Establishing academic education in archaeology in Helsinki between 1876–1923: Defining aims and ideologies

Timo Salminen

Abstract

The first chair of archaeology in Finland was an extraordinary one for J.R. Aspelin at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki from 1878–1885. It was then considered that archaeology's task was to evoke Finnish national consciousness; thus, the chair was opposed by Finland's Swedish-minded circles. It was also debated whether archaeology should be taught at the university or at the Historical Museum. An ordinary chair was founded in 1921, after several attempts, as a part of building the academic structure of the newly independent republic of Finland. The first professor, A.M. Tallgren, was appointed at the end of 1923. Consequently, archaeology became both professionally and institutionally established in Finland. This article analyses academic archaeology's significance in Finnish society prior to the ordinary chair, the founding process of the professorship and the election of the first professor. The article also briefly deals with the academic lectures and doctoral dissertations before 1923. This Finnish development is compared with that of other European countries.

Keywords: academic education in archaeology, chair of archaeology, docents, Aspelin, Ailio, Tallgren, Nordman, 1870s, 1880s, 1910s, 1920s

The first steps towards academic education in archaeology were taken in the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki in the second half of the 1870s. Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) was appointed extraordinary professor in Nordic archaeology in 1878, but he left his personal chair in 1885 after being appointed the first State Archaeologist of the Grand Duchy of Finland. Several attempts were made to found an ordinary chair in archaeology, but that was not achieved until 1921. The Finnish development was well in line with the Scandinavian countries, from where archaeology itself was adopted.

This article's scope addresses the ideological and, to some extent also, the practical premises behind the discussion about the necessity of establishing education in archaeology in Finland. The debate intertwines different concepts of archaeology as a discipline and its task in the society with different ideas about its ideological premises. The article asks,

1. what the aims set for archaeology in the 1870s were, and how archaeology was conceived in the wider academic circles,
2. what kind of arguments were used for and against archaeological education during the last decades of the 19th century, and how political confrontations, personal disputes and practical arguments became visible in the discussion,
3. whether archaeology's necessity as an academic discipline was justified by the same reasons in the context of a new state in the 1910s as it had been in the 1880s and the 1890s, and
4. what the aims set for archaeology in the early 1920s were.

This is an overview based mostly on earlier literature. References to original sources are given in the published works cited here.

How did it come into being? An overview of the events leading to an academic chair in archaeology in Finland

The path leading to a professorship in archaeology at the University of Helsinki consisted of a complicated series of attempts to establish a new academic discipline for over 40 years. There were several attempts, motivated by both practical and ideological arguments. Each of them was also opposed more or less vehemently, and it was unclear to the very last step of the process whether the professorship would become reality or not. I have dealt with the details of this process in a separate study published in Finnish (Salminen 1993), and there is no need to repeat them here because they are not of international interest.

Archaeology was professionalising little by little in the Grand Duchy of Finland in and after the middle of the 19th century. Finland had the cultural advantage of having close contacts with Scandinavian countries. That became early on the most important, although not the only, direction from where the archaeological impulses arose. The first doctoral dissertation[1] with an archaeological theme was defended in Helsinki in 1858, but it still took more than ten years before the development was continued. J.R. Aspelin defended his doctoral (licentiate) thesis *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (Elements of Finno-Ugric Archaeology) in winter 1876 (Bomansson 1858; Aspelin 1875; Viitanen & Salminen 2012, 30; Salminen 2001a), and already by then he had expressed his plan to pursue a career in archaeology. Aspelin had made the conscious decision to follow the Scandinavian model of archaeology instead of the central and western European ones. He had studied with Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) and Hans Hildebrand (1842–1907) in Sweden and had visited Sophus Müller (1846–1934) in Copenhagen, and during the subsequent years he was to take part in congresses in both Russia and Central Europe (Salminen 2003, 44, 60–63; 2014b, 19–20).

Parallelling the process leading to Aspelin's doctoral dissertation, it was discussed whether a State Antiquarian's position should be founded in Finland to protect the antiquities and where such an official should be located (Salminen 1993, 13). It is noteworthy that Finnish archaeology as a profession came into being by following the Russian pattern, where scholarly and amateur societies formed the most crucial network instead of museums as in the west (Härö 1984, 60–64; Talvio 2016, 71–73; about Russia, see, e.g., Miller 1956, 24–28). The situation did not change until after 1893 when the state had taken care of the museum and actually not completely even then, because the Archaeological Commission consisted of representatives of different scholarly societies instead of museum professionals until 1917, when the temporary structure began being used (Härö 1984, 51–54; Talvio 2016, 67–70; Immonen 2016, 23, 30–35).

The Diet of 1872 proposed appointing an archaeologist, meteorologist and geologist in the Societas Scientiarum Fennica, but no final decision was made. The question arose about appointing Aspelin an extraordinary professor in the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki because no position for a State Antiquarian had been established (Salminen 1993, 13).

Five initiatives, both official and unofficial, were subsequently launched to establish academic education in archaeology in Finland. It was proposed by single researchers like J.R. Aspelin in 1890 and unofficially already in 1887; by Hjalmar Appelgren (from 1906 on Appelgren-Kivalo, 1853–1937) in 1896 and 1916 and by the Finno-Ugrian Society in 1890 (Salminen 1993, 17–24). None of these proposals or discussions led anywhere, even though the period from the 1880s until the First World War was characterised by a rapid expansion of academic education

1 It was prescribed in the 1852 statutes of the Alexander University that there were two academic degrees, those of candidate and licentiate, and in the case of arts students, Candidate and Licentiate of Philosophy. To complete one's licentiate degree one had to publicly defend a licentiate thesis. A candidate in the humanistic or scientific disciplines could be awarded the Master of Arts (philosophiae magister) title, and the title of Doctor of Philosophy to a licentiate. This system was in effect until the early 1950s, when the degrees of licentiate and doctor were separated. Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Statuter 1852, 63–72.

in Finland when new disciplines were established at the university and research circumstances were improved (Tommila 2003, 48–49).

A need was felt to develop the academic infrastructure of the new republic after Finland's declaration of independence in December 1917 and the Civil War of 1918. Thus, an inquiry was sent to the University of Helsinki, still the only university in the country, to survey what kind of chairs were considered necessary in different faculties. Archaeology, art history, ethnology, ancient history, English philology, general politology, financial research [Fi. finanssioppi], and statistics, as well as transforming the Russian language professorship into a Slavic philology professorship, were proposed in the historical-philological section. The University Senate presented its proposition to the government in August 1919, but only ordinary chairs in general politology, financial research, English philology and Slavic philology, as well as a permanent extraordinary chair in art history, were proposed to be founded in the historical-philological section. All other disciplines, including archaeology, were rejected. The government made several changes to the programme again, restoring archaeology and ethnology among the chairs to be founded, but the Parliament rejected all university posts, preferring the military needs of the country. The government did not propose new chairs for the university at all when preparing the 1921 budget, but this time it was the Parliament that included them in the budget. The chairs were founded according to what the government had proposed one year previously. The decree for chairs in Finnish and Nordic archaeology and in Finno-Ugric ethnology was thus given in September 1921 (Salminen 1993, 32–36).

The aims set for archaeology in the 1870s and Aspelin as extraordinary professor

Looking at the discussion on academic education in archaeology, we notice that the main question of 1872 was whether and to what extent archaeology was a Finno-Ugric discipline. If so, it should be represented above all in the university museum, not in a scholarly society (Salminen 1993, 13; about the university museum, Talvio 2016, 14–66). The Fennoman professors were the firmest supporters of an archaeologist in the university during the discussion. The discussion shows that the ideological character of archaeology was not self-evident by then, but it was rather disputed in Finland.

When Aspelin (Figure 1) was appointed extraordinary professor in Nordic archaeology – 'Nordic' was used in a methodological instead of regional meaning here – in 1877, ideological and practical points of view were intertwined in the discussion of the discipline of archaeology. Had its ideological context become more profiled compared with the situation five years before? What was its relationship to the practical backgrounds of the day?

