected in the Soviet articles published in the *ESA* between 1927 and 1934. This overview is presented in the table 2 below.

As seen in the previous chapters and the table above, more traditional elements like typology, analogy, diffusion, and cultural spheres mostly dominated in the first volumes of the *ESA*, but new ways of looking at prehistory, such as the

Table 2. The most important theoretical approaches in the articles by Soviet authors in the *ESA*.

Article	Typology	Analogy	Diffusion	Cult. spheres	Internal devel.	Palethnol.	Technology, function
Chudjakov 1927				x			
Iakounina-Ivanova 1927	x						
Rykov 1927							
Schmidt 1927	x		x	x	x		
Bortvin 1928		x		x			
Grakov 1928		x	x	x			
Alikhova & Préobraženski 1929					x		
Bahder 1929			x		x	x	x
Grakov 1929				x			
Joukov 1929			x		x	x	x
Krivtsov-Grakov 1929				x			
Minajeva 1929		x	x			x	x
Passek & Latynine 1929			x	x	x		
Potapov 1929		x	x				
Rykov 1929				x		x	
Schmidt 1929			x	x			
Voévodski 1929						x	
Zbrujev 1929						x	x
Bukinič 1930						x	x
Jegorov 1930						x	x
Kuznecova 1930		x					
Makarenko 1930		x	x	x			
Dmitriev 1931							x
Tolstov 1931	x		x	x		x	
Nioradze 1932		x					x
Makarenko 1934						x	
Zakharov 1934		x	x				

internal development of a culture and the role of technology and functionalism, as well as palethnology, gained more visibility from 1929 on but did not replace the traditional elements completely. Instead, a kind of balance was established between the approaches. The same authors could adopt new points of view, as P. S. Rykov did.

The first volume of the *ESA* (No. II, 1926) was published only four years after the Russian civil war and founding of the Soviet Union. Soviet archaeology did not exist yet, and thus the tradition from pre-revolutionary times continued (Miller 1956: 49; Trigger 2006: 326–30; Platonova 2010: 215–9, 310). When the new

Marxist Soviet archaeology and especially stadi- alism were launched, contacts between Western and Soviet researchers had largely been severed. Thus, these new directions could not have any significant role in the articles published by Soviet scholars in the journal (Miller 1956: 55–8, 71–84, 93–5; Trigger 2006: 336–9; Sveshnikova 2009: 65–73; Platonova 2010: 253–8, 310–1; Salminen 2014: 115–6). In spite of this, the Soviet reforms in archaeology were introduced by Tallgren (1936) after his last long journey to the East in the tenth volume of the *ESA*.

As a whole, the articles reflect the develop- ment of archaeology in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, but the journal contained no examples of

actual Soviet archaeology in the sense in which it was established and dogmatized in the next decade. The reasons for this can only be speculated, but the most probable explanation seems to be the fact that Tallgren had received most of the published material before the final establishment of the field of Soviet archaeology. It is also possible that the most prominent representatives of the new direction, such as V. I. Ravdonikas, consciously avoided the most radical approaches when publishing in the West, but this assumption cannot be verified.

What was the significance of the *ESA* as a mediator between Soviet archaeological research and the Western readership? There are two answers to this question: a simple one and a more complicated one. The simple answer is that as the only journal of its kind, it was priceless. The more complicated answer depends on what was known about the prehistory of Russia in the West and how much demand there was for new information from the East.

There is no overview of archaeological information about the Russian realm in the early 20th century. It was scattered in different publications and written practically only in Russian. The few exceptions included Tallgren's works (in German and French, esp. Tallgren 1911; 1919), J. R. Aspelin's picture atlas (in French, Aspelin 1877–1884), Ernest Chantre's Caucasian publications (in French, Chantre 1881; 1885–1887), Ture J. Arne's dissertation (also in French, Arne 1914), Ellis H. Minns' dissertation (in English, Minns 1913), M. I. Rostovcev's works (in French and English, for his bibliography, see Zuev 1997: esp. 210–2, nos. 302–5, 323, 354, 357), and Gero von Merhart's publications (in German, Merhart 1923; 1924; 1926). The Russian-German archaeologist Gregor Borovka (Borovka) was soon to publish his main work in English (Borovka 1928). The emphasis of all these publications lay heavily on the Classical and Scythian cultures of the Black Sea region and the steppes, as well as the prehistory of the Caucasus. The articles of the *ESA* by both Soviet and Western authors added some depth to this overall picture by providing firstly a more purely prehistoric layer, offering to the readership work covering all prehistoric periods, and secondly a geographically more balanced look at Russia, bringing especially central Russian

prehistory from the Volga and Oka Rivers to the attention of Western readers. Siberian prehistory remained marginal in the *ESA*.

Based on Tallgren's correspondence, we know that there were attempts to re-establish contacts with Russia and the Soviet Union during and immediately after the civil war (Salminen 2014: 97–100). Soon after its founding, the *ESA* had an established readership in Western Europe, and the articles by Western authors show that there was at least some interest in taking the East into account in Western archaeology. Also the letters sent to Tallgren at the time of and after discontinuing the journal indicate that there was a group of scholars who had greatly appreciated it (Salminen 2014: 248–3). More analysis is required to determine the real demand for such material in the West and its significance to Western archaeology.

NOTES

¹ The bibliography edited by Kivikoski is incomplete in places. The present author has edited a new bibliography of Tallgren's works to be published elsewhere later.

² From outside the Soviet Union, excluding Tallgren himself, who provided every volume with at least one manuscript and often more, Franz Hančar contributed to five volumes, Joachim Werner to four, and both V. Ya. Tolmačev (Russian emigré) and Alfred Salmony to three volumes.

³ In citing the articles published in the *ESA*, the Russian names appear here as they are written in the original publications. The transliteration practices of the *ESA* varied but were mostly based on German, French, or what later became the international scientific standard, depending on the language in which the actual article was published.

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