Professor of Finnish, Nordic and Russian History Georg Zachris Forsman (known also with the pseudonym Yrjö Koskinen, later raised into nobility with the family name Yrjö-Koskinen, 1831–1903), who proposed Aspelin's appointment as an extraordinary professor, based his initiative on the necessity to guarantee the care of the university's museum collections and to promote the patriotic discipline of archaeology. Thus, his arguments were both practical and ideological, above all the latter. Promoting Finnishness (Figure 2) was in his mind archaeology's task. The historical-philological section unanimously supported Koskinen's proposal in the first discussion on the topic but only for practical reasons. Ideologically, the members would not have been able to reach a shared opinion. Koskinen belonged to the Western Finnish radical Fennomans, although his mother tongue was Swedish. The ideological differences became visible, at least to some extent, when the proposal was discussed the second time, not between the Fennoman and Svecoman professors but within the Fennoman group. Nobody opposed the appointment, but August Ahlqvist (1826–1889), Professor of Finnish Language and Literature who belonged to the Eastern Finnish moderate Fennomans with Finnish as his native tongue, stated that Aspelin should not be prescribed any teaching obligation. According to Ahlqvist, archaeology was not an independent scholarly discipline but rather a research method or aux-

Figure 1. Johan Reinhold Aspelin in 1893. Photo: Daniel Nyblin, Finnish Heritage Agency.

iliary discipline of history. Ahlqvist, who had been disputing with Koskinen about Fennomania's character, moved against Koskinen with this statement. Their debate had reached its peak just at that time, and Ahlqvist had good grounds to oppose an ally of Koskinen being appointed. A personal extraordinary professor did not have a seat in the faculty and university senate, but he was able to influence the students' opinions as an academic teacher. It was important to secure one's own position when an internal disagreement was prevalent within Fennomania about the right way to secure the national existence. Carl Gustaf Estlander (1834–1910), the Swedish-minded Professor of Aesthetics and Modern Literature, supported Ahlqvist, but Aspelin was appointed according to the original proposal (Salminen 1993, 13–14).

Very few examples of established academic education in archaeology existed anywhere at that time. One of these examples was the University of Kristiania (later, Oslo) in Norway, where the professorship for Scandinavian archaeology was founded in 1875. Archaeology had already been a part of the professorship of history before that (Baudou 2004, 172); the knowledge and skills were mostly transmitted in the museums. Aspelin's professorship did not form a long-time exception to this rule, either.

The discipline's methodological consolidation was the most important precondition that made a professorship possible, despite all ideological connotations connected to archaeology and the tasks assigned to it. Comparative archaeology had been gradually developing for about 50 years when Finland adopted it from Scandinavia around 1870, although it had not really gained its first methodological tool until the 1860s with the emergence of the typological method. Linguistics had discovered

Figure 2. The cover of the fifth and last booklet of J.R. Aspelin's picture atlas *Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumus-aloilta – Antiquités du nord finno-ougrien* (Aspelin 1877–1884), containing Iron Age artefacts from Finland. The atlas was meant to acquaint the international readership with Finno-Ugric prehistory.

the kinship between languages during the 18th century; language was thus understood as a crucial factor of national character on which to build a national history image in the new industrialising society. Archaeological finds and ethnographic material, especially ornaments, seemed to provide more material with their distinctive national colouring (Hovdhaugen & al. 2000, 156–157; Trigger 2006, 211–260). Early Finnish archaeology emerged from the humanistically oriented, Scandinavian typological approach and devoted itself to researching the metal ages. The Stone Age research, common especially in France and Russia and with its roots in geology, remained more remote until the 1910s, when the two approaches were combined (Trigger 2006, 147–156; Платонова 2010, 125–147).

Aspelin as an academic teacher

What kind of interests did Professor Aspelin want to transmit to the students? More concretely, what were Aspelin's lecture subjects like and what kind of ideas do they reflect? Aspelin lectured every year from 1878 until 1885. He started with an introductory course on the Finno-Ugrian tribe's (nb. in singular) antiquities, continued with Finno-Ugric archaeology from 1879–1880, 1880–1881 and 1881–1882, Nordic archaeology from 1882–1883, the wanderings of the Finnish peoples from an archaeological standpoint from 1883–1884 and finished with the cultural circumstances of the ancient Finns from 1884–1885 (Förteckning 1878; Ohjelma 1879–1884). Aspelin's lecture subjects reflected the experienced importance of the idea of archaeology as prehistoric ethnography that shed light on the Finno-Ugric questions for him and his career as a practical researcher of these questions. The themes of Aspelin's lectures fully accord with his publications' approach and manifest the same conviction of archaeology's ethnological task that he expressed in his letter to Professor Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) in 1880 (Salminen 2003, 66–67). The lectures can be called a part of Aspelin's scholarly testament before he transferred to administrative work, although he was still to return to Finno-Ugric archaeology with the Siberian field expeditions of 1887, 1888 and 1889 (Salminen 2003, 71–90).

The ideological competition between Aspelin and Ahlqvist becomes visible in the fact that Ahlqvist lectured about the *Kalevala* and its archaeological interpretations in both 1878–1879 and 1880–1881 (Förteckning 1878–1879; Ohjelma 1880–1881). No information exists about the contents of Ahlqvist's lectures. Ahlqvist had dealt with questions related to the *Kalevala* in his printed works in 1853 and 1863 and was still doing this in 1886. He had also written about the relationship between craniology and ethnology just in 1876 (Stenvik 1886, 192–195).

Aspelin's significance as an academic archaeology teacher can also be estimated based on his pupils. He indeed had a series of successors in that field who became established researchers in Finnish archaeology and ethnology: Axel Olai Heikel (1851–1924), Theodor Schvindt (1851–1917), Hjalmar Appelgren(-Kivalo) and Alfred Hackman (1864–1942) studied under Aspelin during his professorship, and later Aspelin also led Aarne Michaël Tallgren's (1885–1945) and Aarne Europaeus's (Äyräpää, 1887–1971) museum studies. It is a question of its own, how much influence Aspelin had on Julius Ailio (until 1897 Ax, 1872–1933). Heikel, Schvindt, Appelgren-Kivalo and Tallgren can be characterised as Aspelin's spiritual heirs, although Tallgren was especially giving a new direction to Finnish archaeology later. Nobody taught archaeology in the university after Aspelin until the 1910s (Haltsonen 1947, 59–60; Kivikoski 1954, 90–91, 95–97; Salminen 1993, 21, 25–30; Salminen 2003, 117–118).

Docents of archaeology in the 1910s and the discipline's doctoral dissertations before 1921

Julius Ailio (Figure 3) was appointed docent of archaeology[2] in 1910 after he defended his licentiate thesis. Students received the right to take archaeology as one subject in their grade without special permission in 1919 (Salminen 1993, 34). Ailio taught in 1910–1913, but thereafter he was on study trips abroad from 1913–1916 or participated in politics from 1916–1918, even as a Senator in 1917, and was thus unable to lecture (Ohjelma 1910–1921). Ailio brought completely different ideas and viewpoints to the lectures.

Ailio apparently presented, on the one hand, an ethnologically coloured cultural history and image of human culture and, on the other hand, the earliest prehistory. He even lectured, or at least had announced, a series of lectures in 1918 about the prehistory of Finland from an anthropogeographic point of view. Some of his works show that the ethnic tradition of archaeology was not completely remote for him, either (Salminen 1993, 25).

Ailio shifted to more nationally-coloured themes, such as Baltic Finnic culture and battles of independence during the latest prehistory, when the professorship competition was expected, or he combined the two viewpoints by lecturing about the earliest prehistory of the Finno-Ugric area (Salminen 1993, 25–27, 36–38; Autio 1999/2017).

Aarne Michaël Tallgren and Carl Axel Nordman (1892–1972, Figure 4) were appointed docents in 1919 and 1921, respectively. Tallgren's lecture series was about Ural-Altaic archaeology, i.e., a kind of update of Aspelinian themes of the 1870s, before he left for Tartu, where he was appointed professor in 1920. Nordman started with general overviews, and he was also an acting professor in 1922 (Salminen 1993, 27–31; Salminen 2001b; Meinander 1991, 68; Edgren 2006/2016). Ailio was working as acting professor in 1920–1921 and 1923; thus, he had to turn his attention more to general overviews, but he still delivered a series of 'characteristic pictures of the prehistory of Finland' in the 1921 autumn term (Ohjelma 1920–1923).

Figure 3. Julius Ailio in the 1920s. Photo: Atelier Nyblin, Finnish Heritage Agency.

No permanent academic education in archaeology existed before 1923, but that did not mean a complete standstill: Seven licentiate theses (doctoral dissertations) were published and defended (Appelgren 1891; Schvindt 1893; Hackman 1905; Ailio 1909; Tallgren 1911; Pälsi 1915; Nordman 1918). Ailio's and Pälsi's theses dealt with the Stone Age in Finland, Nordman's with the Stone Age in Denmark, Tallgren's with the Bronze Age in Russia and Siberia, and Hackman's, Appelgren's, and Schvindt's each continued the national Iron Age tradition. All of them initiated new realms of research from the Finnish viewpoint but with international archaeological traditions behind them. Hackman's, Tallgren's, and Nordman's dissertations were especially linked to earlier research abroad. Hackman's, Ailio's and maybe Tallgren's works are worth mentioning from a theoretical viewpoint (Meinander 1991, 24–30; Salminen 2003, 125–126; Viitanen & Salminen 2012, 30).

2 According to the statutes of 1852, one with a licentiate degree and a subsequent public defense of a docent's thesis could be appointed a docent at the university. Docents were to lecture when necessary and some of them were given a duty to supervise students' written exercises. A special docent's thesis was replaced with a requirement of equivalent amount of other scholarly publications in 1895. Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Statuter 1852, 44, 50; Lindberg 2020, 23–24, 28.

Figure 4. Aarne Michaël Tallgren and Carl Axel Nordman in the National Museum in 1920. Photo: Karin Hildén, Finnish Heritage Agency.

Archaeology in early 20th century society

How much had the arguments used *pro* and *contra* archaeology's academic status changed from the 1870s until the first decades of the 20th century, when the ordinary chair was coming into being? Did they change with Finland's independence? We must firstly notice one crucial difference between the late 19th century's debate and that of the early 20th century when discussing this question's relevance. The earlier debates mainly occurred within antiquarian organisations except for the discussion concerning Aspelin's appointment as an extraordinary professor. However, unanimity more or less prevailed about the necessity of academic education in archaeology until the 1910s. The dissension occurred, firstly, between professors of different disciplines in the university (as in 1877) and, secondly, between politicians with different preferences in the parliament. Is it thus relevant to ask what had changed in connection with Finland's independence?

Looking at the arguments used in the university circles, the proposal to found a chair in archaeology was motivated by Julius Ailio's memorandum calling to expand historical knowledge though archaeology, liberate researchers from the mechanical museum work to do real research instead, improve the circumstances of the historical museum by schooling museum professionals and increase the general importance of archaeology for the Finns. Archaeology should belong as a compulsory subject in the MA degree in history. It is interesting and revealing to compare these arguments with those used by the ethnologist Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929) regarding the necessity of an ethnology chair. Namely, Sirelius motivated his proposal more explicitly with a national reason: Nobody else would investigate the Finns's past if they did not do it themselves.

During the faculty's discussion, the professors opposing a chair in archaeology considered educating museum professionals a duty of the museum itself, not the university. Thus, the same argument already in use in the 1870s and several times thereafter was still in use around 1920.

No detailed information exists about the University Senate's discussion, but it can be noticed that the majority of the humanities and theology professors supported a chair in archaeology, and those representing more practically oriented disciplines often opposed it. However, e.g., Professor of Forestry Aimo Kaarlo Cajander (1879–1943) from the Section of Agricultural Economy supported a chair in archaeology. This may be interpreted as a trace of the discussion of the day about the influences of the ale-burning economy (Salminen 1993, 32–34). We should notice Wilhelm Ramsay's support, the Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the Physical-Mathematical Section, which reflects the cooperation between archaeologists and geologists to investigate the Stone Age in Finland (see, e.g., Hausen 1910; Ailio 1915; Ramsay 1921; Europaeus 1922). Some professors, such as the one from astronomy, may have opposed a chair in archaeology because his own discipline needed new instruments at the same time, and thus all new chairs diminished the possibilities to finance these expensive purchases (Salminen 1993, 34). The disciplines necessary to create and maintain international relations of the new state and some others of general importance in the society excelled in the university's final proposition. Archaeology, as previously mentioned, was not considered of such general importance. No single disciplines were discussed in the discussion within the government and parliament; thus, no documents of the motivations were preserved.

How did the motivations change regarding the election of a professor in the faculty? There were two applicants with very different approaches to archaeology: Julius Ailio, docent since 1910, and Aarne Michaël Tallgren, docent since 1919 and a professor at the University of Tartu in Estonia since 1920. Ailio's roots as a researcher were in geology and ethnology; Tallgren had come to archaeology with a historical orientation. Archaeology was basically a nomothetic science for Ailio, but Tallgren had expressed belief in man's free will and thus did not consider laws as archaeology's aim (Salminen 1993, 25–30). Ailio was therefore closer to the Swedish, Montelian approach, whereas Tallgren followed the Dane Sophus Müller approach.

It is also important to ask what Ailio's and Tallgren's ideological premises were. Tallgren's thoughts were still in a transition phase: His production of the 1920s is characterised, on the one hand, by dependence on the ethnically-coloured questions he had inherited from the earlier researcher generations and, on the other hand, by the first signs of questioning archaeology's so-far established character (Salminen 2003, 172–174). It meant distancing from the Finnish tradition, but the trend was not yet clearly expressed. Ailio published very little after losing the professorship competition to Tallgren, but during the election process he had developed a growing interest in the Finno-Ugric questions, so important for the earlier Finnish archaeology, obviously to fit into the established pattern of a Finnish archaeologist (Salminen 1993, 36–38).

The experts, Anton Wilhelm Brøgger (1884–1951) from Oslo, Hubert Schmidt (1864–1933) from Berlin and Kustavi Grotenfelt (1861–1928) from Helsinki, unanimously preferred Tallgren. What was decisive in their opinion was Tallgren's wide cultural historical view, although Ailio's geological merits were positively mentioned. Tallgren's knowledge of the Russian material was also considered important for Finnish archaeology. Ailio had lately attempted to acquaint himself with the eastern questions; that had led him to debate with Tallgren, which was practically a continuation of the dispute they had had in 1911 when Tallgren defended his doctoral thesis with Ailio as an opponent. The experts were unconvinced, though. Tallgren placed first for the professorship with 41 votes against four in the University Senate (Salminen 1993, 38).

Simultaneous with the academic development, the antiquities and museum administration was also reformed after a long debate. Based originally on scholarly societies, the system was created in 1884 and, a bone of contention from the beginning, was replaced with a new one consisting of museum professionals in 1920. The

Finnish museum administration reform was realised approximately simultaneously with Sweden's (Baudou 2004, 241–242; Immonen 2016, 30–35). It is noteworthy that the academic chair was not separated from the museum altogether; the professor had his cabinet in the National Museum building, and he belonged as a supplementary member of the Archaeological Commission from 1928 on (Talvio 2016, 196). This also shows how strong the tie was between the museum world and archaeology in Finland.

Theoretical discussion on Finnish archaeology in the first decades of the 20th century

Internal expectations were also set for academic archaeology if the new independent state of Finland expected archaeology to participate in its construction process. What were those expectations like in light of the preceding development and discussion of the day?

The earliest Finnish archaeology was based on an idea of cultural spheres or, to use its own terminology, 'civilisations', which were interpreted as ethnic units (Aspelin 1875, 57–58; Meinander 1981; Salminen 2003, 169; Baudou 2004, 182–186). It is not exactly known from whom J.R. Aspelin had adopted this idea, but it was current in both Scandinavian archaeology and North European linguistics at the time. It was also close to the approach used by Gustaf Kossinna in Germany. Typology, as it was used by Montelius and other Swedes, was not as emphasised in Finland, where the Danish pattern was largely followed with more emphasis on closed finds (Salminen 1993, 16–17; Baudou 2004, 175). Typology was adopted by the second generation of Finnish archaeologists in the 1880s, and it was already questioned during the first decades of the 20th century. The number of archaeologists was so small in Finland that it is pointless to speak about an archaeology mainstream in the country; rather, there were several adaptations by different scholars, among them typology, the ethnological viewpoint, ethnic interpretation according to the cultural spheres and, as a new innovation, cooperation between archaeologists and geologists to establish the Finnish Stone Age shore displacement chronology. Finnish archaeology, in the large view, followed the so-called culture-historical school until Tallgren questioned some of its basic premises in the 1930s.

The Finnish development was distinctly straightforward compared with Western and Central Europe, where even the validity of the three-period system was disputed (Baudou 2004, 179–182). However, no such geologically-based tradition of Stone Age research existed like there was in France, Great Britain or Russia, and the colonialist tradition of Finnish archaeology was mainly practised in Central Russia and southern Siberia in order to find traces of the original home and the wanderings of the Finns to Finland (Salminen 2003, 43–60, 63–65). The Finno-Ugric tradition of Finnish archaeology was not severed completely after the border was closed between Finland and Soviet Russia but it was disturbed, and the colonialist tendencies of Finnish archaeology were manifested in investigating and interpreting the prehistory of Lapland (Ojala 2009, 66–77). The situation was otherwise comparable to Sweden's, but the Swedes and other Germanic peoples had no such ethnically motivated, remote archaeological colony as the Finns had had in the east.

Several different currents of discussion were going on about both the theoretic and methodological questions of archaeology within the Finnish community of prehistorians in the two first decades of the 20th century. These phenomena were at least partly linked to the international discussion on the topic. The methods, how ethnic conclusions would be possible on the basis of archaeological material, were partly developed on the basis of old Aspelinian ideas by combining them with the Scandinavian typology taken almost to extremes (Appelgren-Kivalo 1915; 1926). Alfred Hackman (esp. 1905) adopted both Scandinavian typology and German *Siedlungsarchäologie* in the Gustaf Kossinna vein but more cautiously, and he sought ethnic conclusions using that approach; Hackman's work is also noteworthy as representative of the Montelian typological approach apart from the ethnic and settlement aims. However, Carl Axel Nordman, trained in Denmark, questioned

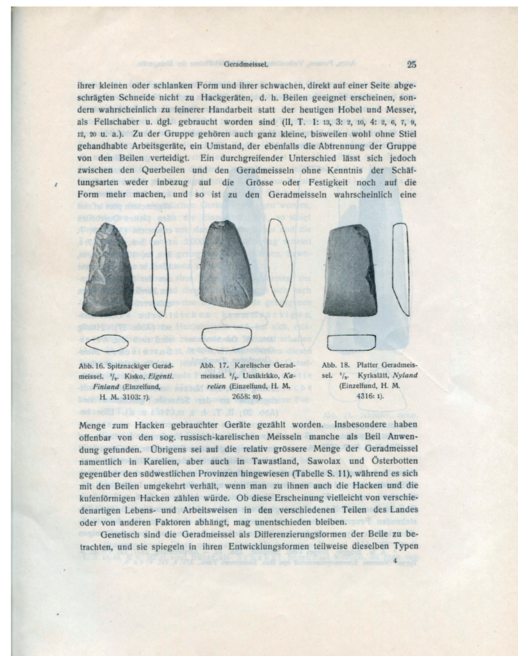
ethnic conclusions in archaeology altogether and also linked the Finnish discussion to the Scandinavian one about the problems of typology (Nordman 1915; 1921, esp. 130; Meinander 1991, 31–35; Baudou 2004, 209–219, 227–228).

Julius Ailio, with his scholarly background in geology and ethnology, attempted to turn Finnish archaeology toward seeking an ethnological analysis of the character of culture and its economical basis. Ailio was also the first in Finnish archaeology to explain prehistoric culture by the preconditions provided the natural circumstances (Ailio 1909; 1915), and he largely also accepted the idea of the original French paleethnology that human culture develops according to laws comparable to natural laws (Salminen 1993, 25–27). Ailio was soon followed by Sakari Pälsi (1882–1965), who tried instead to explain culture as distinctively human actions determined not by nature but rather by conscious decisions based on the background provided by natural circumstances (Pälsi 1916; Nordqvist 2017, 152–153). He thus came closer to the Russian variant of paleethnology, which also sought to explain it with cultural dynamics and natural circumstances (Платонова 2010, 126–136, 148–161, 303–306). Ailio and Pälsi can be described as the only Finnish archaeologists whose important influences were from the French or Russian direction of paleethnology (cf. also Ailio's lecture topics later in this article). Geologists, especially Hans Hausen (1884–1979) and Wilhelm Ramsay (1865–1928), launched the shore displacement chronology; archaeologists, above all Aarne Europaeus, adopted it as a dating method of the Finnish Stone Age. It is not actually used yet in Julius Ailio's dissertation (Figure 5), although it is mentioned (Ailio 1909, 103; Hausen 1910; Ramsay 1921; Europaeus 1922, 172–178; Siiriäinen 1989, 34–35). Finnish archaeology was also otherwise establishing ties to the natural sciences. Pollen analysis was also only some years away to becoming used in archaeology (from Sweden, see e.g., Post 1922). Aarne Europaeus's main influences otherwise combined Montelian typology and Müllerian emphasis on closed finds (Salminen 2014b, 132–134; 2014a, 267–268), with maybe more stress on typology in his career's early years.

What about Tallgren and his place in the Finnish and international archaeological context in the 1910s? Ailio criticised his licentiate thesis (doctoral dissertation) for not understanding the backgrounds of typological similarities. Tallgren actually compared more general cultural analogies rather than artefact types on the basis of the idea of human free will as Sophus Müller outlined in the 1880s. However, he was not yet active in the theoretical discussion at this point of his career (*Yliopistollisia väitöskirjoja*, 97–98; Salminen 2003, 126).

For instance, the Swedish discussion aimed at developing the typological method further but not replacing it with something else altogether. It was also typical for Finnish archaeology that it started to seek contacts and cooperation with neighbouring disciplines at the beginning of the 20th century, such as geology in Stone Age research.

Another background can be found in the institutionalisation of archaeology in different countries by founding academic chairs and museums or developing existing institutions.


Geradmeissel. 25

ihrer kleinen oder schlanken Form und ihrer schwachen, direkt auf einer Seite abgeschrägten Schneide nicht zu Hackgeräten, d. h. Beilen geeignet erscheinen, sondern wahrscheinlich zu feinerer Handarbeit statt der heutigen Hobel und Messer, als Fellschaber u. dgl. gebraucht worden sind (II, T. 1: 13, 3: 2, 10, 4: 2, 6, 7, 9, 12, 20 u. a.). Zu der Gruppe gehören auch ganz kleine, bisweilen wohl ohne Stiel gehandhabte Arbeitsgeräte, ein Umstand, der ebenfalls die Abtrennung der Gruppe von den Beilen verteidigt. Ein durchgreifender Unterschied lässt sich jedoch zwischen den Querbeilen und den Geradmeisseln ohne Kenntnis der Schäftungsarten weder inbezug auf die Grösse oder Festigkeit noch auf die Form mehr machen, und so ist zu den Geradmeisseln wahrscheinlich eine

Abb. 16. Spitznackiger Geradmeissel. 1/2. Kisko, *Eigentl. Finland* (Einzelfund, H. M. 3103: 7).

Abb. 17. Karelischer Geradmeissel. 1/2. Uusikirkko, *Karelien* (Einzelfund, H. M. 2658: 92).

Abb. 18. Platter Geradmeissel. 1/2. Kyrkslätt, *Nyland* (Einzelfund, H. M. 4316: 1).

Menge zum Hacken gebrauchter Geräte gezählt worden. Insbesondere haben offenbar von den sog. russisch-karelischen Meisseln manche als Beil Anwendung gefunden. Übrigens sei auf die relativ grössere Menge der Geradmeissel namentlich in Karelien, aber auch in Tawastland, Sawolax und Österbotten gegenüber den südwestlichen Provinzen hingewiesen (Tabelle S. 11), während es sich mit den Beilen umgekehrt verhält, wenn man zu ihnen auch die Hacken und die kufenförmigen Hacken zählen würde. Ob diese Erscheinung vielleicht von verschiedenartigen Lebens- und Arbeitsweisen in den verschiedenen Teilen des Landes oder von anderen Faktoren abhängt, mag unentschieden bleiben.

Genetisch sind die Geradmeissel als Differenzierungsformen der Beile zu betrachten, und sie spiegeln in ihren Entwicklungsformen teilweise dieselben Typen

4

Figure 5. A page in Julius Ailio's dissertation (Ailio 1909, 25).

Institutionalising archaeology in Europe: Finland in an international comparison

Academic chairs were founded especially in the new countries of Eastern Europe but also in established countries like Germany. Chairs of archaeology were founded in Lund, Cracow, Poznań and Warsaw in 1919, in Tartu in 1920, in Riga, Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1922 (Lang *et al.* 2010, 11; Nasi mistrzowie; History of the Faculty of Archaeology UW).

The closest comparison to the Finnish situation on both the ideological and practical levels can be seen in Estonia, where the chair of archaeology was founded in the university of Tartu in 1920 (Jaanits 1995). The duty of the representative for archaeology at the only university in the country was also considered to create a national understanding of its prehistoric past. No such dominating institution existed in the other countries if not the University of Uppsala in Sweden, whose chair of archaeology was founded in 1913. The museum dominated instead in Copenhagen, which had no professorship in archaeology before 1941 (Baudou 2004, 201, 262). However, the nationalist context could also exist when it was not apparent.

St. Petersburg/Petrograd was a special case in Finland's neighbourhood, because the education in archaeology had deep roots well into the 18th century there within different academic and other educational organisations. However, its real emergence as an independent academic discipline concurred with the adaptation of the Scandinavian models during the second half of the 19th century and led to the establishment of the archaeological department of the university in 1919 and a professorship in 1922 (Тихонов 2000, 11–165, 322–327). The existing chair of archaeology at Moscow University was transformed into an independent department in 1922 (Miller 1956, 47).

Prehistoric archaeology was weakly represented in the German universities. An extraordinary professorship was founded in Berlin in 1902 (Grünert 2002, 125–140); similarly, an extraordinariate in Tübingen, was founded in 1917 (research institute in 1921, ordinary chair in 1935; Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters: Institutsgeschichte), and even a personal ordinary chair for Max Ebert (1879–1929), at the University of Königsberg since 1923, moved with him to the University of Berlin in 1926 (Grünert 2002, 316), but there were no ordinary professorships anywhere until one was founded in Marburg in 1927 (Dobiat 2010, 7; Salminen 2014b, 129–130, 199–202).[3] The University of Berlin applied to the Ministry to change the extraordinary professorship there into an ordinary one in 1926, but the change was not realised until 1934 (Grünert 2002, 335–336). The situation was largely due to the alleged dominance of classical archaeology in Germany before the prehistoric one. Classical archaeology had academic roots especially in the University of Berlin into the early 19th century (Die Geschichte des Winckelmann-Instituts). Promoting prehistoric archaeology also meant preferring the Germanic past before Classical Antiquity, the two disciplines competing for both funds and attention in general, and it caused an ideologically-coloured discussion in the Weimar Republic (Grünert 2002, 174–184). Thus, the University of Helsinki was riding on a wave of archaeological chairs when the professorship was founded in 1921.

The birth of academic archaeology in Finland as seen in its different backgrounds

Archaeology as a methodologically established discipline gradually came into being around the middle of the 19th century. Defining a new scholarly discipline also required decision regarding how and where it should be taught. Archaeology was developed above all in museums, so they were initially thought to be the self-evident channel to further convey archaeological knowledge and skills. There were at least three parallel lines of development occurring: a methodological consolidation and refinement of archaeology, including professionalisation; institutionalisation of the discipline; and defining its ideological task in the society.

3 An extraordinariate and an Institute of Prehistory were founded at the University of Cologne in 1930 (Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte: Profil des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, https://ufg.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/institut/profil).

The methodological development of archaeology by 1870 led to the emergence of the comparative typological method as a chronological means, suitable especially for analysing grave finds. It also seemed to correspond to the demand to find ethnically defined tracks of development in prehistory. However, this was true only for Bronze and Iron Age finds; practically no attempts were made to see Stone Age finds in an ethnic framework. Additionally, an ability to analyse Stone Age finds was not developed in Finland and other Nordic countries until the first decades of the 20th century in cooperation with geologists, and Stone Age archaeology was actually not consolidated until after the Second World War. However, geologically-based Stone Age research had existed in Russia and in Western Europe, especially France, since the middle of the 19th century (Платонова 2010, 136–146, 303–306).

The institutionalisation of archaeology mainly occurred in museums as far as Western Europe is concerned and in the archaeological societies, in the case of Russia, including Finland. Universities had no significant role in this development before the 1920s, and it was an exception if archaeology was provided with an ordinary professorship in a university during the 19th century. There were different ad hoc solutions instead in cases when a noted archaeologist was awarded an academic position. It was similar in Finland, where J.R. Aspelin was appointed an extraordinary professor in 1878. Archaeology, with its character and methods, was something totally different for academic historians from the new ideals of history research (cf. Kemiläinen 1983; Viikari 1983), and many historians saw archaeologists as their political antagonists or rivals because of archaeology's strong political orientation. Representatives of other disciplines were often unable to take a clear stand yet in this phase. The wider discussion about archaeology's significance in the society was to rise gradually along with its institutionalisation (cf. Baudou 2004, 165–170 about the Scandinavian development). The change that makes archaeology an academically interesting discipline in the international context and brings it out of the museum world is a research problem in itself: It can be stated hypothetically that it might be the notion that the ideas represented by archaeology about present-day peoples' national roots became mainstream in constructing the transforming societies and states, but to what extent it required methodological consolidation beforehand is unclear.

The practical development of archaeology led into the emergence of the comparative typological method as a chronological means, suitable especially for analysing grave finds. It seemed also to correspond to the demand to find ethnically defined tracks of development in prehistory. However, this was true only for Bronze and Iron Age finds; there were practically no attempts or even possibility to see Stone Age finds in an ethnic framework until an ability to analyse Stone Age finds was developed in Finland and other Nordic countries in the first decades of the 20th century in cooperation with geologists.

The institutionalisation of archaeology was a long-term process from the 1860s until the 1930s, acquiring a slightly different appearance and pace in different countries but consisting of museum departments with specialised personnel (thus linking to the professionalisation of the discipline) and societies with both independent and assisting roles in the whole.

There were two phases in the discussion concerning academic education in archaeology in Finland: the issue was both promoted and debated within the academic community from the 1870s until the 1890s, with only minor attempts to bring it to general attention. The question was presented in the internal context of archaeology and the museums themselves on the one hand and in the ideological context connected to the aims of the Finnish-national(ist) movement on the other hand. The most active period of this discussion until the mid-1890s is connected. It is also noteworthy that the discussion waned soon after the museum became state managed. A break of 20 years followed when it may not have been considered suitable to awaken the academic question, especially when one of the National Museums was finding its solution.

The second period of discussion was again initiated in the inner academic circles in 1916, but the changed political situation between 1917–1918 brought the academic questions to general attention and made them questions of how to construct a national state. There was, paradoxically,

almost no discussion about archaeology's necessity itself in that phase anymore, and archaeology's practical needs were actually taken care of almost as a by-product of the more urgent ones.

The interaction between these different lines of development is reflected in the shape the University of Helsinki professorship took and what its relationship to the museum was like. Then followed the formative years when the academic and teaching requirements were established.

Johan Reinhold Aspelin – Extraordinary Professor in Nordic Archaeology in 1878–1885

Figure 6. State Archaeologist J.R. Aspelin at home with his family in 1906. From the left: son Heino Aspelin, wife Anna Aspelin, grandson Väinö Ignatius Jr., sister-in-law Mary Nielsen, J.R. Aspelin, granddaughter Irja Ignatius, son-in-law Väinö Ignatius, and daughter Kyllikki Ignatius. Photo: N. Salmi, Finnish Heritage Agency.

Johan Reinhold Aspelin (b. 1 August 1842, d. 29 May 1915) was the first professional archaeologist in Finland, the first professor of the discipline and the first State Archaeologist. Aspelin is remembered especially because of his studies on Finno-Ugric archaeology, but later in his career he became especially known for his works on the Middle Ages, church art and genealogy. Aspelin established the archaeological explanation in his licentiate (doctoral) thesis of how the Finno-Ugric peoples would have wandered from their assumed original home in the Altai Mountains (based on the linguistic interpretation by M.A. Castrén) to the west. As a professor, Aspelin lectured about Finno-Ugric questions and taught the next generation of Finnish archaeologists; he later still led the studies of some younger archaeologists in the museum, and practically all Finnish archaeologists from Theodor Schvindt to A.M. Tallgren were Aspelin's pupils. Even as the State archaeologist, Aspelin struggled to have the Archaeological Commission reformed on an expert basis instead of as scholarly societies as it was originally established. Aspelin was one of the founders of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1870.

Aspelin was born in Messukylä near Tampere, but he grew up in Malax/Maalahti and Vetil/Veteli in southern Ostrobothnia. He graduated from Vaasa Secondary School in 1862 and began history studies at the University in Helsinki. The Ostrobothnian milieu was apt to get the young Aspelin interested in history, because the

priests of the province had first started collecting ancient objects in Finland.

Aspelin worked as an amanuensis at the State Archives in 1866–1878 and in the Historical-ethnographic museum of the university in 1875–1878, as extraordinary professor of Nordic archaeology in 1878–1885 and as State Archaeologist of Finland in 1885–1915. He was also the genealogist of the Finnish House of Nobility (Ritarihuone) in 1878–1882.

Aspelin travelled to Sweden after receiving his Cand. Phil. degree in 1866 (MA in 1869) to become acquainted with the developing Scandinavian archaeology with Oscar Montelius (1843–1921), where he became convinced about his task in the service of the Finno-Ugric peoples. He studied at the University of Moscow, carried out excavations in the Finno-Ugric peoples' habitation areas in Russia and made a study trip to Scandinavia, Germany, France, Poland and the Baltic provinces. Aspelin defended his licentiate thesis *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (Elements of the Finno-Ugric archaeology, 1875) in February 1876 and then edited a large picture atlas in five booklets with texts in Finnish and French, *Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumus-aloilta – Antiquités du nord finno-ougrien* (1877–1884) for an international readership. He also gave presentations about Finno-Ugric archaeology at international conferences, such as in Stockholm in 1873 and Budapest in 1876, and corresponded with foreign colleagues.

As a professor, Aspelin established the basis for academic education in archaeology in Finland and taught the next generation of Finnish archaeologists, above all Theodor Schvindt (1851–1917), Axel Olai Heikel (1851–1924), and Hjalmar Appelgren-Kivalo (1853–1937). Aspelin later unsuccessfully led initiatives to found an ordinary chair in archaeology in Helsinki to provide museums with educated personnel and spread consciousness about prehistory in the wider circles.

Aspelin was appointed State Archaeologist in 1885 after the Senate announced a decree about the protection of ancient remains in 1883 and the antiquities administration was founded. Administrative duties thereafter took most of his time, pushing his scholarly work aside. However, Aspelin led the three expeditions organised by the Finnish Antiquarian Society to the Upper Enisej in southern Siberia in 1887–1889 to document then-undeciphered inscriptions and excavate grave mounds there. He assumed those remains belonged to the Finns' ancestors and would be dated to the Bronze Age. Material for the planned Finno-Ugric central museum was also bought. The Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen would later solve the writings and prove them to be ancient Turkic from the Iron Age, which was the last nail in the coffin of Castrén's and Aspelin's Ural-Altaic theory.

Aspelin had already initiated a systematic documentation of ancient remains in parishes within the Finnish Antiquarian Society before the Archaeological Commission was founded.

Aspelin was a national romantic, but he was not active in politics. He became a Fennoman during his school years, and he joined the Young Finns party supporting passive resistance against the Russian decrees after the February Manifesto given by the Russian Emperor in 1899 to unify Finland more with the Russian system. Aspelin also taught the Finnish language to his Danish wife, but later, similar to the other Young Finns around 1900, he was moderate on language questions.

Aspelin supported the national movement among the Estonians. He visited the first Song Festival in Tartu in 1869 and became acquainted with the Jannsen family, corresponding later with their daughter, poet Lydia Koidula. Aspelin carried out excavations with teacher Jaan Jung in Livonia in 1881.

Aspelin was the secretary of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1871 and 1874–1885 and chaired the same society in 1885–1915. He was the Finnish Tourist Association's chairman (1892–1907), honorary doctor of Budapest University (1892), honorary member of the Wanemuine Song Society (Tartu, 1870), of the Society of Antiquaries (London, 1885), of the Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft (Tartu, 1888) and of the Imperial Archaeological Society of St Petersburg (1896) and a member of the Academy of France (Officier d'academie, 1879) as well as a corresponding or foreign member of several learned societies.

Aspelin was married to Anna Nielsen (1850–1930), a tailor's daughter from Copenhagen. They had five children, two of whom reached adulthood. Friends knew him by the nicknames

Reini and Ruspe, and he was Uncle to younger colleagues. His most important pastime during his student years was singing in a choir.

Aspelin published nine scholarly monographs, the most important of which are *Korsholman linna ja lääni keski-ajalla* (1869), *Kokoilemia muinaistutkinnon alalta I: Etelä-Pohjanmaalta* (1871), *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (1875), and *Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumus-aloilta – Antiquités du nord Finno-Ougrien* I–V (1877–1884), and a large number of scholarly and popular articles.

Julius Ailio and Carl Axel Nordman as Docents of Archaeology

Figure 7. Julius Ailio in 1900. Photo: Julius Ailio, Finnish Heritage Agency.

The first academic teacher since J.R. Aspelin's professorship at the University of Helsinki was Julius Edvard Ailio (until 1897 Ax, 1872–1933), who was appointed Docent of Archaeology in 1910, a position he resigned from in 1926. Ailio had scholarly roots in archaeology, geology, and ethnology. His Licentiate (doctoral) thesis in 1909 analysed the Stone Age dwellings in Finland. Ailio was born the son of an elementary school teacher in Loppi. Ailio lectured on the general courses – Finnish and Scandinavian prehistory and world and European prehistory – from a wide, comparative viewpoint. He was an acting professor of archaeology in 1921 and 1923 when an older docent, but he lost the professorship competition to A.M. Tallgren. Most Finnish Stone Age archaeologists, such as Sakari Pälsi (1882–1965) and Aarne Äyräpää (until 1930 Europaeus, 1887–1971), were Ailio's pupils.

Ailio's dissertation (1909) included the first systematic survey of Finland's Stone Age settlement. Ailio was also the most prominent supporter of the so-called continuation hypothesis, which assumed a (Finnish) settlement continuum in Finland from the Stone Age to the present, whereas most archaeologists assumed a settlement break in the Pre-Roman Iron Age and a Finnish migration into Finland thereafter.

Ailio was also known as a careful and innovative field archaeologist and an important developer of Stone Age excavations in Finland.

Ailio worked at the Archaeological Commission as an extra amanuensis in 1899–1916, as a conservator in 1916–1920, as head of the Archaeological Department in 1920–1933 and acting State Archaeologist in 1928–1929. He was also active in different archaeological organisations, such as the Finnish Antiquarian Society.

Ailio became a political Fennoman and a supporter of the Young Finns party at a young age but turned later to socialism and was a Member of the Parliament in 1909–1912, 1917–1922 and 1924–1933. He was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic party and was appointed Senator and

Head of the Ecclesiastic Expedition in the Senate of Finland in 1917. Ailio belonged to the moderate Social Democrats who could not accept the armed coup d'état in 1918. He was Minister of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Education in 1926–1927, despite having resigned from the church as soon as it had become possible. Ailio was also active in developing workers' educational institutions; he is especially remembered as one of the founders and the first director of the Workers' Academy (*Työväen akatemia*) in 1924–1933. Ailio's impact was otherwise noteworthy in developing the Finnish elementary school system in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Ailio's main works were *Lopen asunnot eri kehitysasteissaan* (1902), *Die steinzeitlichen Wohnplatzfunde in Finland I–II* (1909), *Die geographische Entwicklung des Ladogasees in postglacialer Zeit und ihre Beziehung zur steinzeitchen Besiedelung* (1915), *Hämeenlinnan kaupungin historia I: Hämeenlinnan esi- ja rakennushistoria* (1917), *Karjalaiset soikeat kupurasoljet* (1922), and *Fragen der russischen Steinzeit* (1922). He also published a considerable number of articles.

Carl Axel Nordman (1892–1972) was born in Helsinki into an upper middle-class family. He studied archaeology at the Danish National Museum under Sophus Müller (1846–1934) and later married Müller's daughter Elin 1891–1982). Nordman's doctoral dissertation, which he defended in Helsinki in 1918, analysed the Danish Stone Age passage graves. He was appointed Docent of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki in 1921. Nordman worked at the Danish National Museum from 1912–1914 and 1915–1919. However, Nordman switched to numismatics because the Finnish National Museum needed a curator for its numismatic department and was appointed in 1920. He later specialised in the history of Medieval art. He made his primary career in the museum and antiquities administration and was appointed head of the Historical Department of the Finnish National Museum in 1930 and State Archaeologist and Director of the Museum in 1936. He retired in 1959 but still continued his scholarly work in the 1960s.

Nordman kept his docentship until 1933. He lectured mainly in general courses on Finnish and Scandinavian prehistory but also on the Central European Stone Age and on the history of Medieval art in his last years as a docent. Nordman was an acting Professor of Archaeology in 1922.

Nordman was chairman of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland and made initiative to found its Folk Culture Archive. He was also active in the Finnish Antiquarian Society and chairman of the Finnish Department of the Scandinavian Association of Museums.

Nordman's most important works were *Studier öfver gånggriftkulturen i Danmark* (1917/1918), *Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland* (1921), *Karelska järnåldersstudier* (1924), *The Megalithic Culture of Northern Europe* (1935), *Medeltida skulptur i Finland* (1965), and *Archaeology in Finland before 1920* (1968). There are many other articles on different topics in addition to those.

Figure 8. C.A. Nordman (on the right) with the Danish archaeologist Knud Friis Johansen (1887–1971), later professor at Copenhagen University in Helsinki during the fourth Nordic Meeting of Archaeologists in 1925. Photo: Elin Nordman, Finnish Heritage Agency.

Aarne Michaël Tallgren – Ordinary Professor of Archaeology of Finland and the Nordic Countries in 1923–1945

Figure 9. A.M. Tallgren in the 1910s. Private collection.

Aarne Michaël Tallgren (b. 8 February 1885, d. 13 April 1945) was born in Ruovesi, from where the family moved to Maaria in 1887. His mother, Jenny Maria Tallgren (b. Montin, 1852–1930), was a correspondent of the Finnish Antiquarian Society already at a young age, and after her children grew up, she assumed her old interest again. A.M. Tallgren's elder brother was the linguist, Professor Oiva Johannes Tallgren (Tuulio, 1879–1941), and his sister was the literature critic Anna-Maria Tallgren (1886–1949). The children received a liberal, Finnish-minded education at home. They grew up fully bilingual speaking both Finnish and Swedish. Tallgren received his Cand. Phil. degree in 1905 (MA in 1907) with archaeology as his main subject; at that time archaeology could be taken as a subject in an academic degree only by a special application. Tallgren was supervised in his studies by conservator Hjalmar Appelgren(-Kivalo, 1853–1937) with support from State Archaeologist J.R. Aspelin.

Tallgren studied further in Stockholm and Uppsala to be able to continue Aspelin's work on the Finno-Ugric prehistory. He worked as an extra amanuensis at the Historical Museum in 1906–1919 and as a history teacher in several schools. He travelled to Russia and to the museums of London and Paris in 1908. Tallgren made two more long journeys to Russia, one in 1909 and one in 1915, before the revolutions, and a short trip in 1917, extending his travels to the Yenisei (1915) and carrying out excavations. Tallgren defended his licentiate (doctoral) thesis in 1911 (degrees of Lic. Phil. and Ph.D. in 1914). He was appointed Docent of Ural-Altaic Archaeology at the university in 1919.

Tallgren had already noticed in 1908 that Aspelin's and Castrén's assumption of a unified Ural-Altaic Bronze Age culture was outdated, which caused him to turn his attention to the southern roots of the central Russian Bronze Age. Tallgren also wanted to make Finland an international centre for Russian and Siberian archaeology.

Tallgren was appointed Professor of Estonian and Scandinavian Archaeology to the newly-founded chair at the University of Tartu in 1920. There he organised the academic education for archaeology and the museum systems in Estonia and started a systematic survey of the country's prehistoric remains. Tallgren's pupils, above all Harri Moora (1900–1968), were already able to take over most of the archaeological activities there when he left Tartu in 1923.

Tallgren was appointed the first ordinary Professor of Archaeology of Finland and the Nordic Countries at the University of Helsinki in 1923 after a competition with Julius Ailio (1872–1933). Tallgren belonged to the Archaeological Commission as an extra member from 1928–1944. He journeyed to the Soviet Union in 1924, 1925, 1928, 1935, and, briefly, in 1936. Tallgren founded the journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* in 1926 with Professor of Ethnology Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929); it aimed to be a channel for East–West cooperation in Russian archaeology and was published in 12 volumes until 1938. Ella Kivikoski edited a supplementary volume in 1954.

Tallgren also published information in 1936 about the persecution of archaeologists in the Soviet Union. Thereafter, his contacts with the country were practically fully severed. He had already had difficulties after criticism he published in 1929.

Tallgren was also active in the discussion about questions of society, even political debates. From his home, he had adopted a liberal view on questions of language and the constitutional approach to Finland's politics. He belonged to the British-minded *Ad Interim* group during the First World War. He defended Finnish-Swedish bilinguality in Finland, especially at the University of Helsinki in the 1920s and 1930s. He also attacked the extreme rightist groups of his time and the political utilisation of archaeology in totalitarian states.

Figure 10. A.M. Tallgren (in the middle) with his Estonian pupils, ethnologist Aliise Moora (née Karu, 1900–1996) and archaeologist Harri Moora (1900–1968) in Helsinki aeroplane harbour in 1925. Private collection.

Tallgren aimed at syntheses in his archaeological interpretations during the 1930s. He wrote extensive articles about the Bronze Age of East and North Europe, about the theoretical questions of archaeology, and he popularised Finland's prehistory. Tallgren was no innovative field archaeologist or detailed artefact analyst but instead aimed at understanding the culture as whole.

Tallgren could not find pupils and followers in his research concerning Russia because Finnish archaeologists' main attention was turned instead towards domestic questions. Some of Tallgren's pupils became notable archaeologists in the Finnish context, such as Nils Cleve (1905–1988) and Tallgren's successor in the professorship, Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990).

Tallgren was the vice secretary of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1906, archivist-librarian in 1910–1911 and 1917–1918, secretary in 1918–1920, chairman in 1930–1937 and 1938–1942, and editor of the journal *Suomen Museo* in 1917–1919. He chaired the Finnish Genealogical Society in 1944–1945 and was editor of the journal *Kotiseutu* in 1910–1923. In the academic world he was curator of the Finnish Proper Student nation in 1907–1909 and inspector of the same nation in 1925–1928.

Tallgren was an honorary doctor of the University of Tartu (1932) and an honorary member of Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga (1922), Õpetatud Eesti Selts (earlier Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft, Tartu, 1923), Eesti Rahva Muuseum (1924), Société Hongroise d'Archéologie (1929), The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1930), Svenska Fornminnesföreningen (1931), Suomen Museoliitto (1940), Société Archéologique du Midi de la France (Toulouse, 1940), and Eesti Kirjanduse Selts (Tartu, 1940). He was awarded the gold medal of the Society of Antiquaries (London) in 1940.

Tallgren published 12 monographs and three collections of original writings, above all *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland I* (1911), *Collection Zaoussaïlov I–II* (1916, 1918), *L'époque dite d'Ananino dans la Russie orientale* (1919), *Zur Archäologie Eestis I–II* (1922, 1925), *La Pontide préscythique après l'introduction des métaux* (1926), and *Suomen muinaisuus* (1931), and a large number of scholarly and popular articles, some of them like small monographs.

Aarne Elias Äyräpää – Extraordinary Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in 1938–1954

Figure 11. Aarne Äyräpää in the 1940s. Photo: Peltonen, Finnish Heritage Agency.

Aarne Elias Äyräpää (until 1930, Europaeus, b. 21 October 1887, d. 17 June 1971) was born in Utajärvi in Northern Ostrobothnia, the son of a county agronomist. The Europaeus family had contributed some other culturally well-known persons before him, such as the linguist David Emanuel Daniel Europaeus (1820–1884), who collected a significant part of the folk poetry with which Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) complemented the new edition of *Kalevala* (1849). Äyräpää graduated as a Cand. Phil. in 1912 (MA 1914) and defended his Licentiate thesis (doctoral dissertation) in 1933 (Lic. Phil. 1933, Ph. D. 1937).

Äyräpää started his university studies with history, philosophy and classical archaeology before turning to prehistoric archaeology. His close friend Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) had a considerable influence on making him an archaeologist. Äyräpää's most important supervisor in archaeology was Julius Ailio (1872–1933), who, as the first archaeologist, had aimed at an analytical survey of the Stone Age of Finland. Äyräpää took up Ailio's work in many respects but also reassessed several of his interpretations. After completing the new National Museum building, it was largely just Äyräpää who practically carried out building the Stone Age exhibition projected by Ailio. Äyräpää worked as an extra amanuensis (1915–1920), amanuensis (1920–1932), and intendent (1932) at the Prehistoric Department of the Archaeological Commission before he was appointed Head of the Department in 1933.

Äyräpää was, on Tallgren's proposal, appointed extraordinary Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Helsinki in 1938, and from then on, his main work was to teach new generations of archaeologists at the university. His long-time museum experience and knowledge of the find material provided a good foundation for teaching. He worked as the Chancellor Secretary (*kanslerinsihteeri*) of the University of Helsinki in 1938–1945. Äyräpää was Acting Professor of Archaeology in 1945–1948 after Tallgren's death. Äyräpää also significantly supervised the Estonian Stone Age archaeologist Richard Indreko (1900–1961) in his studies and early work in the 1920s and again in the 1940s after Indreko's arrival as a refugee to Finland.

Äyräpää's first Stone Age field studies occurred in the Uusimaa region in the 1910s. He noted there that the earlier dwelling sites were situated higher than the later ones following the lowering sea level. Together with geologist Wilhelm Ramsay (1865–1928), Äyräpää was able to establish the relative chronology of the south Finnish Stone Age. He presented some of his observations in 1922, completed the systematic construction of the chronology until 1925, and published the relative chronology of Finnish Stone Age ceramics for an international readership in 1930. Thereafter he did not deal with the

questions of Comb Ceramics until the 1940s. Äyräpää's attention in his licentiate thesis (doctoral dissertation) was on the eastern branches of the Battle Axe Culture. The work was based on the Stone Age material of the Zausajlov collection bought to Helsinki in 1909 and on journeys to Scandinavian and Central European museums in the mid-1920s. This study linked Äyräpää to the eastern tradition of Finnish archaeology but also simultaneously to the international research on the Battle Axe Culture. Äyräpää supposed the Battle Axe Culture to have spread to Russia from the west, thus having a western original home. He continued working on his magnum opus about the European Battle Axe Cultures in the 1940s and 1950s. That, however, remained unfinished and was never published, yet despite that, it has been estimated that the Battle Axe Culture studies alone formed the most important part of Äyräpää's oeuvre as seen from an international standpoint.

Äyräpää made excavations in East Karelia, occupied by the Finnish forces, during WWII to search for new information about the Stone Age of the area.

Äyräpää also showed considerable interest in undertaking experimental studies on the Stone Age. Together with Sakari Pälsi (1882–1965), he had been performing experiments on Stone Age technology at least since the 1920s.

Äyräpää took an especially active part in the public discussion on the social status of archaeology, archaeologists, research in general, and cultural politics. Äyräpää can be characterised politically as slightly more conservative than Tallgren. Like Tallgren, popularising archaeology was also important to Äyräpää: Together they were among the founders and first editors of the journal *Kotiseutu*.

Äyräpää's work on the Stone Age found successors among the younger archaeologists who were his pupils at the university, and he can be called the one who launched a continuous tradition of Stone Age archaeology in Finland.

Äyräpää published two monographs and a relatively large number of articles during his career. His main works are *Fornfynd från Kyrkslätt och Esbo socknar* (1922), *Über die Streitaxtkulturen in Russland* (1933) and the extensive articles *Die relative Chronologie der steinzeitlichen Keramik in Finnland* (1930) and *Die ältesten steinzeitlichen Funde aus Finnland* (1950).

Äyräpää was the chairman of the Finnish Antiquarian Society (Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys) after Tallgren in 1942–1945, secretary of the Finnish League of Museums (Suomen Museoliitto) in 1923–1925 and chairman of the same organisation in 1933–1940.

Äyräpää was an honorary member of Suomen Museoliitto, Õpetatud Eesti Selts, Svenska Fornminnesföreningen and Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys.

Figure 12. Aarne Äyräpää at Vitträsk rock painting in Kirkkonummi, Southern Finland in the 1930s. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

The Galič idol in the history of academic archaeology in Finland

The so-called Galič treasure was found in the village of Turovskoe, Governorate of Kostroma, District of Galič, east of Moscow, in 1836. Some of the objects were melted or otherwise lost very soon thereafter, and the rest were divided between three different museums or collections. Two-thirds of the whole find have disappeared by now, but drawings or even photographs have been preserved of a majority of the finds. Two human idols are among the preserved objects, one of them kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow and the other in the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Recent research has interpreted the find as a shaman's burial rather than an actual hoard and connected it mainly to the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon (Studzitskaya & Kuzminykh 2002).

Professor A.M. Tallgren, during his journey to the Soviet Union in 1928, was allowed to make a copy of the figurine kept in St. Petersburg. The back side of the copy bears the inscription, 'Копия с оригинала Госуд. Эрмитажа 1928', i.e., copy of the original of State Hermitage 1928. For decades the idol has been intimately called 'Galitšin ukko', Old Man Galič. Why did Tallgren want this kind of copy and what does it represent in Finnish archaeology?

The Galič treasure and especially its animal- and human-shaped objects had already drawn J.R. Aspelin's attention when Aspelin constructed his interpretation of the so-called Ural-Altaic Bronze Age in the 1870s. Aspelin assumed the finds would date from the Late Bronze Age and considered them a link between Siberian figurines and those found in the cemetery of Anan'ino. Thus, he saw the finds as a link to or witness of the Finno-Ugrics wandering from their Siberian original home to Europe (Aspelin 1875, 84–86; 1877, 45–47, 67–68). A.M. Tallgren dated the find to the Early Bronze Age in the early 20th century and sought its counterparts in both Siberia and the Caucasus. He was convinced that it belonged to the Fat'janovo cultural sphere because of the finds at the Turovskoe dwelling site.

Figure 13. For the centennial of archaeology department, the copy of the Galič idol made for Tallgren was copied and 3D-printed by Wesa Perttola. Tallgren's idol on the left, the copy made in 2023 on the right. Photo: Wesa Perttola.

Those finds were also discussed also in the 20th century Soviet and Russian archaeology by Aleksandr Andreevič Spicyn (1858–1931) in the early 1900s. The latest interpretation and a comprehensive overview of the earlier research was published by S.V. Studzitskaja and S.V. Kuz'minyx in 2002 (Studzitskaya & Kuzminykh 2002; Salminen 2003, 155–167).

Thus, for Tallgren, the idol had a double meaning. It had archaeological interest in itself, but it also bore witness to the work of his academic teacher, J.R. Aspelin, and his assumptions about the Finno-Ugric past. This double background apparently led him to order the copy in 1928.

If the original figurine is interesting in itself and has an interesting history in the research, the copy also has its own past and layers of significance by now.

A.M. Tallgren's journey to the Soviet Union in 1928 was the seventh he had made to the eastern neighbouring country and the third after the 1917 revolutions. He extended his travel to Perm' in the east, to Vladikavkaz and Tbilisi in the southeast and to Odessa and Kyiv in the southwest. His main aim was to collect material on the prehistory of the Caucasus, and the journey started a Caucasian period in his production. The journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* that he edited had its peak period during those years, although difficulties had already arisen in its way (Salminen 2014, 110–125, 147–158, 248).

Tallgren kept the copy on the wall of his home in Helsinki, and he has even been depicted with it in a portrait (Kivikoski 1954, 116; Pekka Sarvas's letter to the author, 8 May 2013). He assigned the figurine to his pupil Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990) in his will. However, he crossed out that sentence but rewrote it dated 17 June 1938 (SKSA Aili Tallgren: A.M. Tallgren's testament). It is not known whether Tallgren had already thought of Kivikoski as his possible successor as Professor of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki, but it is possible, because Kivikoski was to defend her doctoral thesis the next year. Kivikoski belonged to Tallgren's relatively few pupils who took archaeology as their main subject and made their career within the branch. Kivikoski has also been photographed with the figurine on the wall behind her in her home (Seppälä 2020, 63). For her, the idol also reminded her of Tallgren, her respected and beloved teacher. In Kivikoski's testament, the idol was given to her pupil Pekka Sarvas (b. 1939), who had worked as an assistant of archaeology at the university in the early 1960s but who made his main career as numismatist at the National Museum of Finland. Ella Kivikoski invented the idea that the idol would be inherited within the community of archaeologists. She wrote to Sarvas (transl. TS, quoted in Pekka Sarvas's letter to the author, 8 May 2013):

'*Pekka, I ask the Old Man Galič to be given to you... Tallgren assigned it to me in his will; in due course after decades you will decide who of the archaeologists will get it [after you]. It is nice for me to think that it will be inherited like this. Ella.*'[4]

Pekka Sarvas had already decided in 2013 to ensure that the idol would stay within the community of archaeologists at the University of Helsinki and handed it over to the author of this article with the words: 'I hope you will accept it and some day decide, who will get it as next.'[5] (Pekka Sarvas's letter to the author, 8 May 2013.)

With Ella Kivikoski's idea to let the idol be transmitted from generation to generation of researchers who have a connection to academic archaeology in Helsinki, Old Man Galič had also grown to have the meaning of a bearer of the continuity of an academic tradition of archaeology and, simultaneously, as a reminder of the Ural-Altaic roots of archaeological research in Finland.

4 *Pekka, Pyydän antamaan Galičin ukon Sinulle... Tallgren testamenttasi sen minulle; aikanaan joskus vuosikymmenten kuluttua valitset kuka arkeologeista sen saa. Minusta on hauska ajatella sen periytyvän näin. Ella.*
5 *Toivon, että otat sen vastaan ja joskus sitten omalta osaltasi päätät kuka sen seuraavaksi saa.*

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